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# **HISTORY OF ROME**

**LIVY**

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**History of Rome by Livy.**

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# Book I

*The coming of Æneas into Italy, and his achievements there; the reign of Ascanius in Alba, and of the other Sylvian kings. Romulus and Remus born. Amulius killed. Romulus builds Rome; forms a senate; makes war upon the Sabines; presents the opima spolia to Jupiter Feretrius; divides the people into curiæ; his victories; is deified. Numa institutes the rites of religious worship; builds a temple to Janus; and having made peace with all his neighbours, closes it for the first time; enjoys a peaceful reign, and is succeeded by Tullus Hostilius. War with the Albans; combat of the Horatii and Curiatii. Alba demolished, and the Albans made citizens of Rome. War declared against the Sabines; Tullus killed by lightning. Ancus Marcius renews the religious institutions of Numa; conquers the Latins, confers on them the right of citizenship, and assigns them the Aventine hill to dwell on; adds the hill Janiculum to the city; enlarges the bounds of the empire. In his reign Lucumo comes to Rome; assumes the name of Tarquinius; and, after the death of Ancus, is raised to the throne. He increases the senate, by adding to it a hundred new senators; defeats the Latins and Sabines; augments the centuries of knights; builds a wall round the city; makes the common sewers; is slain by the sons of Ancus after a reign of thirty-eight years; and is succeeded by Servius Tullius. He institutes the census; closes the lustrum, in which eighty thousand citizens are said to have been enrolled; divides the people into classes and centuries; enlarges the Pomœrium, and adds the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills to the city; after a reign of forty years, is murdered by L. Tarquin, afterwards surnamed Superbus. He usurps the crown. Tarquin makes war on the Volsci, and, with the plunder taken from them, builds a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus. By a stratagem of his son, Sextus Tarquin, he reduces the city of Gabii; after a reign of twenty-five years is dethroned and banished, in consequence of the forcible violation of the person of Lucretia by his son Sextus. L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus first created consuls.*

## PREFACE.

Whether in tracing the history of the Roman people, from the foundation of the city, I shall employ myself to a useful purpose,<sup>1</sup> I am neither very certain, nor, if I were, dare I say: inasmuch as I observe, that it is both an old and hackneyed practice,<sup>2</sup> later authors always supposing that they will either adduce something more authentic in the facts, or, that they will excel the less polished ancients in their style of writing. Be that as it may, it will, at all events, be a satisfaction to me, that I too have contributed my share<sup>3</sup> to perpetuate the achievements of a people, the lords of the world; and if, amidst so great a number of historians,<sup>4</sup> my reputation should remain in obscurity, I may console myself with the celebrity and lustre of those who shall stand in the way of my fame. Moreover, the subject is both of immense labour, as being one which must be traced back for more than seven hundred years, and which, having set out from small beginnings, has increased to such a degree that it is now distressed by its own magnitude. And, to most readers, I doubt not but that the first origin and the events immediately succeeding, will

<sup>1</sup> "Employ myself to a useful purpose,"—*facere operæ pretium*, "to do a thing that is worth the trouble,"—"to employ oneself to a good purpose."—See Scheller's Lat. Lexicon.

<sup>2</sup> "A practice,"—*rem.*—Some, as Baker, refer it to *res populi R.* Others, as Stroth, to *res pop. Rom. perscribere.*

<sup>3</sup> "My share,"—*pro virili parte*, or, "to the best of my ability."

<sup>4</sup> "Historians."—Those mentioned by Livy himself are Q. Fabius Pictor, Valerius Antias, L. Piso, Q. Ælius Tubero, C. Licinius Macer, Cœlius, Polybius, etc.

afford but little pleasure, while they will be hastening to these later times,<sup>5</sup> in which the strength of this overgrown people has for a long period been working its own destruction. I, on the contrary, shall seek this, as a reward of my labour, viz. to withdraw myself from the view of the calamities, which our age has witnessed for so many years, so long as I am reviewing with my whole attention these ancient times, being free from every care<sup>6</sup> that may distract a writer's mind, though it cannot warp it from the truth. The traditions which have come down to us of what happened before the building of the city, or before its building was contemplated, as being suitable rather to the fictions of poetry than to the genuine records of history, I have no intention either to affirm or refute. This indulgence is conceded to antiquity, that by blending things human with divine, it may make the origin of cities appear more venerable: and if any people might be allowed to consecrate their origin, and to ascribe it to the gods as its authors, such is the renown of the Roman people in war, that when they represent Mars, in particular, as their own parent and that of their founder, the nations of the world may submit to this as patiently as they submit to their sovereignty.—But in whatever way these and such like matters shall be attended to, or judged of, I shall not deem of great importance. I would have every man apply his mind seriously to consider these points, viz. what their life and what their manners were; through what men and by what measures, both in peace and in war, their empire was acquired<sup>7</sup> and extended; then, as discipline gradually declined, let him follow in his thoughts their morals, at first as slightly giving way, anon how they sunk more and more, then began to fall headlong, until he reaches the present times, when we can neither endure our vices, nor their remedies. This it is which is particularly salutary and profitable in the study of history, that you behold instances of every variety of conduct displayed on a conspicuous monument; that from thence you may select for yourself and for your country that which you may imitate; thence *note* what is shameful in the undertaking, and shameful in the result, which you may avoid. But either a fond partiality for the task I have undertaken deceives me, or there never was any state either greater, or more moral, or richer in good examples, nor one into which luxury and avarice made their entrance so late, and where poverty and frugality were so much and so long honoured; so that the less wealth there was, the less desire was there. Of late, riches have introduced avarice, and excessive pleasures a longing for them, amidst luxury and a passion for ruining ourselves and destroying every thing else. But let complaints, which will not be agreeable even then, when perhaps they will be also necessary, be kept aloof at least from the first stage of commencing so great a work. We should rather, if it was usual with us (historians) as it is with poets, begin with good omens, vows and prayers to the gods and goddesses to vouchsafe good success to our efforts in so arduous an undertaking.

## 1

Now first of all it is sufficiently established that, Troy having been taken, the utmost severity was shown to all the other Trojans; but that towards two, Æneas and Antenor, the Greeks forbore all the rights of war, both in accordance with an ancient tie of

<sup>5</sup> "Hastening to these later times."—The history of the recent civil wars would possess a more intense interest for the Romans of the Augustan age.

<sup>6</sup> "From every care,"—the fear of giving offence by expressing his opinions freely, and the sorrow, which, as a patriot, he could not but feel in recording the civil wars of his countrymen.

<sup>7</sup> "Acquired."—This refers to the whole period antecedent to the time when Ap. Claudius carried the Roman arms beyond Italy against the Carthaginians; (2) *extended*, from that time till the fall of Carthage; (3) *sinking*, the times of the Gracchi; (4) *gave way more and more*, those of Sulla; (5) *precipitate*, those of Cæsar; (6) *the present times*, those of Augustus after the battle of Actium.—*Stocker*.

hospitality, and because they had ever been the advisers of peace, and of the restoration of Helen—then that Antenor after various vicissitudes came into the innermost bay of the Adriatic Sea, with a body of the Heneti, who having been driven from Paphlagonia in consequence of a civil commotion, were in quest both of a settlement and a leader, their king Pylæmenes having been lost at Troy; and that the Heneti and Trojans, having expelled the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps, took possession of the country; and the place where they first landed is called Troy; from whence also the name of Trojan is given to the canton; but the nation in general is called Veneti: that Æneas was driven from home by a similar calamity, but the fates leading him to the founding of a greater empire, he came first to Macedonia: that he sailed from thence to Sicily in quest of a settlement: that from Sicily he made for the Laurentine territory; this place also has the name of Troy. When the Trojans, having disembarked there, were driving plunder from the lands,—as being persons to whom, after their almost immeasurable wandering, nothing was left but their arms and ships,—Latinus the king, and the Aborigines, who then occupied those places, assembled in arms from the city and country to repel the violence of the new-comers. On this point the tradition is twofold: some say, that Latinus, after being overcome in battle, made first a peace, and then an alliance with Æneas: others, that when the armies were drawn out in battle-array, before the signals were sounded, Latinus advanced to the front of the troops and invited the leader of the adventurers to a conference. That he then inquired who they were, whence (they had come), or by what casualty they had left their home, and in quest of what they had landed on the Laurentine territory: after he heard that the host were Trojans, their chief Æneas, the son of Anchises and Venus, and that, driven from their own country and their homes, which had been destroyed by fire, they were seeking a settlement and a place for building a town, struck with admiration of the noble origin of the nation and of the hero, and their spirit, alike prepared for peace or war, he confirmed the assurance of future friendship by giving his right hand: that upon this a compact was struck between the chiefs, and mutual greetings passed between the armies: that Æneas was hospitably entertained by Latinus: that Latinus, in the presence of his household gods, added a family league to the public one, by giving Æneas his daughter in marriage. This event confirms the Trojans in the hope of at length terminating their wanderings by a fixed and permanent settlement. They build a town. Æneas calls it Lavinium, after the name of his wife. In a short time, too, a son was the issue of the new marriage, to whom his parents gave the name of Ascanius.

## 2

The Aborigines and Trojans were soon after attacked together in war. Turnus, king of the Rutulians, to whom Lavinia had been affianced before the coming of Æneas, enraged that a stranger had been preferred to himself, made war on Æneas and Latinus together. Neither side came off from that contest with cause for rejoicing. The Rutulians were vanquished; the victorious Aborigines and Trojans lost their leader Latinus. Upon this Turnus and the Rutulians, diffident of their strength, have recourse to the flourishing state of the Etruscans, and their king Mezentius; who holding his court at Cœre, at that time an opulent town, being by no means pleased, even from the commencement, at the founding of the new city, and then considering that the Trojan power was increasing much more than was altogether consistent with the safety of the neighbouring states, without reluctance joined his forces in alliance with the Rutulians. Æneas, in order to conciliate the minds of the Aborigines to meet the terror of so serious a war, called both nations Latins, so that they might all be not only under the same laws, but also the same

name. Nor after that did the Aborigines yield to the Trojans in zeal and fidelity towards their king Æneas; relying therefore on this disposition of the two nations, who were now daily coalescing more and more, although Etruria was so powerful, that it filled with the fame of its prowess not only the land, but the sea also, through the whole length of Italy, from the Alps to the Sicilian Strait, though he might have repelled the war by means of fortifications, yet he led out his forces to the field. Upon this a battle ensued successful to the Latins, the last also of the mortal acts of Æneas. He was buried, by whatever name human and divine laws require him to be called,<sup>8</sup> on the banks of the river Numicius. They call him Jupiter Indiges.

### 3

Ascanius, the son of Æneas, was not yet old enough to take the government upon him; that government, however, remained secure for him till the age of maturity. In the interim, the Latin state and the kingdom of his grandfather and father was secured for the boy under the regency of his mother (such capacity was there in Lavinia). I have some doubts (for who can state as certain a matter of such antiquity) whether this was the Ascanius, or one older than he, born of Creusa before the fall of Troy, and the companion of his father in his flight from thence, the same whom, being called Iulus, the Julian family call the author of their name. This Ascanius, wheresoever and of whatever mother born, (it is at least certain that he was the son of Æneas,) Lavinium being overstocked with inhabitants, left that flourishing and, considering these times, wealthy city to his mother or step-mother, and built for himself a new one at the foot of Mount Alba, which, being extended on the ridge of a hill, was, from its situation, called Longa Alba. Between the founding of Lavinium and the transplanting this colony to Longa Alba, about thirty years intervened. Yet its power had increased to such a degree, especially after the defeat of the Etrurians, that not even upon the death of Æneas, nor after that, during the regency of Lavinia, and the first essays of the young prince's reign, did Mezentius, the Etrurians, or any other of its neighbours dare to take up arms against it. A peace had been concluded between the two nations on these terms, that the river Albula, now called Tiber, should be the common boundary between the Etrurians and Latins. After him Sylvius, the son of Ascanius, born by some accident in a wood, ascends the throne. He was the father of Æneas Sylvius, who afterwards begot Latinus Sylvius. By him several colonies, called the ancient Latins, were transplanted. From this time, all the princes, who reigned at Alba, had the surname of Sylvius. From Latinus sprung Alba; from Alba, Atys; from Atys, Capys; from Capys, Capetus; from Capetus, Tiberinus, who, being drowned in crossing the river Albula, gave it a name famous with posterity. Then Agrippa, the son of Tiberinus; after Agrippa, Romulus Silvius ascends the throne, in succession to his father. The latter, having been killed by a thunderbolt, left the kingdom to Aventinus, who being buried on that hill, which is now part of the city of Rome, gave his name to it. After him reigns Proca; he begets Numitor and Amulius. To Numitor, his eldest son, he bequeaths the ancient kingdom of the Sylvian family. But force prevailed more than the father's will or the respect due to seniority: for Amulius, having expelled his brother, seizes the kingdom; he adds crime to crime, murders his brother's male issue; and under pretence of doing his brother's daughter, Rhea Sylvia, honour, having made her a vestal virgin, by obliging her to perpetual virginity he deprives her of all hopes of issue.

<sup>8</sup> Æneas, being now deified, could not be called by his human name; and in speaking of his being buried, it would be improper to name him by his divine title. — *Indigetem*. He is called by Dionysius Χθόνιος Θεός.

## 4

But, in my opinion, the origin of so great a city, and the establishment of an empire next in power to that of the gods, was due to the Fates. The vestal Rhea, being deflowered by force, when she had brought forth twins, declares Mars to be the father of her illegitimate offspring, either because she believed it to be so, or because a god was a more creditable author of her offence. But neither gods nor men protect her or her children from the king's cruelty: the priestess is bound and thrown into prison; the children he commands to be thrown into the current of the river. By some interposition of providence,<sup>9</sup> the Tiber having overflowed its banks in stagnant pools, did not admit of any access to the regular bed of the river; and the bearers supposed that the infants could be drowned in water however still; thus, as if they had effectually executed the king's orders, they expose the boys in the nearest land-flood, where now stands the ficus Ruminalis (they say that it was called Romularis). The country thereabout was then a vast wilderness. The tradition is, that when the water, subsiding, had left the floating trough, in which the children had been exposed, on dry ground, a thirsty she-wolf, coming from the neighbouring mountains, directed her course to the cries of the infants, and that she held down her dugs to them with so much gentleness, that the keeper of the king's flock found her licking the boys with her tongue. It is said his name was Faustulus; and that they were carried by him to his homestead to be nursed by his wife Laurentia. Some are of opinion that she was called Lupa among the shepherds, from her being a common prostitute, and that this gave rise to the surprising story. The children thus born and thus brought up, when arrived at the years of manhood, did not loiter away their time in tending the folds or following the flocks, but roamed and hunted in the forests. Having by this exercise improved their strength and courage, they not only encountered wild beasts, but even attacked robbers laden with plunder, and afterwards divided the spoil among the shepherds. And in company with these, the number of their young associates daily increasing, they carried on their business and their sports.

## 5

They say, that the festival of the lupercal, as now celebrated, was even at that time solemnized on the Palatine hill, which, from Palanteum, a city of Arcadia, was first called Palatium, and afterwards Mount Palatine. There they say that Evander, who belonged to the tribe of Arcadians,<sup>10</sup> that for many years before had possessed that country, appointed the observance of a feast, introduced from Arcadia, in such manner, that young men ran about naked in sport and wantonness, doing honour to Pan Lycæus, whom the Romans afterwards called Inuus. That the robbers, through rage at the loss of their booty, having lain in wait for them whilst intent on this sport, as the festival was now well known, whilst Romulus vigorously defended himself, took Remus prisoner; that they delivered him up, when taken, to king Amulius, accusing him with the utmost effrontery. They principally alleged it as a charge against them, that they had made incursions upon Numitor's lands, and plundered them in a hostile manner, having assembled a band of young men for the purpose. Upon this Remus was delivered to Numitor to be punished. Now, from the very first, Faustulus had entertained hopes that the boys whom he was bringing up were of the blood royal; for he both knew that the children had been exposed by the king's orders, and that the time at which he had taken

<sup>9</sup> Forte quâdam divinitus. θεία τινη τύχη. Plut.

<sup>10</sup> Scil. "The Pallantean."

them up agreed exactly with that period: but he had been unwilling that the matter, as not being yet ripe for discovery, should be disclosed, till either a fit opportunity or necessity should arise. Necessity came first; accordingly, compelled by fear, he discovers the whole affair to Romulus. By accident also, whilst he had Remus in custody, and had heard that the brothers were twins, on comparing their age, and *observing* their turn of mind entirely free from servility, the recollection of his grand-children struck Numitor; and on making inquiries<sup>11</sup> he arrived at the same conclusion, so that he was well nigh recognising Remus. Thus a plot is concerted for the king on all sides. Romulus, not accompanied by a body of young men, (for he was unequal to open force,) but having commanded the shepherds to come to the palace by different roads at a fixed time, forces his way to the king; and Remus, with another party from Numitor's house, assists his brother, and so they kill the king.

## 6

Numitor, at the beginning of the fray, having given out that enemies had invaded the city, and assaulted the palace, after he had drawn off the Alban youth to secure the citadel with a garrison and arms, when he saw the young men, after they had killed the king, advancing to congratulate him, immediately called an assembly of the people, and represented to them the unnatural behaviour of his brother towards him, the extraction of his grand-children, the manner of their birth and education, and how they came to be discovered; then he informed them of the king's death, and that he was killed by his orders. When the young princes, coming up with their band through the middle of the assembly, saluted their grandfather king, an approving shout, following from all the people present, ratified to him both that title and the sovereignty. Thus the government of Alba being committed to Numitor, a desire seized Romulus and Remus to build a city on the spot where they had been exposed and brought up. And there was an overflowing population of Albans and of Latins. The shepherds too had come into that design, and all these readily inspired hopes, that Alba and Lavinium would be but petty places in comparison with the city which they intended to build. But ambition of the sovereignty, the bane of their grandfather, interrupted these designs, and thence arose a shameful quarrel from a beginning sufficiently amicable. For as they were twins, and the respect due to seniority could not determine the point, they agreed to leave to the tutelary gods of the place to choose, by augury, which should give a name to the new city, which govern it when built.

## 7

Romulus chose the Palatine and Remus the Aventine hill as their stands to make their observations. It is said, that to Remus an omen came first, six vultures; and now, the omen having been declared, when double the number presented itself to Romulus, his own party saluted each king; the former claimed the kingdom on the ground of priority of time, the latter on account of the number of birds. Upon this, having met in an altercation, from the contest of angry feelings they turn to bloodshed; there Remus fell from a blow received in the crowd. A more common account is, that Remus, in derision of his brother, leaped over his new-built wall, and was, for that reason, slain by Romulus in a passion; who, after sharply chiding him, added words to this effect: "So shall every one fare, who shall dare to leap over my fortifications."<sup>12</sup> Thus Romulus got the

<sup>11</sup> By all his inquiries he arrived at the same conclusion as before, viz. that they were his grand-children.

<sup>12</sup> According to Cato, Rome was founded on the day of the *Palilia*, the 11th of the Calends of May, in the first year of the 7th Olympiad, and 751 B.C. This is two years short of Varro's computation.

sovereignty to himself; the city, when built, was called after the name of its founder. His first work was to fortify the Palatine hill where he had been educated. To the other gods he offers sacrifices according to the Alban rite; to Hercules, according to the Grecian rite, as they had been instituted by Evander. There is a tradition, that Hercules, having killed Geryon, drove his oxen, which were extremely beautiful, into those places; and that, after swimming over the Tiber, and driving the cattle before him, being fatigued with travelling, he laid himself down on the banks of the river, in a grassy place, to refresh them with rest and rich pasture. When sleep had overpowered him, satiated with food and wine, a shepherd of the place, named Cacus, presuming on his strength, and charmed with the beauty of the oxen, wished to purloin that booty, but because, if he had driven them forward into the cave, their footsteps would have guided the search of their owner thither, he therefore drew the most beautiful of them, one by one, by the tails, backwards into a cave. Hercules, awaking at day-break, when he had surveyed his herd, and observed that some of them were missing, goes directly to the nearest cave, to see if by chance their footsteps would lead him thither. But when he observed that they were all turned from it, and directed him no other way, confounded, and not knowing what to do, he began to drive his cattle out of that unlucky place. Upon this, some of the cows, as they usually do, lowed on missing those that were left; and the lowings of those that were confined being returned from the cave, made Hercules turn that way. And when Cacus attempted to prevent him by force, as he was proceeding to the cave, being struck with a club, he was slain, vainly imploring the assistance of the shepherds. At that time Evander, who had fled from the Peloponnesus, ruled this country more by his credit and reputation than absolute sway. He was a person highly revered for his wondrous knowledge of letters,<sup>13</sup> a discovery that was entirely new and surprising to men ignorant of every art; but more highly respected on account of the supposed divinity of his mother Carmenta, whom these nations had admired as a prophetess, before the coming of the Sibyl into Italy. This prince, alarmed by the concourse of the shepherds hastily crowding round the stranger, whom they charged with open murder, after he heard the act and the cause of the act, observing the person and mien of the hero to be larger, and his gait more majestic, than human, asked who he was? As soon as he was informed of his name, his father, and his native country, he said, "Hail! Hercules! son of Jupiter, my mother, a truth-telling interpreter of the gods, has revealed to me, that thou shalt increase the number of the celestials; and that to thee an altar shall be dedicated here, which some ages hence the most powerful people on earth shall call Ara Maxima, and honour according to thy own institution." Hercules having given him his right hand, said, "That he accepted the omen, and would fulfil the predictions of the fates, by building and consecrating an altar." There for the first time a sacrifice was offered to Hercules of a chosen heifer, taken from the herd, the Potitii and Pinarii, who were then the most distinguished families that inhabited these parts, having been invited to the service and the entertainment. It so happened that the Potitii were present in due time, and the entrails were set before them; when they were eaten up, the Pinarii came to the remainder of the feast. From this time it was ordained, that while the Pinarian family subsisted, none of them should eat of the entrails of the solemn sacrifices. The Potitii, being instructed by Evander, discharged this sacred function as priests for many ages, until the office, solemnly appropriated to their family, being delegated to public slaves, their whole race became extinct. This was the only foreign

<sup>13</sup> He taught the Italians to read and write.

religious institution which Romulus adopted, being even then an abettor of immortality attained by merit, to which his own destinies were conducting him.

## 8

The duties of religion having been duly performed, and the multitude summoned to a meeting, as they could be incorporated into one people by no other means than fixed rules, he gave them a code of laws, and judging that these would be best respected by this rude class of men, if he made himself dignified by the insignia of authority, he assumed a more majestic appearance both in his other appointments, and especially by taking twelve lictors to attend him. Some think that he chose this number of officers from that of the birds, which in the augury had portended the kingdom to him. I do not object to be of the opinion of those who will have it that the apparitors (in general), and this particular class of them,<sup>14</sup> and even their number, was taken from their neighbours the Etrurians, from whom were borrowed the curule chair, and the gown edged with purple; and that the Etrurians adopted that number, because their king being elected in common from twelve states, each state assigned him one lictor. Meanwhile the city increased by their taking in various lots of ground for buildings, whilst they built rather with a view to future numbers, than for the population<sup>15</sup> which they then had. Then, lest the size of the city might be of no avail, in order to augment the population, according to the ancient policy of the founders of cities, who, after drawing together to them an obscure and mean multitude, used to feign that their offspring sprung out of the earth, he opened as a sanctuary, a place which is now enclosed as you go down "to the two groves."<sup>16</sup> Hither fled from the neighbouring states, without distinction whether freemen or slaves, crowds of all sorts, desirous of change: and this was the first accession of strength to their rising greatness. When he was now not dissatisfied with his strength, he next sets about forming some means of directing that strength. He creates one hundred senators, either because that number was sufficient, or because there were only one hundred who could name their fathers. They certainly were called Fathers, through respect, and their descendants, Patricians.<sup>17</sup>

## 9

And now the Roman state was become so powerful, that it was a match for any of the neighbouring nations in war, but, from the paucity of women, its greatness could only last for one age of man; for they had no hope of issue at home, nor had they any intermarriages with their neighbours. Therefore, by the advice of the Fathers, Romulus sent ambassadors to the neighbouring states to solicit an alliance and the privilege of intermarriage for his new subjects. "That cities, like every thing else, rose from very humble beginnings. That those which the gods and their own merit aided, gained great power and high renown. That he knew full well, both that the gods had aided the origin of Rome, and that merit would not be wanting. Wherefore that, as men, they should feel no reluctance to mix their blood and race with men." No where did the embassy obtain a favourable hearing: so much did they at the same time despise, and dread for

<sup>14</sup> *Apparitores hoc genus*. There is something incorrect in the language of the original here. In my version I have followed Drakenborch. Walker, in his edition, proposes to read *ut* for *et*; thus, *quibus ut apparitores et hoc genus ab Etruscis — numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet*, "who will have it, that as public servants of this kind, so was their number also, derived from the Etrurians."

<sup>15</sup> The population at that time consisted of not more than 3,000 foot, and less than 300 horse. At the death of Romulus, it is said to have amounted to 46,000 foot and almost 1,000 horse.

<sup>16</sup> τὸ μεταξύ χωρίον τοῦ τε Καπιτωλίου καὶ τῆς ἄκρας ὃ καλεῖται νῦν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον μεθόριον δυοῖν δρυμῶν. Dio. ii. 15.

<sup>17</sup> *Ex industria—deditâ operâ—ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς*.

themselves and their posterity, so great a power growing up in the midst of them. They were dismissed by the greater part with the repeated question, "Whether they had opened any asylum for women also, for that such a plan only could obtain them suitable matches?" The Roman youth resented this conduct bitterly, and the matter unquestionably began to point towards violence. Romulus, in order that he might afford a favourable time and place for this, dissembling his resentment, purposely prepares games in honour of Neptunus Equestris; he calls them Consualia. He then orders the spectacle to be proclaimed among their neighbours; and they prepare for the celebration with all the magnificence they were then acquainted with, or were capable of doing, that they might render the matter famous, and an object of expectation. Great numbers assembled, from a desire also of seeing the new city; especially their nearest neighbours, the Cæninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates. Moreover the whole multitude of the Sabines came, with their wives and children. Having been hospitably invited to the different houses, when they had seen the situation, and fortifications, and the city crowded with houses, they became astonished that the Roman power had increased so rapidly. When the time of the spectacle came on, and while their minds and eyes were intent upon it, according to concert a tumult began, and upon a signal given the Roman youth ran different ways to carry off the virgins by force. A great number were carried off at hap-hazard, according as they fell into their hands. Persons from the common people, who had been charged with the task, conveyed to their houses some women of surpassing beauty, destined for the leading senators. They say that one, far distinguished beyond the others for stature and beauty, was carried off by the party of one Thalassius, and whilst many inquired to whom they were carrying her, they cried out every now and then, in order that no one might molest her, that she was being taken to Thalassius; that from this circumstance this term became a nuptial one. The festival being disturbed by this alarm, the parents of the young women retire in grief, appealing to the compact of violated hospitality, and invoking the god, to whose festival and games they had come, deceived by the pretence of religion and good faith. Neither had the ravished virgins better hopes of their condition, or less indignation. But Romulus in person went about and declared, "That what was done was owing to the pride of their fathers, who had refused to grant the privilege of marriage to their neighbours; but notwithstanding, they should be joined in lawful wedlock, participate in all their possessions and civil privileges, and, than which nothing can be dearer to the human heart, in their common children. He begged them only to assuage the fierceness of their anger, and cheerfully surrender their affections to those to whom fortune had consigned their persons." [He added,] "That from injuries love and friendship often arise; and that they should find them kinder husbands on this account, because each of them, besides the performance of his conjugal duty, would endeavour to the utmost of his power to make up for the want of their parents and native country." To this the caresses of the husbands were added, excusing what they had done on the plea of passion and love, arguments that work most successfully on women's hearts.

## 10

The minds of the ravished virgins were soon much soothed, but their parents by putting on mourning, and tears and complaints, roused the states. Nor did they confine their resentment to their own homes, but they flocked from all quarters to Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines; and because he bore the greatest character in these parts, embassies were sent to him. The Cæninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates were people to whom a considerable portion of the outrage extended. To them Tatius and the Sabines seemed

to proceed somewhat dilatorily. Nor even do the Crustumini and Antemnates bestir themselves with sufficient activity to suit the impatience and rage of the Cæninenses. Accordingly the state of the Cæninenses by itself makes an irruption into the Roman territory. But Romulus with his army met them ravaging the country in straggling parties, and by a slight engagement convinces them, that resentment without strength is of no avail. He defeats and routs their army, pursues it when routed, kills and despoils their king in battle, and having slain their general takes the city at the first assault. From thence having led back his victorious army, and being a man highly distinguished by his exploits, and one who could place them in the best light, went in state to the capitol, carrying before him, suspended on a frame curiously wrought for that purpose, the spoils of the enemy's general, whom he had slain, and there after he had laid them down at the foot of an oak held sacred by the shepherds, together with the offering, he marked out the bounds for a temple of Jupiter, and gave a surname to the god: "Jupiter Feretrius," he says, "I, king Romulus, upon my victory, present to thee these royal arms, and to thee I dedicate a temple within those regions which I have now marked out in my mind, as a receptacle for the grand spoils, which my successors, following my example, shall, upon their killing the kings or generals of the enemy, offer to thee." This is the origin of that temple, the first consecrated at Rome. It afterwards so pleased the gods both that the declaration of the founder of the temple should not be frustrated, by which he announced that his posterity should offer such spoils, and that the glory of that offering should not be depreciated by the great number of those who shared it. During so many years, and amid so many wars since that time, grand spoils have been only twice gained,<sup>18</sup> so rare has been the successful attainment of that honour.

## 11

Whilst the Romans are achieving these exploits, the army of the Antemnates, taking advantage of their absence, makes an incursion into the Roman territories in a hostile manner. A Roman legion being marched out in haste against these also, surprise them whilst straggling through the fields. Accordingly the enemy were routed at the very first shout and charge: their town taken; and as Romulus was returning, exulting for this double victory, his consort, Hersilia, importuned by the entreaties of the captured women, beseeches him "to pardon their fathers, and to admit them to the privilege of citizens; that thus his power might be strengthened by a reconciliation." Her request was readily granted. After this he marched against the Crustumini, who were commencing hostilities; but as their spirits were sunk by the defeat of their neighbours, there was still less resistance there. Colonies were sent to both places, but more were found to give in their names for Crustumium, because of the fertility of the soil. Migrations in great numbers were also made from thence to Rome, chiefly by the parents and relatives of the ravished women. The last war broke out on the part of the Sabines, and proved by far the most formidable: for they did nothing through anger or cupidity; nor did they make a show of war, before they actually began it. To prudence stratagem also was added. Sp. Tarpeius commanded the Roman citadel; Tatius bribes his maiden daughter with gold, to admit armed soldiers into the citadel: she had gone by chance outside the walls to fetch water for the sacrifice. Those who were admitted crushed her to death by heaping their arms upon her; either that the citadel might seem rather to have been taken by storm, or for the purpose of establishing a precedent, that no faith should, under any circumstances, be kept with a traitor. A story is added, that

<sup>18</sup> Two, one by A. Cornelius Cossus for slaying L. Tolumnius, king of Veii, u. c. 318, another by M. Claudius Marcellus, for killing Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, u. c. 532.

the Sabines commonly wore on their left arm golden bracelets of great weight, and large rings set with precious stones, and that she bargained with them for what they had on their left hands; hence that their shields were thrown upon her instead of the golden presents. There are some who say that in pursuance of the compact to deliver up what was on their left hands, she expressly demanded their shields, and that appearing to act with treachery, she was killed by the reward of her own choosing.

## 12

The Sabines, however, kept possession of the citadel, and on the day after, when the Roman army, drawn up in order of battle, filled up all the ground lying between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, they did not descend from thence into the plain, till the Romans, fired with resentment, and with a desire of retaking the citadel, advanced to attack them. Two chiefs, one on each side, animated the battle, viz. Mettus Curtius on the part of the Sabines, Hostus Hostilius on that of the Romans. The latter, in the front ranks, supported the Roman cause by his courage and bravery, on disadvantageous ground. As soon as Hostus fell, the Roman line immediately gave way and was beaten to the old gate of the Palatium. Romulus, himself too carried away with the general rout, raising his arms to heaven, says, "O Jupiter, commanded by thy birds, I here laid the first foundation of the city on the Palatine hill. The Sabines are in possession of the citadel, purchased by fraud. From thence they are now advancing hither, sword in hand, having already passed the middle of the valley. But do thou, father of gods and men, keep back the enemy at least from hence, dispel the terror of the Romans, and stop their shameful flight. Here I solemnly vow to build a temple to thee as Jupiter Stator, as a monument to posterity, that this city was saved by thy immediate aid." Having offered up this prayer, as if he had felt that his prayers were heard, he cries out, "At this spot, Romans, Jupiter, supremely good and great, commands you to halt, and renew the fight." The Romans halted as if they had been commanded by a voice from heaven; Romulus himself flies to the foremost ranks. Mettus Curtius, on the part of the Sabines, had rushed down at the head of his army from the citadel, and driven the Romans in disorder over the whole ground now occupied by the forum. He was already not far from the gate of the Palatium, crying out, "We have defeated these perfidious strangers, these dastardly enemies. They now feel that it is one thing to ravish virgins, another far different to fight with men." On him, thus vaunting, Romulus makes an attack with a band of the most courageous youths. It happened that Mettus was then fighting on horseback; he was on that account the more easily repulsed: the Romans pursue him when repulsed: and the rest of the Roman army, encouraged by the gallant behaviour of their king, routs the Sabines. Mettus, his horse taking fright at the din of his pursuers, threw himself into a lake; and this circumstance drew the attention of the Sabines at the risk of so important a person. He, however, his own party beckoning and calling to him, acquires new courage from the affection of his many friends, and makes his escape. The Romans and Sabines renew the battle in the valley between the hills; but Roman prowess had the advantage.

## 13

At this juncture the Sabine women, from the outrage on whom the war originated, with hair dishevelled and garments rent, the timidity of their sex being overcome by such dreadful scenes, had the courage to throw themselves amid the flying weapons, and making a rush across, to part the incensed armies, and assuage their fury; imploring their fathers on the one side, their husbands on the other, "that as fathers-in-law and

sons-in-law they would not contaminate each other with impious blood, nor stain their offspring with parricide, the one<sup>19</sup> their grandchildren, the other their children. If you are dissatisfied with the affinity between you, if with our marriages, turn your resentment against us; we are the cause of war, we of wounds and of bloodshed to our husbands and parents. It were better that we perish than live widowed or fatherless without one or other of you." The circumstance affects both the multitude and the leaders. Silence and a sudden suspension ensue. Upon this the leaders come forward in order to concert a treaty, and they not only conclude a peace, but form one state out of two. They associate the regal power, and transfer the entire sovereignty to Rome. The city being thus doubled, that some compliment might be paid to the Sabines, they were called Quirites, from Cures. As a memorial of this battle, they called the place where the horse, after getting out of the deep marsh, first set Curtius in shallow water, the Curtian Lake. This happy peace following suddenly a war so distressing, rendered the Sabine women still dearer to their husbands and parents, and above all to Romulus himself. Accordingly, when he divided the people into thirty curiæ, he called the curiæ by their names. Since, without doubt, the number of the Sabine women was considerably greater than this, it is not recorded whether those who were to give their names to the curiæ were selected on account of their age, or their own or their husbands' rank, or by lot. At the same time three centuries of knights were enrolled, called Ramnenses, from Romulus; Tatienses, from Titus Tatius. The reason of the name and origin of the Luceres is uncertain.

#### 14

Thenceforward the two kings held the regal power not only in common, but in concord also. Several years after, some relatives of king Tatius beat the ambassadors of the Laurentes, and when the Laurentes commenced proceedings according to the law of nations, the influence of his friends and their importunities had more weight with Tatius. He therefore drew upon himself the punishment due to them; for he is slain at Lavinium, in a tumult which arose on his going thither to an anniversary sacrifice. They say that Romulus resented this with less severity than the case required, either by reason of their association in the kingly power being devoid of cordiality, or because he believed that he was justly killed. He therefore declined going to war; in order, however, that the ill-treatment of the ambassadors and the murder of the king might be expiated, the treaty was renewed between the cities of Rome and Lavinium. With this party, indeed, peace continued, contrary to expectation; another war broke out much nearer home, and almost at the very gates. The Fidenates, thinking that a power too near to themselves was growing to a height, resolve to make war, before their strength should become as great as it was apparent it would be. An armed body of young men being sent in, all the land is laid waste between the city and Fidenæ. Then turning to the left, because the Tiber confined them on the right, they continue their depredations to the great consternation of the peasantry. The sudden alarm reaching the city from the country, served as the first announcement. Romulus, roused at this circumstance, (for a war so near home could not admit of delay,) leads out his army: he pitches his camp a mile from Fidenæ. Having left there a small garrison, marching out with all his forces, he commanded a party of his soldiers to lie in ambush in a place<sup>20</sup> hidden by thick bushes which were planted around. Then advancing with the greater part of the foot and all the

<sup>19</sup> *Nepotum et liberum progeniem* = *Nepotes et liberos*,—ὄντες Ἀχαιῶν = οἱ Ἀχαιοί.

<sup>20</sup> The original has undergone various changes here: my version coincides with the reading, *locis circà densa obsita virgulta obscuris*.

horse, and riding up to the very gates of the city in a disorderly and menacing manner, he drew out the enemy, the very thing he wanted. The same mode of fighting on the part of the cavalry likewise made the cause of the flight, which was to be counterfeited, appear less surprising: and when, the horse seeming irresolute, as if in deliberation whether to fight or fly, the infantry also retreated, the enemy suddenly rushed from the crowded gates, after they had made an impression on the Roman line, are drawn on to the place of ambuscade in their eagerness to press on and pursue. Upon this the Romans, rising suddenly, attack the enemy's line in flank. The standards of those who had been left behind on guard, advancing from the camp, further increase the panic. The Fidenates, thus dismayed with terrors from so many quarters, turn their backs almost before Romulus, and those who had accompanied him on horseback, could wheel their horses round; and those who a little before had pursued men pretending to fly, now ran back to the town in much greater disorder, for their flight was in earnest. They did not however get clear of the enemy: the Romans pressing on their rear rush in as it were in one body before the gates could be shut against them.

## 15

The minds of the Veientes being excited by the contagious influence of the Fidenatian war, both from the tie of consanguinity, for the Fidenates also were Etrurians, and because the very proximity of situation, in case the Roman arms should be turned against all their neighbours, urged them on, they made an incursion on the Roman territories, more to commit depredations than after the manner of a regular war. Accordingly, without pitching a camp, or awaiting the approach of the enemy's army, they returned to Veii, carrying with them the booty collected from the lands; the Roman army on the other side, when they did not find the enemy in the country, being prepared for and determined on a decisive action, cross the Tiber. And when the Veientes heard that they were pitching a camp, and intended to advance to the city, they came out to meet them, that they might rather decide the matter in the open field, than be shut up and fight from their houses and walls. Here the Roman king obtained the victory, his power not being aided by any stratagem, merely by the strength of his veteran army: and having pursued the routed enemies to their walls, he made no attempt on the city, strong as it was by its fortifications, and well defended by its situation: on his return he lays waste their lands, rather from a desire of revenge than booty. And the Veientes, being humbled by that loss no less than by the unsuccessful battle, send ambassadors to Rome to sue for peace. A truce for one hundred years was granted them after they were fined a part of their land. These are the principal transactions which occurred during the reign of Romulus, in peace and war, none of which seem inconsistent with the belief of his divine original, or of the deification attributed to him after death, neither his spirit in recovering his grandfather's kingdom, nor his project of building a city, nor that of strengthening it by the arts of war and peace. For by the strength attained from that outset under him, it became so powerful, that for forty years after it enjoyed a profound peace. He was, however, dearer to the people than to the fathers; but above all others he was most beloved by the soldiers. And he kept three hundred of them armed as a body-guard not only in war but in peace, whom he called Celeres.

## 16

After performing these immortal achievements, while he was holding an assembly of the people for reviewing his army, in the plain near the lake of Capra, on a sudden a storm having arisen, with great thunder and lightning, enveloped the king in so dense a

mist, that it took all sight of him from the assembly. Nor was Romulus after this seen on earth. The consternation being at length over, and fine clear weather succeeding so turbulent a day, when the Roman youth saw the royal seat empty, though they readily believed the fathers who had stood nearest him, that he was carried aloft by the storm, yet, struck with the dread as it were of orphanage, they preserved a sorrowful silence for a considerable time. Then, a commencement having been made by a few, the whole multitude salute Romulus a god, son of a god, the king and parent of the Roman city; they implore his favour with prayers, that he would be pleased always propitiously to preserve his own offspring. I believe that even then there were some, who silently surmised that the king had been torn in pieces by the hands of the fathers; for this rumour also spread, but was not credited; their admiration of the man, and the consternation felt at the moment, attached importance to the other report. By the contrivance also of one individual, additional credit is said to have been gained to the matter. For Proculus Julius, whilst the state was still troubled with regret for the king, and felt incensed against the senators, a person of weight, as we are told, in any matter however important, comes forward to the assembly, "Romans," he says, "Romulus, the father of this city, suddenly descending from heaven, appeared to me this day at day-break. While I stood covered with awe, and filled with a religious dread, beseeching him to allow me to see him face to face, he said, Go tell the Romans, that the gods so will, that my Rome should become the capitol of the world. Therefore let them cultivate the art of war, and let them know and hand down to posterity, that no human power shall be able to withstand the Roman arms. Having said this, he ascended up to heaven." It is surprising what credit was given to the man on his making this announcement, and how much the regret of the common people and army, for the loss of Romulus, was assuaged upon the assurance of his immortality.

## 17

Meanwhile ambition and contention for the throne actuated the minds of the fathers; factions had not yet sprung up from individuals, because, among a new people, no one person was eminently distinguished above the rest: the contest was carried on between the different orders. The descendants of the Sabines wished a king to be elected out of their body, lest, because there had been no king on their side since the death of Tatius, they might lose their claim to the crown<sup>21</sup> according to the compact of equal participation. The old Romans spurned the idea of a foreign prince. Amid this diversity of views, however, all were anxious that there should be a king, they not having yet tasted the sweets of liberty. Fear then seized the senators, lest the minds of the surrounding states being incensed against them, some foreign power should attack the state, now without a government, and the army without a leader. It was therefore their wish that there should be some head, but no one could bring himself to give way to another. Thus the hundred senators divide the government among them, ten decuries being formed, and one selected from each decury, who was to have the chief direction of affairs. Ten governed; one only was attended with the insignia of authority and the lictors: their power was limited to the space of five days, and it passed through all in rotation, and the interval between a kingly government lasted a year. From the circumstance it was called an Interregnum, a term which holds good even now. But the people began to murmur, that their slavery was multiplied, and that they had got a hundred sovereigns instead of one, and they seemed determined to bear no authority

<sup>21</sup> Although, according to the terms of the alliance, the Sabines and the Romans were to be in all respects on an equal footing.

but that of a king, and that one of their own choosing. When the fathers perceived that such schemes were in agitation, thinking it advisable to offer them, of their own accord, what they were sure to lose; they thus conciliate the favour of the people by yielding to them the supreme power, yet in such a manner as to grant them no greater privilege than they reserved to themselves. For they decreed, that when the people should choose a king, the election should be valid, if the senate approved. And<sup>22</sup> the same forms are observed at this day in passing laws and electing magistrates, though their efficacy has been taken away; for before the people begin to vote, the senators declare their approbation, whilst the result of the elections is still uncertain. Then the interrex, having called an assembly of the people, addressed them in this manner: "Do you, Romans, choose yourselves a king, and may it prove fortunate, happy, and auspicious to you; so the fathers have determined. Then, if you choose a prince worthy to succeed Romulus, the fathers will confirm your choice." This concession was so pleasing to the people, that, not to be outdone in generosity, they only voted, and required that the senate should determine who should be king of Rome.

## 18

The justice and piety of Numa Pompilius was at that time celebrated. He dwelt at Cures, a city of the Sabines, and was as eminently learned in all laws human and divine, as any man could be in that age. They falsely represent that Pythagoras of Samos was his instructor in philosophy, because there appears no other person to refer to. Now it is certain that this philosopher, in the reign of Servius Tullius, more than a hundred years after this, held assemblies of young men, who eagerly imbibed his doctrine, in the most distant part of Italy, about Metapontus, Heraclea, and Croton. But<sup>23</sup> from these places, even had he flourished at the same time, what fame of his (extending) to the Sabines could have aroused any one to a desire of learning, or by what intercourse of language (could such a thing have been effected)? Besides, how could a single man have safely passed through so many nations differing in language and customs? I presume, therefore, that his mind was naturally furnished with virtuous dispositions, and that he was not so much versed in foreign sciences as in the severe and rigid discipline of the ancient Sabines, than which class none was in former times more strict. The Roman fathers, upon hearing the name of Numa, although they perceived that the scale of power would incline to the Sabines if a king were chosen from them, yet none of them ventured to prefer himself, or any other of his party, or any of the citizens or fathers, to that person, but unanimously resolved that the kingdom should be conferred on Numa Pompilius. Being sent for, just as Romulus before the building of the city obtained the throne by an augury, he commanded the gods to be consulted concerning himself also. Upon this, being conducted into the citadel by an augur, (to which profession that office was made a public one and perpetual by way of honour,) he sat down on a stone facing the south: the augur took his seat on his left hand with his head covered, holding in his right a crooked wand free from knots, which they called *lituus*; then taking a view towards the city and country, after offering a prayer to the gods, he marked out the

<sup>22</sup> The order of the people still requires the sanction of the senate for its ratification: but that sanction now being given beforehand, the order of the people is no longer subject to the control of the senate, and therefore not precarious as heretofore.

<sup>23</sup> *Ex quibus locis, quæ fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguæ commercio — quæquam excivisset.* "From which (remote) places, what high character of him (could have reached) to the Sabines, or by what intercourse of language could such high character of him have aroused any one to become a pupil?" Other editions read *quâ famâ*; thus, from which places by what high character for talent, or by what intercourse of language, could he, Pythagoras, have aroused any one, etc.?

regions from east to west, the parts towards the south he called the right, those towards the north, the left; and in front of him he set out in his mind a sign as far as ever his eye could reach. Then having shifted the lituus into his left hand, placing his right hand on the head of Numa, he prayed in this manner: "O father Jupiter, if it is thy will that this Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold, should be king of Rome, I beseech thee to give sure and evident signs of it within those bounds which I have marked." Then he stated in set terms the omens which he wished to be sent; and on their being sent, Numa was declared king and came down from the stand.

## 19

Having thus obtained the kingdom, he sets about establishing anew, on the principles of laws and morals, the city recently established by violence and arms. When he saw that their minds, as having been rendered ferocious by military life, could not be reconciled to those principles during the continuance of wars, considering that a fierce people should be mollified by the disuse of arms, he erected at the foot of Argiletum a temple of Janus, as an index of peace and war; that when open, it might show the state was engaged in war, and when shut, that all the neighbouring nations were at peace with it. Twice only since the reign of Numa hath this temple been shut; once when T. Manlius was consul, at the end of the first Punic war; and a second time, which the gods granted our age to see, by the emperor Augustus Cæsar, after the battle of Actium, peace being established by sea and land. This being shut, after he had secured the friendship of the neighbouring states around by alliance and treaties, all anxiety regarding dangers from abroad being removed, lest their minds, which the fear of enemies and military discipline had kept in check, should become licentious by tranquillity, he considered, that, first of all, an awe of the gods should be instilled into them, a principle of the greatest efficacy with a multitude ignorant and uncivilized as in those times. But as it could not sink deeply into their minds without some fiction of a miracle, he pretends that he holds nightly interviews with the goddess Egeria; that by her direction he instituted the sacred rites which would be most acceptable to the gods, and appointed proper priests for each of the deities. And, first of all, he divides the year into twelve months, according to the course of the moon; and because the moon does not make up thirty days in each month, and some days are wanting to the complete year as constituted by the solstitial revolution, he so portioned it out by inserting intercalary months, that every twenty-fourth year, the lengths of all the intermediate years being completed, the days should correspond to the same place of the sun (in the heavens)

whence they had set out.<sup>24</sup> He likewise made a distinction of the days<sup>25</sup> into profane and sacred, because on some it was likely to be expedient that no business should be transacted with the people.

## 20

Next he turned his attention to the appointment of priests, though he performed many sacred rites himself, especially those which now belong to the flamen of Jupiter. But, as he imagined that in a warlike nation there would be more kings resembling Romulus than Numa, and that they would go to war in person, he appointed a residentiary priest as flamen to Jupiter, that the sacred functions of the royal office might not be neglected, and he distinguished him by a fine robe, and a royal curule chair. To him he added two other flamines, one for Mars, another for Quirinus. He also selected virgins for Vesta, a priesthood derived from Alba, and not foreign to the family of the founder. That they might be constant attendants in the temple, he appointed them salaries out of the public treasury; and by enjoining virginity, and other religious observances, he made them sacred and venerable. He selected twelve Salii for Mars Gradivus, and gave them the distinction of an embroidered tunic, and over the tunic a brazen covering for the breast. He commanded them to carry the celestial shields called<sup>26</sup> Ancilia, and to go through the city singing songs, with leaping and solemn dancing. Then he chose out of the number of the fathers Numa Marcius, son of Marcus, as pontiff,<sup>27</sup> and consigned to him an entire system of religious rites written out and sealed, (showing) with what victims, upon what days, and in what temples the sacred rites were to be performed; and from what funds the money was to be taken for these expenses. He placed all religious institutions, public and private, under the cognisance of the pontiff to the end that there might be some place where the people should come to consult, lest any confusion in the divine worship might be occasioned by neglecting the ceremonies of their own country, and introducing foreign ones. (He ordained) that the same pontiff should instruct the people not only in the celestial ceremonies, but also in (the manner of performing) funeral solemnities, and of appeasing the manes of the dead; and what prodigies sent by lightning or any other phenomenon were to be attended to and expiated. To elicit such knowledge from the divine mind, he dedicated an altar on the Aventine to Jupiter<sup>28</sup> Elicius, and consulted the god by auguries as to what (prodigies) should be expiated.

<sup>24</sup> Romulus had made his year to consist of ten months, the first month being March, and the number of days in the year being only 304, which corresponded neither with the course of the sun or moon. Numa, who added the two months of January and February, divided the year into twelve months, according to the course of the moon. This was the lunar Greek year, and consisted of 354 days. Numa, however, adopted 355 days for his year, from his partiality to odd numbers. The lunar year of 354 days fell short of the solar year by 11-1/4 days;—this in 8 years amounted to (11-1/4 × 8) 90 days. These 90 days he divided into 2 months of 22 and 2 of 23 days, ([2 × 22] + [2 × 23] = 90,) and introduced them alternately every second year for two octennial periods: every third octennial period, however, Numa intercalated only 66 days instead of 90 days, *i. e.* he inserted 3 months of only 22 days each. The reason was, because he adopted 355 days as the length of his lunar year instead of 354, and this in 24 years (3 octennial periods) produced an error of 24 days; this error was exactly compensated by intercalating only 66 days (90-24) in the third octennial period. The intercalations were generally made in the month of February, after the 23rd of the month. Their management was left to the pontiffs—*ad metam eandem solis unde orsi essent—dies congruerent*; "that the days might correspond to the same starting-point of the sun in the heavens whence they had set out." That is, taking for instance the tropic of Cancer for the place or starting-point of the sun any one year, and observing that he was in that point of the heavens on precisely the 21st of June, the object was so to dispense the year, that the day on which the sun was observed to arrive at that same *meta* or starting-point again, should also be called the 21st of June:—such was the *congruity* aimed at by these intercalations.

<sup>25</sup> *Ille nefastus erit per quem tria verba silentur; Fastus erit, per quem lege licebit agi.*—Ov. F. i. 47.

<sup>26</sup> *Ancilia*, from ἄγκυλος.

<sup>27</sup> *Pontificem*, scil. Maximum.

<sup>28</sup> *Eliciunt cælo te, Jupiter: unde minores Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant.*

## 21

The whole multitude having been diverted from violence and arms to the considering and adjusting these matters, both their minds had been engaged in doing something, and the constant watchfulness of the gods now impressed upon them, as the deity of heaven seemed to interest itself in human concerns, had filled the breasts of all with such piety, that faith and religious obligations governed the state, no less than fear of the laws and of punishment. And while<sup>29</sup> the people were moulding themselves after the morals of the king, as their best example, the neighbouring states also, who had formerly thought that it was a camp, not a city, situate in the midst of them to disturb the general peace, were brought (to feel) such respect for them that they considered it impious that a state, wholly occupied in the worship of the gods, should be molested. There was a grove, the middle of which was irrigated by a spring of running water, issuing from a dark grotto. As Numa went often thither alone, under pretence of conferring with the goddess, he dedicated the place to the Muses, because their meetings with his wife Egeria were held there. He also instituted a yearly festival to Faith alone, and commanded the priests to be carried to her temple in an arched chariot drawn by two horses, and to perform the divine service with their hands wrapt up to the fingers, intimating that Faith ought to be protected, and that her seat ought to be sacred even in men's right hands. He instituted many other sacred rites, and dedicated places for performing them, which the priests call Argei. But the greatest of all his works was his maintenance of peace, during the whole period of his reign, no less than of his royal prerogative. Thus two kings in succession, by different methods, the one by war, the other by peace, aggrandized the state. Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, Numa forty-three: the state was both strong and well versed in the arts of war and peace.

## 22

Upon the death of Numa, the administration returned again to an interregnum. After that the people appointed as king, Tullus Hostilius, the grandson of that Hostilius who had made the noble stand against the Sabines at the foot of the citadel. The fathers confirmed the choice. He was not only unlike the preceding king, but was even of a more warlike disposition than Romulus. Both his youth and strength, and the renown of his grandfather, stimulated his ambition. Thinking therefore that the state was becoming languid through quiet, he every where sought for pretexts for stirring up war. It happened that some Roman and Alban peasants had mutually plundered each other's lands. C. Cluilius at that time governed Alba. From both sides ambassadors were sent almost at the same time, to demand restitution. Tullus ordered his to attend to nothing before their instructions. He knew well that the Alban would refuse, and that so war might be proclaimed on just grounds. Their commission was executed more remissly by the Albans. For being courteously and kindly entertained by Tullus, they politely avail themselves of the king's hospitality. Meanwhile the Romans had both been first in demanding restitution, and, upon the refusal of the Albans, had proclaimed war after an interval of thirty days: of this they give Tullus notice. Upon this he granted the Alban ambassadors an opportunity of stating what they came to demand. They, ignorant of all, waste some time in making apologies: "That it was with the utmost reluctance they should say any thing which was not pleasing to Tullus; but they were compelled by their

Ov. F. iii. 327.

<sup>29</sup> *Cum ipsi se* — *formarent, tum finitimi etiam*, etc. Some of the editors of Livy have remarked on this passage, that *cum* when answering to *tum* may be joined to a subjunctive, as here; the fact however is, that *cum* here does not answer to *tum* at all; *cum* is here "whilst,"—and so necessarily requires the verb to be in the subjunctive mood.

orders. That they had come to demand restitution; and if this be not made, they were commanded to declare war." To this Tullus made answer, "Go tell your king, that the king of the Romans takes the gods to witness, which of the two nations hath with contempt first dismissed the ambassadors demanding restitution, that on it they may visit all the calamities of this war." The Albans carry home these tidings.

## 23

War was prepared for on both sides with the utmost vigour, very like to a civil war, in a manner between parents and children: both being Trojan offspring; for from Troy came Lavinium, from Lavinium Alba, and the Romans were descended from the race of Alban kings. But the result of the war rendered the quarrel less distressing, for they never came to any action; and, when the houses only of one of the cities had been demolished, the two states were incorporated into one. The Albans first made an irruption into the Roman territories with a large army. They pitch their camp not above five miles from the city, and surround it with a trench, which, for several ages, was called the Cluilian trench, from the name of the general, till, in process of time, the name, together with the thing itself, were both forgotten. In that camp Cluilius, the Alban king, dies; the Albans create Mettus<sup>30</sup> Fuffetius dictator. In the mean time, Tullus being in high spirits, especially on the death of the king, and giving out that the supreme power of the gods, having begun at the head, would take vengeance on the whole Alban nation for this impious war, having passed the enemy's camp in the night-time, marches with a hostile army into the Alban territory. This circumstance drew out Mettus from his camp likewise; he leads his forces as near as he can to the enemy; from thence he commands a herald, despatched by him, to tell Tullus that a conference was expedient before they came to an engagement; and that if he would give him a meeting, he was certain he should adduce matters which concerned the interest of Rome not less than that of Alba. Tullus not slighting the proposal, though the advances made were of little avail, draws out his men in order of battle; the Albans on their part come out also. As both armies stood in battle-array, the chiefs, with a few of the principal officers, advance into the middle between them. Then the Alban commences thus:<sup>31</sup> "That injuries and the non-restitution of property according to treaty, when demanded, were the cause of this war, methinks I both heard our King Cluilius (assert), and I doubt not, Tullus, but that you state the same thing. But if the truth is to be told, rather than that which is plausible, the desire of dominion stimulates two kindred and neighbouring states to arms. Nor do I take upon myself to determine whether rightly or wrongly: be that his consideration who commenced the war. The Albans have made me their leader for carrying on the war. Of this, Tullus, I would wish to warn you; how powerful the Etruscan state is around us, and round you particularly, you know better (than we), inasmuch as you are nearer them. They are very powerful by land, extremely so by sea. Recollect that, when you shall give the signal for battle, these two armies will presently be a spectacle to them; and they may fall on us wearied and exhausted, victor and vanquished together. Therefore, in the name of heaven, since, not content with certain liberty, we are incurring the dubious risk of sovereignty and slavery, let us adopt some method, whereby, without much loss, without much blood of either nation, it may be decided which shall rule the other."—The proposal is not displeasing to Tullus, though both

<sup>30</sup> *Mettus*. Gronovius and Bekker read *Mettius*; Niebuhr also prefers *Mettius*; he conceives that the Latin *prænomina* and the Roman *nomina* terminated in *ius*.

<sup>31</sup> *Injurias et non redditas*, etc. The construction is, *et ego videor audisse regem nostrum Cluilium (præ se ferre) injurias et non redditas res ... nec dubito te ferre eadem præ te, Tulle*.

from the natural bent of his mind, as also from the hope of victory, he was rather inclined to violence. After some consideration, a plan is adopted on both sides, for which Fortune herself afforded the materials.

## 24

It happened that there were in each of the two armies three brothers<sup>32</sup> born at one birth, unequal neither in age nor strength. That they were called Horatii and Curiatii is certain enough; nor is there any circumstance of antiquity more celebrated; yet in a matter so well ascertained, a doubt remains concerning their names, to which nation the Horatii and to which the Curiatii belonged. Authors claim them for both sides; yet I find more who call the Horatii Romans. My inclination leads me to follow them. The kings confer with the three brothers, that they should fight with their swords each in defence of their respective country; (assuring them) that dominion would be on that side on which victory should be. No objection is made; time and place are agreed on. Before they engaged, a compact is entered into between the Romans and Albans on these conditions, that the state whose champions should come off victorious in that combat, should rule the other state without further dispute. Different treaties are made on different terms, but they are all concluded in the same general method. We have heard that it was then concluded as follows, nor is there a more ancient record of any treaty. A herald asked king Tullus thus, "Do you command me, O king, to conclude a treaty with the pater patratus of the Alban people?" After the king had given command, he said, "I demand vervain of thee, O king." To which the king replied, "Take some that is pure." The herald brought a pure blade of grass from the citadel; again he asked the king thus, "Dost thou, O king, appoint me the royal delegate of the Roman people, the Quirites? *including* my vessels and attendants?" The king answered, "That which may be done without detriment to me and to the Roman people, the Quirites, I do." The herald was M. Valerius, who appointed Sp. Fusius pater patratus, touching his head and hair with the vervain. The pater patratus is appointed "ad jusjurandum patrandum," that is, to ratify the treaty; and he goes through it in a great many words, which, being expressed in a long set form, it is not worth while repeating. After setting forth the conditions, he says, "Hear, O Jupiter; hear, O pater patratus of the Alban people, and ye, Alban people, hear. As those (conditions), from first to last, have been recited openly from those tablets or wax without wicked fraud, and as they have been most correctly understood here this day, from those conditions the Roman people will not be the first to swerve. If they first swerve by public concert, by wicked fraud, on that day do thou, O Jupiter, so strike the Roman people, as I shall here this day strike this swine; and do thou strike them so much the more, as thou art more able and more powerful." When he said this, he struck the swine with a flint stone. The Albans likewise went through their own form and oath by their own dictator and priests.

## 25

The treaty being concluded, the twin-brothers, as had been agreed, take arms. Whilst their respective friends exhortingly reminded each party "that their country's gods, their country and parents, all their countrymen both at home and in the army, had their eyes then fixed on their arms, on their hands; naturally brave, and animated by the exhortations of their friends, they advance into the midst between the two lines." The two armies sat down before their respective camps, free rather from present danger

<sup>32</sup> *Three brothers born at one birth.* Dionys. iii. 14, describes them as cousin-germans. Vid. Wachsmuth, p. 147. Niebuhr, i. p. 342.

than from anxiety: for the sovereign power was at stake, depending on the valour and fortune of so few. Accordingly, therefore, eager and anxious, they have their attention intensely riveted on a spectacle far from pleasing. The signal is given: and the three youths on each side, as if in battle-array, rush to the charge with determined fury, bearing in their breasts the spirits of mighty armies: nor do the one or the other regard their personal danger; the public dominion or slavery is present to their mind, and the fortune<sup>33</sup> of their country, which was ever after destined to be such as they should now establish it. As soon as their arms clashed on the first encounter, and their burnished swords glittered, great horror strikes the spectators; and, hope inclining to neither side, their voice and breath were suspended. Then having engaged hand to hand, when not only the movements of their bodies, and the rapid brandishings of their arms and weapons, but wounds also and blood were seen, two of the Romans fell lifeless, one upon the other, the three Albans being wounded. And when the Alban army raised a shout of joy at their fall, hope entirely, anxiety however not yet, deserted the Roman legions, alarmed for the lot of the one, whom the three Curiatii surrounded. He happened to be unhurt, so that, though alone he was by no means a match for them all together, yet he was confident against each singly. In order therefore to separate their attack, he takes to flight, presuming that they would pursue him with such swiftness as the wounded state of his body would suffer each. He had now fled a considerable distance from the place where they had fought, when, looking behind, he perceives them pursuing him at great intervals from each other; and that one of them was not far from him. On him he turned round with great fury. And whilst the Alban army shouts out to the Curiatii to succour their brother, Horatius, victorious in having slain his antagonist, was now proceeding to a second attack. Then the Romans encourage their champion with a shout such as is usually (given) by persons cheering in consequence of unexpected success: he also hastens to put an end to the combat. Wherefore before the other, who was not far off, could come up he despatches the second Curiatius also. And now, the combat being brought to an equality of numbers, one on each side remained, but they were equal neither in hope nor in strength. The one his body untouched by a weapon, and a double victory made courageous for a third contest: the other dragging along his body exhausted from the wound, exhausted from running, and dispirited by the slaughter of his brethren before his eyes, presents himself to his victorious antagonist. Nor was that a fight. The Roman, exulting, says, "Two I have offered to the shades of my brothers: the third I will offer to the cause of this war, that the Roman may rule over the Alban." He thrusts his sword down into his throat, whilst faintly sustaining the weight of his armour: he strips him as he lies prostrate. The Romans receive Horatius with triumph and congratulation; with so much the greater joy, as success had followed so close on fear. They then turn to the burial of their friends with dispositions by no means alike; for the one side was elated with (the acquisition of) empire, the other subjected to foreign jurisdiction: their sepulchres are still extant in the place where each fell; the two Roman ones in one place nearer to Alba, the three Alban ones towards Rome; but distant in situation from each other, and just as they fought.<sup>34</sup>

## 26

<sup>33</sup> The order is: *fortuna patriæ deinde futura ea quam ipsi f. (animo obvers.)*; the fortune of their country, the high or humble character of which for the future depended on their exertions on that occasion.

<sup>34</sup> The two Roman champions, we have seen, fell in the one place, *super alium alius*; consequently were buried together; whilst the Curiatii fell in different places, as Horatius contrived to separate them to avoid their joint attack.

Before they parted from thence, when Mettus, in conformity to the treaty which had been concluded, asked what orders he had to give, Tullus orders him to keep the youth in arms, that he designed to employ them, if a war should break out with the Veientes. After this both armies returned to their homes. Horatius marched foremost, carrying before him the spoils of the three brothers: his sister, a maiden who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii, met him before the gate Capena: and having recognized her lover's military robe, which she herself had wrought, on her brother's shoulders, she tore her hair, and with bitter wailings called by name on her deceased lover. The sister's lamentations in the midst of his own victory, and of such great public rejoicings, raised the indignation of the excited youth. Having therefore drawn his sword, he run the damsel through the body, at the same time chiding her in these words: "Go hence, with thy unseasonable love to thy spouse, forgetful of thy dead brothers, and of him who survives, forgetful of thy native country. So perish every Roman woman who shall mourn an enemy." This action seemed shocking to the fathers and to the people; but his recent services outweighed its guilt. Nevertheless he was carried before the king for judgment. The king, that he himself might not be the author of a decision so melancholy, and so disagreeable to the people, or of the punishment consequent on that decision, having summoned an assembly of the people, says, "I appoint, according to law, duumvirs to pass sentence on Horatius for<sup>35</sup> treason." The law was of dreadful import.<sup>36</sup> "Let the duumvirs pass sentence for treason. If he appeal from the duumvirs, let him contend by appeal; if they shall gain the cause,<sup>37</sup> cover his head; hang him by a rope from a gallows; scourge him either within the pomœrium or without the pomœrium." When the duumvirs appointed by this law, who did not consider that, according to the law, they could<sup>38</sup> acquit even an innocent person, had found him guilty; one of them says, "P. Horatius, I judge thee guilty of treason. Go, lictor, bind his hands." The lictor had approached him, and was fixing the rope. Then Horatius, by the advice of Tullus,<sup>39</sup> a favourable interpreter of the law, says, "I appeal." Accordingly the matter was contested by appeal to the people. On that trial persons were much affected, especially by P. Horatius the father declaring, that he considered his daughter deservedly slain; were it not so, that he would by his authority as a father have inflicted punishment on his son.<sup>40</sup> He then entreated that they would not render childless him whom but a little while ago they had beheld with a fine progeny. During these words the old man, having embraced the youth, pointing to the spoils of the Curiatii fixed up in that place which is now called Pila Horatia, "Romans," said he, "can you bear to see bound beneath a gallows amidst scourges and tortures, him whom you just now beheld marching decorated (with spoils) and exulting in victory; a sight so shocking as the eyes even of the Albans could scarcely endure. Go, lictor, bind those hands, which but a little while since, being armed, established sovereignty for the Roman people. Go, cover the head of the liberator of this city; hang him on the gallows; scourge him, either within the pomœrium, so it be only amid those javelins and spoils of the enemy; or without the pomœrium, only amid the graves of the Curiatii. For whither can you bring this youth, where his own glories must not redeem him from such ignominy of punishment?" The

<sup>35</sup> *Perduellio*, (duellum, bellum,) high treason against the state or its sovereign; but in those times any offence deserving capital punishment was included under that of treason, *Qui Horatio perduellionem judicent*, to pass sentence on Horatius, as being manifestly guilty of murder; not to try whether he was guilty or not.

<sup>36</sup> Duumviri, etc. Niebuhr considers these to be the very words of the old formula.

<sup>37</sup> If the sentence (of the duumviri) be confirmed by the people.

<sup>38</sup> The letter of the law allowed of no justification or extenuation of the fact. It left no alternative to the judge.

<sup>39</sup> He kindly pointed out the loop-hole in the law, which left an opening for the culprit's acquittal.

<sup>40</sup> By the laws of Romulus, a father had the power of life and death over his children.

people could not withstand the tears of the father, or the resolution of the son, so undaunted in every danger; and acquitted him more through admiration of his bravery, than for the justice of his cause. But that so notorious a murder might be atoned for by some expiation, the father was commanded to make satisfaction for the son at the public charge. He, having offered certain expiatory sacrifices, which were ever after continued in the Horatian family, and laid a beam across the street, made his son pass under it as under a yoke, with his head covered. This remains even to this day, being constantly repaired at the expense of the public; they call it Sororium Tigillum. A tomb of square stone was erected to Horatia in the place where she was stabbed and fell.

## 27

Nor did the peace with Alba continue long. The dissatisfaction of the populace, because the fortune of the state had been hazarded on three soldiers, perverted the weak mind of the dictator; and because honourable measures had not turned out well, he began to conciliate their affections by perfidious means. Accordingly, as one formerly seeking peace in war, so now seeking war in peace, because he perceived that his own state possessed more courage than strength, he stirs up other nations to make war openly and by proclamation:<sup>41</sup> for his own people he reserves treachery under the mask of alliance. The Fidenates, a Roman colony, having gained over the Veientes as partisans in the confederacy, are instigated to declare war and take up arms under a compact of desertion on the part of the Albans. When Fidenæ had openly<sup>42</sup> revolted, Tullus, after summoning Mettus and his army from Alba, marches against the enemy. When he crossed the Anio, he pitches his camp at the<sup>43</sup> conflux of the rivers. Between that place and Fidenæ, the army of the Veientes had crossed the Tiber. These, in line of battle, occupied the right wing near the river; the Fidenates are posted on the left nearer the mountains. Tullus stations his own men opposite the Veientian foe; the Albans he opposes to the legion of the Fidenates. The Alban had not more courage than fidelity. Neither daring therefore to keep his ground, nor to desert openly, he files off slowly to the mountains. After this, when he supposed he had gone far enough, he<sup>44</sup> halts his entire army; and being still irresolute in mind, in order to waste time, he opens his ranks. His design was, to turn his forces to that side to which fortune should give success. At first the Romans who stood nearest were astonished, when they perceived their flanks were uncovered by the departure of their allies; then a horseman in full gallop announces to the king that the Albans were moving off. Tullus, in this perilous juncture, vowed twelve Salii, and temples to Paleness and Panic. Rebuking the horseman in a loud voice, so that the enemy might hear him, he orders him to return to the fight, "that there was no occasion for alarm; that by his order the Alban army was marching round to fall on the unprotected rear of the Fidenates." He likewise commands him to order the cavalry to raise their spears aloft; this expedient intercepted from a great part of the Roman infantry the view of the Alban army retreating. Those who saw it, believing what they had heard the king say, fought with the greater ardour. The alarm is now transferred to the enemy; they had both heard what had been pronounced so audibly, and a great part of the Fidenates, as having been joined as colonists to the

<sup>41</sup> The part which he reserves for himself and the Albans is to play the traitors to Tullus in the hour of need, wearing meanwhile the mark of friendship to Rome.

<sup>42</sup> The fact is, that the subject population rose up against the Roman colonists, drove them out of the town, and asserted their independence. Nieb. i. 24. 5.

<sup>43</sup> The Tiber and the Anio.

<sup>44</sup> *Erigit*—"he makes it halt," from the French *faire alte*, or formerly *haut*, because soldiers then stand upright and hold their spears erect.

Romans, understood Latin. Therefore, that they might not be intercepted from the town by a sudden descent of the Albans from the hills, they take to flight. Tullus presses forward, and having routed the wing of the Fidenates, returned with greater fury against the Veientes, disheartened by the panic of the others: nor did they sustain his charge; but the river, opposed to them behind, prevented a precipitate flight. Whither when their flight led, some, shamefully throwing down their arms, rushed blindly into the river; others, while they linger on the banks, doubting whether to fly or fight, were overpowered. Never before had the Romans a more desperate battle.

## 28

Then the Alban army, that had been spectators of the fight, was marched down into the plains. Mettus congratulates Tullus on his defeat of the enemy; Tullus on his part addresses Mettus with great civility. He orders the Albans to unite their camp with the Romans, which he prayed might prove beneficial to both; and prepares a sacrifice of purification for the next day. As soon as it was light, all things being in readiness, according to custom, he commands both armies to be summoned to an assembly. The heralds,<sup>45</sup> beginning at the outside, summoned the Albans first. They, struck<sup>46</sup> too with the novelty of the thing, in order to hear the Roman king harangue, crowded next to him. The Roman legions, under arms, by concert surrounded them; a charge had been given to the centurions to execute their orders without delay. Then Tullus begins as follows: "Romans, if ever before at any other time in any war there was (an occasion) on which you should return thanks, first to the immortal gods, next to your own valour, that occasion was yesterday's battle. For the contest was not more with enemies than with the treachery and perfidy of allies, a contest which is more serious and more dangerous. For that a false opinion may not influence you, the Albans retired to the mountains without my orders, nor was that my command, but a stratagem and the pretence of a command: that so your attention might not be drawn away from the fight, you being kept in ignorance that you were deserted, and that terror and dismay might be struck into the enemy, conceiving themselves to be surrounded on the rear. Nor does that guilt, which I now state, extend to all the Albans. They followed their leader; as you too would have done, if I had wished my army to make a move to any other point from thence. Mettus there is the leader of that march, the same Mettus is the contriver of this war; Mettus is the violator of the treaty between Rome and Alba. Let another hereafter attempt the like conduct, unless I now make of him a signal example to mankind." The centurions in arms stand round Mettus, and the king proceeds with the rest as he had commenced: "It is my intention, and may it prove fortunate, auspicious, and happy to the Roman people, to myself, and to you, O Albans, to transplant all the inhabitants of Alba to Rome: to grant your people the rights of citizenship, and to admit your nobles into the rank of senators: to make one city, one republic; that as the Alban state was formerly divided from one people into two, so it may now return into one." On hearing this the Alban youth, unarmed, surrounded by armed men, however divided in their sentiments, yet restrained by the common apprehension, continue silent. Then Tullus proceeded: "If, Mettus Fuffetius, you were capable of learning fidelity, and how to observe treaties, that lesson would have been taught you by me, while still alive. Now, since your disposition is incurable, do you at least by your punishment teach mankind to consider those things sacred which have been violated by you. As therefore a little while since you kept your mind divided between the interest of Fidenæ and of Rome, so

<sup>45</sup> *Præcones ab extremo*. At the farther part of the Roman camp, where it joined that of the Albans.

<sup>46</sup> As well as by the orders issued by Tullus.

shall you now surrender your body to be torn asunder in different directions." Upon this, two chariots drawn by four horses being brought, he ties Mettus extended at full length to their carriages: then the horses were driven on in different directions, carrying off the mangled body on each carriage, where the limbs had been fastened by the cords. All turned away their eyes from so shocking a spectacle. That was the first and last instance of a punishment among the Romans regardless of the laws of humanity. In other cases we may boast that no nation whatever adopted milder forms of punishment.

## 29

During these occurrences the cavalry had been despatched onward to Alba to remove the multitude to Rome. The legions were next led thither to demolish the city. When they entered the gates, there was not indeed that tumult nor panic, such as usually takes place with captured cities when the gates being burst open, or the walls levelled by the ram, or the citadel taken by assault, the shouts of the enemy and rush of armed men through the city throws every thing into confusion by fire and sword: but gloomy silence and speechless sorrow so absorbed the minds of all, that, through fear, forgetting what they should leave behind, what they should take with them, all concert failing them, and frequently making inquiries of each other, they now stood at their thresholds, now wandering about they strayed through their houses, doomed to see them for that the last time. But as soon as the shouts of the horsemen commanding them to depart now urged them on, the crashing of the dwellings which were being demolished, was now heard in the remotest parts of the city, and the dust, rising in distant places, had filled every quarter as with a cloud spread over them; hastily snatching up whatever each of them could, whilst they went forth leaving behind them their guardian deity and household gods, and the homes in which each had been born and brought up, a continued train of emigrants soon filled the ways, and the sight of others through mutual commiseration renewed their tears, and piteous cries too were heard, of the women more especially, when they passed by their revered temples now beset with armed men, and left their gods as it were in captivity. After the Albans had evacuated the town, the Roman soldiery level all the public and private edifices indiscriminately to the ground, and one short hour consigned to demolition and ruin the work of four hundred years, during which Alba had stood. The temples of the gods, however, for such had been the orders given by the king, were spared.

## 30

In the mean time Rome increases by the demolition of Alba. The number of citizens is doubled. The Cœlian mount is added to the city, and in order that it might be inhabited more populously, Tullus selects that situation for his palace and there took up his abode. The leading persons among the Albans he enrolls among the patricians, that that branch of the state also might increase, the Julii, Servilii, Quinctii, Geganii, Curiatii, Clœlii; and as a consecrated place of meeting for the order augmented by him he built a senate-house, which was called Hostilia even down to the age of our fathers. And that every rank might acquire some additional strength from the new people, he formed ten troops of horsemen from among the Albans: he likewise recruited the old, and raised new legions from the same source. Confiding in this increase of strength, Tullus declares war against the Sabines, a nation at that time the most powerful, next to the Etrurians, in men and in arms. Injuries had been done on both sides, and restitution demanded in vain. Tullus complained that some Roman merchants had been seized in an open market near the temple of Feronia; the Sabines, that some of their people had taken refuge in the asylum,

and were detained at Rome. These were assigned as the causes of the war. The Sabines, holding in recollection both that a portion of their strength had been fixed at Rome by Tattius, and that the Roman power had also been lately increased by the accession of the Alban people, began, on their part, to look around for foreign aid. Etruria was in their neighbourhood; of the Etrurians the Veientes were the nearest. From thence they drew some volunteers, their minds being stirred up to a revolt, chiefly in consequence of the rankling animosities from (former) wars. And pay also had its weight with some stragglers belonging to the indigent population. They were assisted by no aid from the government, and the faith of the truce stipulated with Romulus was strictly observed by the Veientes (for with respect to the others it is less surprising). While they were preparing for war with the utmost vigour, and the matter seemed to turn on this, which should first commence hostilities, Tullus first passes into the Sabine territory. A desperate battle ensued at the wood called Malitiosa,<sup>47</sup> in which the Roman army was far superior, both by the strength of their foot, and also by the recent augmentation of their cavalry. The Sabine ranks were thrown into disorder by a sudden charge of the cavalry, nor could either the fight be afterwards restored, or a retreat accomplished without great slaughter.

### 31

After the defeat of the Sabines, when the government of Tullus and the whole Roman state was in high renown, and in a very flourishing condition, word was brought to the king and senators, that it rained stones on the Alban Mount. As this could scarcely be credited, on persons being sent to inquire into the prodigy, a thick shower of stones fell from heaven in their sight, just as when hail collected into balls is pelted down to the earth by the winds. Besides, they imagined that they heard a loud voice from the grove on the summit of the hill, requiring the Albans to perform their religious service according to the rites of their native country, which they had consigned to oblivion, as if their gods had been abandoned together with their country; and they had either adopted the religion of Rome, or, as may happen, enraged at their evil destiny, had renounced altogether the worship of the gods. A festival of nine days was instituted publicly by the Romans also on account of the same prodigy, either in obedience to the heavenly voice sent from the Alban mount, (for that too is stated,) or by the advice of the aruspices. Certain it is, it continued a solemn observance, that whenever the same prodigy was announced, a festival for nine days was observed. Not long after, they were afflicted with a pestilence; and though from this there arose an aversion to military service, yet no respite from arms was granted by this warlike king, who considered that the bodies of the young men were even more healthy abroad than at home, until he himself also was seized with a lingering disease. Then, together with his body, those fierce spirits became so broken, that he, who formerly considered nothing less worthy of a king than to devote his mind to religion, suddenly became a slave to every form of superstition, important and trifling, and filled the people's minds also with religious scruples. The generality of persons, now wishing to recur to that state of things which had existed under king Numa, thought that the only relief left for their sickly bodies was, if peace and pardon could be obtained from the gods. They say that the king himself, turning over the commentaries of Numa, after he had found therein that certain sacrifices of a secret and solemn nature had been performed to Jupiter Elicius, shut

<sup>47</sup> *Malitiosam*. Την ὕλην καλουμένην Κακοῦργον. Dio. iii.

himself up and set about the performance of this solemnity; but that that rite was not duly undertaken or conducted, and that not only no appearance of heavenly notification was presented to him, but that he was struck with lightning and burnt to ashes, together with his house, through the anger of Jupiter, exasperated at the impropriety of the ceremony. Tullus reigned two-and-thirty years with great military renown.

### 32

On the death of Tullus the government devolved once more upon the senate, and they nominated an interrex; and on his holding the comitia, the people elected Ancus Marcius king. The fathers confirmed the election. Ancus Marcius was the grandson of king Numa Pompilius by his daughter. As soon as he ascended the throne, reflecting on the renown of his grandfather, and that the late reign, glorious in every other respect, in one particular had not been sufficiently prosperous, the rites of religion having either been utterly neglected, or improperly performed; deeming it of the highest importance to perform the public ceremonies of religion as they had been instituted by Numa, he orders the pontiff, after he had transcribed them all from the king's commentaries on white tables, to expose them to public view. Hence, both his own subjects, desirous of peace, and the neighbouring nations, entertained a hope that the king would conform to the conduct and institutions of his grandfather. Accordingly the Latins, with whom a treaty had been concluded in the reign of Tullus, assumed new courage; and after they had made an incursion upon the Roman lands, return a contemptuous answer to the Romans on their demanding restitution, supposing that the Roman king would spend his reign in indolence among chapels and altars. The genius of Ancus was of a middle kind, partaking both of that of Numa and of Romulus; and, besides that, he thought that peace was more necessary in his grandfather's reign, considering the people were but recent as well as uncivilized, he also (considered) that he could not, without injury, preserve the tranquillity which had fallen to his lot; that his patience was tried, and being tried, was now despised; and that the times were more suited to a king Tullus than to a Numa. In order, however, that as Numa had instituted religious rites in peace, ceremonies relating to war might be transmitted by him, and that wars might not only be waged, but proclaimed also according to some rite, he borrowed from an ancient nation, the *Æquicolae*, the form which the heralds still preserve, according to which restitution is demanded. The ambassador, when he comes to the frontiers of the people from whom satisfaction is demanded, having his head covered with a fillet, (the fillet is of wool,) says, "Hear, O Jupiter, hear, ye confines, (naming the nation they belong to,) let Justice hear. I am a public messenger of the Roman people; I come justly and religiously deputed, and let my words gain credit." He then makes his demands; afterwards he makes a solemn appeal to Jupiter, "If I unjustly or impiously demand those persons and those goods to be given up to me, the messenger of the Roman people, then never permit me to enjoy my native country." These words he repeats when he passes over the frontiers; the same to the first man he meets; the same on entering the gate; the same on entering the forum, some few words in the form of the declaration and oath being changed. If the persons whom he demands are not delivered up, on the expiration of thirty-three days, for so many are enjoined by the rule, he declares war, thus: "Hear, Jupiter, and thou, Juno, Romulus, and all ye celestial, terrestrial, and infernal gods, give ear! I call you to witness, that this nation (naming it) is unjust, and does not act with equity; but we will consult the fathers in our own country concerning these matters, and by what means we may obtain our right." After that the messenger returns to Rome to consult: the king immediately used to consult the fathers almost in the following words:

"Concerning such matters, differences, and quarrels, as the pater patratus of the Roman people, the Quirites, has conferred with the pater patratus of the ancient Latins, and with the ancient Latin people, which matters ought to be given up, performed, discharged, which matters they have neither given up, performed, nor discharged, declare," says he to him, whose opinion he first asked, "what think you?" Then he said, "I think that they should be demanded by a just and regularly declared war, therefore I consent, and vote for it." Then the others were asked in order, and when the majority of those present agreed in the same opinion, the war was resolved on. It was customary for the feialis to carry in his hand a javelin pointed with steel, or burnt at the end and dipped in blood, to the confines of the enemy's country, and in presence of at least three grown-up persons, to say, "Forasmuch as the states of the ancient Latins, and the ancient Latin people, have offended against the Roman people, the Quirites, forasmuch as the Roman people, the Quirites, have ordered that there should be war with the ancient Latins, and the senate of the Roman people, the Quirites, have given their opinion, consented, and voted that war should be made with the ancient Latins, on this account I and the Roman people declare and make war on the states of the ancient Latins, and on the ancient Latin people." After he had said that, he threw the spear within their confines. After this manner restitution was demanded from the Latins at that time, and war proclaimed: and that usage posterity have adopted.

### 33

Ancus, having committed the care of sacred things to the flamines and other priests, set out with a new army, which he had levied, and took Politorium, a city of the Latins, by storm; and following the example of former kings, who had increased the Roman state by taking enemies into the number of the citizens, he transplanted all the people to Rome. And since the Sabines occupied the Capitol and citadel, and the Albans the Cœlian mount around the Palatium, the residence of the old Romans, the Aventine was assigned to the new people; not long after, on Telleni and Ficana being taken, new citizens were added in the same quarter. After this Politorium was taken a second time by force of arms, because the ancient Latins had taken possession of it when vacated. This was the cause of the Romans demolishing that city, that it might not ever after serve as a receptacle to the enemy. At last, the whole war with the Latins being concentrated in Medullia, they fought there with various fortune, sometimes the one and sometimes the other gaining the victory; for the town was both well fortified by works, and strengthened by a strong garrison, and the Latins, having pitched their camp in the open fields, had several times fought the Romans in close engagement. At last Ancus, making an effort with all his forces, obtained a complete victory over them in a pitched battle, and having got a considerable booty, returned thence to Rome; many thousands of the Latins being then also admitted into the city, to whom, in order that the Aventine might be joined to the Palatium, a settlement was assigned near the temple of Murcia. The Janiculum was likewise added, not for want of room, but lest at any time it should become a lodgment for the enemy. It was determined to join it to the city, not only by a wall, but likewise, for the sake of the convenience of passage, by a wooden bridge, then for the first time built across the Tiber. The Fossa Quiritium, no inconsiderable defence against the easy access to the city from the low grounds, is the work of king Ancus. The state being augmented by such great accessions, seeing that, amid such a multitude of persons, the distinction of right and wrong being as yet confounded, clandestine crimes were committed, a prison is built in the heart of the city, overlooking the forum, to intimidate the growing licentiousness. And not only was the city increased under this

king, but the territory also and the boundaries. The Mælian forest was taken from the Veientes, the Roman dominion was extended as far as the sea, and the city of Ostia built at the mouth of the Tiber; salt-pits were formed around it, and, in consequence of the distinguished success achieved in war, the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was enlarged.

### 34

In the reign of Ancus, Lucumo, a rich and enterprising man, came to settle at Rome, prompted chiefly by the desire and hope of obtaining great preferment there, which he had no means of attaining at Tarquinii (for there also he was descended from an alien stock). He was the son of Demaratus, a Corinthian, who, flying his country for sedition, had happened to settle at Tarquinii, and having married a wife there, had two sons by her. Their names were<sup>48</sup> Lucumo and Aruns. Lucumo survived his father, and became heir to all his property. Aruns died before his father, leaving a wife pregnant. The father did not long survive the son, and as he, not knowing that his daughter-in-law was pregnant, died without taking any notice of his grandchild in his will, to the boy that was born after the death of his grandfather, without having any share in his fortune, the name of Egerius was given on account of his poverty. And when his wealth already inspired Lucumo, on the other hand, the heir of all his father's wealth, with elevated notions, Tanaquil, whom he married, further increased such feeling, she being descended from a very high family, and one who would not readily brook the condition into which she had married to be inferior to that in which she had been born. As the Etrurians despised Lucumo, because sprung from a foreign exile, she could not bear the affront, and regardless of the innate love of her native country, provided she might see her husband advanced to honours, she formed the determination to leave Tarquinii. Rome seemed particularly suited for her purpose. In this state, lately founded, where all nobility is recent and the result of merit, there would be room for her husband, a man of courage and activity. Tatius a Sabine had been king of Rome: Numa had been sent for from Cures to reign there: Ancus was sprung from a Sabine mother, and rested his nobility on the single statue of Numa. She easily persuades him, as being ambitious of honours, and one to whom Tarquinii was his country only on the mother's side. Accordingly, removing their effects they set out together for Rome. They happened to have reached the Janiculum; there, as he sat in the chariot with his wife, an eagle, suspended on her wings, gently stooping, takes off his cap, and flying round the chariot with loud screams, as if she had been sent from heaven for the very purpose, orderly replaced it on his head, and then flew aloft. Tanaquil is said to have received this omen with great joy, being a woman well skilled, as the Etrurians generally are, in celestial prodigies, and embracing her husband, bids him hope for high and elevated fortune: that such bird had come from such a quarter of the heavens, and the messenger of such a god: that it had exhibited the omen around the highest part of man: that it had lifted the ornament placed on the head of man, to restore it to the same, by direction of the gods. Carrying with them these hopes and thoughts, they entered the city, and having purchased a house there, they gave out the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. His being a stranger and very rich, caused him to be taken notice of by the Romans. He also promoted his own good fortune by his affable address, by the courteousness of his invitations, and by conciliating those whom he could by acts of kindness; until a report of him reached even to the palace; and by paying court to the king with politeness and address, he in a short time so improved the acquaintance to the footing of intimate

<sup>48</sup> The Lucumones were a class of persons among the Etrurians of a warlike sacerdotal character, patricians, not kings. Vid. Niebuhr, i. p. 372.

friendship, that he was present at all public and private deliberations, foreign and domestic; and being now tried in every trust, he was at length, by the king's will, appointed guardian to his children.

### 35

Ancus reigned twenty-four years, equal to any of the former kings both in the arts and renown of war and peace. His sons were now nigh the age of puberty, for this reason Tarquin was more urgent that the assembly for the election of a king should be held as soon as possible. The assembly being proclaimed, he sent away the boys to hunt towards the time of their meeting. He is said to have been the first who earnestly sued for the crown, and to have made a set speech for the purpose of gaining the affections of the people: *he said* "that he did not aim at any thing unprecedented; for that he was not the first foreigner, (a thing at which any one might feel indignation or surprise,) but the third who aspired to the sovereignty of Rome. That Tatius not only from being an alien, but even an enemy, was made king: that Numa, unacquainted with the city, and without soliciting it, had been voluntarily invited by them to the throne. That he, as soon as he was his own master, had come to Rome with his wife and whole fortune, and had there spent a greater part of that age, in which men are employed in civil offices, than he had in his native country: that he had both in peace and war thoroughly learned the Roman laws and religious customs, under a master not to be objected to, king Ancus himself; that he had vied with all in duty and loyalty to his prince, and even with the king himself in his bounty to others." While he was recounting these undoubted facts, the people by a great majority elected him king. The same ambition which had prompted Tarquin, in other respects an excellent man, to aspire to the crown, followed him whilst on the throne. And being no less mindful of strengthening his own power, than of increasing that of the commonwealth, he elected a hundred into the fathers, who from that time were called *Minorum Gentium*, *i. e.* of the younger families: a party hearty in the king's cause, by whose favour they had got into the senate. The first war he waged was with the Latins, from whom he took the town of Apiolæ by storm, and having brought back thence more booty than the character of the war would lead one to expect, he celebrated games with more cost and magnificence than former kings. The place for the circus, which is now called Maximus, was then first marked out, and spaces were parted off for the senators and knights, where they might each erect seats for themselves: they were called *fori* (benches). They viewed the games from scaffolding which supported seats twelve feet high from the ground. The show took place; horses and boxers were sent for, chiefly from Etruria. These solemn games afterwards continued annual, being variously called the Roman and Great (games). By the same king also spaces round the forum were portioned off for private individuals to build on; porticoes and shops were erected.

### 36

He was also preparing to surround the city with a stone wall, when a Sabine war obstructed his designs. The matter was so sudden, that the enemy had passed the Anio before the Roman army could meet and stop them; great alarm therefore was produced at Rome. And at first they fought with dubious success, but with great slaughter on both sides. After this, the enemy's forces being led back into their camp, and the Romans getting time to make new levies for the war, Tarquin, thinking that the weakness of his army lay in the want of horse, determined to add other centuries to the Ramnenses, the Titienses, and Luceres which Romulus had appointed, and to leave them distinguished

by his own name. Because Romulus had done this by augury, Attus Navius, at that time a celebrated soothsayer, insisted that no alteration or new appointment of that kind could be made, unless the birds approved of it. The king, enraged at this, and, as it is related, ridiculing the art, said, "Come, thou diviner, tell me, whether what I am thinking on can be done or not?" When he had tried the matter by divination, he affirmed it certainly could. "But I was thinking," says he, "whether you could cut asunder this whetstone with a razor. Take it, and perform what thy birds portend may be done." Upon this, as they say, he immediately cut the whetstone in two. A statue of Attus, with his head veiled, was erected in the comitium, upon the very steps on the left of the senate-house, on the spot where the transaction occurred. They say that the whetstone also was deposited in the same place, that it might remain a monument of that miracle to posterity. There certainly accrued so much honour to augury and the college of augurs, that nothing was undertaken either in peace or war without taking the auspices. Assemblies of the people, the summoning of armies, and affairs of the greatest importance were put off, when the birds would not allow of them. Nor did Tarquin then make any other alteration in the centuries of horse, except doubling the number of men in each of these corps, so that the three centuries consisted of one thousand eight hundred knights. Those that were added were called "the younger," but by the same names with the former; which, now that they have been doubled, they call six centuries.

### 37

This part of his forces being augmented, a second battle is fought with the Sabines. But, besides that the Roman army was thus reinforced, a stratagem also is secretly resorted to, persons having been sent to throw into the river a great quantity of timber that lay on the banks of the Anio, it being first set on fire; and the wood being further kindled by favour of the wind, and the greater<sup>49</sup> part of it (being placed) on rafts, when it stuck firmly impacted against the piers, sets the bridge on fire. This accident struck terror into the Sabines during the battle, and, after they were routed, impeded their flight; so that many, who had escaped the enemy, perished in the river. Their arms floating down the Tiber, and being recognised at the city, made known the victory, almost before any account of it could be carried there. In that action the glory of the cavalry was prominent: they say that, being posted in the two wings, when the centre of their own infantry was being beaten, they charged so briskly in flank, that they not only checked the Sabine legions who pressed hard on those who retired, but quickly put them to flight. The Sabines made for the mountains with great precipitation, yet few reached them; for, as we said before, the greatest part were driven by the cavalry into the river. Tarquin, thinking it advisable to pursue the enemy closely while in this consternation, after sending the booty and the prisoners to Rome, piling up and burning the spoils which he had vowed to Vulcan, proceeds to lead his army onward into the Sabine territory. And though matters had turned out adversely, nor could they hope for better success; yet, because the occasion did not allow time for deliberation, the Sabines came out to meet him with a hastily raised army; and being again defeated there, and matters having now become desperate, they sued for peace.

<sup>49</sup> In my version of this passage I have followed the reading, *et pleraque in ratibus, impacta sublicis quum hærerent*, p. i. The burning logs were not sent down the river one by one, but were placed on rafts, so that being incapable of passing on between the piers of the bridge, they firmly stuck there, and burnt the bridge. This mode of interpretation is confirmed by Dion. iii. 5, 6. The bridge here meant is the one built by the Sabines at the confluence of the Anio and the Tiber—Another reading is, *pleraque in ratibus impacta sublicis quam hærerent*, "most of them being driven against the boats, resting on piles, stuck there," &c.

## 38

Collatia and all the land about it was taken from the Sabines, and Egerius, son to the king's brother, was left there with a garrison. I understand that the people of Collatia were thus surrendered, and that the form of the surrender was as follows: the king asked them, "Are ye ambassadors and deputies sent by the people of Collatia to surrender yourselves and the people of Collatia?" "We are." "Are the people of Collatia their own masters?" "They are." "Do ye surrender yourselves and the people of Collatia, their city, lands, water, boundaries, temples, utensils, and every thing sacred or profane belonging to them, into my power, and that of the Roman people?" "We do." "Then I receive them." The Sabine war being ended, Tarquin returned in triumph to Rome. After that he made war upon the ancient Latins, where they came on no occasion to a general engagement; yet by carrying about his arms to the several towns, he subdued the whole Latin nation. Corniculum, old Ficulea, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, and Nomentum, towns which either belonged to the ancient Latins, or which had revolted to them, were taken. Upon this a peace was concluded. The works of peace were then set about with greater spirit, even than the efforts with which he had conducted his wars; so that the people enjoyed no more ease and quiet at home, than they had done abroad: for he both set about surrounding the city with a stone wall, on the side where he had not fortified it, the beginning of which work had been interrupted by the Sabine war, and the lower parts of the city round the forum and the other valleys lying between the hills, because they did not easily carry off the water from the flat grounds, he drains by means of sewers drawn sloping downward into the Tiber. Moreover he levels an area for founding a temple to Jupiter in the Capitol, which he had vowed to him in the Sabine war; his mind even then presaging the future grandeur of the place.

## 39

At that time, a prodigy occurred in the palace, wonderful both in its appearance and in its result. They relate, that the head of a boy, called Servius Tullius, as he lay fast asleep, blazed with fire in the sight of many persons. That by the very great noise made at so miraculous a phenomenon, the royal family were awakened; and when one of the servants was bringing water to extinguish the flame, that he was kept back by the queen, and after the confusion was over, that she forbade the boy to be disturbed till he should awake of his own accord. As soon as he awoke the flame disappeared. Then Tanaquil, taking her husband into a private place, said, "Do you observe this boy whom we bring up in so mean a style? Be assured that hereafter he will be a light to us in our adversity, and a protector to our palace in distress. From henceforth let us, with all our care, train up this youth, who is capable of becoming a great ornament publicly and privately." From this time the boy began to be treated as their own son, and instructed in those arts by which men's minds are qualified to maintain high rank. The matter was easily accomplished, because it was agreeable to the gods. The young man turned out to be of a disposition truly royal. Nor, when they looked out for a son-in-law for Tarquin, could any of the Roman youth be compared to him in any accomplishment; therefore the king betrothed his own daughter to him. This high honour conferred upon him, from whatever cause, prevents us from believing that he was the son of a slave, and that he had himself been a slave when young. I am rather of the opinion of those who say that, on the taking of Corniculum, the wife of Servius Tullius, who had been the leading man in that city, being pregnant when her husband was slain, being known among the other female prisoners, and, in consequence of her high rank, exempted from servitude by the Roman queen, was delivered of a child at Rome, in the house of Tarquinius Priscus.

Upon this, that both the intimacy between the ladies was improved by so great a kindness, and that the boy, having been brought up in the house from his infancy, was beloved and respected; that his mother's lot, in having fallen into the hands of the enemy, caused him to be considered the son of a slave.

#### 40

About the thirty-eighth year of Tarquin's reign, Servius Tullius was in the highest esteem, not only with the king, but also with the senate and people. At this time the two sons of Ancus, though they had before that always considered it the highest indignity that they had been deprived of their father's crown by the treachery of their guardian, that a stranger should be king of Rome, who was not only not of a civic, but not even of an Italian family, yet now felt their indignation rise to a still higher pitch at the notion that the crown would not only not revert to them after Tarquin, but would descend even lower to a slave, so that in the same state about the hundredth year<sup>50</sup> after Romulus, descended from a deity, and a deity himself, occupied the throne as long as he lived, a slave, and one born of a slave, should now possess it. That it would be a disgrace both common to the Roman name, and more especially to their family, if, whilst there was male issue of king Ancus still living, the sovereignty of Rome should be accessible not only to strangers, but even to slaves. They determine therefore to prevent that disgrace by the sword. But both resentment for the injury done to them incensed them more against Tarquin himself, than against Servius; and (the consideration) that a king was likely to prove a more severe avenger of the murder, if he should survive, than a private person; and moreover, in case of Servius being put to death, whatever other person he might select as his son-in-law,<sup>51</sup> it seemed likely that he would adopt as his successor on the throne.<sup>52</sup> For these reasons the plot is laid against the king himself. Two of the most ferocious of the shepherds being selected for the daring deed, with the rustic implements to which each had been accustomed, by conducting themselves in as violent a manner as possible in the porch of the palace, under pretence of a quarrel, draw the attention of all the king's attendants to themselves; then, when both appealed to the king, and their clamour reached even the interior of the palace, they are called in and proceed before the king. At first both bawled aloud, and vied in interrupting each other by their clamour, until being restrained by the lictor, and commanded to speak in turns, they at length cease railing. According to concert, one begins to state the matter. When the king, attentive to him, had turned himself quite that way, the other, raising up his axe, struck it into his head, and leaving the weapon in the wound, they both rush out of the house.

#### 41

<sup>50</sup> *The hundredth year.* 138 years had elapsed since the death of Romulus: they diminish the number of years designedly, to make the matter appear still worse.

<sup>51</sup> *Son-in-law.* Why not one of his two sons, Lucius and Aruns? Dio. iv. 1. If these were not his grandchildren rather, they must have been infants at the time. Dio. iv. 4, 6.—At this time infants could not succeed to the throne.—*Rupert.*

<sup>52</sup> This sentence has given some trouble to the commentators.—Some will have it that three distinct reasons are given for assassinating Tarquinius rather than Servius Tullius, and that these are severally marked and distinguished by *et—et—tum*, the second only having *quia*.—Stroth will have it that only two reasons are assigned, one, why the king should be killed, and the other, why Servius Tullius should not be killed, arising from the danger and uselessness of the act—the former has not a *quia*, because it was a fact, (*et injuriæ dolor, &c.*) while the latter has it in the first part (the danger, *et quia gravior, &c.*, *quia* being understood also before the other, the uselessness, *tum, Servio occiso, &c.*) because it contained the reasoning of the youths. Doering says there were only two powerful reasons, revenge and fear, and a ratio probabilis introduced by *tum*; which has the force of insuper. According to Dr. Hunter, there are two formal assertions, one, that resentment stimulated the sons of Ancus against the king himself; the other, that the plot is laid for the king himself upon two considerations, of reason and policy.

When those who were around had raised up the king in a dying state, the lictors seize on the men who were endeavouring to escape. Upon this followed an uproar and concourse of people, wondering what the matter was. Tanaquil, during the tumult, orders the palace to be shut, thrusts out all who were present: at the same time she sedulously prepares every thing necessary for dressing the wound, as if a hope still remained; at the same time, in case her hopes should disappoint her, she projects other means of safety. Sending immediately for Servius, after she had showed to him her husband almost expiring, holding his right hand, she entreats him not to suffer the death of his father-in-law to pass unavenged, nor his mother-in-law to be an object of insult to their enemies. "Servius," she said, "if you are a man, the kingdom is yours, not theirs, who, by the hands of others, have perpetrated the worst of crimes. Exert yourself, and follow the guidance of the gods, who portended that this head would be illustrious by having formerly shed a blaze around it. Now let that celestial flame arouse you. Now awake in earnest. We, too, though foreigners, have reigned. Consider who you are, not whence you are sprung. If your own plans are not matured by reason of the suddenness of this event, then follow mine." When the uproar and violence of the multitude could scarcely be withstood, Tanaquil addresses the populace from the upper part of the palace through the windows facing the new street (for the royal family resided near the temple of Jupiter Stator). She bids them "be of good courage; that the king was stunned by the suddenness of the blow; that the weapon had not sunk deep into his body; that he was already come to himself again; that the wound had been examined, the blood having been wiped off; that all the symptoms were favourable; that she hoped they would see him very soon; and that, in the mean time, he commanded the people to obey the orders of Servius Tullius. That he would administer justice, and would perform all the functions of the king." Servius comes forth with the *trabea* and lictors, and seating himself on the king's throne, decides some cases, with respect to others pretends that he will consult the king. Therefore, the death being concealed for several days, though Tarquin had already expired, he, under pretence of discharging the duty of another, strengthened his own interest. Then at length the matter being made public, and lamentations being raised in the palace, Servius, supported by a strong guard, took possession of the kingdom by the consent of the senate, being the first who did so without the orders of the people. The children of Ancus, the instruments of their villany having been already seized, as soon as it was announced that the king still lived, and that the power of Servius was so great, had already gone into exile to Suessa Pometia.

## 42

And now Servius began to strengthen his power, not more by public<sup>53</sup> than by private measures; and lest the feelings of the children of Tarquin might be the same towards himself as those of the children of Ancus had been towards Tarquin, he unites his two daughters in marriage to the young princes, the Tarquinius, Lucius and Aruns. Nor yet did he break through the inevitable decrees of fate by human measures, so that envy of the sovereign power should not produce general treachery and animosity even among the members of his own family. Very opportunely for maintaining the tranquillity of the present state, a war was commenced with the Veientes (for the truce had now expired<sup>54</sup>) and with the other Etrurians. In that war, both the valour and good fortune

<sup>53</sup> By *public—private*. The "public" were the steps taken by Servius to establish his political ascendancy, whilst the "private" refer to those intended to strengthen his family connexions.

<sup>54</sup> *The truce had now expired*. If the truce concluded with them by Romulus be here meant, it was long since expired, since about 140 years had now elapsed. It is probable, however, that it was renewed in the reign of Tullius.

of Tullius were conspicuous, and he returned to Rome, after routing a great army of the enemy, now unquestionably king, whether he tried the dispositions of the fathers or the people. He then sets about a work of peace of the utmost importance; that, as Numa had been the author of religious institutions, so posterity might celebrate Servius as the founder of all distinction among the members of the state, and of those orders by which a limitation is established between the degrees of rank and fortune. For he instituted the census, a most salutary measure for an empire destined to become so great, according to which the services of war and peace were to be performed, not by every person, (indiscriminately,) as formerly, but in proportion to the amount of property. Then he formed, according to the census, the classes and centuries, and the arrangement as it now exists, eminently suited either to peace or war.

### 43

Of those who had an estate of a hundred thousand asses or more, he made eighty centuries, forty of seniors and forty of juniors. All these were called the first class, the seniors were to be in readiness to guard the city, the juniors to carry on war abroad. The arms enjoined them were a helmet, a round shield, greaves, and a coat of mail, all of brass; these were for the defence of their body; their weapons of offence were a spear and a sword. To this class were added two centuries of mechanics, who were to serve without arms; the duty imposed upon them was to carry the military engines. The second class comprehended all whose estate was from seventy-five to a hundred thousand asses, and of these, seniors and juniors, twenty centuries were enrolled. The arms enjoined them were a buckler instead of a shield, and except a coat of mail, all the rest were the same. He appointed the property of the third class to amount to fifty thousand asses; the number of centuries was the same, and formed with the same distinction of age, nor was there any change in their arms, only greaves were taken from them. In the fourth class, the property was twenty-five thousand asses, the same number of centuries was formed: the arms were changed, nothing was given them but a spear and a long javelin. The fifth class was increased, thirty centuries were formed; these carried slings and stones for throwing. Among them were reckoned the horn-blowers, and the trumpeters, distributed into three centuries. This whole class was rated at eleven thousand asses. Property lower than this comprehended all the rest of the citizens, and of them one century was made up which was exempted from serving in war. Having thus divided and armed the infantry, he levied twelve centuries of knights from among the chief men of the state. Likewise out of the three centuries, appointed by Romulus, he formed other six under the same names which they had received at their first institution. Ten thousand asses were given them out of the public revenue, for the buying of horses, and widows were assigned them, who were to pay two thousand asses yearly for the support of the horses. All these burdens were taken off the poor and laid on the rich. Then an additional honour was conferred upon them; for the suffrage was not now granted promiscuously to all, as it had been established by Romulus, and observed by his successors, to every man with the same privilege and the same right, but gradations were established, so that no one might seem excluded from the right of voting, and yet the whole power might reside in the chief men of the state. For the knights were first called, and then the eighty centuries of the first class; and if they happened to differ, which was seldom the case, those of the second were called: and they seldom ever descended so low as to come to the lowest class. Nor need we be surprised, that the present regulation, which now exists, since the tribes were increased to thirty-five, should not agree in the number of centuries of juniors and seniors with

the amount instituted by Servius Tullius, they being now double of what they were at that time. For the city being divided into four parts, according to the regions and hills which were then inhabited, he called these divisions tribes, as I think, from the tribute.<sup>55</sup> For the method of levying taxes rateably according to the value of estates was also introduced by him; nor had these tribes any relation to the number and distribution of the centuries.

#### 44

The census being now completed, which he had expedited by the terror of a law passed on those not rated, with threats of imprisonment and death, he issued a proclamation that all the Roman citizens, horse and foot, should attend at the dawn of day in the Campus Martius, each in his century. There he drew up his army and performed a lustration of it by the sacrifices called *suovetaurilia*, and that was called the closing of the *lustrum*, because that was the conclusion of the census. Eighty thousand citizens are said to have been rated in that survey. Fabius Pictor, the oldest of our historians, adds, that such was the number of those who were able to bear arms. To accommodate that number the city seemed to require enlargement. He adds two hills, the Quirinal and Viminal; then in continuation he enlarges the Esquiliæ, and takes up his own residence there, in order that respectability might attach to the place. He surrounds the city with a rampart, a moat, and a wall: thus he enlarges the *pomœrium*. They who regard only the etymology of the word, will have the *pomœrium* to be a space of ground without the walls; but it is rather a space on each side the wall, which the Etrurians in building cities consecrated by augury, reaching to a certain extent both within and without in the direction they intended to raise the wall; so that the houses might not be joined to it on the inside, as they commonly are now, and also that there might be some space without left free from human occupation. This space, which it was not lawful to till or inhabit, the Romans called the *pomœrium*, not for its being without the wall, more than for the wall's being without it: and in enlarging the city, as far as the walls were intended to proceed outwards, so far these consecrated limits were likewise extended.

#### 45

The state being increased by the enlargement of the city, and every thing modelled at home and abroad for the exigencies both of peace and war, that the acquisition of power might not always depend on mere force of arms, he endeavoured to extend his empire by policy, and at the same time to add some ornament to the city.<sup>56</sup> The temple of Diana at Ephesus was at that time in high renown; fame represented it to have been built by all the states of Asia, in common. When Servius, amid some grandees of the Latins with whom he had taken pains to form connexions of hospitality and friendship, extolled in high terms such concord and association of their gods, by frequently insisting on the same subject, he at length prevailed so far as that the Latin states agreed to build a temple to Diana at Rome, in conjunction with the Roman people. This was an acknowledgment that Rome was the head of both nations, concerning which they had so often disputed in arms. Though that object seemed to have been left out of consideration by all the Latins, in consequence of the matter having been so often attempted unsuccessfully by arms, fortune seemed to present one of the Sabines with an opportunity of recovering the superiority to his country by his own address. A cow is

<sup>55</sup> Varro, de L.L. iv. 36, thinks, on the contrary, that *tributum* was so called, as being paid by the *tribes*.

<sup>56</sup> *Temple of Diana*. Built on the summit of the Aventine mount towards the Tiber. On its brazen pillar were engraved the laws of the treaty, and which were still extant in the time of Augustus.

said to have been calved to a certain person, the head of a family among the Sabines, of surprising size and beauty. Her horns, which were hung up in the porch of the temple of Diana, remained, for many ages, a monument of this wonder. The thing was looked upon as a prodigy, as it was, and the soothsayers declared, that sovereignty would reside in that state of which a citizen should immolate this heifer to Diana. This prediction had also reached the ears of the high priest of Diana. The Sabine, when he thought the proper time for offering the sacrifice was come, drove the cow to Rome, led her to the temple of that goddess, and set her before the altar. The Roman priest, struck with the uncommon size of the victim, so much celebrated by fame, thus accosted the Sabine: "What intendest thou to do, stranger?" says he. "Is it with impure hands to offer a sacrifice to Diana? Why dost not thou first wash thyself in running water? The Tiber runs along in the bottom of that valley." The stranger, being seized with a scruple of conscience, and desirous of having every thing done in due form, that the event might answer the prediction, from the temple went down to the Tiber. In the mean time the priest sacrificed the cow to Diana, which gave great satisfaction to the king, and to the whole state.

#### 46

Servius, though he had now acquired an indisputable right to the kingdom by long possession, yet as he heard that expressions were sometimes thrown out by young Tarquin, importing, "That he held the crown without the consent of the people," having first secured their good will by dividing among them, man by man, the lands taken from their enemies, he ventured to propose the question to the people, whether they "chose and ordered that he should be king," and was declared king with such unanimity, as had not been observed in the election of any of his predecessors. But this circumstance diminished not Tarquin's hope of obtaining the throne; nay, because he had observed that the question of the distribution of land to the people<sup>57</sup> was carried against the will of the fathers, he felt so much the more satisfied that an opportunity was now presented to him of arraigning Servius before the fathers, and of increasing his own influence in the senate, he being himself naturally of a fiery temper, and his wife, Tullia, at home stimulating his restless temper. For the Roman palace also afforded an instance of tragic guilt, so that through their disgust of kings, liberty might come more matured, and the throne, which should be attained through crime, might be the last. This L. Tarquinius (whether he was the son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus is not clear; with the greater number of authorities, however, I would say, his son<sup>58</sup>) had a brother, Aruns Tarquinius, a youth of a mild disposition. To these two, as has been already stated, the two Tulliaë, daughters of the king, had been married, they also being of widely different tempers. It had so happened that the two violent dispositions were not united in marriage, through the good fortune, I suspect, of the Roman people, in order that the reign of Servius might be more protracted, and the morals of the state be firmly established. The haughty Tullia was chagrined, that there was no material in her husband, either for ambition or bold daring. Directing all her regard to the other Tarquinius, him she admired, him she called a man, and one truly descended of royal blood; she expressed her contempt of her sister, because, having got a man, she was deficient in the spirit becoming a woman. Similarity of mind soon draws them together, as wickedness is in general most congenial to wickedness. But the commencement of producing general confusion originated with the woman. She, accustomed to the secret

<sup>57</sup> This is noticed as the first trace of the Agrarian division by Niebuhr, i. p. 161.

<sup>58</sup> *His son*. Dionysius will have it that he was the grandson. See Nieb. i. p. 367.

conversations of the other's husband, refrained not from using the most contumelious language of her husband to his brother, of her sister to (her sister's) husband, and contended, that it were better that she herself were unmarried, and he single, than that they should be matched unsuitably, so that they must languish away through life by reason of the dastardly conduct of others. If the gods had granted her the husband of whom she was worthy, that she should soon see the crown in her own house, which she now saw at her father's. She soon inspires the young man with her own daring notions. Aruns Tarquinius and the younger Tullia, when they had, by immediate successive deaths, made their houses vacant for new nuptials, are united in marriage, Servius rather not prohibiting than approving the measure.

#### 47

Then indeed the old age of Servius began to be every day more disquieted, his reign to be more unhappy. For now the woman looked from one crime to another, and suffered not her husband to rest by night or by day, lest their past murders might go for nothing. "That what she had wanted was not a person whose wife she might be called, or one with whom she might in silence live a slave; what she had wanted was one who would consider himself worthy of the throne; who would remember that he was the son of Tarquinius Priscus; who would rather possess a kingdom than hope for it. If you, to whom I consider myself married, are such a one, I address you both as husband and king; but if not, our condition has been changed so far for the worse, as in that person crime is associated with meanness. Why not prepare yourself? It is not necessary for you, as for your father, (coming here) from Corinth or Tarquini, to strive for foreign thrones. Your household and country's gods, the image of your father, and the royal palace, and the royal throne in that palace, constitute and call you king. Or if you have too little spirit for this, why do you disappoint the nation? Why do you suffer yourself to be looked up to as a prince? Get hence to Tarquini or Corinth. Sink back again to your (original) race, more like your brother than your father." By chiding him in these and other terms, she spurs on the young man; nor can she herself rest; (indignant) that when Tanaquil, a foreign woman, could achieve so great a project, as to bestow two successive thrones on her husband, and then on her son-in-law, she, sprung from royal blood, should have no weight in bestowing and taking away a kingdom. Tarquinius, driven on by these frenzied instigations of the woman, began to go round and solicit the patricians, especially those of the younger families;<sup>59</sup> reminded them of his father's kindness, and claimed a return for it; enticed the young men by presents; increased his interest, as well by making magnificent promises on his own part, as by inveighing against the king at every opportunity. At length, as soon as the time seemed convenient for accomplishing his object, he rushed into the forum, accompanied by a party of armed men; then, whilst all were struck with dismay, seating himself on the throne before the senate-house, he ordered the fathers to be summoned to the senate-house by the crier to attend king Tarquinius. They assembled immediately, some being already prepared for the occasion, some through fear, lest their not having come might prove detrimental to them, astounded at the novelty and strangeness of the matter, and considering that it was now all over with Servius. Then Tarquinius, commencing his invectives against his immediate ancestors: "that a slave, and born of a slave, after the untimely death of his parent, without an interregnum being adopted, as on former occasions, without any comitia (being held), without the suffrages of the people, or the

<sup>59</sup> *Younger families*. These had been brought into the senate, as we have seen, by Tarquinius Priscus, and consequently favoured the Tarquinian interest. Nieb. i. p. 372.

sanction of the fathers, he had taken possession of the kingdom as the gift of a woman. That so born, so created king, ever a favourer of the most degraded class, to which he himself belongs, through a hatred of the high station of others, he had taken their land from the leading men of the state and divided it among the very meanest; that he had laid all the burdens, which were formerly common, on the chief members of the community; that he had instituted the census, in order that the fortune of the wealthier citizens might be conspicuous to (excite) public envy, and that all was prepared whence he might bestow largesses on the most needy, whenever he might please."

#### 48

When Servius, aroused by the alarming announcement, came in during this harangue, immediately from the porch of the senate-house, he says with a loud voice, "What means this, Tarquin? by what audacity hast thou dared to summon the fathers, while I am still alive? or to sit on my throne?" To this, when he fiercely replied "that he, the son of a king, occupied the throne of his father, a much fitter successor to the throne than a slave; that he (Servius) had insulted his masters full long enough by his arbitrary shuffling," a shout arises from the partisans of both, and a rush of the people into the senate-house took place, and it became evident that whoever came off victor would have the throne. Then Tarquin, necessity itself now obliging him to have recourse to the last extremity, having much the advantage both in years and strength, seizes Servius by the middle, and having taken him out of the senate-house, throws him down the steps to the bottom. He then returns to the senate-house to assemble the senate. The king's officers and attendants fly. He himself, almost lifeless, when he was returning home with his royal retinue frightened to death, and had arrived at the top of the Cyprian street, is slain by those who had been sent by Tarquin, and had overtaken him in his flight. As the act is not inconsistent with her other marked conduct, it is believed to have been done by Tullia's advice. Certain it is, (for it is readily admitted,) that driving into the forum in her chariot, and not abashed by the crowd of persons there, she called her husband out of the senate-house, and was the first to style him king; and when, on being commanded by him to withdraw from such a tumult, she was returning home, and had arrived at the top of the Cyprian street, where Diana's temple lately was, as she was turning to the right to the Orbian hill, in order to arrive at the Esquiline, the person who was driving, being terrified, stopped and drew in the reins, and pointed out to his mistress the murdered Servius as he lay. On this occasion a revolting and inhuman crime is stated to have been committed, and the place is a monument of it. They call it the Wicked Street, where Tullia, frantic and urged on by the furies of her sister and husband, is reported to have driven her chariot over her father's body, and to have carried a portion of her father's body and blood to her own and her husband's household gods, herself also being stained and sprinkled with it; through whose vengeance results corresponding to the wicked commencement of the reign were soon to follow. Tullius reigned forty-four years in such a manner that a competition with him would prove difficult even for a good and moderate successor. But this also has been an accession to his glory, that with him perished all just and legitimate reigns. This authority, so mild and so moderate, yet, because it was vested in one, some say that he had it in contemplation to resign,<sup>60</sup> had not the wickedness of his family interfered with him whilst meditating the liberation of his country.

<sup>60</sup> *To resign.* Niebuhr is of opinion that what is said regarding the Commentaries of Servius Tullius, chap. 60, has reference to this.

## 49

After this period Tarquin began his reign, whose actions procured him the surname of the Proud, for he refused his father-in-law burial, alleging, that even Romulus died without sepulture. He put to death the principal senators, whom he suspected of having been in the interest of Servius. Then, conscious that the precedent of obtaining the crown by evil means might be adopted from him against himself, he surrounded his person with armed men, for he had no claim to the kingdom except force, inasmuch as he reigned without either the order of the people or the sanction of the senate. To this was added (the fact) that, as he reposed no hope in the affection of his subjects, he found it necessary to secure his kingdom by terror; and in order to strike this into the greater number, he took cognizance of capital cases solely by himself without assessors; and under that pretext he had it in his power to put to death, banish, or fine, not only those who were suspected or hated, but those also from whom he could obtain nothing else but plunder. The number of the fathers more especially being thus diminished, he determined to elect none into the senate, in order that the order might become contemptible by their very paucity, and that they might feel the less resentment at no business being transacted by them. For he was the first king who violated the custom derived from his predecessors of consulting the senate on all subjects; he administered the public business by domestic counsels. War, peace, treaties, alliances, he contracted and dissolved with whomsoever he pleased, without the sanction of the people and senate. The nation of the Latins in particular he wished to attach to him, so that by foreign influence also he might be more secure among his own subjects; and he contracted not only ties of hospitality but affinities also with their leading men. To Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum he gives his daughter in marriage; (he was by far the most eminent of the Latin name, being descended, if we believe tradition, from Ulysses and the goddess Circe, and by this match he attaches to himself his numerous kinsmen and friends).

## 50

The influence of Tarquin among the chief men of the Latins was now considerable, when he issues an order that they should assemble on a certain day at the grove of Ferentina; that there was business about which he wished to confer with them touching their common interest. They assemble in great numbers at the break of day. Tarquinius himself observed the day indeed, but he came a little before sun-set. Many matters were there canvassed in the meeting in various conversations. Turnus Herdonius, from Aricia, inveighed violently against Tarquin for his absence. "That it was no wonder the cognomen of Proud was given him at Rome;" for they now called him so secretly and in whispers, but still generally. "Could anything be more proud than thus to trifle with the entire nation of the Latins? After their chiefs had been called at so great a distance from home, that he who summoned the meeting did not attend; that no doubt their patience was tried, in order that if they submitted to the yoke, he may crush them when at his mercy. For to whom did it not plainly appear that he was aiming at sovereignty over the Latins? But if his own countrymen did well in intrusting it to him, or if it was intrusted, and not seized on by means of murder, that the Latins also ought to intrust him (though not even so, inasmuch as he was a foreigner). But if his own subjects are dissatisfied with him, (seeing that they are butchered one upon another, driven into exile, and deprived of their property,) what better prospects are held out to the Latins? If they follow his advice, that they would depart thence, each to his own home, and take no more notice of the day of meeting than the person who appointed it." When this man,

turbulent and daring, and one who had attained influence at home by these means, was pressing these and other observations having the same tendency, Tarquin came in. This put a conclusion to his harangue. All turned away from him to salute Tarquin, who, on silence being enjoined, being advised by those next him to apologize for having come at that time, says, that he had been chosen arbiter between a father and a son; that, from his anxiety to reconcile them, he had delayed; and because that circumstance had consumed that day, that on the morrow he would transact the business which he had determined on. They say that he did not make even that observation without a remark from Turnus; "that no controversy was shorter than one between a father and son, and that it might be decided in a few words,—unless he submitted to his father, that he must prove unfortunate."

## 51

The Arician withdrew from the meeting, uttering these reflections against the Roman king. Tarquin, feeling the matter much more acutely than he appeared to do, immediately sets about planning the death of Turnus, in order that he might inspire into the Latins the same terror with which he had crushed the spirits of his own subjects at home; and because he could not be put to death openly, by virtue of his authority, he accomplished the ruin of this innocent man by bringing a false accusation against him. By means of some Aricians of the opposite faction, he bribed a servant of Turnus with gold, to suffer a great number of swords to be introduced privately into his lodging. When this had been completed in the course of one night, Tarquin, having summoned the chiefs of the Latins to him a little before day, as if alarmed by some strange occurrence, says, "that his delay of yesterday, having been occasioned as it were by some providential care of the gods, had been the means of preservation to him and them; that it was told to him that destruction was prepared by Turnus for him and the chiefs of the Latins, that he alone might obtain the government of the Latins. That he was to have made the attempt yesterday at the meeting; that the matter was deferred, because the person who summoned the meeting was absent, whom he chiefly aimed at. That thence arose that abuse of him for being absent, because he disappointed his hopes by delaying. That he had no doubt, but that if the truth were told him, he would come at the break of day, when the assembly met, attended with a band of conspirators, and with arms in his hands. That it was said that a great number of swords had been conveyed to his house. Whether that be true or not, might be known immediately. He requested that they would accompany him thence to Turnus." Both the daring temper of Turnus, and his harangue of yesterday, and the delay of Tarquin, rendered the matter suspicious, because it seemed possible that the murder might have been put off in consequence of it. They proceed then with minds inclined indeed to believe, yet determined to consider every thing false, unless the swords were detected. When they arrived there, Turnus is aroused from sleep, and guards are placed around him; and the servants, who, from affection to their master, were preparing to use force, being secured, when the swords, which had been concealed, were drawn out from all parts of the lodging, then indeed the whole matter appeared manifest, and chains were placed on Turnus; and forthwith a meeting of the Latins was summoned amid great confusion. There, on the swords being brought forward in the midst, such violent hatred arose against him, that without being allowed a defence, by a novel mode of death, being

thrown into the reservoir of the water of Ferentina, a hurdle<sup>61</sup> being placed over him, and stones being thrown into that, he was drowned.

## 52

Tarquin, having recalled the Latins to the meeting, and applauded those who had inflicted well-merited punishment on Turnus, as one convicted of parricide, by his attempting a change of government, spoke as follows: "That he could indeed proceed by a long-established right; because, since all the Latins were sprung from Alba, they were included in that treaty by which the entire Alban nation, with their colonies, fell under the dominion of Rome, under Tullus. However, for the sake of the interest of all parties, he thought rather, that that treaty should be renewed; and that the Latins should, as participators, enjoy the prosperity of the Roman people, rather than that they should be constantly either apprehending or suffering the demolition of their town and the devastations of their lands, which they suffered formerly in the reign of Ancus, afterwards in the reign of his own father." The Latins were persuaded without any difficulty, though in that treaty the advantage lay on the side of Rome; but they both saw that the chiefs of the Latin nation sided and concurred with the king, and Turnus was a recent instance of his danger to each, if he should make any opposition. Thus the treaty was renewed, and notice was given to the young men of the Latins, that, according to the treaty, they should attend in considerable numbers in arms, on a certain day, at the grove of Ferentina. And when they assembled from all the states according to the edict of the Roman king, in order that they should neither have a general of their own, nor a separate command, or their own standards, he compounded companies of Latins and Romans, so as to make one out of two, and two out of one; the companies being thus doubled, he appointed centurions over them.

## 53

Nor was Tarquin, though a tyrannical prince in peace, a despicable general in war; nay, he would have equalled his predecessors in that art, had not his<sup>62</sup> degeneracy in other respects likewise detracted from his merit here. He began the war against the Volsci, which lasted two hundred years after his time, and took from them Suessa Pometia by storm; and when by the sale of the spoils he had amassed forty talents of silver and of gold, he designed such magnificence for a temple to Jupiter, as should be worthy of the king of gods and men, of the Roman empire, and of the majesty of the place itself: for the building of this temple he set apart the money arising from the spoils. Soon after a war came upon him, more tedious than he expected, in which, having in vain attempted to storm Gabii, a city in his neighbourhood, when being repulsed from the walls all hopes of taking it by siege also was taken from him, he assailed it by fraud and stratagem, arts by no means Roman. For when, as if the war was laid aside, he pretended to be busily taken up with laying the foundation of the temple, and with his other works in the city, Sextus, the youngest of his three sons, according to concert, fled to Gabii, complaining of the inhuman cruelty of his father, "that he had turned his tyranny from others against his own family, and was uneasy at the number of his own children, intending to make the same desolations in his own house which he had made in the senate, in order that he might leave behind him no issue, nor heir to his kingdom. That for his own part, as he had escaped from amidst the swords and other weapons of his father, he was persuaded

<sup>61</sup> *Hurdle*, a mode of punishment in use among the Carthaginians. See Tac. Germ. 12. Similar to the Greek, Καταποντισμός.

<sup>62</sup> *His degeneracy—degeneratum*. This use of the passive participle is of frequent occurrence in Livy.

he could find no safety any where but among the enemies of L. Tarquin. And, that they might not be led astray, that the war, which it is now pretended has been given up, still lies in reserve, and that he would attack them when off their guard on the occurrence of an opportunity. But if there be no refuge for suppliants among them, that he would traverse all Latium, and would apply to the Volscians, and Æquians, and Hernicians, until he should come to those who knew how to protect children from the impious and cruel persecution of parents. That perhaps he would find some ardour also to take up arms and wage war against this proud king and his haughty subjects." As he seemed a person likely to go further onward, incensed with anger, if they paid him no regard, he is received by the Gabians very kindly. They bid him not to be surprised, if he were at last the same to his children as he had been to his subjects and allies;—that he would ultimately vent his rage on himself if other objects failed him;—that his coming was very acceptable to them, and they thought that it would come to pass that by his aid the war would be transferred from the gates of Gabii to the walls of Rome.

## 54

Upon this he was admitted into their public councils, where though, with regard to other matters, he professed to submit to the judgment of the old inhabitants of Gabii, to whom they were better known, yet he every now and then advised them to renew the war; to that he pretended to a superior knowledge, because he was well acquainted with the strength of both nations, and knew that the king's pride was decidedly become hateful to his subjects, which not even his own children could now endure. As he thus by degrees stirred up the nobles of the Gabians to renew the war, went himself with the most active of their youth on plundering parties and expeditions, and ill-grounded credit was attached to all his words and actions, framed as they were for deception, he is at length chosen general-in-chief in the war. There when, the people being still ignorant of what was really going on, several skirmishes with the Romans took place, wherein the Gabians generally had the advantage, then all the Gabians, from the highest to the lowest, were firmly persuaded, that Sextus Tarquinius had been sent to them as their general, by the special favour of the gods. By his exposing himself to fatigues and dangers, and by his generosity in dividing the plunder, he was so beloved by the soldiers, that Tarquin the father had not greater power at Rome than the son at Gabii. When he saw he had got sufficient strength collected to support him in any undertaking, he sent one of his confidants to Rome to ask his father what he wished him to do, seeing the gods had granted him the sole management of all affairs at Gabii. To this courier no answer by word of mouth was given, because, I suppose, he appeared of questionable fidelity. The king going into a garden of the palace, as it were to consider of the matter, followed by his son's messenger; walking there for some time in silence, he is said to have struck off the heads of the tallest poppies with his staff. The messenger, wearied with demanding and waiting for an answer, returned to Gabii as if without having accomplished his object, and told what he had said himself, and what he had observed, adding, "that Tarquin, either through passion, aversion to him, or his innate pride, had not spoke a word." As soon as it became evident to Sextus what his father wished, and what conduct he recommended by those silent intimations, he put to death the most eminent men of the city, accusing some of them to the people, and others who were exposed by their own unpopularity. Many were executed publicly, and some, against whom an impeachment was likely to prove less specious, were secretly assassinated. Means of escape were to some allowed, and others were banished, and their estates, as well as the estates of those who were put to death, publicly distributed. By the sweets of

corruption, plunder, and private advantage resulting from these distributions, the sense of the public calamities became extinguished in them, till the state of Gabii, destitute of counsel and assistance, was delivered without a struggle into the hands of the Roman king.

## 55

Tarquin, thus put in possession of Gabii, made peace with the Æquians, and renewed the treaty with the Etrurians. Then he turned his thoughts to the business of the city. The chief whereof was that of leaving behind him the temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian mount, as a monument of his name and reign; [since posterity would remember] that of two Tarquinius, both kings, the father had vowed, the son completed it. And that the area, excluding all other forms of worship, might be entirely appropriated to Jupiter, and his temple, which was to be erected upon it, he resolved to unhallow several small temples and chapels, which had been vowed first by king Tatius, in the heat of the battle against Romulus, and which he afterwards consecrated and dedicated. In the very beginning of founding this work it is said that the gods exerted their divinity to presage the future greatness of this empire; for though the birds declared for the unhallowing of all the other temples, they did not admit of it with respect to that of Terminus. This omen and augury were taken to import that Terminus's not changing his residence, and being the only one of the gods who was not called out of the places devoted to their worship, presaged the duration and stability of their empire. This being deemed an omen of the perpetuity, there followed another portending the greatness of the empire. It is reported that the head of a man, with the face entire, appeared to the workmen when digging the foundation of the temple. The sight of this phenomenon unequivocally presaged that this temple should be the metropolis of the empire, and the head of the world; and so declared the soothsayers, both those who were in the city, and those whom they had sent for from Etruria, to consult on this subject. The king was encouraged to enlarge the expense; so that the spoils of Pometia, which had been destined to complete the work, scarcely sufficed for laying the foundation. On this account I am more inclined to believe Fabius Pictor, besides his being the more ancient historian, that there were only forty talents, than Piso, who says that forty thousand pounds weight of silver were set apart for that purpose; a sum of money neither to be expected from the spoils of any one city in those times, and one that would more than suffice for the foundation of any structure, even though exhibiting the magnificence of modern structures.

## 56

Tarquin, intent upon finishing this temple, having sent for workmen from all parts of Etruria, employed on it not only the public money, but the manual labour of the people; and when this labour, by no means inconsiderable in itself, was added to their military service, still the people murmured less at their building the temples of the gods with their own hands; they were afterwards transferred to other works, which, whilst less in show, (required) still greater toil: such as the erecting benches in the circus, and conducting under ground the principal sewer,<sup>63</sup> the receptacle of all the filth of the city; to which two works even modern splendour can scarcely produce any thing equal. The people having been employed in these works, because he both considered that such a multitude was a burden to the city when there was no employment for them, and

<sup>63</sup> *The principal sewer*—the *cloaca maxima*. This is attributed to Tarquinius Priscus by several writers. Dio. iii. 67, states that it was he who commenced it. See Plin. H. N. xxxvi. Nieb. i. p. 385.

further, he was anxious that the frontiers of the empire should be more extensively occupied by sending colonists, he sent colonists to Signia and Circeii, to serve as defensive barriers hereafter to the city by land and sea. While he was thus employed a frightful prodigy appeared to him. A serpent sliding out of a wooden pillar, after causing dismay and a run into the palace, not so much struck the king's heart with sudden terror, as filled him with anxious solicitude. Accordingly when Etrurian soothsayers only were employed for public prodigies, terrified at this as it were domestic apparition, he determined on sending persons to Delphos to the most celebrated oracle in the world; and not venturing to intrust the responses of the oracle to any other person, he despatched his two sons to Greece through lands unknown at that time, and seas still more so. Titus and Aruns were the two who went. To them were added, as a companion, L. Junius Brutus, the son of Tarquinia, sister to the king, a youth of an entirely different quality of mind from that the disguise of which he had assumed. Brutus, on hearing that the chief men of the city, and among others his own brother, had been put to death by his uncle, resolved to leave nothing in his intellects that might be dreaded by the king, nor any thing in his fortune to be coveted, and thus to be secure in contempt, where there was but little protection in justice. Therefore designedly fashioning himself to the semblance of foolishness, after he suffered himself and his whole estate to become a prey to the king, he did not refuse to take even the surname of Brutus, that, concealed under the cover of such a cognomen, that genius that was to liberate the Roman people might await its proper time. He, being brought to Delphos by the Tarquini rather as a subject of sport than as a companion, is said to have brought with him as an offering to Apollo a golden rod, enclosed in a staff of cornel-wood hollowed out for the purpose, a mystical emblem of his own mind. When they arrived there, their father's commission being executed, a desire seized the young men of inquiring on which of them the sovereignty of Rome should devolve. They say that a voice was returned from the bottom of the cave, "Young men, whichever of you shall first kiss his mother shall enjoy the sovereign power at Rome." The Tarquini order the matter to be kept secret with the utmost care, that Sextus, who had been left behind at Rome, might be ignorant of the response, and have no share in the kingdom; they cast lots among themselves, as to which of them should first kiss his mother, after they had returned to Rome. Brutus, thinking that the Pythian response had another meaning, as if he had stumbled and fallen, touched the ground with his lips; she being, forsooth, the common mother of all mankind. After this they all returned to Rome, where preparations were being made with the greatest vigour for a war against the Rutulians.

## 57

The Rutulians, a nation very wealthy, considering the country and age they lived in, were at that time in possession of Ardea. Their riches gave occasion to the war; for the king of the Romans, being exhausted of money by the magnificence of his public works, was desirous both to enrich himself, and by a large booty to soothe the minds of his subjects, who, besides other instances of his tyranny, were incensed against his government, because they were indignant that they had been kept so long a time by the king in the employments of mechanics, and in labour fit for slaves. An attempt was made to take Ardea by storm; when that did not succeed, the enemy began to be distressed by a blockade, and by works raised around them. As it commonly happens in standing camps, the war being rather tedious than violent, furloughs were easily obtained, more so by the officers, however, than the common soldiers. The young princes sometimes spent their leisure hours in feasting and entertainments. One day as they were drinking

in the tent of Sextus Tarquin, where Collatinus Tarquinius, the son of Egerius, was also at supper, mention was made of wives. Every one commended his own in an extravagant manner, till a dispute arising about it, Collatinus said, "There was no occasion for words, that it might be known in a few hours how far his Lucretia excelled all the rest. If then, added he, we have any share of the vigour of youth, let us mount our horses and examine the behaviour of our wives; that must be most satisfactory to every one, which shall meet his eyes on the unexpected arrival of the husband." They were heated with wine; "Come on, then," say all. They immediately galloped to Rome, where they arrived in the dusk of the evening. From thence they went to Collatia, where they find Lucretia, not like the king's daughters-in-law, whom they had seen spending their time in luxurious entertainments with their equals, but though at an advanced time of night, employed at her wool, sitting in the middle of the house amid her maids working around her. The merit of the contest regarding the ladies was assigned to Lucretia. Her husband on his arrival, and the Tarquini, were kindly received; the husband, proud of his victory, gives the young princes a polite invitation. There the villanous passion for violating Lucretia by force seizes Sextus Tarquin; both her beauty, and her approved purity, act as incentives. And then, after this youthful frolic of the night, they return to the camp.

## 58

A few days after, without the knowledge of Collatinus, Sextus came to Collatia with one attendant only; where, being kindly received by them, as not being aware of his intention, after he had been conducted after supper into the guests' chamber, burning with passion, when every thing around seemed sufficiently secure, and all fast asleep, he comes to Lucretia, as she lay asleep, with a naked sword, and with his left hand pressing down the woman's breast, he says, "Be silent, Lucretia; I am Sextus Tarquin; I have a sword in my hand; you shall die, if you utter a word." When awaking terrified from sleep, the woman beheld no aid, impending death nigh at hand; then Tarquin acknowledged his passion, entreated, mixed threats with entreaties, tried the female's mind in every possible way. When he saw her inflexible, and that she was not moved even by the terror of death, he added to terror the threat of dishonour; he says that he will lay a murdered slave naked by her side when dead, so that she may be said to have been slain in infamous adultery. When by the terror of this disgrace his lust, as it were victorious, had overcome her inflexible chastity, and Tarquin had departed, exulting in having triumphed over a lady's honour, Lucretia, in melancholy distress at so dreadful a misfortune, despatches the same messenger to Rome to her father, and to Ardea to her husband, that they would come each with one trusty friend; that it was necessary to do so, and that quickly.<sup>64</sup> Sp. Lucretius comes with P. Valerius, the son of Volesus, Collatinus with L. Junius Brutus, with whom, as he was returning to Rome, he happened to be met by his wife's messenger. They find Lucretia sitting in her chamber in sorrowful dejection. On the arrival of her friends the tears burst from her eyes; and to her husband, on his inquiry "whether all was right," she says, "By no means, for what can be right with a woman who has lost her honour? The traces of another man are on your bed, Collatinus. But the body only has been violated, the mind is guiltless; death shall be my witness. But give me your right hands, and your honour, that the adulterer shall not come off unpunished. It is Sextus Tarquin, who, an enemy in the guise of a guest, has borne away hence a triumph fatal to me, and to himself, if you are men." They

<sup>64</sup> *To do so, and that quickly*,—a use of the participles *facto* and *maturato* similar to that already noticed in chap. 53, *degeneratum*.

all pledge their honour; they attempt to console her, distracted as she was in mind, by turning away the guilt from her, constrained by force, on the perpetrator of the crime; that it is the mind sins, not the body; and that where intention was wanting guilt could not be. "It is for you to see," says she, "what is due to him. As for me, though I acquit myself of guilt, from punishment I do not discharge myself; nor shall any woman survive her dishonour pleading the example of Lucretia." The knife, which she kept concealed beneath her garment, she plunges into her heart, and falling forward on the wound, she dropped down expiring. The husband and father shriek aloud.

## 59

Brutus, while they were overpowered with grief, having drawn the knife out of the wound, and holding it up before him reeking with blood, said, "By this blood, most pure before the pollution of royal villany, I swear, and I call you, O gods, to witness my oath, that I shall pursue Lucius Tarquin the Proud, his wicked wife, and all their race, with fire, sword, and all other means in my power; nor shall I ever suffer them or any other to reign at Rome." Then he gave the knife to Collatinus, and after him to Lucretius and Valerius, who were surprised at such extraordinary mind in the breast of Brutus. However, they all take the oath as they were directed, and converting their sorrow into rage, follow Brutus as their leader, who from that time ceased not to solicit them to abolish the regal power. They carry Lucretia's body from her own house, and convey it into the forum; and assemble a number of persons by the strangeness and atrocity of the extraordinary occurrence, as usually happens. They complain, each for himself, of the royal villany and violence. Both the grief of the father moves them, as also Brutus, the reprover of their tears and unavailing complaints, and their adviser to take up arms against those who dared to treat them as enemies, as would become men and Romans. Each most spirited of the youth voluntarily presents himself in arms; the rest of the youth follow also. From thence, after leaving an adequate garrison at the gates at Collatia, and having appointed sentinels, so that no one might give intelligence of the disturbance to the king's party, the rest set out for Rome in arms under the conduct of Brutus. When they arrived there, the armed multitude cause panic and confusion wherever they go. Again, when they see the principal men of the state placing themselves at their head, they think that, whatever it may be, it was not without good reason. Nor does the heinousness of the circumstance excite less violent emotions at Rome than it had done at Collatia; accordingly they run from all parts of the city into the forum, whither, when they came, the public crier summoned them to attend the tribune of the celeres, with which office Brutus happened to be at that time vested. There an harangue was delivered by him, by no means of that feeling and capacity which had been counterfeited up to that day, concerning the violence and lust of Sextus Tarquin, the horrid violation of Lucretia and her lamentable death, the bereavement of Tricipitinus, to whom the cause of his daughter's death was more exasperating and deplorable than the death itself. To this was added the haughty insolence of the king himself, and the sufferings and toils of the people, buried in the earth in cleansing sinks and sewers; that the Romans, the conquerors of all the surrounding states, instead of warriors had become labourers and stone-cutters. The unnatural murder of king Servius Tullius was dwelt on, and his daughter's driving over the body of her father in her impious chariot, and the gods who avenge parents were invoked by him. By stating these and other, I suppose, more exasperating circumstances, which though by no means easily detailed by writers, the heinousness of the case suggested at the time, he persuaded the multitude, already incensed, to deprive the king of his authority, and to

order the banishment of L. Tarquin with his wife and children. He himself, having selected and armed some of the young men, who readily gave in their names, set out for Ardea to the camp to excite the army against the king: the command in the city he leaves to Lucretius, who had been already appointed prefect of the city by the king. During this tumult Tullia fled from her house, both men and women cursing her wherever she went, and invoking on her the furies the avengers of parents.

## 60

News of these transactions having reached the camp, when the king, alarmed at this sudden revolution, was going to Rome to quell the commotions, Brutus, for he had notice of his approach, turned out of the way, that he might not meet him; and much about the same time Brutus and Tarquin arrived by different routes, the one at Ardea, the other at Rome. The gates were shut against Tarquin, and an act of banishment passed against him; the deliverer of the state the camp received with great joy, and the king's sons were expelled. Two of them followed their father, and went into banishment to Cære, a city of Etruria. Sextus Tarquin, having gone to Gabii, as to his own kingdom, was slain by the avengers of the old feuds, which he had raised against himself by his rapines and murders. Lucius Tarquin the Proud reigned twenty-five years: the regal form of government continued from the building of the city to this period of its deliverance, two hundred and forty-four years. Two consuls, viz. Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, were elected by the prefect of the city at the comitia by centuries, according to the commentaries of Servius Tullius.

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## Book II

*Brutus binds the people by oath, never to suffer any king to reign at Rome, obliges Tarquinius Collatinus, his colleague, to resign the consulship, and leave the state; beheads some young noblemen, and among the rest his own and his sister's sons, for a conspiracy to receive the kings into the city. In a war against the Veientians and Tarquiniensians, he engages in single combat with Aruns the son of Tarquin the Proud, and expires at the same time with his adversary. The ladies mourn for him a whole year. The Capitol dedicated. Porsena, king of Clusium, undertakes a war in favour of the Tarquins. Bravery of Horatius Cocles, and of Mucius. Porsena concludes a peace on the receipt of hostages. Conduct of Clœlia. Ap. Claudius removes from the country of the Sabines to Rome: for this reason the Claudian tribe is added to the former number, which by this means are increased to twenty-one. A. Posthumius the dictator defeats at the lake Regillus Tarquin the Proud, making war upon the Romans with an army of Latins. Secession of the commons to the Sacred Mount; brought back by Menenius Agrippa. Five tribunes of the people created. Corioli taken by C. Martius; from that he is surnamed Coriolanus. Banishment and subsequent conduct of C. M. Coriolanus. The Agrarian law first made. Sp. Cassius condemned and put to death. Oppia, a vestal virgin, buried alive for incontinence. The Fabian family undertake to carry on that war at their own cost and hazard, against the Veientians, and for that purpose send out three hundred and six men in arms, who were all cut off. Ap. Claudius the consul decimates his army because he had been unsuccessful in the war with the Veientians, by their refusing to obey orders. An account of the wars with the Volscians, Æquians, and Veientians, and the contests of the fathers with the commons.*

### 1

The affairs, civil and military, of the Roman people, henceforward free, their annual magistrates, and the sovereignty of the laws, more powerful than that of men, I shall now detail.—The haughty insolence of the late king had caused this liberty to be the more welcome: for the former kings reigned in such a manner that they all in succession might be not undeservedly set down as founders of the parts, at least of the city, which they added as new residences for the population augmented by themselves. Nor is there a doubt but that the very same Brutus who earned so much glory for expelling this haughty monarch, would have done so to the greatest injury of the public weal, if, through an over-hasty desire of liberty, he had wrested the kingdom from any of the preceding kings. For what would have been the consequence if that rabble of shepherds and strangers, fugitives from their own countries, having, under the protection of an inviolable asylum, found liberty, or at least impunity, uncontrolled by the dread of regal authority, had begun to be distracted by tribunician storms, and to engage in contests with the fathers in a strange city, before the pledges of wives and children, and love of the very soil, to which it requires a length of time to become habituated, had united their affections. Their affairs not yet matured would have been destroyed by discord, which the tranquil moderation of the government so cherished, and by proper nourishment brought to such perfection, that, their strength being now developed, they were able to produce the wholesome fruits of liberty. But the origin of liberty you may date from this period, rather because the consular authority was made annual, than that any diminution was made from the kingly prerogative. The first consuls had all their privileges and ensigns of authority, only care was taken that the terror might not appear

doubled, by both having the fasces at the same time. Brutus was, with the consent of his colleague, first attended by the fasces, who had not been a more zealous assertor of liberty than he was afterwards its guardian. First of all he bound over the people, whilst still enraptured with their newly-acquired liberty, by an oath that they would suffer no one to be king in Rome, lest afterwards they might be perverted by the importunities or bribes of the royal family. Next in order, that the fulness of the house might produce more of strength in the senate, he filled up the number of the senators, diminished by the king's murders, to the amount of three hundred, having elected the principal men of the equestrian rank; and from thence it is said the custom was derived of summoning into the senate both those who were *patres* and those who were *conscripti*.<sup>65</sup> Forsooth they styled those who were elected into the new senate *Conscripti*. It is wonderful how much that contributed to the concord of the state, and to attach the affection of the commons to the patricians.

## 2

Then attention was paid to religious matters, and as some part of the public worship had been performed by the kings in person, that they might not be missed in any respect, they elect a king of the sacrifices. This office they made subject to the pontiff, that honour being added to the name might be no infringement on their liberty, which was now their principal care. And I know not whether by fencing it on every side to excess, even in the most trivial matters, they may not have exceeded bounds. For when there was nothing else to offend, the name of one of the consuls became an object of dislike to the state. "That the Tarquini had been too much habituated to sovereignty; Priscus first commenced; that Servius Tullus reigned next; that though an interval thus intervened, that Tarquinius Superbus, not losing sight of the kingdom as the property of another, had reclaimed it by crime and violence, as the hereditary right of his family. That Superbus being expelled, the government was in the hands of Collatinus: that the Tarquini knew not how to live in a private station; the name pleased them not; that it was dangerous to liberty."—Such discourses were at first gradually circulated through the entire state by persons sounding their dispositions; and the people, now excited by jealousy, Brutus convenes to a meeting. There first of all he recites the people's oath: "that they would suffer no one to be king, nor any thing to be in Rome whence danger might result to liberty. That it ought to be maintained with all their might, and nothing that could tend that way ought to be overlooked; he said it with reluctance, for the sake of the individual; and would not say it, did not his affection for the commonwealth predominate; that the people of Rome do not believe that entire liberty has been recovered; that the regal family, the regal name, was not only in the state but even in the government; that was unfavourable, that was injurious to liberty. Do you, L. Tarquinius," says he, "do you, of your own accord, remove this apprehension. We remember, we own it, you expelled the royal family; complete your kindness; take hence the royal name—your property your fellow citizens shall not only restore you, by my advice, but if any thing is wanting they will generously supply. Depart in amity. Relieve the state from a dread which is perhaps groundless. So firmly are they persuaded in mind that only with the Tarquinian race will kingly power depart hence." Amazement at so extraordinary and sudden an occurrence at first impeded the consul's utterance; then, when he was commencing to speak, the chief men of the state stand around him, and by many importunities urge the same request. Others indeed had less weight with him. After Sp. Lucretius, superior in age and rank, his father-in-law besides,

<sup>65</sup> All were called *Patres conscripti*. Scil. *Patres et Conscripti*, the conjunction being omitted. Nieb. i. p. 517.

began to try various methods, by entreating and advising alternately, that he would suffer himself to be prevailed on by the general feeling of the state, the consul, apprehending lest hereafter these same things might befall him, when again in a private station, together with loss of property and other additional disgrace, he resigned his consulship; and removing all his effects to Lavinium, he withdrew from the state.<sup>66</sup> Brutus, according to a decree of the senate, proposed to the people, that all the family of the Tarquins should be banished from Rome; and in an assembly by centuries he elected P. Valerius, with whose assistance he had expelled the kings for his colleague.

### 3

Though nobody doubted that a war was impending from the Tarquins, yet it broke out later than was universally expected; but liberty was well nigh lost by treachery and fraud, a thing they had never apprehended. There were, among the Roman youth, several young men of no mean families, who, during the regal government, had pursued their pleasures without any restraint; being of the same age with, and companions of, the young Tarquins, and accustomed to live in princely style. Longing for that licentiousness, now that the privileges of all were equalized, they complained that the liberty of others has been converted to their slavery: "that a king was a human being, from whom you can obtain, where right, or where wrong may be necessary; that there was room for favour and for kindness; that he could be angry, and could forgive; that he knew the difference between a friend and an enemy; that laws were a deaf, inexorable thing, more beneficial and advantageous for the poor than the rich; that they allowed of no relaxation or indulgence, if you transgress bounds; that it was a perilous state, amid so many human errors, to live solely by one's integrity." Whilst their minds were already thus discontented of their own accord, ambassadors from the royal family come unexpectedly, demanding restitution of their effects merely, without any mention of return. After their application was heard in the senate, the deliberation on it lasted for several days, (fearing) lest the non-restitution might be a pretext for war, and the restitution a fund and assistance for war. In the mean time the ambassadors were planning different schemes; openly demanding the property, they secretly concerted measures for recovering the throne, and soliciting them as if for the object which appeared to be under consideration, they sound their feelings; to those by whom their proposals were favourably received they give letters from the Tarquins, and confer with them about admitting the royal family into the city secretly by night.

### 4

The matter was first intrusted to brothers of the name of Vitellii and those of the name of Aquilii. A sister of the Vitellii had been married to Brutus the consul, and the issue of that marriage were young men, Titus and Tiberius; these also their uncles admit into a participation of the plot: several young noblemen also were taken in as associates, the memory of whose names has been lost from distance of time. In the mean time, when that opinion had prevailed in the senate, which recommended the giving back of the property, and the ambassadors made use of this as a pretext for delay in the city, because they had obtained from the consuls time to procure modes of conveyance, by which they might convey away the effects of the royal family; all this time they spend in consulting with the conspirators, and by pressing they succeed in having letters given to them for the Tarquins. For otherwise how were they to believe that the accounts

<sup>66</sup> Collatinus is supposed to have earned the odium of the people, and his consequent expulsion from Rome, by his endeavours to save his nephews, the Aquillii, from punishment.

brought by the ambassadors on matters of such importance were not idle? The letters, given to be a pledge of their sincerity, discovered the plot; for when, the day before the ambassadors set out to the Tarquins, they had supped by chance at the house of the Vitellii, and the conspirators there in private discoursed much together concerning their new design, as is natural, one of the slaves, who had already perceived what was going on, overheard their conversation; but waited for the occasion when the letters should be given to the ambassadors, the detection of which would prove the transaction; when he perceived that they were given, he laid the whole affair before the consuls. The consuls, having left their home to seize the ambassadors and conspirators, crushed the whole affair without any tumult; particular care being taken of the letters, lest they should escape them. The traitors being immediately thrown into chains, a little doubt was entertained respecting the ambassadors, and though they deserved to be considered as enemies, the law of nations however prevailed.

## 5

The question concerning the restitution of the tyrants' effects, which the senate had formerly voted, came again under consideration. The fathers, fired with indignation, expressly forbid them either to be restored or confiscated. They were given to be rifled by the people, that after being made participators in the royal plunder, they might lose for ever all hopes of a reconciliation with the Tarquins. A field belonging to them, which lay between the city and the Tiber, having been consecrated to Mars, has been called the Campus Martius. It happened that there was a crop of corn upon it ready to be cut down, which produce of the field, as they thought it unlawful to use, after it was reaped, a great number of men carried the corn and straw in baskets, and threw them into the Tiber, which then flowed with shallow water, as is usual in the heat of summer; that thus the heaps of corn as it stuck in the shallows became settled when covered over with mud: by these and the afflux of other things, which the river happened to bring thither, an island was formed by degrees. Afterwards I believe that mounds were added, and that aid was afforded by art, that a surface so well raised might be firm enough for sustaining temples and porticoes. After plundering the tyrants' effects, the traitors were condemned and capital punishment inflicted. Their punishment was the more remarkable, because the consulship imposed on the father the office of punishing his own children, and him who should have been removed as a spectator, fortune assigned as the person to exact the punishment. Young men of the highest quality stood tied to a stake; but the consul's sons attracted the eyes of all the spectators from the rest of the criminals, as from persons unknown; nor did the people pity them more on account of the severity of the punishment, than the horrid crime by which they had deserved it. "That they, in that year particularly, should have brought themselves to betray into the hands of Tarquin, formerly a proud tyrant, and now an exasperated exile, their country just delivered, their father its deliverer, the consulate which took its rise from the family of the Junii, the fathers, the people, and whatever belonged either to the gods or the citizens of Rome."<sup>67</sup> The consuls seated themselves in their tribunal, and the lictors, being despatched to inflict punishment, strip them naked, beat them with rods, and strike off their heads. Whilst during all this time, the father, his looks and his countenance, presented a touching spectacle,<sup>68</sup> the feelings of the father bursting forth

<sup>67</sup> Niebuhr will have it that Brutus punished his children by his authority as a father, and that there was no appeal to the people from the father. See Nieb. i. p. 488

<sup>68</sup> *Animo patris*, the strength of his mind, though that of a father, being even more conspicuous, &c. So Drakenborch understands the passage,—this sternness of mind, he says, though he was their father, was a more remarkable spectacle than his stern countenance. This character of Brutus, as inferrible from the words thus interpreted,

occasionally during the office of superintending the public execution. Next after the punishment of the guilty, that there might be a striking example in either way for the prevention of crime, a sum of money was granted out of the treasury as a reward to the discoverer; liberty also and the rights of citizenship were granted him. He is said to have been the first person made free by the *Vindicta*; some think even that the term *vindicta* is derived from him. After him it was observed as a rule, that those who were set free in this manner were supposed to be admitted to the rights of Roman citizens.<sup>69</sup>

## 6

On these things being announced to him, as they had occurred, Tarquin, inflamed not only with grief for the frustration of such great hopes, but with hatred and resentment also, when he saw that the way was blocked up against stratagem, considering that he should have recourse to war openly, went round as a suppliant to the cities of Etruria, "that they should not suffer him, sprung from themselves, of the same blood, exiled and in want, lately in possession of so great a kingdom, to perish before their eyes, with the young men his sons. That others had been invited to Rome from foreign lands to the throne; that he, a king, extending the Roman empire by his arms, was driven out by those nearest to him by a villanous conspiracy; that they had by violence divided the parts among themselves, because no one individual among them was deemed sufficiently deserving of the kingdom; that they had given up his effects to the people to be pillaged by them, that no one might be free from that guilt. That he was desirous to recover his country and his kingdom, and to punish his ungrateful subjects. That they should bring succour and aid him; that they might also revenge the injuries done to them of old, their legions so often slaughtered, their land taken from them." These arguments prevailed on the people of Veii, and with menaces they declare that now at least, under the conduct of a Roman general, their former disgrace should be wiped off, and what they had lost in war should be recovered. His name and relation to them induced the people of Tarquinii to take part with him; it seemed an honour that their countrymen should reign at Rome. Therefore the two armies of these two states followed Tarquin in order to recover his kingdom, and to take vengeance upon the Romans. When they entered the Roman territories, the consuls marched to meet them. Valerius led up the foot in a square battalion, and Brutus marched before with his horse to reconnoitre (the enemy). Their cavalry likewise came up first; Aruns, Tarquin's son, commanded it; the king himself followed with the legions. Aruns, when he knew at a distance by the lictors that it was a consul, and on coming nigher discovered for certain that it was Brutus by his face, all inflamed with rage, he cried out, "There is the villain who has banished us from our native country! see how he rides in state adorned with the ensigns of our dignity! now assist me, gods, the avengers of kings." He put spurs to his horse and drove furiously against the consul. Brutus perceived the attack made on him; as it was honourable in these days for the generals to engage in combat, he eagerly offered himself to the combat. They encountered one another with such furious animosity, neither mindful of protecting his own person, provided he could wound his adversary; so that both, transfixed through the buckler by the blow from the opposite direction, fell lifeless from their horses, entangled together by the two spears. The engagement between the rest of the horse commenced at the same time, and soon after

coincides with that given of him by Dionysius and others. I prefer understanding the passage with Crevier, scil. symptoms of paternal affection to his children displaying themselves during the discharge of his duty in superintending the public punishment inflicted on them.

<sup>69</sup> Previously, by the institution of Servius, only such manumitted slaves were admitted to the rights of citizenship as were registered by their masters in the census.

the foot came up. There they fought with doubtful success, and as it were with equal advantage, and the victory doubtful. The right wings of both armies were victorious and the left worsted. The Veientians, accustomed to be discomfited by the Roman soldiers, were routed and put to flight. The Tarquinienses, who were a new enemy, not only stood their ground, but even on their side obliged the Romans to give way.

## 7

After the issue of this battle, so great a terror seized Tarquin and the Etrurians, that both the armies, the Veientian and Tarquinian, giving up the matter as impracticable, departed to their respective homes. They annex strange incidents to this battle,—that in the silence of the next night a loud voice was emitted from the Arsanian wood; that it was believed to be the voice of Silvanus: these words were spoken, "that more of the Etrurians by one<sup>70</sup> had fallen in the battle; that the Roman was victorious in the war." Certainly the Romans departed thence as victors, the Etrurians as vanquished. For as soon as it was light, and not one of the enemy was now to be seen, P. Valerius the consul collected the spoils, and returned thence in triumph to Rome. His colleague's funeral he celebrated with all the magnificence then possible. But a far greater honour to his death was the public sorrow, singularly remarkable in this particular, that the matrons mourned him a year,<sup>71</sup> as a parent, because he had been so vigorous an avenger of violated chastity. Afterwards the consul who survived, so changeable are the minds of the people, from great popularity, encountered not only jealousy, but suspicion, originating in an atrocious charge. Report represented that he aspired to the crown, because he had not substituted a colleague in the room of Brutus, and was building a house on the summit of Mount Velia, that there would be there an impregnable fortress on an elevated and well-fortified place. When these things, thus circulated and believed, affected the consul's mind with indignation, having summoned the people to an assembly, he mounts the rostrum, after lowering the fasces. It was a grateful sight to the multitude that the insignia of authority were lowered to them, and that an acknowledgment was made, that the majesty and power of the people were greater than that of the consul. When they were called to silence, Valerius highly extolled the good fortune of his colleague, "who after delivering his country had died vested with the supreme power, fighting bravely in defence of the commonwealth, when his glory was in its maturity, and not yet converted into jealousy. That he himself, having survived his glory, now remained as an object of accusation and calumny; that from the liberator of his country he had fallen to the level of the Aquilii and Vitellii. Will no merit then, says he, ever be so tried and approved by you, as to be exempted from the attacks of suspicion. Could I apprehend that myself, the bitterest enemy of kings, should fall under the charge of a desire of royalty? Could I believe that, even though I dwelt in the very citadel and the Capitol, that I could be dreaded by my fellow citizens? Does my character among you depend on so mere a trifle? Is my integrity so slightly founded, that it makes more matter where I may be, than what I may be. The house of Publius Valerius shall not stand in the way of your liberty, Romans; the Velian mount shall be secure to you. I will not only bring down my house into the plain, but I will build it beneath the hill, that you may dwell above me a suspected citizen. Let those build on the Velian mount to whom liberty is more securely intrusted than to P. Valerius." Immediately all the

<sup>70</sup> *Uno plus Tuscorum.* Ως ἐνὶ πλείους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τεθνήκασι Τυρρήνων ἢ Ρωμαίων.

<sup>71</sup> *A year,* scil. of ten months.

materials were brought down to the foot of the Velian mount, and the house was built at the foot of the hill where the temple of Victory now stands.

## 8

After these laws were passed, which not only cleared him of all suspicions of aiming at the regal power, but had so contrary a tendency, that they made him popular. From thence he was surnamed Poplicola. Above all, the laws regarding an appeal to the people against the magistrates, and that devoting the life and property of any one who should form a design of assuming regal authority, were grateful to the people. And after he had passed these while sole consul, so that the merit in them was exclusively his own, he then held an assembly for the election of a new colleague. Sp. Lucretius was elected consul, who being very old, and his strength being inadequate to discharge the consular duties, dies in a few days. M. Horatius Pulvillus was substituted in the room of Lucretius. In some old writers I find no mention of Lucretius as consul; they place Horatius immediately after Brutus. I believe that, because no important event signaled his consulate, it has been unnoticed. Jupiter's temple in the Capitol had not yet been dedicated; the consuls Valerius and Horatius cast lots which should dedicate it. It fell by lot to Horatius. Publicola departed to the war of the Veientians. The friends of Valerius were more annoyed than they should have been, that the dedication of so celebrated a temple should be given to Horatius.<sup>72</sup> Having endeavoured by every means to prevent that, when all other attempts had been tried in vain, when the consul was now holding the door-post during his offering of prayer to the gods, they suddenly announce to him the shocking intelligence that his son was dead, and that his family being defiled<sup>73</sup> he could not dedicate the temple. Whether he did not believe the fact, or possessed such great firmness of mind, is neither handed down for certain, nor is a conjecture easy. Diverted from his purpose at this intelligence in no other way than to order that the body should be buried,<sup>74</sup> he goes through the prayer, and dedicates the temple. These were the transactions at home and abroad the first year after the expulsion of the kings. After this P. Valerius, a second time, and Titus Lucretius, were elected consuls.

## 9

By this time the Tarquins had fled to Lars<sup>75</sup> Porsena, king of Clusium. There, mixing advice with their entreaties, "They sometimes besought him not to suffer them, who were descended from the Etrurians, and of the same blood and name, to live in exile and poverty; at other times they advised him not to let this commencing practice of expelling kings pass unpunished. That liberty has charms enough in itself; and unless kings defend their crowns with as much vigour as the people pursue their liberty, that the highest must be reduced to a level with the lowest; there will be nothing exalted, nothing distinguished above the rest; and hence there must be an end of regal government, the most beautiful institution both among gods and men." Porsena, thinking that it would be an honour to the Tuscans both that there should be a king at Rome, and especially one of the Etrurian nation, marched towards Rome with a hostile army. Never before on any other occasion did so great terror seize the senate; so powerful was the state of Clusium at the time, and so great the renown of Porsena. Nor

<sup>72</sup> The Horatii being of the *minores patres*. Nieb. i. p. 533.

<sup>73</sup> *Funesta familia*, as having in it an unburied corpse. Thus Misenus, whilst unburied, *incestat funere classem*. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 150.

<sup>74</sup> He here rejected the omen. Cic. i. 7, 14.; auguria aut *oblativa* sunt, quæ non poscuntur, aut *impetrativa*, quæ optata veniunt. The latter could not be rejected.

<sup>75</sup> *Lar*. This is generally understood to have been a title of honour equivalent to our term *Lord*.

did they only dread their enemies, but even their own citizens, lest the common people, through excess of fear, should, by receiving the Tarquins into the city, accept peace even if purchased with slavery. Many conciliatory concessions were therefore granted to the people by the senate during that period. Their attention, in the first place, was directed to the markets, and persons were sent, some to the Volscians, others to Cumæ, to buy up corn. The privilege<sup>76</sup> of selling salt, also, because it was farmed at a high rent, was all taken into the hands of government,<sup>77</sup> and withdrawn from private individuals; and the people were freed from port-duties and taxes; that the rich, who were adequate to bearing the burden, should contribute; that the poor paid tax enough if they educated their children. This indulgent care of the fathers accordingly kept the whole state in such concord amid the subsequent severities in the siege and famine, that the highest abhorred the name of king not more than the lowest; nor was any single individual afterwards so popular by intriguing practices, as the whole senate then was by their excellent government.

## 10

Some parts seemed secured by the walls, others by the interposition of the Tiber. The Sublician bridge well nigh afforded a passage to the enemy, had there not been one man, Horatius Cocles, (that defence the fortune of Rome had on that day,) who, happening to be posted on guard at the bridge, when he saw the Janiculum taken by a sudden assault, and that the enemy were pouring down from thence in full speed, and that his own party, in terror and confusion, were abandoning their arms and ranks, laying hold of them one by one, standing in their way, and appealing to the faith of gods and men, he declared, "That their flight would avail them nothing if they deserted their post; if they passed the bridge and left it behind them, there would soon be more of the enemy in the Palatium and Capitol than in the Janiculum; for that reason he advised and charged them to demolish the bridge, by their sword, by fire, or by any means whatever; that he would stand the shock of the enemy as far as could be done by one man." He then advances to the first entrance of the bridge, and being easily distinguished among those who showed their backs in retreating from the fight, facing about to engage the foe hand to hand, by his surprising bravery he terrified the enemy. Two indeed a sense of shame kept with him, Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius, men eminent for their birth, and renowned for their gallant exploits. With them he for a short time stood the first storm of the danger, and the severest brunt of the battle. But as they who demolished the bridge called upon them to retire, he obliged them also to withdraw to a place of safety on a small portion of the bridge still left. Then casting his stern eyes round all the officers of the Etrurians in a threatening manner, he sometimes challenged them singly, sometimes reproached them all; "the slaves of haughty tyrants, who, regardless of their own freedom, came to oppress the liberty of others." They hesitated for a considerable time, looking round one at the other, to commence the fight; shame then put the army in motion, and a shout being raised, they hurl their weapons from all sides on their single adversary; and when they all stuck in the shield held before him, and he with no less

<sup>76</sup> *Arbitrium* signifies not only the "privilege," but the "rent" paid for such privilege, or right of monopoly.

<sup>77</sup> *Was all taken into the hands of government.* In my version of this passage I have conformed to the emendation of the original first proposed by Gronovius, and admitted by Stroth and Bekker; scil. *in publicum omne sumptum*.—They did not let these salt-works by auction, but took them into their own management, and carried them on by means of persons employed to work on the public account. These salt-works, first established at Ostia by Ancus, were, like other public property, farmed out to the publicans. As they had a high rent to pay, the price of salt was raised in proportion; but now the patricians, to curry favour with the plebeians, did not let the salt-pits to private tenants, but kept them in the hands of public labourers, to collect all the salt for the public use; and appointed salesmen to retail it to the people at a cheaper rate. See Stocker's ed.

obstinacy kept possession of the bridge with firm step, they now endeavoured to thrust him down from it by one push, when at once the crash of the falling bridge, at the same time a shout of the Romans raised for joy at having completed their purpose, checked their ardour with sudden panic. Then Cocles says, "Holy father Tiberinus, I pray that thou wouldst receive these arms, and this thy soldier, in thy propitious stream." Armed as he was, he leaped into the Tiber, and amid showers of darts hurled on him, swam across safe to his party, having dared an act which is likely to obtain more fame than credit with posterity. The state was grateful towards such valour; a statue was erected to him in the comitium, and as much land was given to him as he ploughed around in one day. The zeal of private individuals also was conspicuous among the public honours. For, amid the great scarcity, each person contributed something to him according to his supply at home, depriving himself of his own support.

## 11

Porsena being repulsed in his first attempt, having changed his plans from a siege to a blockade, after he had placed a garrison in Janiculum, pitched his camp in the plain and on the banks of the Tiber. Then sending for boats from all parts, both to guard the river, so as not to suffer any provision to be conveyed to Rome, and also to transport his soldiers across the river, to plunder different places as occasion required; in a short time he so harassed the entire country round Rome, that not only every thing else from the country, but even their cattle, was driven into the city, and nobody durst venture thence without the gates. This liberty of action was granted to the Etrurians, not more through fear than from policy; for Valerius, intent on an opportunity of falling unawares upon a number of them, and when straggling, a remiss avenger in trifling matters, reserved the weight of his vengeance for more important occasions. Wherefore, to decoy the pillagers, he ordered his men to drive their cattle the next day out at the Esquiline gate, which was farthest from the enemy, presuming that they would get intelligence of it, because during the blockade and famine some slaves would turn traitors and desert. Accordingly they were informed of it by a deserter, and parties more numerous than usual, in hopes of seizing the entire body, crossed the river. Then P. Valerius commanded T. Herminius, with a small body of men, to lie concealed two miles from the city, on the Gabian road, and Sp. Lartius, with a party of light-armed troops, to post himself at the Colline gate till the enemy should pass by, and then to throw himself in their way so that there may be no return to the river. The other consul, T. Lucretius, marched out of the Nævian gate with some companies of soldiers; Valerius himself led some chosen cohorts down from the Cœlian mount, and they were first descried by the enemy. Herminius, when he perceived the alarm, rose out of the ambush and fell upon the rear of the Tuscans, who had charged Valerius. The shout was returned on the right and left, from the Colline gate on the one hand, and the Nævian on the other. By this stratagem the plunderers were put to the sword between both, they not being a match in strength for fighting, and all the ways being blocked up to prevent escape: this put an end to the Etrurians strolling about in so disorderly a manner.

## 12

Nevertheless the blockade continued, and there was a scarcity of corn, with a very high price. Porsena entertained a hope that by continuing the siege he should take the city, when C. Mucius, a young nobleman, to whom it seemed a disgrace that the Roman people, when enslaved under kings, had never been confined within their walls in any war, nor by any enemy, should now when a free people be blocked up by these very

Etrurians whose armies they had often routed, thinking that such indignity should be avenged by some great and daring effort, at first designed of his own accord to penetrate into the enemy's camp. Then, being afraid if he went without the permission of the consuls, or the knowledge of any one, he might be seized by the Roman guards and brought back as a deserter, the circumstances of the city at the time justifying the charge, he went to the senate: "Fathers," says he, "I intend to cross the Tiber, and enter the enemy's camp, if I can; not as a plunderer, or as an avenger in our turn of their devastations. A greater deed is in my mind, if the gods assist." The senate approved his design. He set out with a sword concealed under his garment. When he came thither, he stationed himself among the thickest of the crowd, near the king's tribunal. There, when the soldiers were receiving their pay, and the king's secretary sitting by him, dressed nearly in the same style, was busily engaged, and to him they commonly addressed themselves, being afraid to ask which of them was Porsena, lest by not knowing the king he should discover on himself, as fortune blindly directed the blow, he killed the secretary instead of the king. When, as he was going off thence where with his bloody dagger he had made his way through the dismayed multitude, a concourse being attracted at the noise, the king's guards immediately seized and brought him back standing alone before the king's tribunal; even then, amid such menaces of fortune, more capable of inspiring dread than of feeling it, "I am," says he, "a Roman citizen, my name is Caius Mucius; an enemy, I wished to slay an enemy, nor have I less of resolution to suffer death than I had to inflict it. Both to act and to suffer with fortitude is a Roman's part. Nor have I alone harboured such feelings towards you; there is after me a long train of persons aspiring to the same honour. Therefore, if you choose it, prepare yourself for this peril, to contend for your life every hour; to have the sword and the enemy in the very entrance of your pavilion; this is the war which we the Roman youth declare against you; dread not an army in array, nor a battle; the affair will be to yourself alone and with each of us singly." When the king, highly incensed, and at the same time terrified at the danger, in a menacing manner, commanded fires to be kindled about him, if he did not speedily explain the plots, which, by his threats, he had darkly insinuated against him; Mucius said, "Behold me, that you may be sensible of how little account the body is to those who have great glory in view;" and immediately he thrusts his right hand into the fire that was lighted for the sacrifice. When he continued to broil it as if he had been quite insensible, the king, astonished at this surprising sight, after he had leaped from his throne and commanded the young man to be removed from the altar, says, "Be gone, having acted more like an enemy towards thyself than me. I would encourage thee to persevere in thy valour, if that valour stood on the side of my country. I now dismiss you untouched and unhurt, exempted from the right of war." Then Mucius, as if making a return for the kindness, says, "Since bravery is honoured by you, so that you have obtained by kindness that which you could not by threats, three hundred of us, the chief of the Roman youth, have conspired to attack you in this manner. It was my lot first. The rest will follow, each in his turn, according as the lot shall set him forward, unless fortune shall afford an opportunity of you."

### 13

Mucius being dismissed, to whom the cognomen of Scævola was afterwards given, from the loss of his right hand, ambassadors from Porsena followed him to Rome. The risk of the first attempt, from which nothing had saved him but the mistake of the assailant, and the risk to be encountered so often in proportion to the number of conspirators, made so strong an impression upon him, that of his own accord he made propositions of

peace to the Romans. Mention was made to no purpose regarding the restoration of the Tarquinius to the throne, rather because he had been unable to refuse that to the Tarquinius, than from not knowing that it would be refused to him by the Romans. The condition of restoring their territory to the Veientians was obtained by him, and the necessity of giving hostages in case they wished the garrison to be withdrawn from the Janiculum was extorted from the Romans. Peace being concluded on these terms, Porsena drew his troops out of the Janiculum, and marched out of the Roman territories. The fathers gave Mucius, as a reward of his valour, lands on the other side of the Tiber, which were afterwards called the Mucian meadows. By this honour paid to valour the women were excited to merit public distinctions. As the camp of the Etrurians had been pitched not far from the banks of the Tiber, a young lady named Clælia, one of the hostages, deceiving her keepers, swam over the river, amidst the darts of the enemy, at the head of a troop of virgins, and brought them all safe to their relations. When the king was informed of this, at first highly incensed, he sent deputies to Rome to demand the hostage Clælia; that he did not regard the others; and afterwards, being changed into admiration of her courage, he said, "that this action surpassed those of Cocles and Mucius," and declared, "as he would consider the treaty as broken if the hostage were not delivered up, so, if given up, he would send her back safe to her friends." Both sides kept their faith: the Romans restored their pledge of peace according to treaty; and with the king of Etruria merit found not only security, but honour; and, after making encomiums on the young lady, promised to give her, as a present, half of the hostages, and that she should choose whom she pleased. When they were all brought out, she is said to have pitched upon the young boys below puberty, which was both consonant to maiden delicacy, and by consent of the hostages themselves it was deemed reasonable, that that age which was most exposed to injury should be freed from the enemy's hand. The peace being re-established, the Romans marked the uncommon instance of bravery in the woman, by an uncommon kind of honour, an equestrian statue; (the statue representing) a lady sitting on horseback was placed at the top of the Via Sacra.

#### 14

Inconsistent with this so peaceful a departure of the Etrurian king from the city, is the custom handed down from the ancients, and which continues down to our times among other usages at public sales, (I mean) that of selling the goods of king Porsena; the origin<sup>78</sup> of which custom must either have occurred during the war, and was not relinquished in peace, or it must have increased from a milder source than the form of expression imports, of selling the goods in a hostile manner. Of the accounts handed down, the most probable is, that Porsena, on retiring from the Janiculum, made a present to the Romans of his camp well stored with provisions conveyed from the neighbouring and fertile fields of Etruria, the city being then exhausted by the long siege; that this, lest it should be carried away in a hostile manner, by the people being admitted in, was then sold, and called the goods of Porsena, the expression rather importing gratitude for the gift, than an auction of the king's property, which never even was in the power of the Roman people. Porsena, after ending the Roman war, that his army might not seem to have been led into these parts without effecting any thing, sent his son Aruns with a part of his forces to besiege Aricia. The matter not being expected, the Aricians were at first terrified; afterwards assistance, which was sent for from the people of Latium and Cumæ, inspired so much hope, that they ventured to meet them in

<sup>78</sup> *The origin.* Niebuhr mentions a more probable one. See Nieb. i. p. 541; ii. p. 204.

the field. At the commencement of the battle the Etrurians attacked the Aricians so furiously, that they routed them at the first onset. But the Cuman cohorts, opposing stratagem to force, moved off a little to one side, and when the enemy were carried beyond them in great disorder, they faced about and charged them in the rear. By this means the Etrurians, when they had almost got the victory, were enclosed and cut to pieces.<sup>79</sup> A very small part of them, having lost their general, because they had no nearer refuge, came to Rome without their arms, in the condition and with the air of suppliants. There they were kindly received and provided with lodgings. When their wounds were cured, many of them went home and told the kind hospitality they had met with. Affection for their hosts and for the city detained many at Rome; a place was assigned them to dwell in, which they have ever since called the Tuscan Street.

## 15

Then P. Lucretius and P. Valerius Publicola were elected consuls. This year ambassadors came from Porsena for the last time, regarding the restoration of Tarquin to the throne. And when they were answered, that the senate would send deputies to the king; some of the principal persons of that order were forthwith despatched to represent to him "that it was not because the answer could not have been given in a few words, that the royal family would not be received, that select members of the senate had been deputed to him, rather than an answer given to his ambassadors at Rome; but (it was done) that all mention of the matter might be put an end to for evermore, and that their minds might not be disturbed amid so many mutual acts of kindness, by his requiring what was adverse to the liberty of the Roman people, and by their denying to him to whom they would willingly deny nothing, unless they would submit to their own ruin. That the Roman people were not now under a kingly government, but in a state of freedom, and were firmly determined rather to open their gates to enemies than to kings. That it was the wish of all, that their city might have the same period of existence as their freedom in that city. Wherefore, if he wished Rome to be safe, they entreated that he would suffer it to be free." The king, overcome by modesty, says, "Since it is your firm and fixed resolve, I will neither tease you by repeatedly urging these same subjects more frequently, nor will I disappoint the Tarquini by holding out hopes of aid which it is not in my power to give them; whether they have need of peace, or of war, let them seek another place from here for their exile, that nothing may disturb the peace between you and me." To these kind promises he added actions still more friendly, for he delivered up the remainder of the hostages, and restored to them the land of the Veintians, which had been taken from them by the treaty concluded at Janiculum. Tarquin, all hopes of return being now cut off, went to Tusculum to live in exile with his son-in-law Mamilius Octavius. Thus the peace between Porsena and the Romans was inviolably preserved.

## 16

M. Valerius and P. Posthumius were chosen consuls. This year war was carried on successfully against the Sabines; the consuls received the honour of a triumph. Upon this the Sabines made preparations for war on a larger scale. To make head against them, and lest any sudden danger might arise from Tusculum, (whence they suspected a war, though it was not yet declared,) P. Valerius was created consul a fourth time, and T. Lucretius a second time. A disturbance arising among the Sabines, between the advisers

<sup>79</sup> Niebuhr thinks, that from this defeat of the Etrurians may be dated the commencement of the recovery of their liberty by the Romans, and that the flight of the Roman hostages, the sale of Porsena's goods, &c. were subsequent to it.

of war and of peace, transferred from thence some additional strength to the Romans. For Attus Clausus, afterwards called at Rome Appius Claudius, when he himself, being an adviser of peace, was hard put to it by those who abetted the war, and was not a match for the faction, fled from Regillum to Rome, accompanied by a great number of clients. The rights of citizenship and land on the other side of the Anio were conferred on them. It was called the old Claudian tribe, and was increased by the addition of some tribesmen who had come from that country. Appius, being chosen into the senate, was soon after advanced, to the highest dignity of that order. The consuls having entered the territories of the Sabines with a hostile army, after they had, both by laying waste their country, and afterwards by defeating them in battle, so weakened the power of the enemy, that they had no reason to dread their taking up arms again for a long time, returned to Rome in triumph. The following year, Agrippa Menenius and P. Posthumius being consuls, P. Valerius, allowed by universal consent to be the ablest man in Rome, in the arts both of peace and war, died in the height of glory, but so poor, that means to defray the expenses of his funeral were wanting: he was buried at the public charge. The matrons mourned for him as they had done for Brutus. The same year two Latin colonies, Pometia and Cora, revolted to the Auruncians. War was commenced against the Auruncians, and after defeating a numerous army of them who boldly met the consuls entering their frontiers, the whole Auruncian war was confined to Pometia. Nor, after the battle was over, did they refrain from slaughter more than in the heat of the action; for a greater number were slain than taken, and the prisoners they put to death indiscriminately. Nor did the enemy, in their resentment, spare even the three hundred hostages which they had received. This year also the consuls triumphed at Rome.

## 17

The following consuls, Opiter Virginius and Sp. Cassius, first endeavoured to take Pometia by storm, and afterwards by raising vineæ and other works. But the Auruncians, prompted more by an irreconcilable hatred against them, than induced by hopes of success, or by a favourable opportunity, sallied out of the town, and though more of them were armed with lighted torches than swords, filled all places with fire and slaughter. After they had burnt down the vineæ, slain and wounded many of the enemy, they were near killing one of the consuls, who had been thrown from his horse and severely wounded (which of them authors do not mention). Upon this they returned to Rome, foiled in their object; the consul was left among many more who were wounded with very uncertain hopes of his recovery. After a short time, sufficient for curing their wounds and recruiting their army, they marched against Pometia with redoubled fury and augmented strength. When, the vineæ having been repaired and the other apparatus of war, the soldiers were on the point of scaling the walls, the town surrendered. Yet though the town had surrendered, the leading men of the Auruncians, with no less cruelty than if it had been taken by assault, were beheaded indiscriminately; the others who were colonists were sold by auction, the town was razed, and the land sold. The consuls obtained a triumph more from having severely gratified their revenge, than in consequence of the importance of the war thus brought to a close.

## 18

The following year had Postumus Cominius and T. Lartius for consuls. On this year, during the celebration of the games at Rome, as some of the courtesans were being carried off by some of the Sabine youth in a frolic, a mob having assembled, a scuffle

ensued, and almost a battle; and from this inconsiderable affair the whole nation seemed inclined to a renewal of hostilities. Besides the dread of the Latin war, this accession was further made to their fears; certain intelligence was received that thirty different states had entered into a confederacy against them, at the instigation of Octavius Mamilius. While the city was perplexed amid this expectation of such important events, mention was made for the first time of nominating a dictator. But in what year or who the consuls<sup>80</sup> were in whom confidence was not reposed, because they were of the Tarquinian faction, (for that also is recorded,) or who was elected dictator for the first time, is not satisfactorily established. Among the oldest writers however I find that Titus Lartius was appointed the first dictator, and Spurius Cassius master of the horse. They chose men of consular dignity, for so the law, made for the election of a dictator, ordained. For this reason, I am more inclined to believe that Lartius, who was of consular rank, was annexed to the consuls as their director and master, rather than Manius Valerius, the son of Marcus and grandson of Volesus, who had not yet been consul. For, had they intended to choose a dictator from that family in particular, they would much rather have chosen his father, Marcus Valerius, a consular person, and a man of distinguished merit. On the creation of the dictator first at Rome, when they saw the axes carried before him, great awe struck the common people, so that they became more submissive to obey orders. For neither was there now, as under the consuls who possessed equal power, the assistance of one of the two, nor was there appeal, nor was there any resource any where but in attentive submission. The creation of a dictator at Rome terrified the Sabines, and the more effectually, because they thought he was created on their account.<sup>81</sup> Wherefore they sent ambassadors to sue for peace, to whom, when earnestly entreating the dictator and senate to pardon the young men's offence, an answer was given that the young men could easily be forgiven, but not the old men, who continually raised one war after another. Nevertheless they continued to treat about a peace, and it would have been granted, if the Sabines would bring themselves to make good the expenses incurred on the war (for that was demanded). War was proclaimed; a tacit truce kept the year quiet.

## 19

Servius Sulpicius and M. Tullius were consuls the next year: nothing worth mentioning happened. Then T. Æbutius and C. Vetusius. In their consulship, Fidenæ was besieged, Crustumeria taken, and Præneste revolted from the Latins to the Romans. Nor was the Latin war, which had been fomenting for several years, any longer deferred. A. Postumius dictator, and T. Æbutius his master of the horse, marching with a numerous army of horse and foot, met the enemy's forces at the lake Regillus, in the territory of Tusculum, and, because it was heard that the Tarquins were in the army of the Latins, their rage could not be restrained, but they must immediately come to an engagement. Accordingly the battle was more obstinate and fierce than usual. For the generals were present not only to direct matters by their orders, but even charged one another, exposing their own persons. And there was hardly any of the principal officers of either side who came off unwounded except the Roman dictator. As Postumius was drawing up his men and encouraging them in the first line, Tarquinius Superbus, though now enfeebled by age, spurred on his horse with great fury to attack him; but being wounded

<sup>80</sup> *Nec quibus consulibus parum creditum sit, scil. fides non habita fuerit.* Arnold in his Roman Hist. considers this to have been the true cause of creating a dictator.

<sup>81</sup> *Eo magis quod propter se.* From this one would be disposed to suspect that the dictator was created to take on him the management of war. See Nieb. p. 553, and Niebhr. Epit. by Twiss, Append. p. 355.

in the side, he was carried off by a party of his own men to a place of safety. In the other wing also, Æbutius, master of the horse, had charged Octavius Mamilius; nor was his approach unobserved by the Tusculan general, who also briskly spurred on his horse to encounter him. And such was their impetuosity as they advanced with hostile spears, that Æbutius was run through the arm and Mamilius struck on the breast. The Latins received the latter into their second line; but as Æbutius was not able to wield his lance with his wounded arm, he retired from the battle. The Latin general, not in the least discouraged by his wound, stirs up the fight; and because he saw his own men begin to give ground, sent for a company of Roman exiles to support them, commanded by Tarquin's son. This body, inasmuch as they fought with greater fury from having been banished from their country, and lost their estates, restored the battle for a short time.

## 20

When the Romans were beginning to give ground on that side, M. Valerius, brother to Poplicola, having observed young Tarquin boldly figuring away at the head of his exiles, fired with the renown of his family, that the slaying of the princes might belong to the same family whose glory their expulsion had been, clapped spurs to his horse, and with his javelin presented made towards Tarquin. Tarquin retired from his violent enemy into a battalion of his own men. As Valerius rushed rashly into the line of the exiles, one of them ran him sideways through the body, and as the horse was in no way retarded by the wound of his rider, the expiring Roman fell to the ground, his arms falling over him. Postumius the dictator, on seeing so distinguished a man slain, the exiles advancing boldly in a body, and his own men disheartened and giving ground, gives the signal to his own cohort, a chosen body of men which he kept for the defence of his person, to treat every Roman soldier whom they should see fly from the battle as an enemy. Upon this the Romans, by reason of the danger on both sides, turned from their flight against the enemy, and, the battle being restored, the dictator's cohort now for the first time engaged in the fight, and with fresh vigour and undaunted resolution falling on the wearied exiles, cut them to pieces. Here another engagement took place between the leading officers. The Latin general, on seeing the cohort of the exiles almost surrounded by the Roman dictator, advanced in haste to the front with some companies of the body of reserve. T. Herminius, a lieutenant-general, having seen them moving in a body, and well knowing Mamilius, distinguished from the rest by his armour and dress, encountered the leader of the enemy with a force so much superior to that wherewith the general of the horse had lately done, that at one thrust he ran him through the side and slew him; and while stripping the body of his enemy, he himself received a wound with a javelin; and though brought back to the camp victorious, yet he died during the first dressing of it. Then the dictator flies to the cavalry, entreating them in the most pressing terms, as the foot were tired out with fighting, to dismount from their horses and join the fight. They obeyed his orders, dismounted, flew to the front, and taking their post at the first line, cover themselves with their targets. The infantry immediately recovered courage, when they saw the young noblemen sustaining a share of the danger with them, the mode of fighting being now assimilated. Thus at length were the Latins beaten back, and their line giving way,<sup>82</sup> they retreated. The horses were then brought up to the cavalry that they might pursue the enemy, and the infantry likewise followed. On this, the dictator, omitting nothing (that could conciliate) divine or human aid, is said to have vowed a temple to Castor, and likewise to have promised rewards to the first and second of the soldiers who should enter the enemy's camp. And such was their

<sup>82</sup> By giving up the advantage of their horses, and forgetting their superiority of rank.

ardour, that the Romans took the camp with the same impetuosity wherewith they had routed the enemy in the field. Such was the engagement at the lake Regillus. The dictator and master of the horse returned to the city in triumph.

## 21

For the next three years there was neither settled peace nor open war. The consuls were Q. Clælius and T. Lartius. After them A. Sempronius and M. Minucius. In their consulship, a temple was dedicated to Saturn, and the Saturnalia appointed to be kept as a festival. Then A. Postumius and T. Virginius were chosen consuls. In some authors I find that the battle at the lake Regillus was not fought till this year, and that A. Postumius, because the fidelity of his colleague was suspected, laid down his office, and thereupon was created dictator. Such great mistakes of dates perplex one with the history of these times, the magistrates being arranged differently in different writers, that you cannot determine what consuls succeeded certain consuls,<sup>83</sup> nor in what particular year every remarkable action happened, by reason of the antiquity, not only of the facts, but also of the historians. Then Ap. Claudius and P. Servilius were elected consuls. This year was remarkable for the news of Tarquin's death. He died at Cumæ, whither he had fled to the tyrant Aristodemus, after the reduction of the power of the Latins. The senate and people were elated by this news. But with the senators their satisfaction was too extravagant, for by the chief men among them oppression began to be practised on the people to whom they had to that day been attentive to the utmost of their power. The same year the colony which king Tarquin had sent to Signia was recruited by filling up the number of the colonists. The tribes at Rome were increased to twenty-one. And the temple of Mercury was dedicated the fifteenth of May.

## 22

During the Latin war, there had been neither peace nor war with the nation of the Volscians; for both the Volscians had raised auxiliary troops to send to the Latins had not so much expedition been used by the Roman dictator, and the Roman employed this expedition that he might not have to contend in one and the same battle with the Latin and the Volscian. In resentment of this, the consuls marched their army into the Volscian territory; the unexpected proceeding alarmed the Volscians, who dreaded no chastisement of mere intention; unmindful of arms, they gave three hundred children of the principal men of Cora and Pometia as hostages. Upon this the legions were withdrawn without coming to any action. Not long after their natural disposition returned to the Volscians, now delivered of their fears; they again make secret preparation for war, having taken the Hernicians into an alliance with them. They send ambassadors in every direction to stir up Latium. But the recent defeat received at the lake Regillus, could scarcely restrain the Latins from offering violence to the ambassadors through resentment and hatred of any one who would advise them to take up arms. Having seized the Volscians, they brought them to Rome. They were there delivered up to the consuls, and information was given that the Volscians and Hernicians were making preparations for war against the Romans. The matter being referred to the senate, it was so gratifying to the senators that they both sent back six thousand prisoners to the Latins, and referred to the new magistrates the business regarding the treaty, which had been almost absolutely refused them. Upon this indeed the Latins were heartily glad at what they had done, the advisers of peace were in high esteem. They send a crown of gold to the Capitol as an offering to Jupiter. Along with the

<sup>83</sup> Qui consules secundum quosdam, who were the consuls that came after certain consuls.

ambassadors and the offering there came a great crowd, consisting of the prisoners who had been sent back to their friends. They proceed to the houses of those persons with whom each had been in servitude, and return thanks for their having been generously kept and treated during their calamity. They then form connexions of hospitality. And never at any former time was the Latin name more closely united to the Roman state, either by public or private ties.

### 23

But both the Volscian war was threatening, and the state, being disturbed within itself, glowed with intestine animosity between the senate and people, chiefly on account of those confined for debt. They complained loudly, that whilst fighting abroad for liberty and dominion, they were captured and oppressed at home by their fellow citizens; and that the liberty of the people was more secure in war than in peace, among enemies than among their fellow citizens; and this feeling of discontent, increasing of itself, the striking sufferings of an individual still further aggravated. A certain person advanced in years threw himself into the forum with all the badges of his miseries on him. His clothes were all over squalid, the figure of his body still more shocking, being pale and emaciated. In addition, a long beard and hair had impressed a savage wildness on his countenance; in such wretchedness he was known notwithstanding, and they said that he had been a centurion, and compassionating him they mentioned openly other distinctions (obtained) in the service: he himself exhibited scars on his breast, testimonies of honourable battles in several places. To persons repeatedly inquiring, whence that garb, whence that ghastly appearance of body, (the multitude having now assembled around him almost like a popular assembly,) he says, "that whilst serving in the Sabine war, because he had not only been deprived of the produce of his land in consequence of the depredations of the enemy, but also his residence had been burned down, all his effects pillaged, his cattle driven off, a tax imposed on him at a time very distressing to him, he had incurred debt; that this debt, aggravated by usury, had stripped him first of his father's and grandfather's farm, then of his other property; lastly that a pestilence, as it were, had reached his person. That he was taken by his creditor, not into servitude, but into a house of correction and a place of execution." He then showed his back disfigured with the marks of stripes still recent. At the hearing and seeing of this a great uproar takes place. The tumult is now no longer confined to the forum, but spreads through the entire city. Those who were confined for debt, and those who were now at their liberty, hurry into the streets from all quarters and implore the protection of the people. In no place is there wanting a voluntary associate of sedition. They run through all the streets in crowds to the forum with loud shouts. Such of the senators as happened to be in the forum, fell in with this mob with great peril to themselves; nor would they have refrained from violence, had not the consuls, P. Servilius and Ap. Claudius, hastily interfered to quell the disturbance. The multitude turning towards them, and showing their chains and other marks of wretchedness, said that they deserved all this, taunting them (the consuls) each with the military services performed by himself, one in one place, and another in another. They require them with menaces, rather than as suppliants, to assemble the senate, and stand round the senate-house in a body, determined themselves to be witnesses and directors of the public counsels. Very few of the senators, whom chance had thrown in the way, were forced to attend the consuls; fear prevented the rest from coming not only to the house, but even to the forum. Nor could any thing be done by reason of the thinness of the senate. Then indeed the people began to think their demand was eluded, and the redress of their

grievances delayed; that such of the senators as had absented themselves did so not through chance or fear, but on purpose to obstruct the business. That the consuls themselves trifled with them, that their miseries were now a mere subject of mockery. By this time the sedition was come to such a height, that the majesty of the consuls could hardly restrain the violence of the people. Wherefore, uncertain whether they incurred greater danger by staying at home, or venturing abroad, they came at length to the senate; but though the house was at length full, a want of agreement manifested itself, not only among the fathers, but even between the consuls themselves. Appius, a man of violent temper, thought the matter was to be done by the authority of the consuls, and that if one or two were seized, the rest would be quiet. Servilius, more inclined to moderate measures, thought that while their minds were in this ferment, it would be both more safe and more easy to bend than to break them. Amidst these debates, another terror of a more serious nature presented itself.

## 24

Some Latin horse came full speed to Rome, with the alarming news that the Volscians were marching with a hostile army, to besiege the city, the announcement of which (so completely had discord made the state two from one) affected the senators and people in a far different manner. The people exulted with joy, and said, that the gods were come as avengers of the tyranny of the fathers. They encouraged one another not to enrol their names, that it was better that all should perish together, than that they should perish alone. That the patricians should serve as soldiers, that the patricians should take up arms, so that the perils of war should remain with those with whom the advantages were. But the senate, dejected and confounded by the two-fold terror, that from their own countrymen, and that from the enemy, entreated the consul Servilius, whose temper was more conciliating, that he would extricate the commonwealth beset with such great terrors. Then the consul, dismissing the senate, proceeds into the assembly. There he shows them that the senate were solicitous that care should be taken for the people's interest: but their alarm for the whole commonwealth had interrupted their deliberation regarding that which was no doubt the greatest part, but yet only a part; nor could they, when the enemy were almost at the gates, allow any thing to take precedence of war: nor, if there should be some respite, was it either to the credit of the people not to have taken up arms in defence of their country unless they first receive a recompence, nor consistent with the dignity of the senators that they adopted measures of relief for the distresses of their countrymen through fear rather than afterwards from inclination. He gave additional confidence to the assembly by an edict, by which he ordained that no one "should detain a Roman citizen either in chains or in prison, so as to hinder his enrolling his name under the consuls. And that nobody should either seize or sell the goods of any soldier, while he was in the camp, or arrest his children or grandchildren." This ordinance being published, the debtors under arrest who were present immediately entered their names, and crowds of persons hastening from all quarters of the city from their confinement, as their creditors had no right to detain their persons, ran together into the forum to take the military oath. These made up a considerable body of men, nor was the bravery or activity of the others more conspicuous in the Volscian war. The consul led out his army against the enemy, and pitched his camp at a little distance from them.

## 25

The next night the Volscians, relying on the dissension among the Romans, made an attempt on their camp, to see if any desertion or treachery might be resorted to during the night. The sentinels on guard perceived them; the army was called up, and the signal being given they ran to arms. Thus that attempt of the Volscians was frustrated; the remainder of the night was dedicated to repose on both sides. The next morning at daybreak the Volscians, having filled the trenches, attacked the rampart. And already the fortifications were being demolished on every side, when the consul, although all on every side, and more especially the debtors, cried out that he should give the signal, having delayed a little while for the purpose of trying the feelings of the soldiers, when their great ardour became sufficiently apparent, having at length given the signal for sallying forth, he lets out the soldiers now impatient for the fight. At the very first onset the enemy were routed; the rear of them who fled was harassed, as long as the infantry was able to overtake them; the cavalry drove them in consternation to their very camp. In a little time the camp itself was taken and plundered, the legions having surrounded it, as the panic had driven the Volscians even from thence also. On the next day the legions being led to Suessa Pometia, whither the enemy had retreated, in a few days the town is taken; when taken, it was given up for plunder: by these means the needy soldiers were somewhat relieved. The consul leads back his victorious army to Rome with the greatest glory to himself: as he is setting out for Rome, the deputies of the Ecetrans, (a part) of the Volscians, alarmed for their state after the taking of Pometia, come to him. By a decree of the senate peace is granted them, but their land is taken from them.

## 26

Immediately after the Sabines also caused an alarm to the Romans; but it was rather a tumult than a war. It was announced in the city during the night that a Sabine army had advanced as far as the river Anio, plundering the country: that the country houses there were pillaged and burnt down indiscriminately. A. Postumius, who had been dictator in the Latin war, was immediately sent against them with all the horse. The consul Servilius followed him with a chosen body of foot. The cavalry cut off most of the stragglers; nor did the Sabine legion make any resistance against the foot when they came up with them. Being tired both by their march and their plundering the country in the night, and a great number of them being surfeited with eating and drinking in the cottages, they had scarcely sufficient strength for flight. The Sabine war being thus heard of and finished in one night, on the following day, amid sanguine hope of peace being secured in every quarter, ambassadors from the Auruncians come to the senate, proclaiming war unless the troops are withdrawn from the Volscian territory. The army of the Auruncians had set out from home simultaneously with the ambassadors; the report of which having been seen not far from Aricia, excited such a tumult among the Romans, that neither the senate could be consulted in regular form, nor could they, while themselves taking up arms, give a pacific answer to those advancing against them in arms. They march to Aricia with a determined army, come to an engagement not far from thence, and in one battle put an end to the war.

## 27

After the defeat of the Auruncians, the people of Rome, victorious in so many wars within a few days, were expecting the promises of the consul and the engagement of the senate (to be made good). But Appius, both through his natural pride, and in order to undermine the credit of his colleague, issued his decrees regarding borrowed money,

with all possible severity. And from this time, both those who had been formerly in confinement were delivered up to their creditors, and others also were taken into custody. When this happened to a soldier, he appealed to the colleague, and a crowd gathered about Servilius: they represented to him his promises, severally upbraided him with their services in war, and with the scars they had received. They loudly called upon him to lay the matter before the senate, and that, as consul, he would relieve his fellow citizens, as a general, his soldiers. These remonstrances affected the consul, but the situation of affairs obliged him to back out; so completely had not only his colleague, but the whole body of the patricians, adopted an entirely opposite course. And thus, by acting a middle part, he neither escaped the odium of the people, nor gained the favour of the senators. The fathers looked upon him as a weak, popularity-hunting consul, and the people considered him as a deceiver. And it soon appeared that he was as odious to them as Appius himself. A dispute had happened between the consuls, as to which should dedicate the temple of Mercury. The senate referred the affair from themselves to the people, and ordained that to whichever of them the dedication should be granted by order of the people, he should preside over the markets, establish a company of merchants, and perform the functions of a pontifex maximus. The people gave the dedication of the temple to M. Lætorius, the centurion of the first legion, that it might plainly appear to have been done not so much out of respect to a person on whom an honour above his rank had been conferred, as to affront the consuls. Upon this one of the consuls particularly, and the senators, were highly incensed. But the people had acquired courage, and proceeded in a manner quite different from what they had at first intended. For when they despaired of redress from the consuls and senate, upon seeing a debtor led to the court, they flew together from all quarters. And neither the decree of the consul could be heard in consequence of the noise and clamour, nor, when he had pronounced the decree, did any one obey it. All was managed by violence, and the entire dread and danger with respect to personal liberty, was transferred from the debtors to the creditors, who were severally abused by the crowd in the very sight of the consul. In addition to all this, the dread of the Sabine war spread, and when a levy was decreed, nobody gave in his name; Appius being enraged, and bitterly inveighing against the ambitious arts of his colleague, who by his popular silence was betraying the republic, and besides his not passing sentence against the debtors, likewise neglected to raise the levies, after they had been voted by the senate. Yet he declared, that "the commonwealth was not entirely deserted, nor the consular authority altogether debased. That he alone would vindicate both his own dignity and that of the senators." When a daily mob, emboldened by licentiousness, stood round him, he commanded a noted ringleader of the sedition to be apprehended. He, as the lictors were carrying him off, appealed to the people; nor would the consul have allowed the appeal, because there was no doubt regarding the judgment of the people, had not his obstinacy been with difficulty overcome, rather by the advice and influence of the leading men, than by the clamours of the people; so much resolution he had to bear the weight of their odium. The evil gained ground daily, not only by open clamours, but, which was far more dangerous, by a secession and by secret meetings. At length the consuls, so odious to the commons, went out of office: Servilius liked by neither party, Appius highly esteemed by the senators.

## 28

Then A. Virginius and T. Vetusius enter on the consulship. Upon this the commons, uncertain what sort of consuls they were to have, held nightly meetings, some of them

upon the Esquiline, and others upon the Aventine hill, that they might not be confused by hasty resolutions in the forum, or take their measures inconsiderately and without concert. The consuls, judging this proceeding to be of dangerous tendency, as it really was, laid the matter before the senate. But they were not allowed after proposing it to take the votes regularly; so tumultuously was it received on all sides by the clamours and indignation of the fathers, at the consuls throwing on the senate the odium of that which should have been put down by consular authority. "That if there really were magistrates in the republic, there would have been no council in Rome but the public one. That the republic was now divided and split into a thousand senate-houses and assemblies, some of which were held on the Esquiline, others on the Aventine hill. That one man, in truth such as Appius Claudius, for that that was more than a consul, would in a moment disperse these private meetings." When the consuls, thus rebuked, asked them, "What they desired them to do, for that they would act with as much energy and vigour as the senators wished," they resolve that they should push on the levies as briskly as possible, that the people were become insolent from want of employment. When the house broke up, the consuls ascend the tribunal and summon the young men by name. But none of them made any answer, and the people crowding round them, as if in a general assembly, said, "That the people would no longer be imposed on. They should never list one soldier till the public faith was made good. That liberty should be restored to each before arms were given, that they might fight for their country and fellow citizens, and not for arbitrary lords." The consuls fully understood the orders they had received from the senate, but they saw none of those who had talked so big within the walls of the senate-house present themselves to take any share with them in the public odium. A desperate contest with the commons seemed at hand. Therefore, before they would have recourse to extremities, they thought it advisable to consult the senate a second time. Then indeed the younger senators flocked in a hurry round the chairs of the consuls, commanding them to abdicate the consulate, and resign an office which they had not courage to support.

## 29

Having sufficiently tried both<sup>84</sup> ways, the consuls at length said, "Conscript fathers, lest you may say that you were not forewarned, a great disturbance is at hand. We require that they who accuse us most severely of cowardice, would assist us in raising the levies; we shall proceed according to the resolution of the most intrepid amongst you, since it so pleases you." They return to their tribunal, and on purpose commanded one of the most factious of the people, who stood in their view, to be called upon by name. When he stood mute, and a number of men stood round him in a ring, to prevent his being seized, the consuls sent a lictor to him. He being repulsed, such of the fathers as attended the consuls, exclaiming against it as an intolerable insult, ran in a hurry from the tribunal to assist the lictor. But when the violence was turned from the lictor, who suffered nothing else but being prevented from seizing him, against the fathers, the riot was quelled by the interposition of the consuls, in which however, without stones or weapons, there was more noise and angry words than mischief done. The senate, called in a tumultuous manner, is consulted in a manner still more tumultuous; such as had been beaten, calling out for an inquiry, and the most violent members declaring their sentiments no less by clamours and noise than by their votes. At length, when their passion had subsided, the consuls reproaching them with there being as much disorderly conduct in the senate as in the forum, the house began to vote in regular

<sup>84</sup> The determination of the plebeians and senators.

order. There were three different opinions: P. Virginius did not make the<sup>85</sup> matter general. He voted that they should consider only those who, relying on the promise of P. Servilius the consul, had served in a war against the Auruncans and Sabines. Titius Largius was of opinion, "That it was not now a proper time to reward services only. That all the people were immersed in debt, and that a stop could not be put to the evil, unless measures were adopted for all. And that if the condition of different parties be different, the divisions would rather be thereby inflamed than composed." Appius Claudius, who was naturally severe, and, by the hatred of the commons on the one hand, and praises of the senators on the other, was become quite infuriated, said, "That these riots proceeded not from distress, but from licentiousness. That the people were rather wanton than violent. That this terrible mischief took its rise from the right of appeal; since threats, not authority, was all that belonged to the consuls, while permission was given to appeal to those who were accomplices in the crime. Come," added he, "let us create a dictator from whom there lies no appeal; this madness, which hath set every thing in a flame, will immediately subside. Let any one dare then to strike a lictor, when he shall know that his back, and even his life, are in the power of that person whose authority he has insulted."

### 30

To many the opinion of Appius appeared, as it really was, severe and violent. On the other hand, those of Virginius and Largius were not safe for the precedent they established; especially they thought that of Largius so, as it would destroy all credit. The opinion of Virginius was reckoned to be most moderate, and a happy medium between the other two. But through the spirit of faction and a regard of private interest, which always have and always will obstruct the public councils, Appius prevailed, and was himself near being created dictator; which step would certainly have alienated the commons at this most dangerous juncture, when the Volsci, the Æqui, and the Sabines happened to be all in arms at the same time. But the consuls and elder senators took care that this office, in its own nature uncontrollable, should be committed to a man of moderate temper. They choose Manius Valerius, son of Volesus, dictator. The people, though they saw that this magistrate was created against themselves, yet as they had got the right of appeal by his brother's law, dreaded nothing oppressive or tyrannical from that family. An edict of the dictator's, which was almost the same with that published by the consul Servilius, afterwards confirmed their minds. But judging it safer to confide in both the man and in the absolute power with which he was vested, they gave in their names, desisting from all contest. Ten legions were levied, a greater army than had ever been raised before. Each of the consuls had three legions assigned him, and the dictator commanded four. Nor could the war be deferred any longer. The Æqui had made incursions upon the Latin territory; the deputies of the Latins begged the senate either to send them assistance, or to allow them to arm themselves for the purpose of defending their own frontiers. It seemed safer that the Latins should be defended without arming, than to allow them to take up arms again. Wherefore Vetusius the consul was sent to their assistance; this immediately put a stop to the devastations. The Æqui retired from the plains, and depending more on the advantage of the ground than on their arms, secured themselves on the summits of the mountains. The other consul, having marched against the Volsci, in order that he too might not waste time, challenged the enemy to pitch their camp nigh to his, and to risk an engagement by ravaging their lands. Both armies stood in order of battle before their lines in a plain

<sup>85</sup> *rem non vulgabat*, was not for extending the relief to all.

between the two camps. The Volsci had considerably the advantage in number. Accordingly they rushed on to the fight, in a careless manner, and as if contemptuously. The Roman consul neither advanced his forces, and not suffering the enemy's shouts to be returned, he ordered them to stand still with their spears fixed in the ground, and when the enemy came up, to draw their swords and fall upon them with all their force. The Volsci, wearied with running and shouting, set upon the Romans as if they had been quite benumbed through fear; but when they found the vigorous resistance that was made, and saw their swords glittering before their face, they turned their backs in great disorder, just as if they had fallen into an ambuscade. Nor had they strength sufficient even for flight, as they had advanced to the battle in full speed. The Romans, on the other hand, as they had not stirred from their ground in the beginning of the action, being fresh and vigorous, easily overtook the enemy, who were weary, took their camp by assault, and after driving them thence, pursued them to Velitræ, into which the conquered and conquerors entered in a body. By the promiscuous slaughter which was here made of all ranks, there was more blood spilt than in the battle itself. Quarter was given to a small number of them, who threw down their arms and surrendered.

### 31

Whilst these things are going on among the Volsci, the dictator routs, puts to flight, and strips of their camp, the Sabines, where by far the most serious part of the war lay. By a charge of his cavalry he had thrown into confusion the centre of the enemy's line, where, by the wings extending themselves too far, they had not strengthened their line by a suitable depth of files.<sup>86</sup> The infantry fell upon them in this confusion, by one and the same charge their camp was taken and the war concluded. There was no other battle in those times more memorable than this since the action at the lake Regillus. The dictator is borne into the city in triumph. Besides the usual honours, a place in the circus was assigned to him and his descendants, to see the public games; a curule chair was fixed in that place. The lands of Velitræ were taken from the conquered Volsci: colonists were sent from the city to Velitræ, and a colony planted there. Soon after there was an engagement with the Æqui, but contrary to the wish of the consul, because they had to approach the enemy by disadvantageous ground. But the soldiers complaining that the war was on purpose spun out, that the dictator might resign his office before they returned home to the city, and so his promises might fall to the ground without effect, as those of the consul had done before, forced him at all hazards to march his army up the hill. This imprudent step, by the cowardice of the enemy, turned out successfully; for before the Romans came within reach of a dart, the Æqui, quite amazed at their boldness, abandoned their camp, which was situated in a very strong position, and ran down into the valleys on the opposite side.<sup>87</sup> In it abundance of booty was found, and the victory was a bloodless one. Matters being thus successfully managed in war in three different directions, anxiety respecting the event of their domestic differences had left neither the senators nor the people. With such powerful influence, and with such art also, had the money-lenders made their arrangements, so as to disappoint not only the people, but even the dictator himself. For Valerius, after the return of the consul Vetusius, first of all matters brought before the senate that relating to the victorious people, and proposed the question, what it was their determination should be done with respect to those confined for debt. And when this motion was rejected, "I am not

<sup>86</sup> i. e. by deepening the files.

<sup>87</sup> "On the opposite side." Gronovius proposes instead of *adversus* to read *aversas*: scil. the valleys behind them, or in their rear.

acceptable," says he, "as an adviser of concord. You will ere long wish, depend on it, that the commons of Rome had patrons similar to me. For my part, I will neither further disappoint my fellow citizens, nor will I be dictator to no purpose. Intestine dissensions, foreign wars, caused the republic to require such a magistrate. Peace has been secured abroad, it is impeded at home. I will be a witness to disturbance as a private citizen rather than as dictator." Then quitting the senate-house, he abdicated his dictatorship. The case appeared to the commons, that he had resigned his office indignant at the treatment shown to them. Accordingly, as if his engagements to them had been fully discharged, since it had not been his fault that they were not made good, they attended him when returning to his home with approbation and applause.

### 32

Fear then seized the senators lest, if the army should be dismissed, secret meetings and conspiracies would be renewed; wherefore though the levy had been held by the dictator, yet supposing that, as they had sworn obedience to the consuls, the soldiers were bound by their oath, under the pretext of hostilities being renewed by the Æqui, they ordered the legions to be led out of the city; by which proceeding the sedition was hastened. And it is said that at first it was in contemplation to put the consuls to death, that they might be discharged from their oath: but that being afterwards informed that no religious obligation could be dissolved by a criminal act, they, by the advice of one Sicinius, retired, without the orders of the consuls, to the sacred mount, beyond the river Anio, three miles from the city: this account is more general than that which Piso has given, that the secession was made to the Aventine. There without any leader, their camp being fortified with a rampart and trench, remaining quiet, taking nothing but what was necessary for sustenance, they kept themselves for several days, neither being attacked, nor attacking others. Great was the panic in the city, and through mutual fear all was suspense. The people left in the city dreaded the violence of the senators; the senators dreaded the people remaining in the city, uncertain whether they should prefer them to stay or to depart; but how long would the multitude which had seceded, remain quiet? what were to be the consequences then, if, in the mean time, any foreign war should break out? they certainly considered no hope left, save in the concord of the citizens; this should be restored to the state by fair or by unfair means. It was resolved therefore that there should be sent as ambassador to the people, Menenius Agrippa, an eloquent man, and one who was a favourite with the people, because he derived his origin from them. He being admitted into the camp, is said to have related to them merely the following story in that antiquated and uncouth style; "At a time when all the parts in the human body did not, as now, agree together, but the several members had each its own scheme, its own language, the other parts, indignant that every thing was procured for the belly by their care, labour, and service; that the belly, remaining quiet in the centre, did nothing but enjoy the pleasures afforded it. They conspired accordingly, that the hands should not convey food to the mouth, nor the mouth receive it when presented, nor the teeth chew it: whilst they wished under the influence of this feeling to subdue the belly by famine, the members themselves and the entire body were reduced to the last degree of emaciation. Thence it became apparent that the service of the belly was by no means a slothful one; that it did not so much receive nourishment as supply it, sending to all parts of the body this blood by which we live and possess vigour, distributed equally to the veins when perfected by the digestion of the food." By comparing in this way how similar the intestine sedition of the body was

to the resentment of the people against the senators, he made an impression on the minds of the multitude.

### 33

Then a commencement was made to treat of a reconciliation, and among the conditions it was allowed, "that the commons should have their own magistrates, with inviolable privileges, who should have the power of bringing assistance against the consuls, and that it should not be lawful for any of the patricians to hold that office." Thus two tribunes of the commons were created, Caius Licinius and L. Albinus. These created three colleagues for themselves. It is clear that among these was Sicinius, the adviser of the sedition; with respect to two, who they were is not so clear. There are some who say, that only two tribunes were elected on the sacred mount, and that there the devoting law was passed. During the secession of the commons, Sp. Cassius and Postumus Cominius entered on the consulship. During their consulship, the treaty with the Latin states was concluded. To ratify this, one of the consuls remained at Rome; the other being sent to the Volscian war, routs and puts to flight the Volscians of Antium, and continuing his pursuit of them, now that they were driven into the town of Longula, he takes possession of the town. Next he took Polusca, also belonging to the Volscians; then he attacked Corioli with all his force. There was then in the camp, among the young noblemen, C. Marcius, a youth distinguished both for intelligence and courage, who afterwards attained the cognomen of Coriolanus. When, as the Roman army was besieging Corioli, and was wholly intent on the townspeople, whom they kept shut up, without any apprehension of war threatening from without, the Volscian legion, setting out from Antium, suddenly attacked them, and, at the same time the enemy sallied forth from the town, Marcius happened to be on guard. He with a chosen body of men not only repelled the attack of those who had sallied out, but boldly rushed in through the open gate, and having cut down all in the part of the city nearest him, and having hastily seized some fire, threw it in the houses adjoining to the wall. Upon this the shouts of the townsmen mingling with the wailings of the women and children, occasioned by the first fright,<sup>88</sup> as is usual, both increased the courage of the Romans, and dispirited the Volscians, seeing the city captured to the relief of which they had come. Thus the Volsci of Antium were defeated, the town of Corioli was taken. And so much did Marcius by his valour eclipse the reputation of the consul, that had not the treaty concluded with the Latins by Sp. Cassius alone, because his colleague was absent, served as a memorial of it, it would have been forgotten that Postumus Cominius had conducted the war with the Volscians. The same year dies Agrippa Menenius, a man during all his life equally a favourite with the senators and commons, still more endeared to the commons after the secession. To this man, the mediator and umpire in restoring concord among his countrymen, the ambassador of the senators to the commons, the person who brought back the commons to the city, were wanting the expenses of his funeral. The people buried him by the contribution of a sextans from each person.

### 34

T. Geganius and P. Minutius were next elected consuls. In this year, when every thing was quiet from war abroad, and the dissensions were healed at home, another much more serious evil fell upon the state; first a scarcity of provisions, in consequence of the lands lying untilld during the secession of the commons; then a famine such as befalls those who are besieged. And it would have ended in the destruction of the slaves at

<sup>88</sup> I have here adopted the reading of Stacker and others, scil. *ad terrorem, ut solet, primum ortus*.

least, and indeed some of the commons also, had not the consuls adopted precautionary measures, by sending persons in every direction to buy up corn, not only into Etruria on the coast to the right of Ostia, and through the Volscians along the coast on the left as far as Cumæ, but into Sicily also, in quest of it. So far had the hatred of their neighbours obliged them to stand in need of aid from distant countries. When corn had been bought up at Cumæ, the ships were detained in lieu of the property of the Tarquinius by the tyrant Aristodemus, who was their heir. Among the Volsci and in the Pomptine territory it could not even be purchased. The corn dealers themselves incurred danger from the violence of the inhabitants. Corn came from Etruria by the Tiber: by means of this the people were supported. Amid this distressing scarcity they would have been harassed by a very inconvenient war, had not a dreadful pestilence attacked the Volsci when about to commence hostilities. The minds of the enemy being alarmed by this calamity, so that they were influenced by some terror, even after it had abated, the Romans both augmented the number of their colonists at Velitræ, and despatched a new colony to the mountains of Norba, to serve as a barrier in the Pomptine district. Then in the consulship of M. Minucius, and A. Sempronius, a great quantity of corn was imported from Sicily, and it was debated in the senate at what rate it should be given to the commons. Many were of opinion, that the time was come for putting down the commons, and for recovering those rights which had been wrested from the senators by secession and violence. In particular, Marcius Coriolanus, an enemy to tribunitian power, says, "If they desire the former rate of provisions, let them restore to the senators their former rights. Why do I, after being sent under the yoke, after being, as it were, ransomed from robbers, behold plebeian magistrates, and Sicinius invested with power? Shall I submit to these indignities longer than is necessary? Shall I, who would not have endured King Tarquin, tolerate Sicinius. Let him now secede, let him call away the commons. The road lies open to the sacred mount and to other hills. Let them carry off the corn from our lands, as they did three years since. Let them have the benefit of that scarcity which in their frenzy they have occasioned. I will venture to say, that, brought to their senses by these sufferings, they will themselves become tillers of the lands, rather than, taking up arms and seceding, they would prevent them from being tilled." It is not so easy to say whether it should have been done, as I think that it might have been practicable for the senators, on the condition of lowering the price of provisions, to have rid themselves of both the tribunitian power, and all the restraints imposed on them against their will.<sup>89</sup>

### 35

This proposal both appeared to the senate too harsh, and from exasperation well nigh drove the people to arms: "that they were now assailed with famine, as if enemies, that they were defrauded of food and sustenance, that the foreign corn, the only support which fortune unexpectedly furnished to them, was being snatched from their mouth, unless the tribunes were given up in chains to C. Marcius, unless he glut his rage on the backs of the commons of Rome. That in him a new executioner had started up, who ordered them to die or be slaves." An assault would have been made on him as he left the senate-house, had not the tribunes very opportunely appointed him a day for trial; by this their rage was suppressed, every one saw himself become the judge, the arbiter

<sup>89</sup> i. e. I think it might have been done; whether it would have been right to do so, it is not so easy to decide. Livy means to say that it was possible enough for the senators, by lowering the price of corn, to get rid of the tribunes, &c. Such a judgment is easily formed; it is not, however, he says, so easy to determine, whether it would have been expedient to follow the advice of Coriolanus.

of the life and death of his foe. At first Marcius heard the threats of the tribunes with contempt.—"That the right to afford aid, not to inflict punishment, had been granted to that office; that they were tribunes of the commons and not of the senators." But the commons had risen with such violent determination, that the senators were obliged to extricate themselves from danger by the punishment of one.<sup>90</sup> They resisted however, in spite of popular odium, and employed, each individual his own powers, and all those of the entire order. And first, the trial was made whether they could upset the affair, by posting their clients (in several places), by deterring individuals from attending meetings and cabals. Then they all proceeded in a body (you would suppose that all the senators were on their trial) earnestly entreating the commons, that if they would not acquit as innocent, they would at least pardon as guilty, one citizen, one senator. As he did not attend on the day appointed, they persevered in their resentment. Being condemned in his absence, he went into exile to the Volsci, threatening his country, and even then breathing all the resentment of an enemy. The Volsci received him kindly on his arrival, and treated him still more kindly every day in proportion as his resentful feelings towards his countrymen became more striking, and one time frequent complaints, another time threats were heard. He lodged with Attius Tullus. He was then the chief man of the Volscian people, and always a determined enemy of the Romans. Thus, when old animosity stimulated the one, recent resentment the other, they concert schemes for (bringing about) a war with Rome. They did not at once believe that their people could be persuaded to take up arms, so often unsuccessfully tried. That by the many frequent wars, and lastly, by the loss of their youth in the pestilence, their spirits were now broken; that they must have recourse to art, in a case where animosity had become blunted from length of time, that their feelings might become exasperated by some fresh cause of resentment.

### 36

It happened that preparations were being made at Rome for a repetition of the<sup>91</sup> great games; the cause of repeating them was this: on the morning of the games, the show not yet being commenced, a master of a family, after flogging his slave loaded with a neck-yoke, had driven him through the middle of the circus; after this the games were commenced, as if that circumstance bore no relation to religion. Not long after it. Atinius, a plebeian, had a dream. Jupiter seemed to him to say; "that the person who danced previous to the games had displeased him; unless these games were renewed on a splendid scale, that the city would be in danger; that he should go and announce these things to the consuls." Though his mind was not altogether free from superstitious feelings, his respectful awe of the dignity of the magistrates overcame his religious fear, lest he might pass into the mouths of people as a laughing-stock. This delay cost him dear; for he lost his son within a few days; and lest the cause of this sudden calamity should be doubtful, that same phantom, presenting itself to him sorrowful in mind, seemed to ask him, whether he had received a sufficient requital for his contempt of the deity; that a still heavier one awaited him, unless he went immediately and delivered the message to the consuls. The matter was now still more pressing. Hesitating, however, and delaying he was at length overtaken by a severe stroke of disease, a sudden paralysis. Then indeed the anger of the gods aroused him. Wearied out therefore by his past sufferings and by those threatening him, having convened a meeting of his

<sup>90</sup> i. e. the senate found themselves reduced to the necessity of delivering one up to the vengeance of the people, in order to save themselves from the further consequences of plebeian rage.

<sup>91</sup> The same as the Circenses.

friends, after he had detailed to them all he had seen and heard, and Jupiter's having so often presented himself to him in his sleep, the threats and anger of heaven realized<sup>92</sup> in his own calamities, by the unhesitating assent of all who were present he is conveyed in a litter into the forum to the consuls; from thence being conveyed into the senate-house, after he had stated those same particulars to the senators, to the great surprise of all, behold another miracle: he who had been conveyed into the senate-house deprived of the use of all his limbs, is recorded to have returned home on his own feet after he discharged his duty.

### 37

The senate decreed that the games should be celebrated on as grand a scale as possible. To these games a great number of Volscians came by the advice of Attius Tullus. Before the games were commenced, Tullus, as had been concerted at home with Marcius, comes to the consuls. He tells them that there were matters on which he wished to treat with them in private concerning the commonwealth. All witnesses being removed, he says, "With reluctance I say that of my countrymen which is rather disparaging.<sup>93</sup> I do not however come to allege against them any thing as having been committed by them, but to guard against their committing any thing. The minds of our people are far more fickle than I could wish. We have felt that by many disasters; seeing that we are still preserved, not through our own deserts, but through your forbearance. There is now here a great multitude of Volscians. The games are going on; the city will be intent on the exhibition. I remember what has been committed in this city on a similar occasion by the youth of the Sabines. My mind shudders lest any thing should be committed inconsiderately and rashly. I considered, that these matters should be mentioned before-hand to you, consuls. With regard to myself, it is my determination to depart hence home immediately, lest, if present, I may be affected by the contagion of any word or deed." Having said this, he departed. When the consuls laid before the senate the matter, doubtful with respect to proof, though from credible authority, the authority more than the thing itself, as usually happens, urged them to adopt even needless precautions; and a decree of the senate being passed, that the Volscians should quit the city, criers are sent in different directions to order them all to depart before night. A great panic struck them at first as they ran about to their lodgings to carry away their effects. Afterwards, when setting out, indignation arose in their breasts: "that they, as if polluted with crime and contaminated, were driven away from the games, on festival days, from the converse in a manner of men and gods."

### 38

As they went along in an almost continuous body, Tullus having preceded them to the fountain of Ferentina, accosting the chiefs among them according as each arrived, by asking questions and expressing indignation, he led both themselves, who greedily listened to language congenial<sup>94</sup> to their angry feelings, and through them the rest of the multitude, into a plain adjoining to the road. There having commenced an address after the manner of a public harangue, he says, "Though you were to forget the former ill treatment of the Roman people and the calamities of the nation of the Volsci, and all other such matters, with what feelings do you bear this outrage offered you to-day, whereon they have commenced their games by insulting us? Have you not felt that a

<sup>92</sup> *Realized*—*repræsentatas*—quasi præsentis factas, oculis subjectas—presented as it were to the sight.—*Rasch.*

<sup>93</sup> *Sequius sit*—otherwise than as it should be.

<sup>94</sup> *Audientes secunda iræ verba*—attentively listening to words which fanned (or chimed in with) their anger.—*St.*

triumph has been had over you this day? that you, when departing, were a spectacle to all, citizens, foreigners, so many neighbouring states? that your wives, your children were exhibited before the eyes of men? What do you suppose to have been the sentiments of those who heard the voice of the crier? what of those who saw you departing? what of those who met this ignominious cavalcade? what, except that we are identified with some enormous guilt by which we should profane the games, and render an expiation necessary; that for this reason we are driven away from the residences of these pious people, from their converse and meeting? what, does it not strike you that we still live because we hastened our departure? if this is a departure and not a flight. And do you not consider this to be the city of enemies, where if you had delayed a single day, you must have all died? War has been declared against you; to the heavy injury of those who declared it, if you are men." Thus, being both already charged with resentment, and incited (by this harangue) they went severally to their homes, and by instigating each his own state, they succeeded in making the entire Volscian nation revolt.

### 39

The generals selected for that war by the unanimous choice of all the states were Attius Tullus and Caius Marcius; in the latter of whom their chief hope was reposed. And this hope he by no means disappointed: so that it clearly appeared that the Roman commonwealth was more powerful by reason of its generals than its army. Having marched to Circeii, he expelled from thence the Roman colonists, and delivered that city in a state of freedom to the Volscians. From thence passing across the country through by-roads into the Latin way, he deprived the Romans of their recently acquired towns, Satricum, Longula, Polusca, Corioli. He next retook Lavinium: he then took in succession Corbio, Vitellia, Trebia, Lavici, and Pedum: Lastly he marches from Pedum to the city,<sup>95</sup> and having pitched his camp at the Cluilian trenches five miles from the city, he from thence ravages the Roman territory, guards being sent among the devastators to preserve the lands of the patricians intact; whether as being incensed chiefly against the plebeians, or in order that dissension might arise between the senators and the people. And this certainly would have arisen, so powerfully did the tribunes, by inveighing against the leading men of the state, incite the plebeians, already sufficiently violent of themselves; but their apprehensions of the foe, the strongest bond of concord, united their minds, distrustful and rancorous though they were. The only matter not agreed on was this, that the senate and consuls rested their hopes on nothing else than on arms; the plebeians preferred any thing to war. Sp. Nautius and Sex. Furius were now consuls. Whilst they were reviewing the legions, posting guards along the walls and other places where they had determined that there should be posts and watches, a vast multitude of persons demanding peace terrified them first by their seditious clamour; then compelled them to convene the senate, to consider the question of sending ambassadors to C. Marcius. The senate entertained the question, when it became evident that the spirits of the plebeians were giving way, and ambassadors being sent to Marcius concerning peace, brought back a harsh answer: "If their lands were restored to the Volscians, that they might then consider the question of peace; if they were disposed to enjoy the plunder of war at their ease, that he, mindful both of the injurious treatment

<sup>95</sup> Scil. Rome. Dionysius narrates the expedition of Coriolanus in a different order from that given by Livy, and says that he approached the city twice. Niebuhr, ii. p. 94, n. 535, thinks that the words "passing across the country into the Latin way" (in Latinam viam transversis itineribus transgressus) have been transposed from their proper place, and that they should come in after "he then took," &c. (tunc deinceps).

of his countrymen, as well as of the kindness of strangers, would do his utmost to make it appear that his spirit was irritated by exile, not crushed." When the same persons are sent back a second time, they are not admitted into the camp. It is recorded that the priests also, arrayed in their insignia, went as suppliants to the enemy's camp; and that they did not influence his mind more than the ambassadors.

#### 40

Then the matrons assemble in a body around Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and his wife, Volumnia: whether that was the result of public counsel, or of the women's fear, I cannot ascertain. They certainly carried their point that Veturia, a lady advanced in years, and Volumnia, leading her two sons by Marcius, should go into the camp of the enemy, and that women should defend by entreaties and tears a city which men were unable to defend by arms. When they reached the camp, and it was announced to Coriolanus, that a great body of women were approaching, he, who had been moved neither by the majesty of the state in its ambassadors, nor by the sanctity of religion so strikingly addressed to his eyes and understanding in its priests, was much more obdurate against the women's tears. Then one of his acquaintances, who recognised Veturia, distinguished from all the others by her sadness, standing between her daughter-in-law and grand-children, says, "Unless my eyes deceive me, your mother, children, and wife, are approaching." When Coriolanus, almost like one bewildered, rushing in consternation from his seat, offered to embrace his mother as she met him, the lady, turning from entreaties to angry rebuke, says, "Before I receive your embrace, let me know whether I have come to an enemy or to a son; whether I am in your camp a captive or a mother? Has length of life and a hapless old age reserved me for this—to behold you an exile, then an enemy? Could you lay waste this land, which gave you birth and nurtured you? Though you had come with an incensed and vengeful mind, did not your resentment subside when you entered its frontiers? When Rome came within view, did it not occur to you, within these walls my house and guardian gods are, my mother, wife, and children? So then, had I not been a mother, Rome would not be besieged: had I not a son, I might have died free in a free country. But I can now suffer nothing that is not more discreditable to you than distressing to me; nor however wretched I may be, shall I be so long. Look to these, whom, if you persist, either an untimely death or lengthened slavery awaits." Then his wife and children embraced him: and the lamentation proceeding from the entire crowd of women, and their bemoaning themselves and their country, at length overcame the man; then, after embracing his family, he sends them away; he moved his camp farther back from the city. Then, after he had drawn off his troops from the Roman territory, they say that he lost his life, overwhelmed by the odium of the proceeding: different writers say by different modes of death: I find in Fabius, far the most ancient writer, that he lived even to old age; he states positively, that advanced in years he made use of this phrase, "That exile bore much heavier on the old man." The men of Rome were not remiss in awarding their praises to the women, so truly did they live without detracting from the merit of others; a temple was built also and dedicated to female Fortune, to serve as a monument. The Volscians afterwards returned in conjunction with the Æqui into the Roman territory: but the Æqui would no longer have Attius Tullus as their leader; hence from dispute, whether the Volscians or the Æqui should give a general to the allied army, a sedition, and afterwards a furious battle arose. There the good fortune of the Roman people destroyed the two armies of the enemy, by a contest no less bloody than obstinate. T. Sicinius and C. Aquillius were made consuls. The Volsci fell as a province to

Sicinius; the Hernici (for they too were in arms) to Aquillius. That year the Hernici were defeated; they came off with respect to the Volscians on equal terms.

#### 41

Sp. Cassius and Proculus Virginius were next made consuls; a treaty was struck with the Hernici; two-thirds of their land were taken from them: of this the consul Cassius was about to distribute one half among the Latins, the other half among the commons. To this donation he was adding a considerable portion of land, which, though public property, he alleged was possessed by private individuals. This proceeding alarmed several of the senators, the actual possessors, at the danger of their property; the senators felt, moreover, a solicitude on public grounds, that the consul by his donation was establishing an influence dangerous to liberty. Then, for the first time, the Agrarian law was proposed, which even down to our own recollection was never agitated without the greatest commotions in the state. The other consul resisted the donation, the senators seconding him, nor were all the commons opposed to him; they had at first begun to despise a gift which was extended from citizens to allies: in the next place they frequently heard the consul Virginius in the assemblies as it were prophesying—"that the gift of his colleague was pestilential—that those lands were sure to bring slavery to those who should receive them; that the way was paving to a throne." For why was it that the allies were included, and the Latin nation? What was the object of a third of the land that had been taken being given back to the Hernici so lately our enemies, except that instead of Coriolanus being their leader they may have Cassius? The dissuader and opposer of the agrarian law now began to be popular. Both consuls then vied with each other in humouring the commons. Virginius said that he would suffer the lands to be assigned, provided they were assigned to no one but to a Roman citizen. Cassius, because in the agrarian donation he sought popularity among the allies, and was therefore lowered in the estimation of his countrymen, in order that by another donation he might conciliate their affections, ordered that the money received for the Sicilian corn should be refunded to the people. That indeed the people rejected as nothing else than a present bribe for regal authority: so strongly were his gifts spurned in the minds of men, as if they possessed every thing in abundance, in consequence of their inveterate suspicions of his aiming at sovereign power. As soon as he went out of office, it is certain that he was condemned and put to death. There are some who represent his father as the person who inflicted the punishment: that he, having tried him at home, scourged him and put him to death, and consecrated his son's private property to Ceres; that out of this a statue was set up and inscribed, "given from the Cassian family." In some authors I find it stated, and that is more probable, that a day of trial was assigned him for high treason, by the questors, Kæso Fabius and Lucius Valerius; and that he was condemned by the decision of the people; that his house was demolished by a public decree: this is the area before the temple of Tellus. But whether that trial was private or public, he was condemned in the consulship of Ser. Cornelius and Q. Fabius.

#### 42

The resentment of the people against Cassius was not of long duration. The allurements of the agrarian law, now that its proposer was gone, were of themselves gaining ground in their minds; and this feeling was further heightened by the parsimonious conduct of the senators, who, the Volsci and Æqui having been defeated that year, defrauded the soldiers of the booty; whatever was taken from the enemy, the consul Fabius sold, and

lodged the proceeds in the treasury. The Fabian name was odious to the commons on account of the last consul: the senate however succeeded in having Kæso Fabius elected consul with L. Æmilius. The commons, still further incensed at this, stirred up foreign war by exciting disturbance at home; civil dissensions were then interrupted by war. The senators and commons uniting, under the conduct of Æmilius, conquered in battle the Volsci and Æqui who renewed hostilities. The retreat, however, destroyed more of the enemy than the battle; so perseveringly did the horse pursue them when routed. During the same year, on the ides of July, the temple of Castor was dedicated: it had been vowed during the Latin war in the dictatorship of Posthumius: his son, who was elected duumvir for that special purpose, dedicated it. In that year also the minds of the people were excited by the charms of the agrarian law. The tribunes of the people were for enhancing the popular power (vested in them) by promoting the popular law. The senators, considering that there was enough and more than enough of frenzy in the multitude without any additional incitement, viewed with horror largesses and all inducements to temerity: the senators found in the consuls most energetic abettors in making resistance. That portion of the commonwealth therefore prevailed; and not for the present only, but for the forthcoming year they succeeded in bringing in M. Fabius, Kæso's brother, as consul, and one still more detested by the commons for his persecution of Sp. Cassius, L. Valerius. In that year also there was a contest with the tribunes. The law proved to be a vain project, and the abettors of the law mere boasters, by their holding out a gift that was not realized. The Fabian name was from thence held in high repute, after three successive consulates, and all as it were uniformly exercised in contending with the tribunes; accordingly, the honour remained for a considerable time in that family, as being right well placed. A Veientian war was then commenced; the Volscians, too, renewed hostilities; but for foreign wars their strength was almost more than sufficient, and they abused it by contending among themselves. To the distracted state of the public mind were added prodigies from heaven, exhibiting almost daily threats in the city and in the country, and the soothsayers, consulted by the state and by private individuals, one while by means of entrails, another by birds, declared that there was no other cause for the divine anger, but that the ceremonies of religion were not duly attended to. These terrors, however, terminated in this, that Oppia, a vestal virgin, being found guilty of a breach of chastity, was made to suffer punishment.

#### 43

Quintus Fabius and C. Julius were then made consuls. During this year the dissension at home was not abated, and the war abroad was more desperate. Arms were taken up by the Æquans; the Veientes also entered the territory of the Romans committing devastations; the solicitude about which wars increasing, Kæso Fabius and Sp. Fusius are created consuls. The Æqui were laying siege to Ortona, a Latin city. The Veientes, now satiated with plunder, threatened that they would besiege Rome itself. Which terrors, when they ought to assuage, increased still further the bad feelings of the commons: and the custom of declining the military service was now returning, not of their own accord; but Sp. Licinius, a tribune of the people, thinking that the time was come for forcing the agrarian law on the patricians by extreme necessity, had taken on him the task of obstructing the military preparations. But all the odium of the tribunitian power was turned on the author; nor did the consuls rise up against him more zealously than his own colleagues; and by their assistance the consuls hold the levy. An army is raised for the two wars at the same time; one is given to Fabius to be led against the Æqui, the other to Furius against the Veientians. And with respect to

the Veientians, nothing was done worthy of mention. Fabius had much more trouble with his countrymen than with the enemy: that one man himself, as consul, sustained the commonwealth, which the army was betraying, far as in them lay, through their hatred of the consul. For when the consul, in addition to his other military talents, which he exhibited amply in his preparations for and conduct of war, had so drawn up his line that he routed the enemy's army solely by a charge of his cavalry, the infantry refused to pursue them when routed: and though the exhortation of their general, whom they hated, could not move them, neither could even their own infamy, and the present public disgrace and subsequent danger, if the enemy should recover courage, oblige them to quicken their pace, or even to stand in order of battle, if nothing else. Without orders they face about, and with a sorrowful air (you would suppose them beaten) they return to the camp, execrating at one time their general, at another time the services rendered by the cavalry. Nor were any remedies sought by the general for this so pestilent an example; so true is it that the most distinguished talents are more likely to be deficient in the tact of managing their countrymen than in that of conquering an enemy. The consul returned to Rome, not having so much increased his military glory as irritated and exasperated the hatred of his soldiers towards him. The patricians, however, succeeded in having the consulship remain in the Fabian family. They elect M. Fabius consul: Cn. Manlius is assigned as a colleague to Fabius.

#### 44

This year also had a tribune as a proposer of the agrarian law. It was Titus Pontificius: he pursuing the same course, as if it had succeeded with Sp. Licinius, obstructed the levy for a little time. The patricians being once more perplexed, Appius Claudius asserts "that the tribunitian power was put down last year: for the present by the very act, for the future by the precedent established, and since it was found that it could be rendered ineffective by its own strength; for that there never would be wanting a tribune who would both be willing to obtain a victory for himself over his colleague, and the favour of the better party by advancing the public weal. That both a plurality of tribunes, if there were need of such plurality, would be ready to assist the consuls; and that even one would be sufficient against all. Only let the consuls and leading members of the senate take care to gain over, if not all, at least some of the tribunes, to the commonwealth and the senate." The senators, convinced by the counsels of Appius, both collectively addressed the tribunes with kindness and civility, and the men of consular rank, according as each possessed personal influence over them individually, partly by conciliation, partly by authority, prevailed so far as to make them consent that the powers of the tribunitian office should be beneficial to the state; and by the aid of four tribunes against one obstructor of the public good, the consuls complete the levy. They then set out to the Veientian war, to which auxiliaries had flocked from all parts of Etruria, collected not so much for the sake of the Veientians, as because they had formed a hope that the Roman state might be destroyed by internal discord. And in the councils of all the states of Etruria the leading men openly stated, "that the Roman power was eternal, unless they were distracted by disturbances among themselves. That this was the only poison, this the bane discovered for powerful states, to render great empires mortal. That this evil, a long time retarded, partly by the wise measures of the patricians, partly by the forbearance of the commons, had now proceeded to extremities. That two states were now formed out of one: that each party had its own magistrates, its own laws. That though at first they were accustomed to be turbulent during the levies, still that these same individuals had ever been obedient to their

commanders during war; that military discipline being still retained, no matter what might be the state of the city, it had been possible to withstand the evil; that now the custom of not obeying their superior followed the Roman soldier even to the camp. That in the last war in the very field, in the very heat of battle, by consent of the army the victory was voluntarily surrendered to the vanquished Æqui: that the standards were deserted, the general abandoned on the field, and that the army had returned to the camp without orders. That without doubt, if perseverance were used, Rome might be conquered by her own soldiery. That nothing else was necessary than to declare and make a show of war: that the fates and the gods would of themselves manage the rest." These hopes had armed the Etrurians, who in many vicissitudes had been vanquished and victors.

#### 45

The Roman consuls also dreaded nothing else, than their own strength, and their own arms. The recollection of the destructive precedent set in the last war, deterred them from bringing matters to such a pass as that they should have to fear two armies at the same time. Accordingly they kept within their camp, avoiding this double danger: "that delay and time itself would soften down resentment, and bring a right way of thinking to their minds." The Veientian enemy and the Etrurians proceeded with so much the greater precipitation; they provoked them to battle, first riding up to the camp and challenging them; at length, when they produced no effect by reviling as well the consuls themselves as the army, they stated, "that the pretence of internal dissension was assumed as a cloak for this cowardice; and that the consuls distrusted as much the courage as the obedience of their soldiers. That silence and inaction among men in arms were a novel form of sedition." Besides this they threw out reproaches, both true as well as false, on the upstart quality of their race and origin. Whilst they vociferated these reproaches beneath the very rampart and gates, the consuls bore them without impatience: but at one time indignation, at another time shame, distracted the breasts of the ignorant multitude, and diverted their attention from intestine evils; they were unwilling that the enemy should come off unpunished; they were unwilling that success should accrue to the patricians or the consuls; foreign and domestic hatred struggled for mastery in their breasts; at length the former prevail, so haughtily and insolently did the enemy revile them; they crowd in a body to the general's tent; they demand battle, they require that the signal be given. The consuls confer together as if to deliberate; they continue the conference for a long time; they were desirous of fighting, but that desire must be checked and concealed, that by opposition and delay they might increase the ardour of the soldiery once roused. An answer is returned, "that the matter in question was premature, that it was not yet time for fighting: that they should keep within their camp." They then issue a proclamation, "that they should abstain from fighting; that if any one fought without orders, they should punish him as an enemy." When they were thus dismissed, their eagerness for fighting increases in proportion as they think that the consuls were less disposed for it; the enemies moreover come up much more insolently, as soon as it was known that the consuls had determined not to fight. For they supposed "that they might insult them with impunity; that their arms were not intrusted to the soldiery. That the matter would explode in a violent mutiny; that a termination had come to the Roman empire." Relying on these hopes, they run up to the gates, heap reproaches on them, with difficulty refrain from assaulting the camp. Now indeed the Romans could no longer endure these insults; they crowd from every quarter of the camp to the consuls: they no longer, as formerly, make their demand with

reserve, through the mediation of the centurions of the first rank; but all proceed indiscriminately with loud clamours. The affair was now ripe; still they put it off. Fabius then, his colleague giving way in consequence of his dread of mutiny being now augmented by the uproar, after he had commanded silence by sound of trumpet, says, "that these men are able to conquer, Cneius Manlius, I know; that they are willing they themselves have prevented me from knowing. It is therefore resolved and determined not to give the signal, unless they swear that they will return victorious from this battle. The soldier has once deceived the Roman consul in the field, the gods he never will deceive." There was a centurion, Marcus Flavoleius, one of the foremost in demanding battle; he says, "M. Fabius, I will return victorious from the field." If he deceived, he invokes the anger of father Jove, Mars Gradivus, and of the other gods. After him the entire army severally take the same oath. The signal is given to them when sworn; they take up arms, go into battle, full of rage and of hope. They bid the Etrurians now to cast their reproaches; they severally require that the enemy, once so ready with the tongue, should now stand before them armed as they were. On that day the bravery of all, both commons and patricians, was extraordinary: the Fabian name, the Fabian race shone forth most conspicuous: they are determined to recover in that battle the affections of the commons, which during many civil contests had been alienated from them. The line of battle is formed; nor do the Veientian foe and the Etrurian legions decline the contest.

#### 46

An almost certain hope was entertained that they would no more fight with them than they had done with the Æqui; that even some more serious attempt was not to be despaired of, considering the irritated state of their feelings, and the very critical occasion. The affair turned out altogether differently; for never before in any other war did the Roman soldiers enter the field with more determined minds (so much had the enemy exasperated them by taunts on the one hand, and the consuls by delay on the other). The Etrurians had scarcely time to form their ranks, when the javelins having been thrown away at random, in the first hurry, rather than discharged with aim, the battle had now come to close fighting, even to swords, where the fury of war is most desperate. Among the foremost the Fabian family was distinguished for the sight it afforded and the example it presented to their fellow citizens; one of these, Q. Fabius, (he had been consul two years before,) as he was advancing at the head of his men against a dense body of Veientians, and whilst engaged amid numerous parties of the enemy, and therefore not prepared for it, was transfixed with a sword through the breast by a Tuscan who presumed on his bodily strength and skill in arms: on the weapon being extracted, Fabius fell forward on the wound. Both armies felt the fall of this one man, and the Roman began in consequence to give way, when the consul Marcus Fabius leaped over the body as it lay, and holding up his buckler, said, "Is this what you swore, soldiers, that you would return to the camp in flight? are you thus more afraid of your most dastardly enemies, than of Jupiter and Mars, by whom you have sworn? But I who have not sworn will either return victorious, or will fall fighting here beside thee, Q. Fabius." Then Kæso Fabius, the consul of the preceding year, says to the consul, "Brother, is it by these words you think you will prevail on them to fight? the gods by whom they have sworn will prevail on them. Let us also, as men of noble birth, as is worthy of the Fabian name, enkindle the courage of the soldiers by fighting rather than by exhorting." Thus the two Fabii rush forward to the front with presented spears, and brought on with them the whole line.

#### 47

The battle being restored on one side, Cn. Manlius, the consul, with no less ardour, encouraged the fight on the other wing. Where an almost similar result took place; for as the soldiers undauntedly followed Q. Fabius on the one wing, so did they follow Manlius on this, as he was driving the enemy now nearly routed, and when he, having received a severe wound, retired from the battle, they fell back, supposing that he was slain, and would have given way, had not the other consul, galloping at full speed to that quarter with some troops of horse, supported their drooping energies, crying out that his colleague was still alive, that he himself was now come victorious, having routed the other wing. Manlius also shows himself to restore the battle. The well-known voices of the two consuls rekindle the courage of the soldiers; at the same time too the enemy's line was now weakened, whilst, relying on their superior numbers, they draw off their reserve and send them to storm the camp. This being assaulted without much resistance, whilst they lose time in attending to plunder rather than to fighting, the Roman triarii,<sup>96</sup> who had not been able to sustain the first shock, having sent an account to the consuls of the present position of affairs, return in a compact body to the Prætorium, and of themselves renew the battle. The consul Manlius also having returned to the camp, and posted soldiers at all the gates, had blocked up every passage against the enemy. This desperate situation aroused the fury rather than the bravery of the Etrurians; for when rushing on wherever hope held out the prospect of escape, they had frequently advanced with fruitless efforts; one body of young men makes an attack on the consul himself, conspicuous from his arms. The first weapons were intercepted by those who stood around him; afterwards their force could not be sustained. The consul falls, having received a mortal wound, and all around him are dispersed. The courage of the Etrurians rises. Terror drives the Romans in dismay through the entire camp; and matters would have come to extremities, had not the lieutenant-generals, hastily seizing the body of the consul, opened a passage for the enemy at one gate. Through this they rush out; and going away in the utmost disorder, they fall in with the other consul who had been victorious; there again they are slain and routed in every direction. A glorious victory was obtained, saddened however by two so illustrious deaths. The consul, therefore, on the senate voting him a triumph, replied, that "if the army could triumph without their general, he would readily accede to it in consideration of their distinguished behaviour in that war: that for his own part, his family being plunged in grief in consequence of the death of his brother Q. Fabius, and the commonwealth being in some degree bereaved by the loss of one of her consuls, he would not accept the laurel blasted by public and private grief." The triumph thus resigned was more distinguished than any triumph actually enjoyed; so true it is, that glory refused in due season sometimes returns with accumulated lustre. He next celebrates the two funerals of his colleague and brother, one after the other, he himself acting as panegyrist in the case of both, when by ascribing to them his own deserts, he himself obtained the greatest share of them. And not unmindful of that which he had conceived at the commencement of his consulate, namely, the regaining the affection of the people, he distributes the wounded soldiers among the patricians to be cured. Most of them were given to the Fabii: nor were they treated with greater attention in any other place. From this time the Fabii began to be popular, and that not by any practices except such as were beneficial to the state.

## 48

<sup>96</sup> The triarii were veteran soldiers of approved valour: they formed the third line, whence their name.

Accordingly Kæso Fabius, having been elected consul with T. Virginius not more with the zealous wishes of the senators than of the commons, attended neither to wars, nor levies, nor any other object, until the hope of concord being now in some measure commenced, the feelings of the commons might be consolidated with those of the senators as soon as possible. Wherefore at the commencement of the year he proposed: "that before any tribune should stand forth as an abettor of the agrarian law, the patricians themselves should be beforehand with them in performing their duty; that they should distribute among the commons the land taken from the enemy in as equal a proportion as possible; that it was but just that those should obtain it, by whose blood and sweat it was obtained." The patricians rejected the proposal with scorn; some even complained that the once brilliant talents of Kæso were now becoming wanton, and were waning through excess of glory. There were afterwards no factions in the city. The Latins were harassed by the incursions of the Æqui. Kæso being sent thither with an army, passes into the very territory of the Æqui to depopulate it. The Æqui retired into the towns, and kept themselves within the walls: on that account no battle worth mentioning was fought. But a blow was received from the Veientian foe through the temerity of the other consul; and the army would have been all cut off, had not Kæso Fabius come to their assistance in time. From that time there was neither peace nor war with the Veientians; their proceedings had now come very near to the form of that of brigands. They retired from the Roman troops into the city; when they perceived that the troops were drawn off, they made incursions into the country, alternately evading war by quiet, quiet by war. Thus the matter could neither be dropped altogether, nor brought to a conclusion; and other wars were impending either at the moment, as from the Æqui and Volsci, who remained inactive no longer than until the recent smart of their late disaster should pass away; or it was evident that the Sabines, ever hostile, and all Etruria would put themselves in motion: but the Veientians, a constant rather than a formidable enemy, kept their minds in constant uneasiness by their insults more frequently than by any danger apprehended from them; a matter which could at no time be neglected, and which suffered them not to direct their attention to any other object. Then the Fabian family addressed the senate; the consul speaks in the name of the family: "Conscript fathers, the Veientian war requires, as you know, a constant rather than a strong force. Do you attend to other wars: assign the Fabii as enemies to the Veientians. We pledge ourselves that the majesty of the Roman name shall be safe in that quarter. That war, as the property of our family, it is our determination to conduct at our own private expense. Let the republic be spared the expense of soldiers and money there." The warmest thanks were returned to them. The consul, leaving the senate-house, accompanied by the Fabii in a body, who had been standing in the porch of the senate-house, returned home. Being ordered to attend on the following day in arms at the consul's gate, they retire to their homes.

#### 49

The rumour spreads through the entire city; they extol the Fabii to the skies by their encomiums. "That a single family had taken on them the burden of the state: that the Veientian war had now become a private concern, a private quarrel. If there were two families of the same strength in the city, let them demand, the one the Volsci for itself, the other the Æqui; that all the neighbouring states might be subdued, the Roman people all the time enjoying profound peace." The day following, the Fabii take up arms; they assemble where they had been ordered. The consul coming forth in his

paludamentum,<sup>97</sup> beholds his entire family in the porch drawn up in order of march; being received into the centre, he orders the standards to be carried forward. Never did an army march through the city, either smaller in number, or more distinguished in fame and in the admiration of all men. Three hundred and six soldiers, all patricians, all of the one stock, not one of whom the senate would reject as a leader in its palmyest days, proceeded on their march, menacing destruction to the Veientian state by the prowess of a single family. A crowd followed, partly belonging to their kinsmen and friends, who contemplated in mind no moderation either as to their hopes or anxiety, but every thing on the highest scale; partly consisting of individuals not connected with their family, aroused by solicitude for the public weal, all enraptured with esteem and admiration. They bid them "proceed in the brave resolve, proceed with happy omens, bring back results proportioned to their undertaking: thence to expect consulships and triumphs, all rewards, all honours from them." As they passed the Capitol and the citadel, and the other sacred edifices, they offer up prayers to all the gods that presented themselves to their sight, or to their mind: that "they would send forward that band with prosperity and success, and soon send them back safe into their country to their parents." In vain were these prayers sent up. Having set out on their luckless road by the right-hand postern of the Carmental gate, they arrive at the river Cremera: this appeared a favourable situation for fortifying a post. L. Æmilius and C. Servilius were then created consuls. And as long as there was nothing else to occupy them but mutual devastations, the Fabii were not only sufficiently able to protect their garrison, but through the entire tract, as far as the Etrurian joins the Roman territory, they protected all their own districts and ravaged those of the enemy, spreading their forces along both frontiers. There was afterwards an intermission, though not of long duration, to these depredations: whilst both the Veientians, having sent for an army from Etruria, assault the post at the Cremera, and the Roman troops, led thither by L. Æmilius the consul, come to a close engagement in the field with the Etrurians; although the Veientians had scarcely time to draw up their line: for during the first alarm, whilst the ranks are posting themselves behind their respective banners and they are stationing their reserves, a brigade of Roman cavalry charging them suddenly in flank, took away all opportunity not only of commencing the fight, but even of standing their ground. Thus being driven back to the Red Rocks, (there they pitched their camp,) they suppliantly sue for peace; for the obtaining of which they were sorry, from the natural inconsistency of their minds, before the Roman garrison was drawn off from the Cremera.

## 50

Again the Veientian state had to contend with the Fabii without any additional military armament [on either side]; and there were not merely incursions into each other's territories, or sudden attacks on those making the incursions, but they fought repeatedly in the open field, and in pitched battles: and one family of the Roman people oftentimes gained the victory over an entire Etrurian state, one of the most powerful at that time. This at first appeared mortifying and humiliating to the Veientians: then (they formed) a design, suggested by the circumstance, of surprising their daring enemy by an ambuscade; they were even glad that the confidence of the Fabii was increasing by their great success. Wherefore cattle were frequently driven in the way of the plundering parties, as if they had come there by mere accident, and tracts of land were abandoned by the flight of the peasants; and troops of armed men sent to prevent the devastations

<sup>97</sup> Before a consul set out on any expedition, he offered sacrifices and prayers in the Capitol; and then, laying aside his consular gown, marched out of the city, dressed in a military robe of state, called Paludamentum.

retreated more frequently from pretended than from real fear. And now the Fabii had such a contempt for the enemy, as to believe that their invincible arms could not be withstood either in any place or on any occasion: this presumption carried them so far, that at the sight of some cattle at a distance from Cremera, with an extensive plain lying between, they ran down to it (although few troops of the enemy were observed); and when incautious and in disorderly haste they had passed the ambushade placed on either side of the very road; and when dispersed in different directions they began to carry off the cattle straying about, as is usual when they are frightened, the Veientians rise up suddenly from their ambushade, and the enemy were in front and on every side. At first the shout that was raised terrified them; then weapons assailed them from every side; and, the Etrurians closing, they also were compelled, hemmed in as they now were by a compact body of soldiers, to contract their own circle within a narrower compass; which circumstance rendered striking both their own paucity of numbers, and the superior numbers of the enemy, the ranks being crowded in a narrow space. Then the plan of fighting, which they had directed equally against every part, being now relinquished, they all incline their forces towards one point; in that direction straining every effort both with their bodies and arms, they forced a passage by forming a wedge. The way led to a hill of moderate acclivity; here they first halted: presently, as soon as the higher ground afforded them time to gain breath, and to recover from so great a panic, they repulsed them as they advanced up; and the small band by the advantage of the ground was gaining the victory, had not a party of the Veientians, sent round the ridge of the hill, made their way to the summit; thus again the enemy obtained the higher ground; all the Fabii were killed to a man, and the fort was taken: it is agreed on all hands that the three hundred and six were cut off; that one<sup>98</sup> only, who nearly attained the age of puberty, was left as a stock for the Fabian race; and that he was destined to prove the greatest support in the dangerous emergencies of the Roman people both at home and in war.

## 51

At the time when this disaster was received, C. Horatius and T. Menenius were consuls. Menenius was immediately sent against the Etrurians, elated with victory. Then too an unsuccessful battle was fought, and the enemy took possession of the Janiculum: and the city would have been besieged, scarcity of provisions bearing hard upon them in addition to the war, (for the Etrurians had passed the Tiber,) had not the consul Horatius been recalled from the Volsci; and so closely did that war approach the very walls, that the first battle was fought near the temple of Hope with doubtful success, and a second time at the Colline gate. There, although the Romans had the advantage in a slight degree only, yet that contest rendered the soldiers better for future battles by restoring to them their former courage. Aulus Virginius and Sp. Servilius are created consuls. After the defeat sustained in the last battle, the Veientians declined an engagement. Ravages were committed, and they made incursions in every direction on the Roman territory from the Janiculum as if from a fortress; no where were the cattle or the husbandmen safe. They were afterwards entrapped by the same stratagem as that by which they had entrapped the Fabii: having pursued some cattle that had been driven on designedly for the purpose of decoying them, they fell into an ambushade; in proportion as they were more numerous, the slaughter was greater. The violent resentment resulting from this disaster was the cause and commencement of one still greater: for having crossed the Tiber by night, they attempted to assault the camp of the

<sup>98</sup> This statement is rejected by Niebuhr entirely.

consul Servilius; being repulsed from thence with great slaughter, they with difficulty made good their retreat into the Janiculum. The consul himself also crosses the Tiber, fortifies his camp at the foot of the Janiculum: at break of day on the following morning, both from being somewhat elated by the success of the battle of the day before, more however because the scarcity of corn forced him into measures which, though dangerous, (he adopted) because they were more expeditious, he rashly marched his army up the steep of the Janiculum to the camp of the enemy, and being repulsed from thence with more disgrace than he had repulsed them on the preceding day, he was saved, both himself and his army, by the intervention of his colleague. The Etrurians (hemmed in) between the two armies, when they presented their rear to the one and the other by turns, were entirely cut off. Thus the Veientian war was crushed by a fortunate act of temerity.

## 52

Together with the peace, provisions returned to the city in greater abundance, both by reason of corn having been brought in from Campania, and, as soon as the fear felt by each of future famine left them, that corn being brought forward which had been hoarded up. Then their minds once more became licentious from their present abundance and ease, and their former subjects of complaint, now that there were none abroad, they sought for at home; the tribunes began to excite the commons by their poison, the agrarian law: they roused them against the senators who opposed it, and not only against them as a body, but also against particular individuals. Q. Considius and T. Genucius, the proposers of the agrarian law, appoint a day of trial for T. Menenius: the loss of the fort of Cremera, whilst the consul had his standing camp at no great distance from thence, was the charge against him. They crushed him, though both the senators had exerted themselves in his behalf with no less earnestness than in behalf of Coriolanus, and the popularity of his father Agrippa was not yet forgotten. The tribunes, however, went no further than a fine: though they had arraigned him for a capital offence, they imposed on him, when found guilty, a fine of two thousand *asses*. This proved fatal. They say that he could not submit to the disgrace, and to the anguish of mind (occasioned by it): that, in consequence, he was taken off by disease. Another senator, Sp. Servilius, being soon after arraigned, as soon as he went out of office, a day of trial having been appointed for him by the tribunes, L. Cædicius and T. Staius, at the very commencement of the year, in the consulship of C. Nautius and P. Valerius, did not, like Menenius, meet the attacks of the tribunes with supplications from himself and the patricians, but with firm reliance on his own integrity, and his personal influence. The battle with the Etrurians at the Janiculum was the charge against him also: but being a man of an intrepid spirit, as he had formerly acted in the case of public peril, so now in that which was personal to himself, he dispelled the danger by boldly facing it, by confuting not only the tribunes but the commons also, by a bold speech, and upbraiding them with the condemnation and death of T. Menenius, by the good offices of whose father the commons were formerly re-established, and were now in possession of those laws and those magistrates, by means of which they then exercised their insolence; his colleague Virginius also, who was brought forward as a witness, aided him by assigning to him a share of his own deserts; the condemnation of Menenius however was of greater service to him (so much had they changed their minds).

## 53

The contests at home were now concluded. A Veientian war broke out, with whom the Sabines had united their forces. The consul P. Valerius, after auxiliaries were sent for from the Latins and Hernicians, being despatched to Veii with an army, immediately attacks the Sabine camp, which had been pitched before the walls of their allies: and occasioned such great consternation, that while, dispersed in different directions, they sally forth to repel the assault of the enemy, the gate which the Romans first attacked was taken; then within the rampart there was rather a carnage than a battle. From the camp the alarm spreads into the city; the Veientians run to arms in as great a panic as if Veii had been taken: some come up to the support of the Sabines, others fall upon the Romans, who had directed all their force against the camp. For a little while they were disconcerted and thrown into confusion; then they too forming two fronts make a stand: and the cavalry, being commanded by the consul to charge, routs the Etrurians and puts them to flight; and in the same hour two armies and two of the most influential and powerful of the neighbouring states were vanquished. Whilst these transactions are going on at Veii, the Volsci and Æqui had pitched their camp in the Latin territory, and laid waste their frontiers. The Latins, by their own exertions, being joined by the Hernicians, without either a Roman general or Roman auxiliaries, stripped them of their camp. Besides recovering their own effects, they obtained immense booty. The consul C. Nautius, however, was sent against the Volsci from Rome. The custom, I suppose, was not pleasing for allies to carry on wars with their own forces and under their own direction without a Roman general and troops. There was no kind of injury or indignity that was not practised against the Volsci; nor could they be prevailed on however to come to an engagement in the field.

#### 54

Lucius Furius and Caius Manlius were the next consuls. The Veientians fell to Manlius as his province. War however did not take place: a truce for forty years was granted them at their request, corn and pay for the soldiers being demanded of them. Disturbance at home immediately succeeds to peace abroad: the commons were goaded by the tribunes with the excitement of the agrarian law. The consuls, nothing intimidated by the condemnation of Menenius, nor by the danger of Servilius, resist with their utmost might; Cn. Genucius, a tribune of the people, arraigned the consuls on their going out of office. Lucius Æmilius and Opiter Virginius enter on the consulate. Instead of Virginius I find Vopiscus Julius consul in some annals. In this year (whatever consuls it had) Furius and Manlius, being summoned to trial before the people, go about in suppliant garb not more to the commons than to the younger patricians; they advise, they caution them "to keep themselves from honours and the administration of public affairs, and that they would consider the consular fasces, the prætexta and curule chair, as nothing else than the decorations of a funeral; that when covered with these fine insignia, as with fillets, they were doomed to death. But if the charms of the consulate were so great, they should rest satisfied that the consulate was held in captivity and crushed by the tribunitian power; that every thing was to be done at the nod and command of the tribune by the consul, as if he were a tribune's beadle. If he stir, if he have reference to the patricians, if he should think for a moment that there existed any other party in the state but the commons, let him place before his eyes the banishment of Caius Marcius, the condemnation and death of Menenius." Fired by these discourses, the patricians from that time held their consultations not in public, but in private, and withdrawn from the knowledge of the many; where when this one point was agreed on, that the accused must be rescued whether by just or unjust means, every proposition that was most

desperate was most approved; nor was an actor wanted for any deed however daring. Accordingly on the day of trial, when the people stood in the forum in anxious expectation, they at first began to feel surprised that the tribune did not come down; then when the delay was now becoming more suspicious, they considered that he was deterred by the nobles, and they complained that the public cause was abandoned and betrayed. At length those who had been waiting before the gate of the tribune's residence, bring word that he was found dead in his house. As soon as rumour spread this through the whole assembly, just as an army disperses on the fall of its general, so did they separate in different directions. The principal panic seized the tribunes, now warned by their colleague's death what little aid the devoting laws afforded them. Nor did the patricians bear their joy with sufficient moderation; and so far was any of them from feeling compunction at the guilty act, that even those who were innocent wished to be considered to have perpetrated it, and it was openly declared that the tribunitian power should be subdued by chastisement.

## 55

Immediately after this victory of a most ruinous precedent a levy is proclaimed; and the tribunes being now overawed, the consuls accomplish the matter without any opposition. Then indeed the commons became enraged more on account of the silence of the tribunes than the command of the consuls: and they said "there was an end of their liberty; that they were come back again to the old condition of things; that the tribunitian power had died along with Genucius and was buried with him; that other means must be devised and practised, by which to resist the patricians; and that the only method for that was that the people should defend themselves, since they now had no other aid. That four-and-twenty lictors waited on the consuls; and that these very individuals were from among the commons; that nothing could be more despicable, nor weaker, if there were only persons who could despise them; that each person magnified those things and made them objects of terror to himself." When they had excited each other by these discourses, a lictor was despatched by the consuls to Volero Publilius, a man belonging to the commons, because he stated, that having been a centurion he ought not to be made a common soldier. Volero appeals to the tribunes. When one came to his assistance, the consuls order the man to be stripped and the rods to be got ready. "I appeal to the people," says Volero, "since tribunes had rather see a Roman citizen scourged before their eyes, than themselves be butchered by you in their bed." The more vehemently he cried out, the more violently did the lictor tear off his clothes and strip him. Then Volero, being both himself of great bodily strength, and being aided by his partisans, having repulsed the lictor, when the shouts of those indignant in his behalf became very intense, betook himself into the thickest part of the crowd, crying out, "I appeal, and implore the protection of the commons; assist me, fellow citizens; assist me, fellow soldiers; there is no use in waiting for the tribunes, who themselves stand in need of your aid." The men, being much excited, prepare as it were for battle; and it became manifest that there was urgent danger, that nothing would be held sacred by any one, that there would no longer exist any public or private right. When the consuls faced this so violent storm, they soon experienced that majesty without strength had but little security; the lictors being maltreated, the fasces broken, they are driven from the forum into the senate-house, uncertain how far Volero would push his victory. After that, the disturbance subsiding, when they had ordered the senate to be convened, they complain of the outrages committed on themselves, of the violence of the people, the daring of Volero. Many violent measures having been proposed, the

elder members prevailed, who recommended that the unthinking rashness of the commons should not be met by the passionate resentment of the patricians.

## 56

The commons having espoused the interest of Volero, with great warmth choose him, at the next election, tribune of the people for that year, which had Lucius Pinarius and Publius Furius for consuls; and, contrary to the opinion of all men, who thought that he would let loose his tribuneship in harassing the consuls of the preceding year, postponing private resentment to the public interest, without assailing the consuls even by a single word, he proposed a law to the people that plebeian magistrates should be elected at the comitia by tribes. A matter of no trifling moment was now being brought forward, under an aspect at first sight by no means alarming; but one which in reality deprived the patricians of all power to elect whatever tribunes they pleased by the suffrages of their clients. The patricians used all their energies in resisting this proposition, which was most pleasing to the commons; and though none of the college could be induced by the influence either of the consuls or of the chief members of the senate to enter a protest against it, the only means of resistance which now existed; yet the matter, important as it was by its own weight, is spun out by contention till the following year. The commons re-elect Volero as tribune. The senators, considering that the question would be carried to the very extreme of a struggle, elect to the consulate Appius Claudius, the son of Appius, who was both hated by and hated the commons, ever since the contests between them and his father. Titus Quintius is assigned to him as his colleague. In the very commencement of the year no other question took precedence of that regarding the law. But though Volero was the inventor of it, his colleague, Lætorius, was both a more recent abettor of it, as well as a more energetic one. Whilst Volero confined himself to the subject of the law, avoiding all abuse of the consuls, he commenced with accusing Appius and his family, as having ever been most overbearing and cruel towards the Roman commons, contending that he had been elected by the senators, not as consul, but as executioner, to harass and torture the people; his rude tongue, he being a military man, was not sufficient to express the freedom of his sentiments. Language therefore failing him, he says, "Romans, since I do not speak with as much readiness as I make good what I have spoken, attend here to-morrow. I will either die here before your eyes, or will carry the law." On the following day the tribunes take possession of the temple; the consuls and the nobility take their places in the assembly to obstruct the law. Lætorius orders all persons to be removed, except those going to vote; the young nobles kept their places, paying no regard to the officer; then Lætorius orders some of them to be seized. The consul Appius insisted "that the tribune had no jurisdiction over any one except a plebeian; for that he was not a magistrate of the people in general, but only of the commons; for that even he himself could not, according to the usage of their ancestors, by virtue of his authority remove any person; because the words run thus, *if ye think proper, depart, Romans.*" He was able to disconcert Lætorius by arguing fluently and contemptuously concerning the right. The tribune therefore, burning with rage, sends his beadle to the consul; the consul sends his lictor to the tribune, exclaiming that he was a private individual, without power and without magistracy; and the tribune would have been roughly treated, had not both the entire assembly risen up with great warmth in behalf of the tribune against the consul, and a rush of persons belonging to the multitude, which was now much excited, taken place from the entire city into the forum. Appius, however, withstood so great a storm with obstinacy, and the contest would have ended in a battle, not without

blood, had not Quintius, the other consul, after giving it in charge to the men of consular dignity to remove his colleague from the forum by force, if they could not do it otherwise, himself assuaged the enraged people by entreaties, and implored the tribunes to dismiss the assembly. "That they should give their passion time to cool; that delay would not deprive them of their power, but would add prudence to strength; and that the senators would be under the control of the people, and the consul under that of the senators."

## 57

With difficulty the people were pacified by Quintius: with much more difficulty was the other consul by the patricians. The assembly of the people being at length dismissed, the consuls convene the senate; where, though fear and resentment by turns had produced a diversity of opinions, the more they were recalled, after the lapse of time, from violence to reflection, the more averse did they become to a continuance of the dispute, so that they returned thanks to Quintius, because by his exertions the disturbance had been quieted. Appius is requested "to consent that the consular dignity should be merely so great as it could be in a peaceably conducted state; that as long as the tribune and consuls were drawing all power, each to his own side, no strength was left between; that the object aimed at was in whose hands the commonwealth should be, distracted and torn as it was, rather than that it should be safe." Appius, on the contrary, called gods and men to witness that "the commonwealth was betrayed and abandoned through cowardice; that it was not the consul that was wanting to the senate, but the senate to the consul; that more oppressive laws were now being submitted to than were sanctioned on the sacred mount." Overcome however by the unanimous feeling of the senators, he desisted: the law is carried without opposition.

## 58

Then for the first time the tribunes were elected in the comitia by tribes. Piso said that three were added to the number, whereas there had been only two before. He names the tribunes also, Caius Sicinius, Lucius Numitorius, Marcus Duilius, Spurius Icilius, Lucius Mecilius. During the disturbance at Rome, a war with the Volscians and Æquans broke out; they had laid waste the lands, so that if any secession of the people should take place, they might find a refuge with them. The differences being afterwards settled, they removed their camp backwards. Appius Claudius was sent against the Volscians; the Æquans fell to Quintius as his province. The severity of Appius was the same in war as at home, being more unrestrained because he was free from tribunitian control. He hated the commons with more than his father's hatred: he had been defeated by them: when he was set up as the only consul to oppose the tribunitian influence, a law was passed, which former consuls obstructed with less effort, amid hopes of the senators by no means so great (as those formed of him). His resentment and indignation at this, excited his imperious temper to harass the army by the rigour of his command; nor could it (the army) however be subdued by any means; such a spirit of opposition had they imbibed. They executed every measure slowly, indolently, negligently, and with stubbornness: neither shame nor fear restrained them. If he wished the army to move on with expedition, they designedly went more slowly: if he came up to them to encourage them in their work, they all relaxed the energy which they before exerted of their own accord: when he was present they cast down their eyes, they silently cursed him as he passed by; so that his mind, invulnerable to plebeian hatred, was sometimes moved. All kind of harsh treatment being tried in vain, he no longer held any intercourse

with the soldiers; he said the army was corrupted by the centurions; he sometimes gibingly called them tribunes of the people and Voleros.

## 59

None of these circumstances were unknown to the Volscians, and they pressed on with so much the more vigour, hoping that the Roman army would entertain the same spirit of opposition against Appius, which they had formerly entertained against the consul Fabius. But they were much more violent against Appius than against Fabius. For they were not only unwilling to conquer, like Fabius' army, but they wished to be conquered. When led out to the field, they made for their camp in an ignominious flight, nor did they stand their ground until they saw the Volscians advancing to their fortifications, and making dreadful havoc on the rear of their army. Then the obligation to fight was wrung from them, in order that the victorious enemy should be dislodged from their lines; yet it was sufficiently plain that the Roman soldiers were only unwilling that their camp should be taken; some of them gloried in their own defeat and disgrace. When the determined spirit of Appius, undaunted by these things, wished to exercise severity still further, and he summoned a meeting, the lieutenant-generals and tribunes flock around him, advising him "that he would not determine on venturing a trial of an authority, the entire strength of which lay in the acquiescence of those who were to obey. That the soldiers generally refused to come to the assembly, and that their clamours were heard in every direction demanding that the camp should be removed from the Volscian territory. That the victorious enemy were but a little time ago almost at the very gates and rampart; and that not merely a suspicion, but a manifest indication of a grievous disaster presented itself to their eyes." Yielding at length, (since they would gain nothing save a delay of punishment,) having prorogued the assembly, after he had given orders that their march should be proclaimed for the following day, he, at the first dawn, gave the signal for departure by sound of trumpet. When the army, having just got clear of the camp, were forming themselves, the Volscians, as being aroused by the same signal, fall upon those in the rear; from whom the alarm spreading to the van, confounded both the battalions and ranks with such consternation, that neither the generals' orders could be distinctly heard, nor the lines be drawn up, no one thinking of any thing but flight. In such confusion did they make their way through heaps of dead bodies and of arms, that the enemy ceased to pursue sooner than the Romans to fly. The soldiers being at length collected from their scattered rout, the consul, after he had in vain followed his men for the purpose of rallying them, pitched his camp in a peaceful part of the country; and an assembly being convened, after inveighing not without good reason against the army, as traitors to military discipline, deserters of their posts, frequently asking them, one by one, where were their standards, where their arms; he first beat with rods and then beheaded those soldiers who had thrown down their arms, the standard-bearers who had lost their standards, and moreover the centurions, and those with the double allowance, who had left their ranks. With respect to the rest of the multitude, every tenth man was drawn by lot for punishment.

## 60

In a contrary manner to this, the consul and soldiers in the country of the Æquans vied with each other in courtesy and acts of kindness: both Quintius was naturally milder in disposition, and the ill-fated severity of his colleague caused him to indulge more in his own good temper. This, such great cordiality between the general and his army, the Æquans did not venture to meet; they suffered the enemy to go through their lands

committing devastations in every direction. Nor were depredations committed more extensively in that quarter in any preceding war. Praises were also added, in which the minds of soldiers find no less pleasure than in rewards. The army returned more reconciled both to their general, and also on account of the general to the patricians; stating that a parent was assigned to them, a master to the other army by the senate. The year now passed, with varied success in war, and furious dissensions at home and abroad, was rendered memorable chiefly by the elections by tribes; the matter was more important from the victory in the contest entered into, than from any real advantage; for there was more of dignity abstracted from the elections themselves by the exclusion of the patricians, than there was influence either added to the commons or taken from the patricians.

## 61

A more turbulent year<sup>99</sup> next followed, Lucius Valerius, Tiberius Æmilius being consuls, both by reason of the struggles between the different orders concerning the agrarian law, as well as on account of the trial of Appius Claudius; for whom, as a most active opposer of the law, and as one who supported the cause of the possessors of the public land, as if a third consul, Marcus Duilius and Caius Sicinius appointed a day of trial.<sup>100</sup> Never before was an accused person so hateful to the commons brought to trial before the people; overwhelmed with their resentment on his own account,<sup>101</sup> and also on account of his father. The patricians too seldom made equal exertions in behalf of any one: "that the champion of the senate, and the assertor of their dignity, opposed to all the storms of the tribunes and commons, was exposed to the resentment of the commons, merely for having exceeded bounds in the contest." Appius Claudius himself was the only one of the patricians who made light both of the tribunes and commons and his own trial. Neither the threats of the commons, nor the entreaties of the senate, could ever persuade him not only to change his garb, or address persons as a suppliant, but not even so far as to soften or relax any thing from the usual asperity of his style, when his cause was to be pleaded before the people. The expression of his countenance was the same; the same stubbornness in his looks, the same spirit of pride in his language; so that a great part of the commons felt no less awe of Appius when arraigned, than they had felt of him when consul. He pleaded his cause once, and with the same spirit of an accuser which he had been accustomed to adopt on all occasions: and he so far astounded both the tribunes and the commons by his intrepidity, that, of their own accord, they postponed the day of trial; then they allowed the matter to be protracted. Nor was the time now very distant; before, however, the appointed day came, he dies of some disease; and when the tribunes of the people endeavoured to impede his funeral panegyric,<sup>102</sup> the commons would not allow that the last day of so great a man should be defrauded of the usual honours; and they listened to the panegyric of him when dead with as patient ears, as they had listened to the charges brought against him when living, and attended his funeral in vast numbers.

<sup>99</sup> Niebuhr, ii. p. 231, thinks that it was in this year the Icilian law was passed, according to which, any person interrupting the proceedings of the tribunes, rendered himself liable to capital punishment.—*Twiss*.

<sup>100</sup> Several charges were brought against Appius, according to Dion. ix. 54, who also states that he did not die of any disease, but that he laid violent hands on himself.—*Ruperti*.

<sup>101</sup> The original has *plenus suarum—irarum*,—that is, the anger not of Appius against the commons, but of the commons against him.

<sup>102</sup> Conf. Nieb. ii. n. 754. It may be well to mention that Niebuhr considered that this account regarding the death of Appius was all fictitious. The Greek writers, scil. Dion. ix. 54, Zonar. vii. 17, state that he laid violent hands on himself.

## 62

In the same year the consul Valerius, having marched an army against the Æquans, when he could not entice the enemy to an engagement, set about assaulting their camp. A violent storm sent down from heaven with thunder and hail prevented him. Then, on a signal for a retreat being given, their surprise was excited by the return of such fair weather, that they felt a scruple a second time to attack a camp which was defended as it were by some divine power; all the rage of war was turned on the devastation of the land. The other consul, Æmilius, conducted the war against the Sabines. There also, because the enemy confined themselves within their walls, the lands were laid waste. Then, by the burning not only of the country-houses, but of the villages also, which were thickly inhabited, the Sabines being aroused, after they met the depredators, on retreating from an engagement left undecided, on the following day removed their camp into a safer situation. This seemed a sufficient reason to the consul why he should leave the enemy as conquered, departing thence the war being still unfinished.

## 63

During these wars, whilst dissensions still continued at home, Titus Numicius Priscus, Aulus Virginius, were elected consuls. The commons appeared determined no longer to brook a delay of the agrarian law, and extreme violence was on the eve of being resorted to, when it was ascertained from the burning of the country-houses and the flight of the peasants that the Volscians were at hand: this circumstance checked the sedition that was now ripe and almost breaking out. The consuls, having been instantly forced to the war by the senate,<sup>103</sup> after leading forth the youth from the city, rendered the rest of the commons more quiet. And the enemy indeed, having done nothing else except alarming the Romans by groundless fear, depart with great precipitation. Numicius marched to Antium against the Volscians, Virginius against the Æquans. Here a signal overthrow being well nigh received from an ambuscade, the bravery of the soldiers restored (the Roman) superiority, which had been endangered through the carelessness of the consul. The general conducted affairs better against the Volscians. The enemy were routed in the first engagement, and forced to fly into the city of Antium, a very wealthy place considering those times; the consul, not venturing to attack it, took from the people of Antium another town, Ceno, which was by no means so wealthy. Whilst the Æquans and Volscians engage the attention of the Roman armies, the Sabines advanced in their devastations even to the gates of the city: then they themselves, a few days after, received from the two armies heavier losses than they had occasioned, the two consuls having entered their territories under exasperated feelings.

## 64

Towards the close of the year there was some peace, but, as frequently at other times, disturbed by contests between the patricians and commons. The exasperated commons refused to attend the consular elections: Titus Quintius, Quintus Servilius, were elected consuls by the patricians and their dependents: the consuls have a year similar to the preceding, the commencement embroiled, and afterwards tranquil by external war. The Sabines marching across the plains of Crustumium with great rapidity, after carrying fire and sword along the banks of the Anio, being repulsed when they had come up

<sup>103</sup> In the original we read *coacti extemplo ab senatu*. Niebuhr considers this reading to be corrupt, and is satisfied that the correct reading is *coacto extemplo senatu*. See ii. n. 555.

nearly to the Colline gate and the walls, drove off however great booty of men and cattle: the consul Servilius, having pursued them with a determined army, was unable to come up with the main body itself on the campaign country; he carried his devastation however so extensively, that he left nothing unmolested by war, and returned after obtaining plunder much exceeding that carried off by the enemy. The public interest was supported extremely well against the Volscians also by the exertions as well of the general as of the soldiers. First they fought a pitched battle, on equal ground, with great slaughter and much bloodshed on both sides: and the Romans, because the fewness of their numbers was more likely to make the loss felt, would have given way, had not the consul, by a well-timed fiction, re-animated the army, crying out that the enemy were flying on the other wing; making a charge, they, by supposing that they were victorious, became so. The consul, fearing lest by pressing too far he might renew the contest, gave the signal for a retreat. A few days intervened; rest being taken on both sides as if by a tacit suspension of arms; during these days a vast number of persons from all the states of the Volscians and Æquans came to the camp, certain that the Romans would depart during the night, if they should perceive them. Accordingly about the third watch they come to attack the camp. Quintius having allayed the confusion which the sudden panic had occasioned, after ordering the soldiers to remain quiet in their tents, leads out a cohort of the Hernicians for an advance guard: the trumpeters and horneteers he mounts on horseback, and commands them to sound their trumpets before the rampart, and to keep the enemy in suspense till daylight: during the rest of the night every thing was so quiet in the camp, that the Romans had even the advantage of sleep. The sight of the armed infantry, whom they both considered to be more numerous than they were, and to be Romans, the bustle and neighing of the horses, which became restless, both from the strange riders placed on them, and moreover from the sound of the trumpets frightening them, kept the Volscians intently awaiting an attack of the enemy.

## 65

When day dawned, the Romans, invigorated and refreshed with sleep, on being marched out to battle, at the first onset overpowered the Volscians, wearied from standing and want of rest; though the enemy rather retired than were routed, because in the rear there were hills to which there was a secure retreat, the ranks behind the first line being unbroken. The consul, when they came to the uneven ground, halts his army; the soldiers were kept back with difficulty; they cried out and demanded to be allowed to pursue the enemy now discomfited. The cavalry, crowding around the general, proceed more violently: they cry out that they would proceed before the first line. Whilst the consul hesitates, relying on the valour of his men, yet having little confidence in the place, they all cry out that they would proceed; and execution followed the shout. Fixing their spears in the ground, in order that they may be lighter to ascend the steeps, they run upwards. The Volscians, having discharged their missile weapons at the first onset, fling the stones lying at their feet on them as they advanced upwards, and having thrown them into confusion by incessant blows, they drove them from the higher ground: thus the left wing of the Romans was nearly overborne, had not the consul dispelled their fear by exciting a sense of shame as they were just retreating, chiding at the same time their temerity and their cowardice. At first they stood their ground with determined firmness; then, according as their strength carried them against those in possession of the ground, they venture to advance themselves; and by renewing the shout they encourage the whole body to move on; then again making a new effort, they force their way up and surmount the disadvantage of the ground. They

were on the point of gaining the summit of the eminence, when the enemy turned their backs, and the pursued and pursuers with precipitate speed rushed into the camp almost in a body. In this consternation the camp is taken; such of the Volscians as were able to make their escape, take the road to Antium. The Roman army also was led to Antium; after being invested for a few days it surrenders without any additional force of the besiegers,<sup>104</sup> but because their spirits had sunk ever since the unsuccessful battle and the loss of their camp.

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<sup>104</sup> *Additional force of the, &c.* Crovier understands this to signify that the Romans did not employ a greater force for besieging Antium, than they had employed the preceding year, and which at that time seemed insufficient for the purpose. Others understand the words to signify that they surrendered without waiting for the Romans to make any additional efforts to take the town.

## Book III

*Disturbances about the agrarian laws. The Capitol surprised by exiles and slaves. Quintius Cincinnatus called from the cultivation of his farm in the country, made dictator, and appointed to conduct the war against the Æquans. He conquers the enemy, and makes them pass under the yoke. The number of the tribunes increased to ten. Decemvirs, appointed for the purpose of digesting and publishing a body of laws. These having promulgated a code of laws contained in ten tables, obtain a continuation of their authority for another year, during which they add two more to the former ten tables. Refusing to resign their office, they retain it a third year. Their conduct at first equitable and just; afterwards arbitrary and tyrannical. The commons, in consequence of the base attempt of Appius Claudius, one of them, to debauch the daughter of Virginus, seize on the Aventine mount, and oblige them to resign. Appius and Oppius, two of the most obnoxious, are thrown into prison, where they put an end to their own lives; the rest are driven into exile. War with the Sabines, Volscians, and Æquans.—Unfair decision of the Roman people, who being chosen arbitrators between the people of Ardea and Aricia concerning some disputed lands, adjudge them to themselves.*

### 1

After the taking of Antium, Titus Æmilius and Quintus Fabius are elected consuls. This was the Fabius Quintus who alone had survived the family cut off at Cremera. Already, in his former consulate, Æmilius had been an adviser of giving land to the people. Accordingly in his second consulate also both the abettors of the agrarian law had raised themselves to the hope of carrying the measure, and the tribunes, supposing that a matter frequently attempted in opposition to both consuls might be obtained with the assistance at least of one consul, take it up, and the consul remained steadfast in his sentiments. The possessors and a considerable part of the patricians complaining that a person at the head of the state was recommending himself by his tribunial proceedings, and that he was making himself popular by giving away other persons' property, had transferred the odium of the entire affair from the tribunes to the consul. A violent contest was at hand, had not Fabius set the matter straight, by an expedient disagreeable to neither party, "that under the conduct and auspices of Titus Quintus, there was a considerable tract of land taken the preceding year from the Volscians; that a colony might be sent to Antium, a neighbouring, convenient, and maritime city; that the commons might come in for lands without any complaints of the present occupiers, that the state might remain in quiet." This proposition was accepted. He appoints as triumvirs for distributing the land, Titus Quintus, Aulus Virginus, and Publius Furius: those who wished to obtain land were ordered to give in their names. The gratification of their aim begat disgust, as usually happens; so few gave in their names that Volscian colonists were added to fill up the number: the rest of the people preferred clamouring for land in Rome, rather than receive it elsewhere. The Æquans sued for peace from Quintus Fabius, (he was sent thither with an army,) and they themselves broke it by a sudden incursion into the Latin territory.

### 2

In the following year Quintus Servilius, (for he was consul with Spurius Posthumius,) being sent against the Æquans, fixed his camp in the Latin territory: inaction necessarily

kept the army within the camp, involved as they were in a distemper. The war was protracted to the third year, Quintus Fabius and Titus Quintius being consuls. To Fabius, because he, as conqueror, had granted<sup>105</sup> peace to the Æquans, that province was assigned by an extraordinary commission: who, setting out with certain hope that the fame of his name would reduce the Æquans to submission, sent ambassadors to the council of the nation, and ordered them to say "that Quintus Fabius, the consul, stated that he had brought peace to Rome from the Æquans, that from Rome he now brought war to the Æquans, that same right hand being armed, which he had formerly given to them in amity; that the gods were now witnesses, and would presently be avengers of those by whose perfidy and perjury that was brought to pass. That he, however, be matters as they might, would even now prefer that the Æquans should repent of their own accord than be subject to the vengeance of an enemy. If they repent, that there would be a safe retreat in that clemency already experienced; but if they still delighted in perjury, they would wage war with the angry gods rather than with enemies." This statement had so little effect on any of them, that the ambassadors were near being ill-treated, and an army was sent to Algidum against the Romans. When these tidings were brought to Rome, the indignity of the affair, rather than the danger, called out the other consul from the city; thus two consular armies advanced against the enemy in order of battle, so that they might at once engage. But as it so happened that much of the day did not now remain, a person from the advanced guard of the enemy cries out, "This is making a display of war, Romans, not waging it; you draw up your army in line of battle, when night is at hand; we require a greater length of day-light for the contest which is to come on. To-morrow by sun-rise return to the field: you shall have an opportunity of fighting, never fear." The soldiers, stung by these threats, are marched back into the camp till the following day; thinking that the approaching night was tedious, which would cause delay to the contest. Then indeed they refresh their bodies with food and sleep: on the following day, when it was light, the Roman army took their post considerably sooner. At length the Æquans also came forward. The battle was obstinate on both sides, because both the Romans fought under the influence of resentment and hatred; and a consciousness of danger brought on by misconduct, and despair of obtaining future confidence afterwards, obliged the Æquans to exert and have recourse to the most desperate efforts. The Æquans however did not withstand the Roman troops, and when on being beaten they had betaken themselves to their own territories, the outrageous multitude, with dispositions not at all more disposed to peace, began to chide their leaders: "that their interest was committed to the hazard of a pitched battle, in which mode of fighting the Romans were superior. That the Æquans were better fitted for depredations and incursions, and that several parties acting in different directions conducted wars more successfully than the unwieldy mass of one single army."

### 3

Having left therefore a guard on the camp, they marched out and attacked the Roman frontiers with such fury, as to carry terror even to the city: the unexpected nature of the thing also caused more alarm, because nothing could be less apprehended, than that an enemy, vanquished and almost besieged in their camp, should entertain a thought of depredation: and the peasants, in a panic pouring in at the gates, cried out, that it was not mere plundering, nor small parties of depredators, but, exaggerating every thing

<sup>105</sup> *Dederat*. The *oratio obliqua* would require *dederit* here, but such instances of the indicative being used for the subjunctive are by no means infrequent.

through groundless fear, that whole armies and legions of the enemy were advancing, and that they were pushing forward to the city determined for an assault. Those who were nearest (the gates) carried to others the accounts heard from these, uncertain as they were, and therefore the more groundless; and the hurry and confused clamour of those calling to arms bore no distant resemblance to the panic of a city taken by storm. It so happened that the consul Quintius had returned to Rome from Algidum; this was some relief for their terror; and the tumult being calmed, and after chiding them for being in dread of a vanquished enemy, he posted a guard on the gates. Then having convened the senate, when he set out to defend the frontiers, a suspension<sup>106</sup> of civil business having been proclaimed by a decree of the senate, leaving Quintus Servilius behind as prefect of the city, he found no enemy in the country. Matters were conducted with distinguished success by the other consul; who having attacked the enemy, wherever he knew that they were to come, laden with booty, and proceeding therefore with their army the more encumbered, made their depredation prove fatal to them. Few of the enemy escaped from the ambuscade; all the booty was recovered; thus the return of the consul Quintius to the city put a termination to the justitium, which lasted only four days. A census was then held, and the lustrum was closed by Quintius: the number of citizens rated are said to have been one hundred and twenty-four thousand two hundred and fourteen, besides orphans of both sexes. Nothing memorable occurred afterwards among the Æquans; they betook themselves into their towns, suffering their possessions to be consumed by fire and to be devastated. The consul, after he had repeatedly carried depredation through the entire country of the enemy, returned to Rome with great glory and booty.

#### 4

Then Aulus Posthumius Albus and Spurius Furius Fusus were consuls. Furius some writers have written Fusii; this I mention, lest any one may imagine that the change, which is only in the names, may be in the persons themselves. There was no doubt but that one of the consuls would commence hostilities against the Æquans. The Æquans accordingly sought aid from the Volscians of Ecetra; which being granted readily, (so keenly did these states vie in inveterate hatred against the Romans,) preparations for war were made with the utmost vigour. The Hernicians came to the knowledge of it, and warned the Romans that the Ecetrians had revolted to the Æquans; the colony of Antium also was suspected, because when the town was taken, a great number of the inhabitants had fled thence for refuge to the Æquans: and these proved the bravest soldiers during the war with the Æquans. Afterwards the Æquans being driven into the towns, this rabble withdrawing privately, when they returned to Antium, seduced from the Romans the colonists who were already disposed to treachery of their own accord. The matter not being yet ripe, when it was announced to the senate that a defection was intended, the consuls were charged to inquire into the business by summoning to Rome the leading men of the colony. When those persons attended without reluctance, being conducted to the senate by the consuls, they so answered to the questions put to them, that they were dismissed more suspected than they had come. Upon this war was considered as inevitable. Spurius Fusus, one of the consuls to whom that province had fallen, having marched against the Æquans, found the enemy committing depredations in the country of the Hernicians; and being ignorant of their numbers, because they had never been seen all together, he rashly hazarded an engagement with an army not a match for their forces. Being beaten from his ground at the first onset, he betook himself

<sup>106</sup> *Justitium*—a jure sistendo.

to his camp: nor was that an end of the danger: for both on the next night and the following day, his camp was beset and assaulted with such vigour, that not even a messenger could be sent from thence to Rome. The Hernicians brought an account both that a defeat had taken place, and that the army was besieged: and they struck such terror into the senate, that a charge was given to the other consul Posthumius, that he should "take care that the commonwealth sustained no injury,"<sup>107</sup> which form of a decree has ever been deemed to be one of extreme exigency. It seemed most advisable that the consul himself should remain at Rome to enlist all who were able to bear arms: that Titus Quintius should be sent as pro-consul<sup>108</sup> to the relief of the camp with the army of the allies: to complete that army the Latins and Hernicians, and the colony of Antium, were ordered to supply Quintius with subitary soldiers (so they then called auxiliaries raised for sudden emergencies).

## 5

During those days many movements and many attempts were made on either side, because the enemy, having the advantage in numbers, attempted to weaken the Roman strength by dividing it into many parts, as not being likely to suffice for all points of attack. At the same time the camp was besieged, at the same time a part of the army was sent to devastate the Roman territory, and to attempt the city itself, if fortune should favour. Lucius Valerius was left to guard the city: the consul Postumius was sent to repel the attacks on the frontiers. There was no abatement in any part either in vigilance or activity; watches in the city, out-posts before the gates, and guards stationed along the walls: and a justitium was observed for several days (a thing which was necessary in such general confusion). In the mean time the consul Furius, after he had at first passively endured the siege in his camp, burst forth from the Decuman gate on the enemy when off their guard; and though he might have pursued them, he stopped through fear, lest an attack should be made on the camp from the other side. The lieutenant-general Furius (he was the consul's brother) was carried away too far by his ardour; nor did he, from his eagerness to pursue, observe his own party returning, nor the attack of the enemy on his rear: thus being shut out, after repeatedly making many unavailing efforts to force his way to the camp, he fell, fighting bravely. And the consul, turning about to renew the fight, on hearing the account that his brother was surrounded, rushing into the thick of the fight rather rashly than with sufficient caution, received a wound, and was with difficulty rescued by those around him. This both damped the courage of his own men, and rendered the enemy more daring; who, being encouraged by the death of the lieutenant-general, and by the consul's wound, could not afterwards be withstood by any force, so as to prevent the Romans from being driven within their camp and again submitting to a siege, as being a match for them neither in hopes nor in strength; and every thing would have been endangered, had not T. Quintius come to their relief with foreign troops from the Latin and Hernician army. He attacked the Æquans on their rear whilst intent on the Roman camp, and insultingly displaying the head of the lieutenant-general, and, a sally being made at the same time from the camp on a signal given at a distance by him, he surrounded a great number of the enemy. Of the Æquans on the Roman territory the slaughter was less, their dispersion was more complete. On these as they straggled in different directions, and were driving plunder before them, Postumius made an attack in several places, where

<sup>107</sup> According to Stroth, this is the first instance we have of a decree of the senate arming the consul with almost dictatorial power.

<sup>108</sup> *Pro-consul*:—the first mention of a pro-consul in Livy.

he had posted convenient detachments; these straying about and pursuing their flight in great disorder, fell in with the victorious Quintius as he was returning with the wounded consul. Then did the consular army by their distinguished bravery take ample vengeance for the consul's wound, and for the death of the lieutenant-general and the cohorts; heavy losses were both inflicted and received on both sides during those days. In a matter of such antiquity it is difficult to state with certainty the exact number of those who fought or fell: Antias Valerius, however, ventures to sum them up; that in the Hernician territory there fell five thousand three hundred Romans; that of the predatory parties of the Æquans, who strayed through the Roman frontiers for the purpose of plundering, two thousand four hundred were slain by the consul Postumius; that the rest of the body that were driving booty before them, and which fell in with Quintius, by no means got off with so light a loss: that of these four thousand, and by way of stating the number exactly, two hundred and thirty, were slain. After this they returned to Rome; the order for the justitium was discharged. The sky seemed to be all on fire; and other prodigies either actually presented themselves to their sight, or exhibited imaginary appearances to their affrighted minds. To avert these terrors, a solemn festival of three days was proclaimed, during which, all the temples were filled with a crowd of men and women, earnestly imploring the protection of the gods. After this the Latin and Hernician cohorts were sent back to their respective homes, thanks having been returned to them for their spirited military services. The thousand soldiers from Antium were dismissed almost with disgrace, because they had come after the battle with assistance then too late.

## 6

The elections were then held: Lucius Æbutius and Publius Servilius being elected consuls, enter on their office on the calends of August, which was then considered as the commencement of the year.<sup>109</sup> This was a distressing time, and it so happened that the season was pestilential to the city and country, and not more to men than to cattle; and they increased the malignity of the distemper, by admitting<sup>110</sup> the cattle and the peasants into the city through dread of devastation. This collection of animals of every kind mixed together, distressed both the citizens by the unusual stench, and the peasants crowded together into their close apartments, with heat, want of sleep, and their attendance on each other, and contact itself propagated the disease. Whilst with difficulty sustaining these calamities, ambassadors from the Hernicians suddenly bring word that the Æquans and Volscians, having united their forces, had pitched their camp in their territory, that from thence they were depopulating their frontiers with an immense army. Besides that the thinness of the senate was a proof to the allies that the state was prostrated by the pestilence, they further received this melancholy answer: "That the Hernicians, with the Latins, must now defend their possessions by their own exertions. That the Roman city, through the sudden anger of the gods, was now depopulated by disease. If any respite from that calamity should come, that they would afford aid to their allies, as they had done the year before, and always on other occasions." The allies departed, carrying home, instead of the melancholy news (they had brought), news still more melancholy, as being persons who were now obliged to sustain by their own means a war, which they had sustained with difficulty when backed by the power of Rome. The enemy did not confine themselves any longer to the Hernician territory. They proceed thence with determined hostility into the Roman

<sup>109</sup> Of the year,—i.e. the consular year, not the civil one, which commenced in January.

<sup>110</sup> A similar measure was adopted at Athens. See Thucyd. ii. 52.

territories, which were already devastated without the injuries of war. Where, when there was no one to meet them, not even an unarmed person, and they passed through every place destitute not only of troops, but even of the cultivation of the husbandman, they reached as far as the third stone on the Gabinian road. Æbutius, the Roman consul, was dead; his colleague, Servilius, was dragging out life with slender hope of recovery; most of the leading men, the chief part of the patricians, all of the military age, were lying sick, so that strength was wanting not only for the expeditions, which, amid such an alarm the conjuncture required, but scarcely had they sufficient even for quietly mounting guard. The senators whose age and health permitted them, discharged personally the duty of sentinels. The going around<sup>111</sup> and attending to these was assigned to the ædiles of the people; on them devolved the chief administration of affairs and the majesty of the consular authority.

## 7

The commonwealth thus desolate, without a head, without strength, the guardian gods and good fortune of the city saved, which inspired the Volscians and Æquans with the disposition of banditti rather than of enemies; for so far was any hope not only of taking but even of approaching the walls of Rome<sup>112</sup> from taking possession of their minds, and so thoroughly did the sight of the houses in the distance, and the adjacent hills, divert their thoughts, (from such an attempt,) that, a murmur having arisen in every direction throughout the entire camp, "why they should waste time in indolence without booty in a wild and desert land, amid the putrid decay of cattle and of human beings, when they might repair to places uninjured by infection, the Tusculan territory abounding in wealth?" they suddenly tore up their standards, and by journeys across the country, they passed through the Lavican territory to the Tusculan hills; and to that quarter was the whole violence and storm of the war directed. In the mean time the Hernicians and Latins, influenced not only by compassion but by shame, if they neither gave opposition to the common enemy, when making for the city of Rome with a hostile army, nor afforded any aid to their allies when besieged, march to Rome with their forces united. Where, when they did not find the enemy, following their tracks as indicated by rumour, they meet them as they are coming down from the Tusculan territory into the Alban valley: there a battle was fought under circumstances by no means equal; and their fidelity proved by no means favourable to the allies for the present. The mortality at Rome by disease was not less than that of the allies by the sword (of the enemy); the only surviving consul dies; other eminent characters also died, Marcus Valerius, Titus Virginius Rutilus, the augurs; Servius Sulpicius, principal curio; and through persons of inferior note the virulence of the disease spread extensively: and the senate, destitute of human aid, directed the people's attention to the gods and to prayers; they were ordered to go to supplicate with their wives and children, and earnestly to implore the protection of heaven. Besides that their own sufferings obliged each to do so, when called on by public authority, they fill all the shrines; the prostrate matrons in every quarter sweeping the temples with their hair, beg for a remission of the divine displeasure, and a termination to the pestilence.

## 8

From this time, whether it was from the favour of the gods being obtained, or that the more unhealthy season of the year was now passed, the bodies of the people having

<sup>111</sup> *Circuitio*. Stroth observes, that this is what we understand by 'the Round.'

<sup>112</sup> According to Dionysius, the Volsci attacked Rome on this occasion.

shaken off disease, gradually began to be more healthy, and their attention being now directed to public concerns, when several interregna had expired, Publius Valerius Publicola, on the third day after he had entered on his office of interrex, causes Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Titus Veturius Geminus, (or Velusius,) to be elected consuls. They enter on their consulship on the third day of the Ides of August, the state being now sufficiently strong, not only to repel a hostile attack, but even to act itself on the offensive. Therefore when the Hernicians brought an account that the enemy had made an incursion into their frontiers, assistance was readily promised; two consular armies were enlisted. Veturius was sent against the Volscians to carry on an offensive war. Tricipitinus being appointed to protect the territory of the allies from devastation, proceeds no further than into the country of the Hernicians. Veturius routs and puts to flight the enemy in the first engagement. A party of plunderers which had marched over the Prænentine mountains, and from thence descended into the plains, escaped the notice of Lucretius, whilst he lay encamped amongst the Hernicians. These laid waste all the country around Præneste and Gabii: from the Gabinian territory they turn their course towards the heights of Tusculum; great alarm was excited in the city of Rome also, more from the suddenness of the affair, than that there was not sufficient strength to repel violence. Quintus Fabius had the command in the city;<sup>113</sup> he, by arming the young men and posting guards, rendered things secure and tranquil. The enemy therefore carrying off plunder from the adjacent places, not venturing to approach the city, when they were returning by a circuitous route, their caution being now more relaxed, in proportion as they removed to a greater distance from the enemy's city, fall in with the consul Lucretius, who had already explored their motions, drawn up in battle-array and determined on an engagement. Accordingly having attacked them with predetermined resolution whilst struck with sudden panic, though considerably fewer in numbers, they rout and put to flight their numerous army, and having driven them into the deep valleys, when an egress from thence was not easy, they surround them. There the Volscian nation was almost entirely cut off. In some histories I find that thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy fell in the field and in the pursuit, that one thousand two hundred and fifty were taken alive, that twenty-seven military standards were carried off; where, though there may have been some exaggeration in the number, there certainly was great slaughter. The victorious consul having obtained immense booty returned to the same standing camp. Then the consuls join their camps. The Volscians and Æquans also unite their shattered strength. This was the third battle on that year; the same good fortune gave them victory; the enemy being beaten, their camp was also taken.

## 9

Thus affairs at Rome returned to their former state; and successes abroad immediately excited commotions in the city. Caius Terentillus Arsa<sup>114</sup> was tribune of the people in that year: he, considering that an opportunity was afforded for tribunitian intrigues during the absence of the consuls, after railing against the arrogance of the patricians for several days before the people, inveighed chiefly against the consular authority, as being exorbitant and intolerable in a free state: "for that, in name only, it was less invidious, in reality almost more oppressive than that of kings. For that two masters had been adopted instead of one, with unbounded, unlimited power; who, themselves

<sup>113</sup> As *præfectus urbis*.

<sup>114</sup> Niebuhr n. 24, 634, would have us read *Terentilius*, the Roman family names always, he says, ending in *ius*. He also thinks that for *Arsa*, we should read *Harsa*.

unrestrained and unbridled, directed all the terrors of the law, and all kinds of severity against the commons." Now, in order that this licentious power might not continue perpetual, he would propose a law, that five persons be appointed to draw up laws regarding the consular power. That the consul should use that right which the people may give him over them; that they should not hold their own caprice and licentiousness as law. This law being published, when the patricians became afraid, lest, in the absence of the consuls, they should be subjected to the yoke, the senate is convened by Quintus Fabius, præfect of the city, who inveighed so vehemently against the bill and the author of it, that nothing was omitted of threats and intimidation, even though both the consuls in all their exasperation surrounded the tribune, "that he had lain in wait, and, watching his opportunity, he made an attack on the commonwealth. If the gods in their anger had given them any tribune like him on the preceding year, during the pestilence and war, he could not have been withstood. Both the consuls being dead, and the exhausted state lying enfeebled in universal confusion, that he would have proposed laws to abolish the consular government altogether from the state; that he would have headed the Volscians and Æquans to attack the city. What? if the consuls adopted any tyrannical or cruel proceedings against any of the citizens, was it not competent to him to appoint a day of trial for him; to arraign him before those very judges against any one of whom severity may have been exercised? That it was not the consular authority but the tribunitian power that he was rendering hateful and insupportable: which having been peaceable and reconciled to the patricians, was now about to be brought back anew to its former mischievous habits. Nor would he entreat him not to go on as he commenced. Of you, the other tribunes, says Fabius, we request, that you will first of all consider that that power was provided for the aid of individuals, not for the ruin of the community: that you were created tribunes of the commons, not enemies of the patricians. To us it is distressing, to you a source of odium, that the republic, now bereft of its chief magistrates, should be attacked; you will diminish not your rights, but the odium against you. Confer with your colleague, that he may postpone this business till the arrival of the consuls; even the Æquans and the Volscians, when our consuls were carried off by pestilence last year, did not press on us with a cruel and tyrannical war." The tribunes confer with Terentillus, and the bill being to all appearance deferred, but in reality abandoned, the consuls were immediately sent for.

## 10

Lucretius returned with immense spoil, and much greater glory; and this glory he increased on his arrival, by exposing all the booty in the Campus Martius, so that each person might, during three days, recognise his own and carry it away; the remainder was sold, for which no owners appeared. A triumph was by universal consent due to the consul: but the matter was deferred, the tribune still pressing his law; this to the consul seemed of greater importance. The business was discussed for several days, both in the senate and before the people: at length the tribune yielded to the majesty of the consul, and desisted; then the due honour was rendered to the general and his army. He triumphed over the Volscians and Æquans: his troops followed him in his triumph. The other consul was allowed to enter the city in ovation without his soldiers. On the following year the Terentillian law having been taken up by the entire college, assailed the new consuls; the consuls were Publius Volumnius and Servius Sulpicius. On that year the sky seemed to be on fire; a violent earthquake also occurred; it was now believed that an ox spoke, which circumstance had not obtained credit on the year

before; among other prodigies it rained flesh also;<sup>115</sup> which shower a great number of birds is reported to have carried off by flying so as to intercept it; that which did fall, is said to have lain scattered about for several days, so that its smell evinced no change. The books<sup>116</sup> were consulted by the duumviri for sacred rites: dangers of attacks being made on the highest parts of the city, and of bloodshed thence resulting, were predicted as about to come from an assemblage of strangers; among other things, an admonition was given that all intestine disturbances should be abandoned. The tribunes alleged that that was done to obstruct the law, and a desperate contest was at hand. Lo! (that the same circle of events may revolve every year) the Hernicians bring word that the Volscians and the Æquans, though their strength was much impaired, were recruiting their armies: that their chief dependence was Antium; that the inhabitants of Antium openly held councils at Ecetra: that that was the source—there the strength—for the war. As soon as this announcement was made in the senate, a levy was ordered: the consuls were commanded to divide the management of the war between them; that the Volscians should be the province of the one, the Æquans that of the other. The tribunes cried out to their faces in the forum, "That the Volscian war was all a concerted farce: that the Hernicians were instructed to act their parts; that the liberty of the Roman people was now no longer crushed by manly efforts, but that it was baffled by cunning; because all probability was now gone that the Volscians, who were almost exterminated, and the Æquans, would of themselves commence hostilities, new enemies were sought for: that a loyal colony, and one in their very vicinity, was being rendered infamous: that war was proclaimed against the unoffending people of Antium, and in reality waged with the commons of Rome, which after loading them with arms they were determined to drive out of the city with precipitous haste, wreaking their vengeance on the tribunes, by the exile and expulsion of their fellow-citizens. That by these means, and let them not think that there was any other object contemplated, the law was defeated; unless, whilst the matter was still in abeyance, whilst they were still at home and in the garb of citizens, they would take precaution that they may not be driven out of possession of the city, and be subjected to the yoke. If they only had spirit, that support would not be wanting; that all the tribunes were unanimous; that there was no apprehension from abroad, no danger. That the gods had taken care, on the preceding year, that their liberty could now be defended with safety." Thus far the tribunes.

## 11

But, on the other side, the consuls, having placed their chairs within view of them, were proceeding with the levy; thither the tribunes hasten, and draw the assembly along with them; a few were cited, by way of making an experiment, and instantly violence commenced. Whomsoever the lictor laid hold of by order of the consul, him the tribune ordered to be discharged; nor did his own proper jurisdiction set a limit to each, but whatever you set your mind upon, was to be attained by the hope of strength and by force. Just as the tribunes had behaved in impeding the levy, in the same manner did the consuls conduct themselves in obstructing the law which was brought on every assembly day. The commencement of the riot was, when the tribunes ordered the people to proceed to the vote, because the patricians refused to withdraw. The elder citizens scarcely attended the contest, inasmuch as it was one likely not to be directed by prudence, but abandoned to temerity and daring. The consuls also generally kept out

<sup>115</sup> Niebuhr, ii. n. 631, asks whether it was worms. Σαρκῶν θραύσματα. Dion. x. 2.

<sup>116</sup> The Sibylline books.

of the way, lest in the general confusion they should expose their dignity to any insult. There was a young man, Cæso Quintius, a daring youth, as well by the nobility of his descent, as by his personal size and strength; to those endowments granted by the gods he himself had added many military honours, and eloquence in the forum; so that no person in the state was considered more efficient either in speaking or in acting. When this person took his place in the centre of a body of the patricians, conspicuous above the rest, carrying as it were in his eloquence and bodily strength dictatorships and consulships combined, he alone withstood the storms of the tribunes and the populace. Under his guidance the tribunes were frequently driven from the forum, the commons routed and dispersed; such as came in his way, went off after being ill-treated and stripped; so that it became sufficiently evident, that, if he were allowed to proceed in this way, the law would be defeated. Then the other tribunes being now almost thrown into despair, Aulus Virginius, one of the college, institutes a criminal prosecution on a capital charge against Cæso. By this proceeding he rather irritated than intimidated his violent temper: so much the more vigorously did he oppose the law, annoyed the commons, and persecuted the tribunes, as it were by a regular war. The prosecutor suffered the accused to rush on headlong, and to heighten the charges against him by the flame and material of the popular odium thus incurred: in the mean time he proceeded with the law, not so much in the hope of carrying it through, as to provoke the temerity of Cæso. There many inconsiderate expressions and actions passing among the young men, are charged on the temper of Cæso, through the prejudice raised against him; still the law was resisted. And Aulus Virginius frequently remarks to the people, "Are you even now sensible that you cannot have Cæso, as a fellow-citizen, with the law which you desire? Though why do I say law? he is an opponent of your liberty; he surpasses all the Tarquins in arrogance. Wait till he is made consul or dictator, whom, though but a private citizen, you now see exercising kingly sway over you by his strength and audacity." Many assented, complaining that they had been beaten by him: and strongly urged on the tribune to go through with the prosecution.

## 12

The day of trial now approached, and it was evident that persons in general considered that their liberty depended on the condemnation of Cæso: then, at length being forced to it, he addressed the commons individually, though with a strong feeling of indignation; his relatives followed him, the principal members of the state. Titus Quintius Capitolinus, who had been thrice consul, after he recounted many splendid achievements of his own, and of his family, stated, that neither in the Quintian family, nor in the Roman state, had there appeared such promising genius of such early valour. "That he had first been his soldier, that he had often in his sight fought against the enemy." Spurius Furius declared, that "he having been sent to him by Quintius Capitolinus, had come to his aid when in the midst of danger; that there was no individual by whose exertions he considered the common weal more effectually re-established." Lucius Lucretius, the consul of the preceding year, in the full splendour of recent glory, shared his own services with Cæso; he recounted his battles, detailed his distinguished exploits, both on expeditions and in the field; he advised and recommended that they would prefer this extraordinary young man, endowed with all the advantages of nature and of rank, and (one who would prove) of the utmost importance to the interest of that state into which he should come, to be their fellow-citizen, rather than the citizen of a foreign state. "That with respect to that which may be offensive in him, heat and vehemence, time would diminish daily; that the prudence,

which may be wanting in him, was increasing daily; that as his faults were declining and his virtues ripening to maturity, they should allow so distinguished a man to become old in their state." Among these his father, Lucius Quintus, who bore the surname of Cincinnatus, without dwelling on his merits, lest he should heighten public hatred, but soliciting pardon for his errors and his youth, implored of them to forgive his son for his sake, who had not given offence to any one by either word or deed. But some, through respect or fear, turned away from listening to his entreaties; others complaining that themselves and their friends had been ill-treated, by the harshness of their answer declared their sentence beforehand.

### 13

Independently of the general odium, one charge bore heavily on the accused; that Marcus Volscius Fictor, who some years before had been tribune of the people, had come forward as a witness: "that not long after the pestilence had been in the city, he had fallen in with a party of young men rioting in the Suburra; that a scuffle arose there; and that his elder brother, not yet perfectly recovered from his illness, had fallen down almost dead, being struck with the fist by Cæso; that he was carried home between the hands of some persons, and that he considered that he died from that blow; and that it had not been permitted to him by the consuls of former years to follow up the matter." In consequence of Volscius vociferating these charges, the people became so excited, that Cæso was near being killed through the violence of the people. Virginius orders him to be seized and carried to prison. The patricians oppose force to force. Titus Quintus exclaims, "that a person for whom a day of trial for a capital offence has been appointed, and whose trial was now at hand, ought not to be outraged before trial and without sentence being passed." The tribune says, "that he would not inflict punishment<sup>117</sup> on him before condemnation, that he would however keep him in prison until the day of trial; that the Roman people may have an opportunity of inflicting punishment on one who had killed a man." The tribunes being appealed to, secure their prerogative by adopting a middle course;<sup>118</sup> they forbid his being thrown into confinement, and declare it to be their wish that the accused should appear on his trial, and that a sum of money should be promised to the people, in case he should not appear. How large a sum of money ought to be promised, came under discussion: that is referred to the senate. The accused was detained in the public assembly, until the patricians should be consulted: it was determined that he should give bail:<sup>119</sup> each bail they bound to the amount of three thousand *asses*; how many should be given, was left to the tribunes; they limited the number to ten; for ten sureties the prosecutor discharged the accused. He was the first who gave public sureties. Being discharged from the forum, he went the following night into exile among the Etrurians. When on the day of trial it was pleaded that he had quitted his home in order to go into exile, Virginius notwithstanding holding the comitia, his colleagues when appealed to dismissed the assembly: the fine was rigorously exacted.<sup>120</sup> from the father; so that after selling all his effects, he lived for a considerable time in a solitary cottage on the other side of the Tiber, as if in exile. This

<sup>117</sup> Niebuhr denies that the tribunes had the power before the establishment of the decemviri to commit patricians to prison. See however Dion. vii. 17.

<sup>118</sup> In the original the words are, *Medio decreto jus auxilii sui expediunt*. The tribunes were afraid lest, if they allowed Cæso to go entirely at large, the commons might become irritated; whilst if they refused to listen to the application of a patrician when he craved their assistance, they feared lest they should lose an excellent opportunity of establishing their influence and increasing their power. By adopting a line of conduct then which conceded something both to the commons and to Cæso, they as it were *extricate* (*expediunt*) their power from this double danger.

<sup>119</sup> *Vadis publicos*. According to Gronovius, *publico*, scil. *plebi*. Niebuhr prefers this reading.

<sup>120</sup> *Rigorously exacted*. See Niebuhr ii. p. 289, who expresses a different opinion on the matter.

trial and the proposing of the law gave full employment to the state: there was quiet from foreign arms.

#### 14

When the tribunes, flushed as it were with victory, imagined that the law was in a manner passed, the patricians being now dismayed by the banishment of Cæso, and when, with respect to the seniors of the patricians, they had relinquished all share in the administration of the commonwealth; the juniors, more especially those who were the intimate friends of Cæso, redoubled their resentful feelings against the commons, and suffered not their spirits to droop; but the greatest improvement was made in this particular, that they tempered their animosity by a certain degree of moderation. When for the first time after Cæso's banishment the law began to be brought forward, arrayed and well prepared with a numerous body of clients, they attacked the tribunes, on their affording a pretext for it by attempting to remove them, in such a manner, that no one individual carried home from thence any prominent share either of glory or ill-will; the people complained that for one Cæso a thousand had started up. During the intermediate days, when the tribunes made no stir regarding the law, nothing could be more mild or peaceable than those same persons; they saluted the plebeians courteously, entered into conversation, and invited them home; they attended the forum, and suffered the tribunes themselves to hold their meetings without interruption: they never were uncivil to any one either in public or in private, unless when the business respecting the law began to be agitated. On other occasions the young men were popular. And not only did the tribunes transact all their other affairs without disturbance, but they were even re-elected for the following year, without one offensive expression, much less any violence being employed. By soothing and managing the commons they gradually rendered them tractable. By these methods the law was evaded for the entire year.

#### 15

The consuls Caius Claudius, the son of Appius, and Publius Valerius Publicola, found the state in a more tranquil condition. The new year had brought with it nothing new; the thoughts about carrying the law, or submitting to it, engrossed all the members of the state. The more the younger members of the senate endeavoured to insinuate themselves into favour with the commons, the more strenuously did the tribunes strive to thwart them, so that they rendered them suspicious in the eyes of the commons by alleging: "that a conspiracy was formed; that Cæso was in Rome; that plans were concerted for assassinating the tribunes, and butchering the commons. That the commission assigned by the elder members of the patricians was, that the young men should abolish the tribunitian power from the state, and the form of government should be the same as it had been before the sacred mount had been taken possession of." Both a war from the Volsci and Æqui, which was now a stated thing, and one that was a regular occurrence for almost every year, was apprehended, and another evil nearer home started up unexpectedly. The exiles and slaves to the number of four thousand and five hundred men took possession of the Capitol and citadel during the night, under the command of Appius Herdonius, a Sabine. Immediately a massacre took place in the citadel of those who had evinced an unwillingness to enter into the conspiracy and to take up arms. Some, during the alarm, run down to the forum, driven precipitately through the panic; the cries, "to arms," and "the enemy are in the city," were heard alternately. The consuls were both afraid to arm the commons, and to suffer them to

remain unarmed; uncertain what sudden calamity had assailed the city, whether external or intestine, whether from the hatred of the commons or the treachery of the slaves: they were for quieting the tumults, by such endeavours they sometimes exasperated them; for the populace, panic-stricken and terrified, could not be directed by authority. They give out arms, however, not indiscriminately; only so that, the enemy being still uncertain,<sup>121</sup> there might be a protection sufficient to be relied on for all emergencies. The remainder of the night they passed in posting guards through proper places through the entire city, anxious and uncertain, as to who the persons might be, and how great the number of the enemy was. Day-light then disclosed the war and the leader of the war. Appius Herdonius summoned the slaves to liberty from the Capitol: "that he had espoused the cause of every most unfortunate individual, in order to bring back to their country those driven out by oppression, and to remove the grievous yoke from the slaves. That he had rather that were done under the authority of the Roman people. If there be no hope in that quarter, that he would rouse the Volscians and Æqui, and would try all extremities."

## 16

The matter began to disclose itself more clearly to the patricians and the consuls; besides those things, however, which were openly declared, they dreaded lest this might be a scheme of the Veientes or Sabines; and, as there were so many of the enemy in the city, lest the Sabine and Etrurian troops might come on according to a concerted plan; and then lest their eternal enemies, the Volscians and Æqui, should come, not to ravage their territories, as before, but to their very city, already in part taken. Many and various were their fears; among others, the most prominent was their dread of the slaves, lest each might harbour an enemy in his own house, one whom it was neither sufficiently safe to trust, nor to deny<sup>122</sup> confidence to him lest, by not trusting him, he might become more incensed. And (the evil) seemed scarcely capable of being resisted by perfect harmony (between the different orders of the state); only no one apprehended the tribunes or commons, other evils predominating and constantly starting up; that appeared an evil of a mild nature, and one always arising during the cessation of other evils, and it then appeared to be lulled to rest by external terror. Yet that was almost the only one that most aggravated their distressing circumstances: for such madness took possession of the tribunes, that they contended that not war, but the empty appearance of war had taken possession of the Capitol, to avert the people's minds from attending to the law; that these friends and clients of the patricians would depart in greater silence than they came, if they once perceived that, by the law being passed, they had raised these tumults in vain. They then held a meeting for passing the law, having called away the people from their arms. In the mean time, the consuls convene the senate, another dread presenting itself on the part of the tribunes, greater than that which the nightly foe had occasioned.

## 17

When it was announced that their arms were being laid aside, and that the men were quitting their posts, Publius Valerius, his colleague still detaining the senate, hastens from the senate-house; he comes thence into the meeting to the tribunes: "What is all this," says he, "tribunes? Are you determined to overthrow the commonwealth under the guidance and auspices of Appius Herdonius? Has he been so successful in corrupting

<sup>121</sup> *Incerto hoste*, it being as yet uncertain who the enemy was.

<sup>122</sup> *Fidem abrogare*,—non habere fidem, non credere. *Non credendo* here seems superfluous.

you, who, by his authority, has not influenced your slaves? When the enemies are over our heads, is it your pleasure that arms should be given up, and laws be proposed?" Then directing his discourse to the populace: "If, Romans, no concern for your city, for yourselves, moves you, at least revere the gods of your country, now made captive by the enemy. Jupiter, the best and greatest, Queen Juno, and Minerva, the other gods and goddesses, are besieged; the camp of slaves now holds the tutelary gods of the state. Does this seem to you the form of a state in its senses? Such a crowd of enemies is not only within the walls, but in the citadel, commanding the forum and senate-house: in the mean while meetings are being held in the forum; the senate is in the senate-house, just as when perfect tranquillity prevails; the senator gives his opinion, the other Romans give their votes. Would it not behove all the patricians and commons, consuls, tribunes, citizens, and all classes of persons, to bring aid with arms in their hands, to run into the Capitol, to liberate and restore to peace that most august residence of Jupiter, the best and greatest? O Father Romulus! do thou infuse into thy progeny that determination of thine, by which you once recovered from these same Sabines the citadel, when obtained by gold. Order them to pursue this same path, which thou, as leader, and thy army, pursued. Lo! I, as consul, shall be the first to follow thee and thy footsteps, as far as a mortal can follow a god." The close of his speech was: "That he would take up arms, that he invited every citizen of Rome to arms; if any one should oppose, that he,<sup>123</sup> forgetful of the consular authority, the tribunitian power, and the devoting laws, would consider him as an enemy, whoever he may, wheresoever he may, in the Capitol, or in the forum. That the tribunes might order arms to be taken up against Publius Valerius the consul, since they forbid it against Appius Herdonius; that he would venture to act in that manner in the case of the tribunes, in which the founder of his family had ventured to act in the case of kings." It now became apparent that extreme violence was about to take place, and that a disturbance among the Romans would be exhibited as a sight to the enemy; the law, however, could neither be prepared, nor could the consul proceed to the Capitol: night quashed the contest that had commenced; the tribunes yielded to the night, dreading the arms of the consuls. The fomenters of the disturbances being removed from thence, the patricians went about among the commons, and introducing themselves into their circles of conversation, they introduced observations suited to the occasion: they advised them "to beware into what hazard they were bringing the commonwealth; that the contest was not between the patricians and commons, but that patricians and commons together, the fortress of the city, the temples of the gods, the guardian gods of the state and of private families, were being delivered up to the enemy." Whilst these affairs are going on in the forum for the purpose of appeasing the disturbances, the consuls in the mean time had armed the several gates and the walls, lest the Sabines or the Veientian enemy should make any move.

## 18

On the same night, messengers come to Tusculum announcing that the citadel was taken, and the Capitol seized, and the other state of disturbance in the city. Lucius Mamilius was at that time dictator at Tusculum; he, having immediately convoked the senate and introduced the messengers, earnestly advises: "That they should not wait until ambassadors came from Rome, suing for assistance; that the very danger and risk, and the social gods, and the faith of treaties, demanded it; that the gods would never

<sup>123</sup> *Forgetful of the consular, &c.*—i.e. forgetful of the limits of the consular authority; acting in the same manner as if its power were unbounded, and admitted no appeal.

afford them an equal opportunity of obliging so powerful a state and so near a neighbour." It is determined that assistance should be sent: the young men are enrolled; arms are given to them. Coming to Rome at break of day, they at a distance exhibited the appearance of enemies. The Æqui or Volscians appeared to be coming. Then when the groundless alarm was removed, they are admitted into the city, and descend in a body into the forum. There Publius Valerius, having left his colleague to guard the gates, was now drawing up in order of battle. The great influence of the man had produced an effect, when he affirmed that, "the Capitol being recovered, and the city restored to peace, if they would allow themselves to be convinced what lurking fraud was concealed under the law proposed by the tribunes, that he would offer no obstruction to the meeting of the people, mindful of his ancestors, mindful of his surname, and that the province of protecting the people had been handed down to him as hereditary by his ancestors." Following him as their leader, notwithstanding the tribunes cried out against it, they direct their march up the Capitoline hill. The Tusculan troops also joined them. Allies and citizens vied with each other which of them should appropriate to themselves the honour of recovering the citadel. Each leader encourages his own men. Then the enemy became terrified, and placed no dependence on any but the place. The Romans and allies advance on them whilst in this state of alarm. They had now broken into the porch of the temple, when Publius Valerius is slain animating the fight at the head of his men. Publius Volumnius, a man of consular rank, saw him falling. Having directed his men to cover the body, he rushes forward to the place and office of consul. Through their ardour and impetuosity the perception of so heavy a blow did not reach the soldiers; they conquered before they perceived that they conquered without a leader. Many of the exiles defiled the temple with their blood; many were taken alive; Herdonius was slain. Thus the Capitol was recovered. With respect to the prisoners,<sup>124</sup> punishment was inflicted on each according to his station, whether he was a freeman or a slave. The commons are stated to have thrown farthings into the consul's house, that he might be buried with greater solemnity.

## 19

Peace being established, the tribunes then pressed on the patricians to fulfil the promise of Publius Valerius; they pressed on Claudius, to free the shade of his colleague from breach of faith, and to allow the business of the law to proceed. The consul asserted that he would suffer the discussion on the law to go on, till he had a colleague appointed in the room of the deceased. These disputes held on until the elections for substituting a consul. In the month of December,<sup>125</sup> by the most zealous exertions of the patricians, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, Cæso's father, is elected consul to enter on his office without delay. The commons were dismayed at their being about to have as consul a man incensed against them, powerful by the support of the patricians, by his own merit, and by three sons, not one of whom yielded to Cæso in greatness of spirit; "whilst they were superior to him by their exercising prudence and moderation, when the occasion required." When he entered on his office, in his frequent harangues from the tribunal, he was not more vehement in restraining the commons than in reproving the senate, "by the listlessness of which body the tribunes of the commons, now become perpetual, by means of their tongues and prosecutions exercised regal authority, not as in a republic of the Roman people, but as if in an ill-regulated family. That with his son Cæso,

<sup>124</sup> Niebuhr thinks that Cæso was among the number. See cap. 25, where we read "Cæsonem neque Quintiæ familiæ, neque reipublicæ restitui posse." Comp. Niebuhr ii. n. 673, Wachsmuth, p. 347.

<sup>125</sup> The consuls under ordinary circumstances used to commence their office at this time on the Calends of August.

fortitude, constancy, all the splendid qualifications of youth in war or in peace, had been driven and exiled from the city of Rome: that talkative and turbulent men, sowers of discord, twice and even thrice re-elected tribunes, lived in the most destructive practices with regal tyranny. Did that Aulus Virginius," says he, "deserve less punishment than Appius Herdonius, because he was not in the Capitol? considerably more, by Jove, (in the mind of any one) who would judge the matter fairly. Herdonius, if nothing else, by avowing himself an enemy, in a manner gave you notice to take up arms: this man, by denying the existence of war, took arms out of your hands, and exposed you defenceless to your slaves and exiles. And did you, (without any offence to Caius Claudius and to Publius Valerius, now no more let me say it,) did you advance against the Capitoline hill before you expelled those enemies from the forum. It is shameful before gods and men. When the enemy were in the citadel, in the very Capitol, when the leader of the exiles and slaves, after profaning every thing, took up his residence in the shrine of Jupiter, the best and greatest, arms were taken up in Tusculum sooner than in Rome. It was a matter of doubt whether Lucius Mamilius, the Tusculan leader, or Publius Valerius and Caius Claudius, the consuls, recovered the Roman citadel, and we, who formerly did not suffer the Latins to touch arms, even in their own defence, when they had the enemy in their very frontiers, should have been taken and destroyed now, had not the Latins taken up arms of their own accord. Tribunes, is this bringing aid to the commons, to expose them in a defenceless state to be butchered by the enemy. Now, if any one, even the humblest individual of your commons, (which portion you have as it were broken off from the rest of the state, and made it your country and peculiar commonwealth,) if any one of these persons were to bring word that his house was beset by an armed band of slaves, you would think that assistance should be afforded to him. Was Jupiter, the best and greatest, when surrounded by the arms of exiles and of slaves, deserving of no human aid? And do these persons require that they be considered sacred and inviolable,<sup>126</sup> with whom the gods themselves are neither sacred nor inviolable? But, steeped as ye are in crimes against both gods and men, do ye say that you will pass your law this year? Verily then the day on which I was created consul was a disastrous day for the commonwealth, much more so even than that on which Publius Valerius the consul fell, if ye should carry it. Now, first of all," says he, "Romans, it is the intention of myself and of my colleague to march the legions against the Volsci and the Æqui. I know not by what fatality we find the gods more propitious when we are at war than in peace. How great the danger from those states would have been, had they known that the Capitol was besieged by exiles, it is better to conjecture from the past, than to feel from actual experience."

## 20

The consul's harangue had a great effect on the commons; the patricians, recovering their spirits, considered the state as re-established. The other consul, more eager as a seconder than as the first mover (of a measure), readily suffering his colleague to take the first lead in a matter of so much importance, claimed to himself his share of the consular duty in executing the plan. Then the tribunes, mocking these declarations as empty, went on inquiring "by what means the consuls would lead out the army, as no one would allow them to hold a levy?" "But," says Quintius, "we have no occasion for a levy; since at the time Publius Valerius gave arms to the commons to recover the

<sup>126</sup> *Neque sacri neque sancti*. Whatever is consecrated by religion is said to be *sacrum*; whilst *sanctum* is said of that which the law states to be inviolable.

Capitol, they all took an oath to him, that they would assemble on an order from the consul, and would not depart without an order. We therefore publish our order that all of you, who have sworn, attend to-morrow under arms at the lake Regillus." The tribunes then began to cavil, and wished to absolve the people from their obligation; that Quintius was a private person at the time at which they were bound by the oath. But that disregard of the gods which prevails in the present age had not yet arrived; nor did every one, by his own interpretation, accommodate oaths and laws to his own purposes, but rather adapted his conduct to them. Wherefore the tribunes, as there was no hope of obstructing the matter, attempted to delay the departure (of the army) the more earnestly on this account, because a report had gone out "both that the augurs had been ordered to attend at the lake Regillus, and to consecrate a place, where business might be transacted with the people with the benefit of auspices; that whatever had been passed at Rome by tribunitian violence, might be repealed there in an assembly. That all would agree to that which the consuls wished; for that there was no appeal at a distance greater than that of a mile from the city: and that the tribunes, if they should come there, would, among the rest of the crowd, be subjected to the consular authority." These matters alarmed them; but the greatest terror which acted on their minds was, that Quintius frequently said, "that he would not hold an election of consuls. That the state was affected with such a disease, as could not be stopped by the ordinary remedies. That the commonwealth required a dictator, so that whoever should stir a step to disturb the peace of the state, might feel that the dictatorship was without appeal."

## 21

The senate was assembled in the Capitol. Thither the tribunes come with the commons in great consternation: the populace, with loud clamours, implore the protection now of the consuls, now of the patricians: nor could they make the consul recede from his determination, until the tribunes promised that they would be under the direction of the patricians. Then on the consul's laying before them the demands of the tribunes and commons, decrees of the senate are passed, "That neither the tribunes should propose the law during that year, and that the consuls should not lead the army from the city—that for the time to come, the senate decided that it was to the injury of the commonwealth, that the same magistrates should be continued, and the same tribunes be re-appointed." The consuls conformed to the authority of the senate, the tribunes were re-appointed notwithstanding the remonstrances of the consuls. The patricians also, that they might not yield to the commons in any particular, re-elected Lucius Quintius consul. No proceeding of the consul was urged with more warmth during the entire year. "Can I be surprised," says he, "if your authority is of little weight, conscript fathers? yourselves are disparaging it. Forsooth, because the commons have violated a decree of the senate, by re-appointing their magistrates, you yourselves also wish it to be violated, lest ye should yield to the populace in rashness; as if to possess greater power in the state consisted in having more of inconstancy and irregularity; for it is certainly more inconstant and greater folly, to do away with one's own decrees and resolutions, than those of others. Imitate, conscript fathers, the inconsiderate multitude; and ye, who should be an example to others, transgress by the example of others, rather than others should act correctly by yours, provided I imitate not the tribunes, nor suffer myself to be re-elected consul, contrary to a decree of the senate. But I advise you, Caius Claudius, that both you on your part restrain the Roman people from this licentiousness, and that you be persuaded of this on my part, that I shall so take it, as not to consider

that my honour has been obstructed by you, but that the glory of declining the honour has been augmented, and the odium, which would hang over me from its being continued, has been lessened." Upon this they issue this order jointly: "That no one should attempt to make Lucius Quintius consul: if any one should do so, that they would not allow that vote."

## 22

The consuls elected were Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, a third time, and Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis. The census was performed that year; it was a matter of religious scruple that the lustrum should be closed, on account of the Capitol having been taken and the consul slain. In the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Lucius Cornelius, disturbances broke out immediately at the commencement of the year. The tribunes were urging on the commons. The Latins and Hernici brought word that a formidable war was in preparation on the part of the Volscians and Æqui; that the troops of the Volscians were now at Antium. Great apprehension was also entertained, that the colony itself would revolt: and with difficulty were the tribunes prevailed on to allow the war to take precedence. The consuls then divided the provinces between them. It was assigned to Fabius to march the legions to Antium; to Cornelius, to protect the city; lest any part of the enemy, as was the practice of the Æqui, should come to commit depredations. The Hernici and Latins were ordered to supply soldiers in conformity to the treaty; and in the army two parts consisted of allies, one part of natives. When the allies came to the day already appointed, the consul pitches his camp outside the Capuan gate. Then, after the army was purified, he set out for Antium, and encamped not far from the town, and standing camp of the enemy. Where, when the Volscians, not venturing to risk an engagement, were preparing to protect themselves quietly within their ramparts, on the following day Fabius drew up not one mixed army of allies and citizens, but three separate bodies of the three states around the enemy's works. He himself was in the centre with the Roman legions. He ordered them to watch for the signal from thence, so that the allies might both commence the action together, and retire together, if he should sound a retreat. He placed their cavalry in the rear of each division. Having thus assailed the camp in three different points, he surrounds it; and when he pressed on from every side, he dislodges from the rampart the Volscians, not able to sustain his attack. Having then crossed the fortifications, he expels from the camp the crowd who were dismayed and inclining towards one direction. Upon this the cavalry, who could not easily pass over the rampart, having stood by up to that period mere spectators of the fight, having come up with them whilst flying in disorder on the open plain, enjoys a share of the victory, by cutting down the affrighted troops. The slaughter of them as they fled was great, both in the camp and outside the lines; but the booty was still greater, because the enemy were scarcely able to carry off their arms with them; and their entire army would have been destroyed, had not the woods covered them in their flight.

## 23

Whilst these transactions are taking place at Antium, the Æqui, in the mean while, sending forward the main strength of their youth, surprise the citadel of Tusculum by night, and with the rest of their army they sit down at no great distance from the walls of Tusculum, so as to divide the forces of the enemy. This account being quickly brought to Rome, and from Rome to Antium, affect the Romans not less than if it was told them that the Capitol was taken; so recent were both the services of the Tusculans, and the

very similitude of the danger seemed to require a return of the aid that had been afforded. Fabius, giving up every other object, removes the booty hastily from the camp to Antium. Having a small garrison there, he hurries on his army by forced marches to Tusculum. The soldiers were allowed to carry nothing but their arms, and whatever dressed provision was at hand. The consul Cornelius sends provisions from Rome. The war was carried on at Tusculum for several months. With one part of his army the consul assailed the camp of the Æqui; a part he had given to the Tusculans to recover their citadel. They never could have made their way to it by force. Famine at length withdrew the enemy from it. And when they came to this at last, they were all sent under the yoke by the Tusculans, unarmed and naked. These, when betaking themselves home by an ignominious flight, were overtaken by the Roman consul on Algidum and cut off to a man. After this victory, having marched back<sup>127</sup> his army to Columen, (that is the name of the place,) he pitches his camp. The other consul also, as soon as the Roman walls ceased to be in danger, the enemy being defeated, set out from Rome. Thus the consuls, having entered the territories of the enemies on two different sides, strenuously vie with each other in depopulating the Volscians on the one hand, the Æqui on the other. I find in some writers that the people of Antium revolted<sup>128</sup> the same year. That Lucius Cornelius, the consul, conducted that war and took the town, I would not venture to affirm for certain, because no mention is made of the matter among the older writers.

## 24

This war being concluded, a tribunitian war at home alarms the senate. They exclaim, "that the detaining the army abroad was done for a fraudulent motive: that such frustration was for the purpose of doing away with the law; that they, however, would go through with the matter undertaken by them." Publius Lucretius, however, the præfect of the city, so far prevailed that the proceedings of the tribunes were postponed till the arrival of the consuls. A new cause of disturbance also arose. Aulus Cornelius and Quintus Servilius, quæstors, appoint a day of trial for Marcus Volscius, because he had come forward as a manifestly false witness against Cæso. For it appeared by many proofs, that the brother of Volscius, from the time he first became ill, not only never appeared in public, but that he had not even arisen from his sick bed, and that he died of an illness of several months' standing; and that at the time to which the witness had referred the commission of the crime, Cæso had not been seen at Rome: those who served in the army with him, positively stating that at that time he had constantly attended at his post with them without any leave of absence. Many persons proposed on their own private responsibility to Volscius to have a judicial decision on the matter.<sup>129</sup> As he would not venture to go to trial, all these matters coinciding rendered the condemnation of Volscius no less certain than that of Cæso had been on the

<sup>127</sup> *Exercitu relicto* is the ordinary reading. Crevier observes that *reducto* is the more correct.

<sup>128</sup> This account does not seem to be correct. See Niebuhr ii. p. 254.

<sup>129</sup> *Ni ita esset*, a legal form of expression, amounting in this place to "if Volscius attempted to deny it." *Privatim*. Besides the quæstors who by virtue of their office were to prosecute Volscius, many persons on their own account, and on their private responsibility, cited him into court, and challenged him to discuss the case before a judge. A prosecutor was said *ferre judicem res*, when he proposed to the accused person some one out of the *judices selecti*, before whom the case might be tried; if the accused person consented to the person named by prosecutor, then the judge was said *convenisse*, to have been agreed on. Sometimes the accused was allowed to select his own judge, *judicem dicere*. When both the prosecutor and the accused agreed as to the judge, they presented a joint petition to the prætor that he would appoint (*ut daret*) that person to try the cause; at the same time they both bound themselves to pay a certain sum, the one if he did not establish his charge, *ni ita esset*; the other if he did not prove his innocence.

testimony of Volscius. The tribunes occasioned a delay, who said that they would not suffer the quæstors to hold the assembly<sup>130</sup> concerning the accused, unless it was first held concerning the law. Thus both matters were spun out till the arrival of the consuls. When they entered the city in triumph with their victorious army, because silence was (observed) with regard to the law, many thought that the tribunes were struck with dismay. But they, (for it was now the close of the year,) desirous of obtaining a fourth tribuneship, had turned away their efforts from the law to canvassing for the elections; and when the consuls strove with no less strenuousness than if the law in question were proposed for the purpose of lessening their own dignity, the victory in the contest was on the side of the tribunes. On the same year peace was granted to the Æqui on their suing for it. The census, a matter commenced on the preceding year, is completed. The number of citizens rated were one hundred and seventeen thousand three hundred and nineteen. The consuls obtained great glory this year both at home and in war, because they both re-established peace abroad and at home; though the state was not in a state of absolute concord, yet it was less disturbed than at other times.

## 25

Lucius Minucius and Caius Nautius being next elected consuls, took up the two causes which lay over since the preceding year. The consuls obstructed the law, the tribunes the trial of Volscius in the same manner: but in the new quæstors there was greater power, and greater influence. With Marcus Valerius, son of Valerius and grandson of Volesus, Titus Quintius Capitolinus, who had been thrice consul, was appointed quæstor. Since Cæso could neither be restored to the Quintian family, nor could he, though a most promising young man, be restored to the state, he justly, and as in duty bound, prosecuted the false witness who had deprived an innocent person of the power of pleading his cause. When Virginius in particular and the (other) tribunes were promoting the passing of the law, the space of two months was allowed to the consuls to examine into the law: so that, when they had satisfied the people, as to what secret designs were concealed under it, they should then allow them to give their votes. The granting this respite established tranquillity in the city. The Æqui however did not allow them long rest; who, in violation of the treaty which had been made with the Romans the year before, confer the chief command on Gracchus Clælius. He was then the leading man amongst the Æqui. Under the command of Gracchus they carry hostile depredations into the district of Lavici, from thence into that of Tusculum, and laden with booty they pitch their camp at Algidum. To that camp Quintus Fabius, Publius Volumnius, Aulus Posthumius, come to complain of the wrongs committed, and to demand restitution in accordance with the treaty. The general of the Æqui commands them "to deliver to the oak whatever instructions they brought from the Roman senate; that he in the mean time should attend to other matters." A large oak tree hung over the prætorium, the shade of which constituted a pleasant seat. Then one of the ambassadors, when departing, says, "Let both this consecrated oak and all the gods hear the treaty violated by you, and favour both our complaints now, and our arms presently, when we shall simultaneously avenge the rights of gods and men as violated by you." As soon as the ambassadors returned to Rome, the senate ordered one of the consuls to lead his army against Gracchus at Algidum, to the other they assigned as his province the laying waste of the country of the Æqui. The tribunes, according to their practice,

<sup>130</sup> *Comitia*, i. e. *curiata*, which exercised authority in the cases of persons accused of inflicting injuries on the patricians.

attempted to obstruct the levy; and probably would have eventually prevented it, but a new cause of alarm was suddenly added.

## 26

A large body of Sabines, committing dreadful devastation, approached very close to the walls of the city. The fields were laid waste, the city was struck with terror. Then the commons cheerfully took up arms; two large armies were raised, the tribunes remonstrating to no purpose. Nautius led the one against the Sabines; and having pitched his camp at Eretum, by small detachments, generally by nightly incursions, he effected such desolation in the Sabine land, that, when compared to it, the Roman territories seemed intact by an enemy. Minucius had neither the same success nor the same energy of mind in conducting his business; for after he had pitched his camp at no great distance from the enemy, without having experienced any considerable loss, he kept himself through fear within the camp. When the enemy perceived this, their boldness increased, as sometimes happens, from others' fears; and having attacked his camp by night, when open force did not succeed well, they on the following day drew lines of circumvallation around it. Before these could close up all the passes, by a vallum being thrown up on all sides, five horsemen being despatched between the enemies' posts, brought the account to Rome, that the consul and his army were besieged. Nothing could have happened so unexpected, nor so unlooked-for. Accordingly the panic and the alarm was as great as if the enemy besieged the city, not the camp. They send for the consul Nautius; in whom when there seemed to be but insufficient protection, and they were determined that a dictator should be appointed to retrieve their embarrassed affairs, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus is appointed by universal consent. It is worth those persons' while to listen, who despise all things human in comparison with riches, and who suppose "that there is no room for exalted honour, nor for virtue, unless where riches abound in great profusion." Lucius Quintus, the sole hope of the Roman people, cultivated a farm of four acres, at the other side of the Tiber, which are called the Quintian meadows, opposite to the very place where the dock-yard now is. There, whether leaning on a stake in a ditch which he was digging, or in the employment of ploughing, engaged at least on some rural work, as is certain, after mutual salutations had passed, being requested by the ambassadors to put on his gown, and listen to the commands of the senate, (with wishes) that it might be happy both to him and to the commonwealth, being astonished, and asking frequently "whether all was safe," he bids his wife Racilia immediately to bring his toga from his hut. As soon as he put this on and came forward, after first wiping off the dust and sweat, the ambassadors, congratulating him, unite in saluting him as dictator: they call him into the city; explain to him what terror now exists in the army. A vessel was prepared for Quintus by order of government, and his three sons having come out to meet him, receive him on his landing at the other side; then his other relatives and friends; then the greater part of the patricians. Accompanied by this numerous attendance, and the lictors going before him, he was conducted to his residence. There was a numerous concourse of the commons also; but they by no means looked on Quintus with equal pleasure, considering both the extent of his authority as too great, and the man vested with such authority rather arbitrary. And during that night indeed nothing was done in the city besides posting guards.

## 27

On the next day the dictator, after he had come into the forum before day-light, names a master of the horse, Lucius Tarquinius, a man of patrician family, but one who, though he had served his campaigns among the foot by reason of his scanty means, was yet considered by many degrees the first in military skill among the Roman youth. With his master of the horse he came into the assembly, proclaims a suspension of civil business, orders the shops to be closed throughout the city, and forbids any one to attend to any private affairs. Then he commands that all, whoever were of the military age, should attend under arms, in the Campus Martius, before sun-set, with dressed provisions for five days and twelve palisades, and he commanded that whose age was too far advanced for military service, should dress their victuals for the soldiers in their vicinity, whilst the latter were preparing arms, and procuring the palisade. Accordingly, the young men run in different directions to procure the palisades; they took them wherever they were nearest to them; no one was prevented, and they all attended punctually according to the dictator's order. Then the troops being formed, not more fitted for the march than for an engagement, should the occasion require it, the dictator himself marches at the head of the legions, the master of the horse at the head of his cavalry. In both bodies there were such exhortations as the juncture itself required; that "they should quicken their pace; that there was need of expedition, that they might reach the enemy by night; that the consul and the Romans were besieged; that they had been shut up now three days: that it was uncertain what each day or night might bring with it; that the issue of the most important affairs often depended on a moment of time." They, to please their leaders, exclaimed among themselves, "Standard-bearer, hasten on; follow, soldier." At midnight they reach Algidum: and, as soon as they perceived that they were near the enemy, they halted.

## 28

There the dictator, having rode about, and having observed, as far as could be ascertained by night, what the situation of the camp was, and what its form, commanded the tribunes of the soldiers to order the baggage to be thrown into one place, and that the soldiers with their arms and palisades should return to their ranks. What he commanded was executed. Then, with the regularity which they had observed on the march, he draws the entire army in a long column around the enemies' camp, and directs that, when the signal was given, they should all raise a shout; and that on the shout being raised, each man should throw up a trench before his post, and fix his palisade. The orders being issued, the signal followed: the soldiers perform what they were commanded; the shout resounds around the enemy: it then passes beyond the camp of the enemy, and reaches the consul's camp: it occasions panic in one place, great joy in another. The Romans, observing to each other with exultation, "that this was the shout of their countrymen, and that aid was at hand," from their watch-guards and out-posts intimidate the enemy on their part. The consul says, that there must be no delay: "that by that shout not only their arrival was intimated, but that proceedings were already commenced by their friends; and that it would be a wonder if the enemies' camp were not attacked on the outside." He therefore orders his men to take up arms and follow him. The battle was commenced by the legions during the night: they give notice to the dictator by a shout, that on that side also the action was commenced. The *Æquans* were now preparing to prevent the works from being brought around them,<sup>131</sup> when, the battle being commenced by the enemy from within, turning their

<sup>131</sup> *Ad prohibenda circumdari opera*. Stroth observes that it should be more properly *ad prohibenda circumdanda opera*, i. e. *ad prohibendum, ne opera circumdarentur*.

attention from those employed on the fortifications to those who were fighting on the inside, lest a sally should be made through the centre of their camp, they left the night to remain without interruption for the finishing of the work; and they continued the fight with the consul till daylight. At the break of day they were now encompassed by the dictator's works, and were scarcely able to maintain the fight against one army. Then their lines were attacked by Quintius's army, who immediately after completing their work returned to their arms. Here a new fight pressed on them: the former one had suffered no relaxation. Then the twofold peril pressing hard on them, turning from fighting to entreaties, they implored the dictator on the one hand, the consul on the other, not to make the victory consist in their general slaughter, that they would suffer them to depart without arms. When they were bid by the consul to go to the dictator, he, incensed against them, added ignominy (to defeat). He orders Gracchus Cloelius, their general, and other leaders to be brought to him in chains, and that they should evacuate the town of Corbio; "that he wanted not the blood of the Æquans: that they were allowed to depart; but that the confession may be at length extorted, that their nation was defeated and subdued, that they should pass under the yoke." The yoke is formed with three spears, two fixed in the ground, and one tied across between the upper ends of them. Under this yoke the dictator sent the Æquans.

## 29

The enemy's camp being taken, which was full of every thing, (for he had sent them away naked,) he distributed all the booty among his own soldiers only: chiding the consul's army and the consul himself, he says, "Soldiers, ye shall do without any portion of the spoil taken from that enemy to which you were well nigh becoming a spoil: and you, Lucius Minutius, until you begin to assume the spirit of a consul, shall command these legions as lieutenant-general." Minutius accordingly resigns his office of consul, and remains with the army, as he had been commanded. But so meekly obedient were the minds of men at that time to authority combined with superior merit, that this army, mindful of the kindness (conferred) rather than of the slur (cast on them), both voted a golden crown of a pound weight to the dictator, and saluted him as their patron when setting out. The senate at Rome, being convened by Quintus Fabius, præfect of the city, ordered Quintius to enter the city in triumph, in the order of march in which he was coming. The leaders of the enemy were led before his car: the military standards were carried before him: his army followed laden with spoil. Tables with provisions are said to have been laid out before the houses of all, and (the soldiers) partaking of the entertainment, followed the car with the triumphal hymn and the usual jests, after the manner of revellers. On that day the freedom of the state was granted to Lucius Mamilius of Tusculum, with universal approbation. The dictator would have laid down his office, had not the assembly for the trial of Marcus Volscius, the false witness, detained him; the fear of the dictator prevented the tribunes from obstructing it. Volscius was condemned and went into exile to Lanuvium. Quintius laid down his dictatorship on the sixteenth day, having received it for six months. During those days the consul Nautius engages the Sabines at Eretum with distinguished success. Besides the devastation of their lands, this additional blow also befell the Sabines. Fabius Quintus was sent to Algidum as successor to Minucius. Towards the end of the year the tribunes began to agitate the question of the law; but because two armies were abroad, the patricians carried the point, that no business should be proposed to the people. The commons succeeded in electing the same tribunes for the fifth time. They report that

wolves seen in the Capitol were driven away by dogs; that on account of that prodigy the Capitol was purified. Such were the transactions in that year.

### 30

Quintus Minucius and Caius Horatius Pulvillus follow as the next consuls. At the commencement of this year, when there was peace abroad, the same tribunes and the same law occasioned disturbances at home; and parties would have proceeded further, (so highly were their passions inflamed,) had not, as if for the very purpose, news been brought, that by an attack of the Æquans the garrison at Corbio had been cut off. The consuls convene the senate; they are ordered to raise a hasty levy and to proceed to Algidum. Then the contest about the law being given up, a new dispute arose regarding the levy. And the consular authority<sup>132</sup> was about to be overpowered by tribunitian influence, when an additional cause of alarm comes on them: that the Sabine army had made a descent into the Roman lands to commit depredations; that from thence they were advancing to the city. This fear influenced the tribunes to allow the levy to proceed, not without a stipulation, however, that since they had been foiled for five years, and as that was but little protection to the commons, ten tribunes of the people should henceforward be elected. Necessity wrung this from the patricians; this exception only they made, that they should not hereafter re-elect the same tribunes. The election for the tribunes was held immediately, lest that measure also, like others, might prove a delusion after the war. On the thirty-sixth year after the first tribunes, ten were elected, two from each class; and provision was made that they should be elected in this manner for the future. The levy being then held, Minucius marched out against the Sabines, and found no enemy. Horatius, after the Æquans, having put the garrison at Corbio to the sword, had taken Ortona also, fights a battle at Algidum; he slays a great number; drives the enemy not only from Algidum, but from Corbio and Ortona also. Corbio he razed to the ground for their having betrayed the garrison.

### 31

Marcus Valerius and Spurius Virginius are next elected consuls. Quiet prevailed at home and abroad. They laboured under a scarcity of provisions on account of the excessive rains. A law was proposed regarding the making Mount Aventine public property. The same tribunes of the people being re-elected on the following year, Titus Romilius and Caius Veturius being consuls, strongly recommended the law<sup>133</sup> in all their harangues, "That they were ashamed of their number increased to no purpose, if that question should lie for their two years in the same manner as it had lain for the whole preceding five." Whilst they were most busily employed in these matters, an alarming account comes from Tusculum, that the Æquans were in the Tusculan territory. The recent services of that state made them ashamed of delaying relief. Both the consuls were sent with an army, and find the enemy in their usual post in Algidum. A battle was fought there; upwards of seven thousand of the enemy were slain; the rest were routed; immense booty was obtained. This the consuls sold on account of the low state of the treasury; the proceeding was the cause of dissatisfaction to the army, and it also afforded to the tribunes materials for bringing a charge against the consuls before the commons. Accordingly, as soon as they went out of office, in the consulship of Spurius

<sup>132</sup> *Consulare, imperium tribunicio auxilio*.—The consuls possessed *imperium*. The tribunes could not be said to possess it. Their province was confined to *auxilii latio*, sc. adversus consules.

<sup>133</sup> It is extraordinary that Livy makes no mention here of Siccius Dentatus, and his strenuous exertions in endeavouring to carry the agrarian law, as well as of his angry contentions with the consuls. For his character, see Dion. x. 31, 32.

Tarpeius and Aulus Aterius, a day was appointed for Romilius by Caius Claudius Cicero, tribune of the people; for Veturius, by Lucius Alienus, plebeian ædile. They were both condemned, to the great mortification of the patricians; Romilius to pay ten thousand *asses*; Veturius, fifteen thousand. Nor did this misfortune of their predecessors render the new consuls more remiss. They said that they too might be condemned, and that the commons and tribunes could not carry the law. Then having thrown up the law, which, in its repeated publication, had now grown old, the tribunes adopted a milder mode of proceeding with the patricians. "That they should at length put an end to their disputes. If plebeian laws displeased them, at least they should suffer legislators (chosen) in common, both from the commons and from the patricians, who would propose measures advantageous to both parties, and such as might tend to the equalization of liberty." This proposal the patricians did not reject. They said that "no one should propose laws, except some of the patricians." When they agreed with respect to the laws, and differed only with respect to the proposer; ambassadors were sent to Athens, Spurius Posthumius Albus, Aulus Manlius, Publius Sulpicius Camerinus; and they were ordered to copy out the celebrated laws of Solon, and to become acquainted with the institutions, customs, and laws of the other states of Greece.

### 32

The year was undisturbed by foreign wars; the following one was still more quiet, Publius Curiatius and Sextus Quintilius being consuls, the tribunes observing uninterrupted silence, which was occasioned in the first place by their waiting for the ambassadors who had gone to Athens, and for the foreign laws; in the next place, two heavy calamities arose at the same time, famine and pestilence, (which proved) destructive to man, and equally so to cattle. The lands were left desolate; the city exhausted by a constant succession of deaths. Many and illustrious families were in mourning. The Flamen Quirinalis, Servilius Cornelius, died; as also the augur, Caius Horatius Pulvillus; into whose place the augurs elected Caius Veturius, the more eagerly, because he had been condemned by the commons. The consul Quintilius died, and four tribunes of the people. The year was rendered a melancholy one by these manifold disasters; but from an enemy there was perfect quiet. Then Caius Menenius and Publius Sestius Capitolinus were elected consuls. Nor was there in that year any external war: disturbances arose at home. The ambassadors had now returned with the Athenian laws; the tribunes pressed the more urgently, that a commencement should at length be made of compiling the laws. It was resolved that decemvirs should be elected without appeal, and that there should be no other magistrate during that year. There was, for a considerable time, a dispute whether plebeians should be admitted among them: at length the point was given up to the patricians, provided that the Icilian law regarding the Aventine and the other devoting laws were not repealed.

### 33

In the three hundred and first year after Rome was built, the form of the government was a second time changed, the supreme power being transferred from consuls to decemvirs, as it had passed before from kings to consuls. The change was less remarkable, because not of long duration; for the joyous commencement of that government became too licentious. So much the sooner did the matter fall, and (the usage) was recurred to, that the name and authority of consuls was committed to two persons. The decemvirs appointed were, Appius Claudius, Titus Genucius, Publius Sestius, Lucius Veturius, Caius Julius, Aulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, Publius Curiatius,

Titus Romilius, Spurius Postumius. On Claudius and Genucius, because they had been elected consuls for that year, the honour was conferred in compensation for the honour (of the consulate); and on Sestius, one of the consuls of the former year, because he had proposed that matter to the senate against the will of his colleague. Next to these were considered the three ambassadors who had gone to Athens; at the same time that the honour might serve as a recompence for so distant an embassy; at the same time they considered that persons acquainted with the foreign laws would be of use in digesting the new code of regulations. Other persons made up the number. They say that persons advanced in years were appointed by the last suffrages, in order that they might oppose with less warmth the opinions of others. The direction of the entire government was rested in Appius through the favour of the commons, and he had assumed a demeanour so new, that from a severe and harsh reviler of the people, he became suddenly a protector of the commons, and a candidate for popular favour. They administered justice to the people one every tenth day. On that day the twelve fasces attended the præfect of justice; one beadle attended each of his nine colleagues, and in the singular harmony among themselves, which unanimity might sometimes prove prejudicial to private persons, the strictest equity was shown to others. It will suffice to adduce a proof of their moderation by instancing one matter. Though they had been appointed without (the privilege of) appeal, yet a dead body having been found buried in the house of Publius Sestius, a man of patrician rank, and this having been brought forward in an assembly, in a matter equally clear and atrocious, Caius Julius, a decemvir, appointed a day of trial for Sestius, and appeared before the people as prosecutor (in a matter) of which he was legally a judge; and relinquished his right, so that he might add what had been taken from the power of the office to the liberty of the people.

### 34

Whilst the highest and lowest alike experienced from them this prompt administration of justice, impartial, as if from an oracle, then their attention was devoted to the framing of laws; and the ten tables being proposed amid the intense expectation of all, they summoned the people to an assembly: and "what may prove favourable, advantageous, and happy to the commonwealth themselves, and to their children, ordered them to go and read the laws that were exhibited." "That they had equalized the rights of all, both the highest and the lowest, as far as could be devised by the abilities of ten men; that the understanding and counsels of a greater number might prove more successful; that they should turn in their minds each particular within themselves, canvass it in conversation; and bring together under public discussion whatever might seem an excess or deficiency under each particular. That the Roman people should have such laws, as the general consent might appear not so much to have ratified when proposed, as to have proposed from themselves." When they appeared sufficiently corrected according to public opinion (as expressed) regarding each chapter of the laws as it was published, the laws of the ten tables were passed at the assembly voting by centuries; which, even at the present time, amid this immense heap of laws crowded one upon the other, still remain the source of all public and private jurisprudence. A rumour was then spread that two tables were wanting; on the addition of which a body, as it were, of the whole Roman law might be completed. The expectation of this, as the day of election approached, created a desire to appoint decemvirs again. The commons now, besides that they detested the name of consuls as much as that of kings, required not even the tribunitian aid, as the decemvirs in turn submitted to appeal.

### 35

But when the assembly for electing decemvirs was proclaimed for the third market-day, so strong a flame of ambition blazed forth, that the first men of the state began to canvass individuals, (through fear, I suppose, lest the possession of such high authority might become accessible to persons not sufficiently worthy, if the post were left unoccupied by themselves,) suppliantly soliciting for an honour, which had been opposed by them with all their might, from that commons with whom they had so often contended. Their dignity now lowered to the risk of a contest, at such an age, and after passing through such honours, stimulated the exertions of Appius Claudius. You would not know whether to reckon him among the decemvirs or the candidates; he resembled more closely one canvassing for the office than one invested with it; he aspersed the nobility, extolled every most insignificant and humble candidate; surrounded by the Duilii and Iciliii who had been tribunes, he bustled about the forum, through their means he recommended himself to the commons; until his colleagues even, who till then had been extremely devoted to him, turned their eyes on him, wondering what he meant. It was evident to them, that there was no sincerity in it; "that certainly such affability amid such pride would not be for nothing. That this excessive lowering of himself, and putting himself on a level with private citizens, was not so much the conduct to be expected from one hastening to go out of office, as of one seeking the means of continuing that office." Not daring openly to oppose his wishes, they set about baffling his ardour by humouring it. They by common consent confer on him, as being the youngest, the office of presiding at the elections. This was an artifice, that he might not appoint himself; which no one ever did, except the tribunes of the people, and that too with the very worst precedent. He, however, declaring that with the favour of fortune he would preside at the elections, seized on the (intended) obstacle<sup>134</sup> as a happy occasion; and having by a coalition foiled the two Quintii, Capitolinus and Cincinnatus, and his own uncle, Caius Claudius, a man most steadfast in the interest of the nobility, and other citizens of the same eminence, he appoints as decemvirs men by no means equal in rank of life: himself in the first instance, which proceeding honourable men disapproved so much the more, as no one had imagined that he would have the daring to act so. With him were elected Marcus Cornelius-Maluginensis, Marcus Sergius, Lucius Minutius, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, Quintus Poetelius, Titus Antonius Merenda, Cæso Duilius, Spurius Oppius Cornicen, Manius Rabuleius.<sup>135</sup>

### 36

This was the end of Appius's assumption of a character not his own. Henceforward he began to live according to his own natural disposition, and to mould to his own temper his new colleagues before they should enter on their office. They held daily meetings remote from witnesses: then, furnished with their schemes of tyranny,<sup>136</sup> which they digested apart from others, no longer dissembling their arrogance, difficult of access, morose to all who addressed them, they carried out the matter to the ides of May. The ides of May were at that time the usual period for commencing office. At the commencement then of their magistracy, they rendered the first day of their office remarkable by making an exhibition of great terror. For when the preceding decemvirs had observed the rule, that only one should have the fasces, and that this emblem of royalty should pass through all in rotation, to each in his turn, they all suddenly came forth with the twelve fasces. One hundred and twenty lictors filled the forum, and

<sup>134</sup> *Impedimentum*. The fact of his presiding at the meeting should have been a bar to his being elected a decemvir.

<sup>135</sup> Niebuhr will have it that five of these were of plebeian rank.

<sup>136</sup> *Impotentibus*, sc. immoderatis—*rari aditus*, the genitive singular.—*Stroth*.

carried before them the axes tied up with the fasces: and they explained that it was of no consequence that the axe should be taken away, as they had been appointed without the privilege of appeal.<sup>137</sup> There was the appearance of ten kings, and terrors were multiplied not only in the humblest individuals, but even in the principal men among the patricians, who thought that a pretext and commencement of bloodshed were sought for; so that if any one should utter a word favourable to liberty, either in the senate or in a meeting of the people, the rods and axes would be instantly brought forward, even to intimidate the rest. For besides that there was no protection in the people, the right of appeal being done away with, they had also by mutual consent prohibited interference with each other:<sup>138</sup> whereas the preceding decemvirs had allowed the points of law decided by themselves to be amended by appeal to a colleague, and had referred to the people some points which might seem to come within their own jurisdiction. For a considerable time the terror seemed equalized among all ranks; gradually it began to turn entirely on the commons. They spared the patricians; arbitrary and cruel treatment was shown to the humbler classes: they were wholly respective of the person, not of the cause: as being persons with whom interest usurped the force of justice. Their decisions they concerted at home, and pronounced in the forum. If any person appealed to a colleague, he left the one to whom he had appealed in such a manner as to regret that he had not abided by the sentence of the former. An opinion also had gone abroad without an authority, that they had conspired in their tyranny not only for the present time, but that a clandestine league had been struck among them (accompanied) with an oath, that they would not hold the comitia, and that by perpetuating the decemvirate they would retain the power now in their possession.

### 37

The plebeians then began to watch narrowly the countenances of the patricians, and (hoped) to catch the breeze of liberty from that quarter, by apprehending slavery from which, they had brought the republic into its present condition. The leading members of the senate detested the decemvirs, detested the commons; they neither approved of what was going on, and they considered that what befell the latter was not without their deserving it. They were unwilling to assist men who, by rushing too eagerly towards liberty, had fallen into slavery: they even heaped injuries on them, that, from their disgust at the present state of things, two consuls and the former mode of government may at length become desirable. The greater part of the year was now passed, and two tables of laws had been added to the ten tables of the former year; and if these laws also were once passed in an assembly of the centuries, there now remained no reason why the republic should require that form of government. They were anxiously waiting to see how soon the assembly would be proclaimed for the election of consuls. The commons were only devising by what means they should re-establish the tribunitian power, that bulwark of their liberty, a thing now so long discontinued. When in the mean time no mention was made of the elections, and the decemvirs, who had at first exhibited themselves to the people, surrounded by men of tribunitian rank, because that

<sup>137</sup> *Nec attinuisse demi securim, quum sine provocatione creati essent, interpretabantur.* Valerius Publicola had introduced the custom of not having the axes tied up with the fasces when carried before the consuls in the city. But the decemvirs said that this was, because an appeal from the consuls to the people was allowed. Whence, since their jurisdiction allowed of no appeal, they *interpreted*, i. e. by interpreting the meaning or intention of this custom, they concluded that they were not bound by it, and that there was no reason why they should remove the axes from the fasces.—*Crev.*

<sup>138</sup> *Provocatione*—intercessionem. The *provocatio* was to the people, whilst the *intercessio* referred to the decemvirs against a colleague.

was deemed popular, now guarded themselves by collecting young patricians; troops of these beset the tribunals. These seized and drove about the commons, and the effects of the commons; when success attended the more powerful individual, as far as obtaining any thing he might covet.<sup>139</sup> And now they spared not even their backs. Some were beaten with rods; others had to submit to the axe; and lest such cruelty might go for nothing, a grant of his effects followed the punishment of the owner. Corrupted by such bribes, the young nobility not only made no opposition to oppression, but openly avowed their preference of their own gratification to the general liberty.

### 38

The ides of May came. No new election of magistrates having taken place, private persons came forth as decemvirs, without any abatement either in their determination to enforce their authority,<sup>140</sup> or any diminution in the emblems employed to make a parade of their station. This indeed seemed to be regal tyranny. Liberty is now deplored as lost for ever; nor does any champion stand forth, or appear likely to do so. And not only they themselves sunk into despondence, but they began to be looked down upon by the neighbouring states; and they felt indignant that dominion should exist where liberty was lost. The Sabines with a numerous body of men made an incursion on the Roman territory; and having committed extensive devastations, after they had driven with impunity booty of men and cattle, they recalled their troops which had been dispersed in different directions to Eretum, and pitch their camp there, grounding their hopes on the dissensions at Rome; (and trusting) that they would prove an obstruction to the levy. Not only the couriers, but the flight of the country people through the city, occasioned alarm. The decemvirs consult what should be done. Whilst they were thus left destitute between the hatred of the patricians and people, fortune added, moreover, another cause of alarm. The Æquans on the opposite side pitch their camp at Algidum; and ambassadors from Tusculum, imploring relief, bring accounts that the Tusculan land was ravaged by detachments from thence. The panic occasioned hereby urged the decemvirs to consult the senate, two wars at the same time surrounding the city. They order the patricians to be summoned into the senate-house, well aware what a storm of resentment was ready to break upon them; that all would heap on them the causes of the land laid waste, and of the dangers which threatened them; and that that would occasion an attempt to abolish their office, if they did not unite in resisting, and by enforcing their authority with severity on a few of an intractable spirit repress the efforts of others. When the voice was heard in the forum of the crier summoning the senators into the senate-house before the decemvirs; as a matter altogether new, because they had long since laid aside the custom of consulting the senate, it attracted the attention of the people, who expressed their surprise: "What could have happened, that after so long an interval they should revive a practice now discontinued. That they had reason to return thanks to the enemy and to war, that any thing was done that used to be done when their state was free." They looked around for a senator through all parts of the forum, and seldom recognised one any where: they then directed their attention to the senate-house, and to the solitude around the decemvirs: whilst both they themselves referred the non-assembling of the patricians to their own universally detested government, and the commons (would have it, that the cause of the non-

<sup>139</sup> *Quum fortuna, qua quicquid cupitum foret, potentioris esset.* Stroth considers this passage to be corrupt: he proposes to read *cum fortuna*, so that *portentioris esset* may refer to *quicquid cupitum foret*, i. e. with such favourable success, that every thing which the more powerful person might covet, became his.

<sup>140</sup> *Inhibendum, sc. adhibendum*—the term *inhibeo* occurs frequently in this sense, as below, *imperioque inhibendo*. The adjective *imminutis* also refers evidently to *honoris insignibus*.—*Stroth*.

assembling was) because, being but private citizens, they (the decemvirs) had no right to convene the senate;<sup>141</sup> "that a head was now formed of those who would demand back their liberty, if the commons would but accompany the senate, and as the patricians, when summoned, did not attend the senate, so the commons also should refuse to enlist." Such were the remarks of the commons. There was scarcely any of the patricians in the forum, and but very few in the city. In disgust with the state of affairs, they had retired into the country, and were attending to their own affairs, renouncing all public concerns, considering that they themselves were aloof from ill-treatment in proportion as they should remove themselves from the meeting and converse of their imperious masters. When those who had been summoned did not assemble, apparitors were despatched to their houses, both to levy the penalties,<sup>142</sup> and to ascertain whether they declined attendance through design? They bring back word that the senate was in the country. This was more pleasing to the decemvirs, than if they brought word that they were present and refused obedience to their commands. They command them all to be sent for, and proclaim a meeting of the senate for the following day; which congregated together in much greater numbers than they themselves had expected. By which proceeding the commons considered that their liberty was betrayed by the patricians, because the senate had obeyed those persons, as if they had a right to compel them, who had already gone out of office; and were but private individuals, were it not for the violence employed by them.<sup>143</sup>

### 39

But they showed more obedience in coming into the senate than servility in the sentiments expressed by them, as we have learned. It is recorded that, after Appius's stating the subject of the meeting, and before the opinions were demanded in order, Lucius Valerius Potitus excited a commotion, by demanding permission to express his sentiments concerning the state, and when the decemvirs were prohibiting him with threats, declaring that he would present himself before the people. (We have also heard) that Marcus Horatius Barbatus entered the lists with no less boldness, calling them "ten Tarquins," and reminding them, "that under the leadership of the Valerii and Horatii<sup>144</sup> the kings had been expelled. Nor was it of the mere name that men were then tired, it being that by which it was usual to style Jupiter, and by which Romulus, the founder of the city, and his successors were also styled; a name too which has been retained even in the ceremonies of religion, as a solemn one; that it was the tyranny and arrogance of a king they then detested, which if they were not to be tolerated in one who was both a king himself and the son of a king, who was to tolerate it in so many

<sup>141</sup> The words are, *quum et ipsi invisum consensu imperium, et plebs, quid privatis jus non esset vocandi senatum, non convenire patres interpretarentur*, i. e. while, on the one hand, the decemvirs themselves accounted for the staying away of the senators from the meeting, by the fact of their (the decemvirs') government being disliked by them; whilst, on the other hand, the commons accounted for the non-appearance of the senators by the fact, that being now mere private citizens, their time of office being passed, they (the decemvirs) had no right whatever to convene the senate.—Stroth.

<sup>142</sup> The senators were obliged to attend the meeting of the senate when convened by the magistrate; otherwise a fine was imposed, to insure the payment of which pledges were exacted, which were sold in case of non-payment. See Cicero de Orat. iii. 1. Philip. i. 5.

<sup>143</sup> In the original the words are: *quod iis qui jam magistratu abissent, privatisque, si vis abesset, &c.*, i. e. who differed in no other respect from mere private citizens, except that they had recourse to violence, which it was competent for the magistrate only to do.

<sup>144</sup> Livy's own account of the matter does not justify this claim of the Horatii to having been at the head of the revolution which banished the kings. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus informs us that it was Marcus Horatius who made the army revolt against Tarquinius Superbus, and that the same in his second consulate rendered unavailing all the efforts of Porsenna to restore the Tarquins.

private citizens? that they should beware lest, by preventing persons from speaking their sentiments freely in the senate, they might oblige them to raise their voice outside the senate-house. Nor could he see how it was less allowable for him, a private citizen, to summon the people to an assembly, than for them to convene the senate. They might try, whenever they pleased, how much more determined a sense of wrong will be found to be in vindicating one's own liberty, than ambition in (vindicating) usurped domination. That they proposed the question concerning the Sabine war, as if the Roman people had any more important war on hand, than that against those who, having been elected for the purpose of framing laws, had left no law in the state; who had abolished elections, annual magistrates, the regular change of rulers, which was the only means of equalizing liberty; who, though private citizens, still possess the fasces and regal dominion. That on the expulsion of the kings, patrician magistrates were appointed, and subsequently, after the secession of the people, plebeian magistrates. To which party, he asked, did they belong? To the popular party? What had they ever done with the concurrence of the people? were they nobles? who for now nearly an entire year have not held a meeting of the senate; and then hold one in such a manner, that they actually prevent numbers from expressing their sentiments regarding the commonwealth; that they should not place too much hope in the fears of others; that the grievances which they are suffering now appear to men more oppressive than any they may have to apprehend."

#### 40

Whilst Horatius was exclaiming in this manner, "and the decemvirs could not discover any limit either to their anger or forbearance, nor could they see to what the thing would come, Caius Claudius, who was uncle to Appius the decemvir, delivered an address more like entreaties than reproach, beseeching him by the shade of his own brother and of his father, that he would hold in recollection the civil society in which he had been born rather than the confederacy nefariously entered into with his colleagues; that he besought this much more on Appius's own account, than for the sake of the commonwealth. For that the commonwealth would assert its rights in spite of them, if it could not obtain them with their consent. But that from great contests great animosities arise; the result of the latter he dreads." Though the decemvirs forbade them to speak on any other subject than that which they had submitted to them, they felt too much respect for Claudius to interrupt him. He therefore concluded his address by moving that it was their wish that no decree of the senate should be passed. And all understood the matter thus, that they were judged by Claudius to be private citizens; and many of the men of consular standing expressed their assent. Another measure proposed, more harsh in appearance, possessed much less efficacy; one which ordered the patricians to assemble to elect an interrex; for by passing any resolution they judged, that those persons who convened the senate were magistrates of some kind or other, whilst the person who recommended that no decree of the senate should be passed, had thereby declared them private citizens. When the cause of the decemvirs was now sinking, Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis, brother of Marcus Cornelius the decemvir, having been purposely reserved from among the consular men to close the debate, by affecting an anxiety about the war, defended his brother and his colleagues thus: saying, "he wondered by what fatality it had occurred, that those who had been candidates for the decemvirate, should attack the decemvirs, either as secondaries,<sup>145</sup> or as principals: or

<sup>145</sup> The original here is rather obscure. *Aut socii, aut hi maxime*. Crevier prefers to read *aut soli aut hi maxime*. Stroth explains *socii, se socios præbendo*.

when no one disputed for so many months whilst the state was disengaged, whether legal magistrates had the management of affairs, why do they now sow discord, when the enemies are nearly at the gate; unless that in a state of confusion they think that what they are aiming at will be less seen through." But that it was not just that any one should prejudice so important a cause, whilst our minds are occupied with a more momentous concern. It was his opinion, that the point which Valerius and Horatius urged, viz. that the decemvirs had gone out of office before the ides of May, should be discussed in the senate, when the wars which are now impending are over, and the commonwealth has been restored to tranquillity: and that Appius Claudius should now prepare to take notice that an account is to be rendered by him of the comitia which he himself held for electing decemvirs, whether they were elected for one year, or until the laws which were wanting were ratified. It was his opinion that all other matters should be laid aside for the present, except the war; and if they thought that the reports regarding it were propagated without foundation, and that not only the couriers, but the ambassadors of the Tusculans also had stated what was false, he thought that scouts should be despatched to bring back more certain information; but if credit were given both to the couriers and the ambassadors, that the levy should be held at the very earliest opportunity; that the decemvirs should lead the armies, whither it may seem proper to each; and that no other matter should take precedence.

#### 41

The junior patricians succeeded in having this opinion carried. Valerius and Horatius rising again with greater vehemence demanded aloud, "that it should be allowed them to express their sentiments concerning the republic; that they would address the people, if by a faction they were not allowed to do so in the senate. For that private individuals, either in the senate or in a general assembly, could not prevent them; nor would they yield to their imaginary fasces." Appius then considering that the crisis was now nigh at hand, when their authority would be overpowered, unless their violence were resisted with equal boldness: "It will be better," says he, "not to utter a word on any subject, except that which we are now considering: and to Valerius, when he refused to be silent for a private individual, he commands a lictor to proceed." When Valerius, on the threshold of the senate-house, now craved the protection of the citizens, Lucius Cornelius, embracing Appius, put an end to the dispute, not consulting the interest of him whose interest he affected to consult; and permission to speak his sentiments being obtained for Valerius through Cornelius, when this liberty did not extend beyond words, the decemvirs obtained their object. The consulars also and senior members, from the hatred of tribunitian power still rankling in their bosoms, the desire of which they considered was much more keenly felt by the commons than that of the consular power, almost had rather that the decemvirs themselves should voluntarily resign their office at some future period, than that the people should rise once more into consequence through their unpopularity. If the matter, conducted with gentleness, should again return to the consuls without popular turbulence, that the commons might be induced to forget their tribunes, either by the intervention of wars or by the moderation of the consuls in exercising their authority. A levy is proclaimed amid the silence of the patricians; the young men answer to their names, as the government was without appeal. The legions being enrolled, the decemvirs set about arranging among themselves who should set out to the war, who command the armies. The leading men among the decemvirs were, Quintus Fabius and Appius Claudius. There appeared a more serious war at home than abroad. They considered the violence of

Appius as better suited to suppress commotions in the city; that Fabius possessed a disposition rather inconstant in good pursuits than strenuous in bad ones. For this man, formerly distinguished at home and abroad, his office of decemvir and his colleagues had so changed, that he chose rather to be like to Appius than like himself. To him the war against the Sabines was committed, his colleagues, Manius Rabuleius and Quintus Pætelius, being sent with him. Marcus Cornelius was sent to Algidum with Lucius Menucius and Titus Antonius, and Cæso Duilius and Marcus Sergius: they determine on Spurius Oppius as an assistant to Appius Claudius to protect the city, their authority being equal to that of all the decemvirs.

#### 42

The republic was managed with no better success in war than at home. In this the only fault in the generals was, that they had rendered themselves objects of hatred to their fellow citizens: in other respects the whole fault lay with the soldiers; who, lest any enterprise should succeed under the conduct and auspices of the decemvirs, suffered themselves to be beaten, to their own disgrace, and that of them (the generals). Their armies were routed by the Sabines at Eretum, and in Algidum by the Æquans. Having fled from Eretum during the silence of the night, they fortified their camp nearer to the city, on an elevated situation between Fidenæ and Crustumeria; no where encountering the enemy, who pursued them, on equal ground, they protected themselves by the nature of the place and a rampart, not by valour or arms. Greater disgrace and greater loss were sustained in Algidum, their camp also was lost; and the soldiers, stripped of all their utensils, betook themselves to Tusculum, determined to procure the means of subsistence from the good faith and compassion of their hosts; which, however, did not disappoint them. Such alarming accounts were brought to Rome, that the patricians, having laid aside their hatred of the decemvirs, passed an order that watches should be held in the city; commanded that all who were able by reason of their age to carry arms, should mount guard on the walls, and form out-posts before the gates; they also voted arms to be sent to Tusculum, besides a reinforcement; that the decemvirs also should come down from the citadel of Tusculum and keep their troops encamped; that the other camp should be removed from Fidenæ into the Sabine territory; and that the enemy might be deterred, by thus attacking them first, from entertaining any intentions of attacking the city.

#### 43

To the calamities received from the enemy, the decemvirs add two flagitious deeds, one abroad, and the other in the city. In the Sabine district, Lucius Siccus, who, during the unpopularity of the decemvirs, introduced, in secret conversation with the common soldiers, mention of electing tribunes and of a secession, was sent forwards to select a place for a camp: instructions were given to the soldiers whom they had sent to accompany him in that expedition, to attack him in a convenient place and slay him. They did not kill him with impunity; for several of the assassins fell around him resisting them, whilst, possessing great personal strength and with a courage equal to that strength, he was defending himself against them, now surrounded as he was. The rest bring an account into the camp that Siccus, when fighting bravely, had fallen into an ambush, and that some soldiers were lost with him. At first the narrators were believed; afterwards a cohort, which went by permission of the decemvirs to bury those who had fallen, when they observed that none of the bodies there were stripped, that Siccus lay in the middle with his arms, all the bodies being turned towards him, whilst

there was neither any body of the enemy, nor even any traces of them as going away; they brought back his body, saying, that he had certainly been slain by his own men. The camp was now filled with indignation, and it was being determined that Siccius should be forthwith brought to Rome, had not the decemvirs hastened to perform a military funeral for him at the public expense. He was buried amid the great grief of the soldiery, and with the worst possible reputation of the decemvirs among the common people.

#### 44

Another atrocious deed follows in the city, originating in lust, attended with results not less tragical than that deed which drove the Tarquins from the city and the throne through the injured chastity and violent death of Lucretia: so that the decemvirs not only had the same end as the kings had, but the same cause also of losing their power. Appius Claudius was seized with a criminal passion for violating the person of a young woman of plebeian condition. Lucius Virginius, the girl's father, held an honourable rank among the centurions at Algidum, a man of exemplary good conduct both at home and in the service. His wife had been educated in a similar manner, as also were their children. He had betrothed his daughter to Lucius Icilius, who had been a tribune, a man of spirit and of approved zeal in the interest of the people. This young woman, in the bloom of youth, distinguished for beauty, Appius, burning with desire, attempted to seduce by bribes and promises; and when he perceived that all the avenues (to the possession of her) were barred by modesty, he turned his thoughts to cruel and tyrannical violence. He instructed a dependent of his, Marcus Claudius, to claim the girl as his slave, and not to yield to those who might demand her interim retention of liberty; considering that, because the girl's father was absent, there was an opportunity for committing the injury. The tool of the decemvir's lust laid hands on the girl as she was coming into the forum (for there in the sheds the literary schools were held); calling her "the daughter of his slave and a slave herself," he commanded her to follow him; that he would force her away if she demurred. The girl being stupified with terror, a crowd collects at the cries of the girl's nurse, who besought the protection of the citizens. The popular names of her father, Virginius, and of her spouse, Icilius, are in the mouths of every one. Their regard for them gains over their acquaintances, whilst the heinousness of the proceeding gains over the crowd. She was now safe from violence, when the claimant says, "that there was no occasion for raising a mob; that he was proceeding by law, not by force." He cites the girl into court. Those who stood by her advising her to follow him, they now reached the tribunal of Appius. The claimant rehearses the farce well known to the judge, as being the author of the plot, "that a girl born in his house, and clandestinely transferred from thence to the house of Virginius, had been fathered on the latter." That he stated a thing ascertained by certain evidence, and would prove it to the satisfaction even of Virginius himself, whom the principal portion of that loss would concern. That it was but just that in the interim the girl should accompany her master. The advocates for Virginia, after they had urged that Virginius was absent on business of the state, that he would be here in two days if word were sent to him, that it was unfair that in his absence he should run any risk regarding his children, demand that he adjourn the whole matter till the arrival of the father; that he should allow the claim for her interim liberty according to the law passed by himself, and not allow a maiden of ripe age to encounter the risk of her reputation before that of her liberty.

#### 45

Appius prefaced his decree by observing that the very law, which Virginius's friends were putting forward as the ground of their demand, clearly showed how much he favoured liberty. But that liberty would find secure protection in it on this condition, that it varied<sup>146</sup> neither with respect to cases or persons.<sup>147</sup> For with respect to those individuals who were claimed as free, that point of law was good, because<sup>148</sup> any person may proceed by law (and act for them); with respect to her who is in the hands of her father, that there was no other person (than her father) to whom her master need relinquish his right of possession. That it was his determination, therefore, that her father should be sent for: in the mean time, that the claimant should suffer no loss of his right, but that he should carry off the girl with him, and promise that she should be produced on the arrival of him who was called her father. When many rather murmured against the injustice of this decision than any one individual ventured to protest against it, the girl's uncle, Publius Numitorius, and her betrothed spouse, Icilius, just come in; and way being made through the crowd, the multitude thinking that Appius might be most effectually resisted by the intervention of Icilius, the lictor declares that "he had decided the matter," and removes Icilius, when he attempted to raise his voice. Injustice so atrocious would have fired even a cool temper. "By the sword, Appius," says he, "I must be removed hence, that you may carry off in silence that which you wish to be concealed. This young woman I am about to marry, determined to have a lawful and chaste wife. Wherefore call together all the lictors even of your colleagues; order the rods and axes to be had in readiness; the betrothed wife of Icilius shall not remain without her father's house. Though you have taken from us the aid of our tribunes, and the power of appeal to the commons of Rome, the two bulwarks for maintaining our liberty, absolute dominion has not therefore been given to you over our wives and children. Vent your fury on our backs and necks; let chastity at least be secure. If violence be offered to her, I shall implore the protection of the citizens here present in behalf of my spouse; Virginius will implore that of the soldiers in behalf of his only

<sup>146</sup> Appius here contrasts two classes of persons, one consisting of individuals, who are in their own power; the other, of those who are not *sui juris*, but are under the control either of a parent, or some other person. If the question arise concerning a person who is *sui juris*, whether he is to be consigned to slavery, or to be restored to liberty, then "*id juris esse*," sc. that he remain free till the decision is made, *because any person*, as being *homo sui juris*, and consequently he himself, "may proceed by law;" but he says, that this does not hold good with respect to a person who is not *sui juris*, but is in the hands of others; such a person, he says, cannot be pronounced free, but must be subject to the power, either of the parent or master, so that no injury be done to either. Wherefore, since the girl is not *sui juris*, she must be in the power, either of Virginius, who says he is her father, or of Claudius, who says he is her master. But since Virginius is not present, that she can be in the power of no one but Claudius, until Virginius arrive. I cannot resist the temptation of giving in full Mr. Gunn's note on the passage, as found in his very neat edition of our author.

"Appius for his own purposes, in interpreting his own law, introduces a distinction betwixt those who were *sui juris*, entirely free, and those who were subject to the *patria potestas*. The law, according to him, can apply only to the former, because in them only is there a true claim for liberty, and in them only could a judge give an interim decision *secundum libertatem*. To give such a decision in favour of Virginia, would be a *variatio personarum*; it would be introducing as entitled to the benefit of the law a class of persons, who were, even according to their own statements, not entitled to *vindicix secundum libertatem*. Besides, and most important of all, the law could act in the former, as any citizen was entitled to plead the cause of one presumptively free. But in this case no one could plead, but either the father as master on the one hand, or the alleged master on the other: as the father was not present, consequently no one had any legal claim to urge the law."

<sup>147</sup> *Si nec causis nec personis variet*. Sc. *lex variet*. Some understand *libertas* as the nominative to *variet*.

<sup>148</sup> *Because any person*. "As the law permits any strangers to interpose in vindicating an individual's liberty, they have an undoubted right so to do. But the question is not whether this maiden is free: that she cannot be in any case; for she belongs either to her father or her master. Now as her father is not present to take charge of her, no one here but her master can have any title to her." Appius argues that he could not pronounce in favour of her temporary liberty, without prejudice to her father's right and power over her: as there was no one present, who claimed a legal right to the possession of her but M. Claudius, the judge had no alternative but to award her during the interim to his safe keeping.—*Stocker*.

daughter; we shall all implore the protection of gods and men, nor shall you carry that sentence into effect without our blood. I demand of you, Appius, consider again and again to what lengths you are proceeding. Let Virginius, when he comes, consider what conduct he should pursue with respect to his daughter. Let him only be assured of this, that if he yield to the claims of this man, he will have to seek out another match for his daughter. As for my part, in vindicating the liberty of my spouse, life shall leave me sooner than my honour."

#### 46

The multitude was now excited, and a contest seemed likely to ensue. The lictors had taken their stand around Icilius; nor did they, however, proceed beyond threats, when Appius said, "that it was not Virginia that was defended by Icilius, but that, being a restless man, and even now breathing the spirit of the tribuneship, he was seeking an occasion for a disturbance. That he would not afford him material on that day; but in order that he may now know that the concession has been made not to his petulance, but to the absent Virginius, to the name of father and to liberty, that he would not decide the cause on that day, nor interpose a decree: that he would request of Marcus Claudius to forego somewhat of his right, and suffer the girl to be bailed till the next day. But unless the father attended on the following day, he gave notice to Icilius and to men like Icilius, that neither the founder would be wanting to his own law, nor firmness to the decemvir; nor would he assemble the lictors of his colleagues to put down the promoters of sedition; that he would be content with his own lictors." When the time of this act of injustice was deferred, and the friends of the maiden had retired, it was first of all determined, that the brother of Icilius and the son of Numitorius, both active young men, should proceed thence straightforward to the gate, and that Virginius should be brought from the camp with all possible haste. That the safety of the girl depended on his being present next day at the proper time, as her protector from injury. They proceed according to directions and with all speed carry the account to her father. When the claimant of the maiden was pressing Icilius to become defendand, and give sureties,<sup>149</sup> and Icilius said that that was the very thing he was doing, designedly spinning out the time, until the messengers sent to the camp might gain time for their journey, the multitude raised their hands on all sides, and every one showed himself ready to go surety for Icilius. And he with tears in his eyes says, It is very kind of you; on to-morrow I will avail myself of your assistance; at present I have sufficient sureties. Thus Virginia is bailed on the security of her relations. Appius having delayed a short time, that he might not appear to have sat on account of the present case, when no one applied, all other concerns being given up by reason of their solicitude about the one, betook himself home, and writes to his colleagues to the camp, "not to grant leave of absence to Virginius, and even to keep him in confinement." This wicked scheme was late, as it deserved to be; for Virginius, having already obtained his leave, had set out at the first watch, while the letter regarding his detention was delivered on the following morning to no purpose.

#### 47

But in the city, when the citizens were standing in the forum erect with expectation, Virginius, clad in mourning, by break of day conducts his daughter, also attired in weeds, attended by some matrons, into the forum, with a considerable body of advocates. He then began to go round and to solicit individuals; and not only to entreat

<sup>149</sup> *Sureties*—sponsores. The preliminary bail.

their aid as a boon to his prayers, but demanded it as due to him: "that he stood daily in the field of battle in defence of their children and wives, nor was there any other man, to whom a greater number of brave and intrepid deeds in war can be ascribed than to him. What availed it, if, whilst the city was still secure, their children would be exposed to suffer the severest hardships which would have to be dreaded if it was taken?" Delivering these observations like one haranguing in an assembly, he solicited them individually. Similar arguments were used by Icilius: the female attendants produced more effect by their silent tears than any language. With a mind utterly insensible to all this, (such, a paroxysm of madness, rather than of love, had perverted his mind,) Appius ascended the tribunal; and when the claimant began to complain briefly, that justice had not been administered to him on the preceding day through a desire to please the people, before either he could go through with his claim, or an opportunity of reply was afforded to Virginus, Appius interrupts him. The preamble with which he prefaced the sentence, ancient authors may have handed down perhaps with truth; because I nowhere find any one that was likely (to have been used) on so scandalous a business, it seems, that the naked fact should be stated as being a point which is agreed on, viz. that he passed a sentence<sup>150</sup> consigning her to slavery. At first all were astounded with amazement at so heinous a proceeding; then silence prevailed for some time. Then when Marcus Claudius proceeded to seize the maiden, the matrons standing around her, and was received with piteous lamentation of the women, Virginus, menacingly extending his hands towards Appius, says, To Icilius, and not to you, Appius, have I betrothed my daughter, and for matrimony, not prostitution, have I brought her up. Do you wish men to gratify their lust promiscuously, like cattle and wild beasts? Whether these persons will endure such things, I know not; I hope that those will not who have arms in their hands. When the claimant of the girl was repulsed by the crowd of women and advocates who were standing around her, silence was commanded by the crier.

#### 48

The decemvir, engrossed in mind by his lustful propensities, states that not only from the abusive language of Icilius yesterday, and the violence of Virginus, of which he had the entire Roman people as witnesses, but from authentic information also he ascertained, that cabals were held in the city during the whole night to stir up a sedition. Accordingly that he, being aware of that danger, had come down with armed soldiers; not that he would molest any peaceable person, but in order to punish suitably to the majesty of the government persons disturbing the tranquillity of the state. It will, therefore, be better to remain quiet. Go, lictor, says he, remove the crowd; and make way for the master to lay hold of his slave. When, bursting with passion, he had thundered out these words, the multitude themselves voluntarily separated, and the girl stood deserted a prey to injustice. Then Virginus, when he saw no aid anywhere, says, I beg you, Appius, first pardon a father's grief, if I have said any thing too harsh against you: in the next place, suffer me to question the nurse before the maiden, what all this matter is? that if I have been falsely called her father, I may depart hence with a more resigned mind. Permission being granted, he draws the girl and the nurse aside to the sheds near the temple of Cloacina, which now go by the name of the new sheds: and there snatching up a knife from a butcher, "In this one way, the only one in my power, do I secure to you your liberty." He then transfixes the girl's breast, and looking back

<sup>150</sup> *He passed a sentence, &c.* In the original it is, "decesse vindicias secundum servitutum." This decision relates to the definitive bail. Appius the day before had made up his mind to this decision. He had calculated, however, on the non-appearance of the father; yet did not now choose to be foiled by his unexpected presence.—*Stocker.*

towards the tribunal, he says, "With this blood I devote thee, Appius, and thy head." Appius, aroused by the cry raised at so dreadful a deed, orders Virginius to be seized. He, armed with the knife, cleared the way whithersoever he went, until, protected by the crowd of persons attending him, he reached the gate. Icilius and Numitorius take up the lifeless body and exhibit it to the people: they deplore the villany of Appius, the fatal beauty of the maiden, and the dire necessity of the father. The matrons who followed exclaim, "Was this the condition of rearing children? were these the rewards of chastity?" and other things which female grief on such occasions suggests, when their complaints are so much the more affecting, in proportion as (their grief) is more intense from the natural tenderness of their minds. The voice of the men, and more especially of Icilius, entirely turned on the tribunitian power, on the right of appeal to the people which had been taken from them, and on the indignities thrown upon the state.

#### 49

The multitude was excited partly by the atrocious nature of the deed, partly by the hope of recovering their liberty through a favourable opportunity. Appius now orders Icilius to be summoned before him, now on refusing to come to be seized; at length, when an opportunity of approaching him was not afforded to the beadles, he himself proceeding through the crowd with a body of young patricians, orders him to be taken into confinement. Now not only the multitude, but Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, the leaders of the multitude, stood around Icilius: who, having repulsed the lictor, stated, that "if he meant to proceed by law, they would protect Icilius from one who was but a private citizen; if he desired to employ force, that they would be no bad match for him even then." Hence arises a furious scuffle. The decemvir's lictor attacks Valerius and Horatius: the fasces are broken by the people. Appius ascends the tribunal; Horatius and Valerius follow him. To them the assembly pays attention, they drown with clamour the voice of the decemvir. Now Valerius authoritatively ordered the lictors to depart from one who was but a private citizen: when Appius, whose spirits were now broken, being alarmed for his life, betook himself into a house in the vicinity of the forum, unknown to his enemies, with his head covered up. Spurius Oppius, in order to assist his colleague, rushes into the forum from the opposite side; he sees their authority overpowered by force. Distracted then by various counsels between which he wavered, by assenting to several advisers from every side, he eventually ordered the senate to be convened. Because the proceedings of the decemvirs seemed to be displeasing to the greater portion of the patricians, this step quieted the people with the hope that the government would be abolished through the senate. The senate gave their opinion that neither the commons should be exasperated, and much more that care should be taken that the arrival of Virginius should not occasion any commotion in the army.

#### 50

Accordingly some of the junior patricians, being sent to the camp which was at that time on Mount Vecilius, announce to the decemvirs "that by every means in their power they should keep the soldiers from mutinying." Where Virginius occasioned greater commotion than he had left behind him in the city. For besides that he was seen coming with a body of near four hundred men, who, fired at the heinous enormity of the occurrence, had accompanied him from the city; the unsheathed weapon and himself besmeared with blood, attracted to him the entire camp; and the gowns<sup>151</sup> seen in the different parts of the camp, had caused the number of people from the city to appear

<sup>151</sup> The dress of the citizens.

much greater than it really was. When they asked him what was the matter, in consequence of his weeping he uttered not a word. At length, as soon as the crowd of those running together became still, and silence took place, he related every thing in order as it occurred. Then extending his hands towards heaven, addressing his fellow soldiers, he begged of them, "not to impute to him that which was the crime of Appius, not to abhor him as the murderer of his children." To him the life of his daughter was dearer than his own, if she had been allowed to live in freedom and chastity. When he beheld her dragged to prostitution as if a slave, thinking it better that his child should be lost by death than by dishonour, through compassion for her he fell into an appearance of cruelty. Nor would he have survived his daughter, had he not placed hope of avenging her death in the aid of his fellow soldiers. For that they too had daughters, sisters, and wives; nor was the lust of Appius Claudius extinguished with his daughter; but in proportion as it escaped with impunity, so much the more unbridled would it be. That in the calamities of others a warning was given to them to guard against a similar injury. That for his own part, his wife had been taken from him by fate; his daughter, because she no longer could live in chastity, died an unfortunate but honourable death; that there was no longer in his house an opportunity for Appius's lust; that from any other violence of his he would defend his person with the same spirit with which he vindicated that of his daughter. That others should take care of themselves and of their children. To Virginius, uttering these words in a loud voice, the multitude responded with a shout, "that they would not be backward, with respect either to his wrongs or their own liberty. And the gown-men mixing with the crowd of soldiers, both by narrating with sorrow those same circumstances, and by showing how much more shocking they must have appeared when seen than when merely heard, and also by telling them that matters were now desperate at Rome; those also who followed (the persons that accompanied Virginius from Rome) and alleged that Appius, having with difficulty escaped with life, had gone into exile;<sup>152</sup> all these individuals so far influenced them that there was a general cry to arms, they snatched up their standards, and set out for Rome." The decemvirs, being alarmed at the same time both by what they now saw, as well as by those things which they had heard had taken place at Rome, ran about to different parts of the camp to quell the commotion. Whilst they proceeded with mildness no answer was returned to them. If any of them attempted to exert authority over them, the answer given was, that "they were men and had arms." They go in a body to the city and post themselves on the Aventine; encouraging the commons, according as each person met them, to reassume their liberty, and elect tribunes of the people; no other violent expression was heard. Spurius Oppius holds a meeting of the senate; it is resolved that no harsh proceedings should be adopted, as occasion for the sedition had been given by themselves. Three men of consular rank, Spurius Tarpeius, Caius Julius, Publius Sulpicius, are sent as ambassadors, to inquire, in the name of the senate, by whose orders they had deserted the camp? or what they intended in posting themselves on the Aventine in arms, and in turning away their arms from the enemy and taking their own country? They were at no loss for an answer; they wanted some one to give the answer, there being as yet no certain leader, and individuals not being forward enough to expose themselves to the invidious office. The multitude only called out with one voice, that they should send Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius to them: that to them they would give their answer.

<sup>152</sup> Two classes of persons are here intended: 1. Those who accompanied Virginius into the camp. 2. Others who followed them subsequently.

## 51

The ambassadors being dismissed, Virginius reminds the soldiers "that a little time before they had been embarrassed in a matter of no very great difficulty, because the multitude was without a head; and that the answer given, though not inexpedient, was the result rather of an accidental concurrence than of a concerted plan. His opinion was, that ten persons be elected, who should preside in the management of their affairs, and, in the style of military dignity, that they should be called tribunes of the soldiers." When that honour was offered to himself in the first instance, he replied, "Reserve for an occasion more favourable to you and to me those your kind opinions of me. My daughter being unavenged, neither allows any honour to be satisfactory to me, nor in the disturbed state of things is it useful that those should be at your head who are most obnoxious to party malice. If there will be any use of me, such use will be derived not in a less degree from me in a private station." They then elect military tribunes ten in number. Nor was the army among the Sabines inactive. There also, at the instance of Icilius and Numitorius, a secession from the decemvirs took place, the commotion of men's minds on recollecting the murder of Siccus being not less than that, which the recent account of the barbarous attempt made on the maiden to gratify lust had enkindled. When Icilius heard that tribunes of the soldiers were elected on Mount Aventine, lest the election-assembly in the city might follow the precedent of the military assembly, by electing the same persons tribunes of the commons, being well versed in popular intrigues and having an eye to that office, he also takes care, before they proceeded to the city, that the same number be elected by his own party with an equal power. They entered the city through the Colline gate in military array, and proceeded in a body to the Aventine through the middle of the city. There, joined to the other army, they commissioned the twenty tribunes of the soldiers to select two out of their number, who should hold the command in chief. They choose Marcus Oppius and Sextus Manilius. The patricians, alarmed for the general safety, though there was a meeting every day, waste the time in wrangling more frequently than in deliberation. The murder of Siccus, the lust of Appius, and the disgraces incurred in war were urged as charges against the decemvirs. It was resolved that Valerius and Horatius should proceed to the Aventine. They refused to go on any other conditions, than that the decemvirs should lay down the badges of that office, which had expired the year before. The decemvirs, complaining that they were now being degraded, stated that they would not resign their office, until those laws were passed on account of which they had been appointed.

## 52

The people being informed through Marcus Duilius, who had been tribune of the people, that by reason of their continual contentions no business was transacted, passes from the Aventine to the Sacred mount; Duilius affirming that serious concern for business would not enter the minds of the patricians, until they saw the city deserted. That the Sacred mount would remind them of the people's firmness; that they would then know, that matters could not be restored to concord without the restoration of (the tribunitian) power. Having set out along the Nomentan way, which was then called the Ficulnean, they pitched their camp on the Sacred mount, imitating the moderation of their fathers by committing no violence. The commons followed the army, no one whose age would permit him declining to go. Their wives and children attended their steps, piteously asking to whom would they leave them, in a city in which neither chastity nor liberty were respected? When the unusual solitude rendered every place in Rome void;

when there was in the forum no one but a few old men; when, the patricians being convened into the senate, the forum appeared deserted; more now besides Horatius and Valerius began to exclaim, "What will ye now wait for, conscript fathers? If the decemvirs do not put an end to their obstinacy, will ye suffer all things to go to wreck and ruin? What power is that, decemvirs, which ye embrace and hold so firmly? do you mean to administer justice to walls and mere houses? Are you not ashamed that an almost greater number of your lictors is to be seen in the forum than of the other citizens? What are ye to do, in case the enemy should approach the city? What, if the commons should come presently in arms, if we seem not to be moved by their secession? do you mean to conclude your power by the fall of the city? But (the case is this,) either we must not have the commons, or they must have their tribunes. We would sooner dispense with our patrician magistrates, than they with their plebeian. That power, when new and untried, they wrested from our fathers; much less will they, now that they have tested the sweets of it, endure its loss: more especially since we make not a moderate use of our power, so that they may not stand in need of (tribunitian) aid." When these arguments were thrown out from every quarter, the decemvirs, overpowered by the united opinions of all, declare that, since such seems to be the feeling, they would submit to the authority of the patricians. All they ask is, that they may be protected from popular rage; they give a warning, that they should not through shedding their blood habituate the people to inflict punishment on the patricians.

### 53

Then Valerius and Horatius, having been sent to bring back the people on such terms as might seem fit, and to adjust all differences, are directed to make provision also for the decemvirs from the resentment and violence of the multitude. They set forward and are received into the camp with great joy by the people, as being their liberators beyond all doubt, both at the commencement of the disturbance and at the termination of the matter. In consideration of these things, thanks were returned to them on their arrival. Icilius speaks in the name of the people. When the terms came to be considered, the ambassadors inquiring what were the demands of the people, the same individual, having already concerted the plan before the arrival of the ambassadors, stated demands of such a nature, that it became evident, that more hope was placed in the justice of their case than in arms. For they demanded back the tribunitian office and the right of appeal, which, before the appointment of decemvirs, had been the props of the people, and that it should not be visited with injury to any one, to have instigated the soldiers or the commons to seek back their liberty by a secession. Concerning the punishment only of the decemvirs was their demand immoderate; for they thought it but just that they should be delivered up to them; and they threatened that they would burn them alive. In answer the ambassadors say, the demands which have been the result of deliberation are so reasonable, that they should be voluntarily offered to you; for you seek them as safeguards to your liberty, not as means of licentious power to assail others. Your resentment we must rather pardon than indulge; seeing that from your hatred of cruelty ye rush into cruelty, and almost before you are free yourselves, you wish already to lord it over your enemies. Shall our state never enjoy rest from punishments, either of the patricians on the Roman commons, or of the commons on the patricians? you have occasion for a shield rather than for a sword. He is sufficiently and abundantly humble, who lives in a state on an equal footing, neither inflicting nor suffering injury. Moreover, "should you feel disposed to render yourselves formidable,

when, having recovered your magistrates and laws, decisions on our lives and fortunes shall be in your hands; then you shall determine according to the merits of each case; now it is sufficient that your liberty be restored."

#### 54

All permitting them to act just as they think proper, the ambassadors assure them that they would speedily return, having completed every matter. When they went and laid before the patricians the message of the commons, the other decemvirs, since, contrary to their own expectation, no mention was made of their punishment, raised no objection. Appius, being of a truculent disposition and a particular object of detestation, measuring the rancour of others towards him by his own towards them, says, "I am aware of the fate which hangs over me. I see that the contest against us is deferred, until our arms are delivered up to our adversaries. Blood must be offered up to popular rage. Not even do I demur to resign my decemvirate." A decree of the senate is then passed, "that the decemvirs should without delay resign their office; that Quintus Furius, chief pontiff, should hold an election of plebeian tribunes, and that the secession of the soldiers and commons should not be visited on any one." These decrees being finished, the senate being dismissed, the decemvirs come forth into the assembly, and resign their office, to the great joy of all. News of this is carried to the commons. All the people remaining in the city escort the ambassadors. This crowd was met by another joyous body from the camp; they congratulate each other on the restoration of peace and concord to the state. The deputies address the assembly: "Be it advantageous, fortunate, and happy for you and the republic, return into your country to your household gods, your wives and children; but carry into the city the same modesty which you observed here, where, amid the consumption of so many matters necessary for so large a number of persons, no man's field has been injured. Go to the Aventine, whence ye set out. In that auspicious place, where ye took the first step towards liberty, ye shall elect tribunes of the people. The chief pontiff will be at hand to hold the elections." Great was their assent and joy, as evinced in their approbation of every measure. They then hastily raise their standards, and having set out for Rome, vie in exultation with all they met. There, the chief pontiff holding the meeting for the elections, they elected as their tribunes of the people, first of all A. Virginius, then Lucius Icilius, and Publius Numitorius the uncle of Virginia, the advisers of the secession. Then Caius Sicinius, the offspring of him who is recorded to have been elected first tribune of the commons on the Sacred mount; and Marcus Duilius, who had passed through a distinguished tribuneship before the creation of the decemvirs, and was never wanting to the commons in their contests with the decemvirs. Marcus Titinius, Marcus Pomponius, Caius Apronius, Publius Villius, and Caius Oppius, were elected more from hope (entertained of them) than from any services (performed). When he entered on his tribuneship, Lucius Icilius proposed to the commons, and the commons ordered, that the secession from the decemvirs which had taken place should not prove detrimental to any individual. Immediately after Duilius carried a proposition for electing consuls, with right of appeal. All these things were transacted in an assembly of the commons in the Flaminian meadows, which they now call the Flaminian circus.

#### 55

Then through an interrex Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius were elected consuls, who immediately entered on their office; whose consulship was popular without any actual injury to the patricians, though not without their displeasure; for whatever

provision was made for securing the liberty of the commons, that they considered to be a diminution made in their own power. First of all, when it was as it were a point in controversy, whether patricians were bound by regulations enacted in an assembly of the commons, they proposed a law in the assembly of the centuries, that whatever the commons ordered collectively, should bind the entire people; by which law a most keen-edged weapon was given to motions introduced by tribunes. Then another law made by a consul concerning the right of appeal, a singular security to liberty, and subverted by the decemviral power, they not only restore, but guard it also for the time to come, by enacting a new law, "that no one should appoint any magistrate without a right of appeal; if any person should so elect, it would be lawful and right that he be put to death; and that such killing should not be deemed a capital offence." And when they had sufficiently secured the commons by the right of appeal on the one hand, by tribunitian aid on the other, they renewed for the tribunes themselves (the privilege) that they should be held sacred and inviolable, the memory of which matter had now been almost lost, reviving certain ceremonies which had been long disused; and they rendered them inviolable both by the religious institution, as well as by a law, enacting, that "whoever should offer injury to tribunes of the people, ædiles, judges, decemvirs, his person should be devoted to Jupiter, and his property be sold at the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera." Commentators deny that any person is by this law sacrosanct; but that he who may do an injury to any of them, is deemed to be devoted; therefore that an ædile may be arrested and carried to prison by superior magistrates, which, though it be not expressly warranted by law, for an injury is done to a person to whom it is not lawful to do an injury according to this law, yet it is a proof that an ædile is not considered as sacred; that the tribunes were sacred and inviolable by an ancient oath of the commons, when first they created that office. There have been persons who supposed that by this same Horatian law provision was made for the consuls also and the prætors, because they were elected under the same auspices as the consuls; for that a consul was called a judge. Which interpretation is refuted, because at this time it was not yet the custom for the consul to be styled judge, but the prætor. These were the laws proposed by the consuls. It was also regulated by the same consuls, that decrees of the senate should be deposited with the ædiles of the commons in the temple of Ceres; which before that used to be suppressed and altered at the pleasure of the consuls. Marcus Duilius then, tribune of the commons, proposed to the people, and the people ordered, that "whoever left the people without tribunes, and whoever caused a magistrate to be elected without the right of appeal, should be punished with stripes and beheaded." All these matters, though against the feelings of the patricians, passed off without opposition from them, because no severity was aimed at any particular individual.

## 56

Then both the tribunitian power and the liberty of the commons being firmly established, the tribunes now deeming it both safe and seasonable to attack individuals, single out Virginius as the first prosecutor and Appius as defendant. When Virginius appointed a day for Appius, and Appius came down to the forum, accompanied by some young patricians, the memory of his most profligate exercise of power was instantly revived in the minds of all, as soon as they beheld himself and his satellites. Then Virginius says, "Long speeches have been invented for matters of a doubtful nature. Accordingly I shall neither waste time in dwelling on the guilt of this man before you, from whose cruelty ye have rescued yourselves by force of arms, nor shall I suffer him to add impudence to his other enormous crimes in defending himself. Wherefore,

Appius Claudius, I remit to you the accumulated impious and nefarious deeds you have had the effrontery to commit for the last two years; with respect to one charge only, unless you will appoint a judge, (and prove) that you have not, contrary to the laws, sentenced a free person to be a slave, I order that you be taken into custody." Neither in the aid of the tribunes, nor in the judgment of the people, could Appius place any hope: still he both appealed to the tribunes, and, when no one regarded him, being seized by the bailiff, he exclaims, "I appeal." The hearing of this one expression, that safeguard of liberty, uttered from that mouth by which a free citizen was so recently consigned to slavery, occasioned general silence. And, whilst they observe to each other, that "at length there are gods, and that they do not disregard human affairs; and that punishments await tyranny and cruelty, which, though late, are still by no means light; that he now appealed, who had abolished all right of appeal; and that he implored the protection of the people, who had trampled down all the rights of the people; and that he was dragged off to prison, destitute of the rights of liberty, who had doomed a free person to slavery." Amid the murmurs of the assembly, the voice of Appius was heard imploring the protection of the Roman people. He enumerated the services of his ancestors to the state, at home and abroad; his own unfortunate zeal towards the Roman commons; that he had resigned the consulship, to the great displeasure of the patricians, for the purpose of equalizing the laws; (he then mentioned) his laws; which, though they still remained in force, the framer of them was dragged to a prison. But the peculiar advantages and disadvantages of his case he would then make trial of, when an opportunity would be afforded him of stating his defence. At present, he, a Roman citizen, demanded, by the common right of citizenship, that he be allowed to speak on the day appointed, and to appeal to the judgment of the Roman people. That he did not dread popular rage so much as not to place any hope in the equity and compassion of his fellow citizens. But if he were led to prison without being heard, that he once more appealed to the tribunes of the people, and warned them not to imitate those whom they hated. But if the tribunes acknowledge themselves bound in the same confederacy for abolishing the right of appeal, which they charged the decemvirs with having formed, then he appealed to the people: he implored the benefit of the laws passed that very year, both by the consuls and tribunes, regarding the right of appeal. For who would appeal, if this were not allowed a person as yet uncondemned, whose case has not been heard? what plebeian and humble individual would find protection in the laws, if Appius Claudius could not? that he would afford a proof, whether tyranny or liberty was established by the new laws; and whether the right of appeal and of challenge against the injustice of magistrates was only held out in empty words, or effectually granted.

## 57

Virginius, on the other hand, affirmed that Appius Claudius was the only person not entitled to a participation in the laws, nor in civil or human society. That men should look to the tribunal, the fortress of all villanies; where that perpetual decemvir, venting his fury on the properties, backs, and blood of the citizens, threatening all with his rods and axes, a despiser of gods and men, attended with executioners, not lictors, changing his mind from rapine and murder to lust, before the eyes of the Roman people, tore a free-born maiden, as if a prisoner of war, from the embraces of her father, and gave her as a present to a dependant, the pander to his secret pleasures. Where by a cruel decree, and by a most villainous decision, he armed the right hand of the father against the daughter: where he ordered the spouse and uncle, on their raising the lifeless body of

the girl, to be taken off to a prison; moved more at the interruption to his sensual gratification than at her untimely death. That the prison was built for him also, which he used to call the domicile of the Roman commons. Wherefore, though he may appeal again and oftener, he would as frequently refer him to a judge, on the charge of having sentenced a free person to slavery; if he would not go before a judge, that he ordered him to be taken to prison as one condemned. He was thrown into prison, and though without the disapprobation of any individual, yet not without considerable emotions of the public mind, when, in consequence of the punishment of so distinguished a man, their own liberty began to appear to the commons themselves as excessive. The tribune deferred the day of trial. Whilst these matters are going on, ambassadors from the Hernicians and Latins came to Rome to present their congratulations on the harmony subsisting between the patricians and commons; and as an offering on that account to Jupiter, the best and greatest, they brought into the Capitol a golden crown, of small weight, as riches at that time did not abound, and the duties of religion were performed rather with piety than magnificence. From the same source it was ascertained that the Æquans and Volscians were preparing for war with the utmost energy. The consuls were therefore ordered to divide the provinces between them. The Sabines fell to the lot of Horatius, the Æquans and Volscians to that of Valerius. On their proclaiming a levy for these wars, through the good wishes of the commons, not only the younger men, but of those who had served out their time, a considerable portion as volunteers, attended to give in their names: and hence the army was stronger not only by the number, but also by the kind of soldiers, veterans being mixed with them. Before they marched out of the city, they engraved on brass, and fixed up in public view, the decemviral laws, which have received the name of "the twelve tables." There are some who state that the ædiles discharged that office by order of the tribunes.

## 58

Caius Claudius, who, detesting the crimes of the decemvirs and, above all, incensed at the arrogant conduct of his brother's son, had retired to Regillum, the country of his forefathers, having returned, though now advanced in years, to deprecate the dangers impending over that man, whose vices he had shunned, now clad in a mourning garment, with the members of his family and his clients, went about the forum, and solicited the interest of the citizens individually, "That they would not cast such a stain on the Claudian family, as to consider them deserving of imprisonment and chains; that a man whose image would be most highly honoured with posterity, the framer of their laws and the founder of Roman jurisprudence, lay in chains amongst nightly thieves and robbers. (He begged) that they would turn away their minds from resentment for a while to examination and reflection; and rather pardon one at the intercession of so many members of the Claudian family, than through a hatred of one spurn the entreaties of many; that he himself also paid this tribute to the family and the name; nor had he been reconciled to him, whose unfortunate situation he wished to relieve; that by fortitude liberty had been recovered; by clemency the harmony of the several orders might be established." Some there were whom he influenced more by his warm attachment to his family than for the sake of him for whom he interceded. But Virginius begged that "they would rather pity him and his daughter; and that they would listen to the entreaties, not of the Claudian family, which had assumed a sort of sovereignty over the commons, but those of the near friends of Virginia and of the three tribunes; who having been created for the aid of the commons, were now themselves imploring the protection and aid of the commons." These tears appeared more just. Accordingly, all

hope being cut off, Appius put a period to his life, before the day arrived appointed for his trial. Soon after, Spurius Oppius, the next object of public indignation, as having been in the city when the unjust decision was given by his colleague, was arraigned by Publius Numitorius. However, an act of injustice committed by Oppius brought more odium on him, than the not preventing one (in the case of Appius). A witness was brought forward, who, after reckoning up twenty campaigns, after having been particularly honoured eight different times, and wearing these honours in the sight of the Roman people, tore open his garment and exhibited his back torn with stripes, asking no other conditions but "that, if the accused could name any one guilty act of his, he might, though a private individual, once more repeat his severity on him." Oppius was also thrown into prison, where he put a period to his life before the day of trial. The tribunes confiscated the property of Appius and Oppius. Their colleagues left their homes to go into exile; their property was confiscated. Marcus Claudius, the claimant of Virginia, being condemned on the day of his trial, was discharged and went away into exile to Tibur, Virginius himself remitting the penalty as far as it affected his life; and the shade of Virginia, more fortunate after death than when living, after having roamed through so many families in quest of vengeance, at length rested in peace, no guilty person being left unpunished.

## 59

Great alarm seized the patricians, and the countenances of the tribunes were now the same as those of the decemvirs had been, when Marcus Duilius, tribune of the people, having put a salutary check to their immoderate power, says, "There has been both enough of liberty on our own part, and of vengeance on our enemies; wherefore for this year I will neither suffer a day of trial to be appointed for any one, nor any person to be thrown into prison. For it is neither pleasing to me that old crimes now forgotten should be again brought forward, seeing that the recent ones have been atoned for by the punishment of the decemvirs; and the unremitting care of both the consuls in defending your liberties, is ample security that nothing will be committed which will call for tribunitian interference." This moderation of the tribune first relieved the patricians from their fears, and at the same time increased their ill-will towards the consuls; for they had been so devoted to the commons, that even a plebeian magistrate took an earlier interest in the safety and liberty of the patricians, than one of patrician rank; and their enemies would have been surfeited with inflicting punishments on them, before the consuls, to all appearance, would have resisted their licentious career. And there were many who said that a want of firmness was shown, inasmuch as the fathers had given their approbation to the laws proposed; nor was there a doubt, but that in this troubled state of public affairs they had yielded to the times.

## 60

The business in the city being settled, and the rights of the commons being firmly established, the consuls departed to their respective provinces. Valerius prudently deferred all warlike operations against the armies of the Æquans and the Volscians, which had now formed a junction at Algidum. But if he had immediately committed the result to fortune, I know not but that, such were the feelings both of the Romans and of their enemies since the unfavourable auspices of the decemvirs, the contest would have stood them in a heavy loss. Having pitched his camp at the distance of a mile from the enemy, he kept his men quiet. The enemy filled the space lying between the two camps with their army in order of battle, and not a single Roman made them any answer when

they challenged them to battle. At length, wearied from standing and from waiting in vain for a contest, the Æquans and Volscians, considering that the victory was in a manner conceded to them, go off, some to the Hernicians, some to the Latins, to commit depredations. There was left in the camp rather a garrison for its defence than sufficient force for a contest. When the consul perceived this, he retorted the terror previously occasioned to his men, and drawing up his troops in order of battle, he now in his turn provokes the enemy to fight. When they, from a feeling of the absence of their forces, declined battle, the courage of the Romans immediately increased, and they considered as vanquished those who stood panic-stricken within their rampart. After having stood for the entire day prepared for the contest, they retired at night. And the Romans, now full of hope, set about refreshing themselves. The enemy, in by no means equal spirits, being now in trepidation, despatch messengers in every direction to call back the plundering parties. Those in the nearest places return thence; those who were farther off were not found. When the day dawned, the Romans leave the camp, determining on assaulting the rampart unless an opportunity of fighting were afforded; and when the day was now far advanced, and no movement was made by the enemy, the consul orders them to advance; and the troops being put in motion, the Æquans and the Volscians became indignant, that victorious armies were to be defended by a rampart rather than by valour and arms. Wherefore they also earnestly demanded the signal for battle from their generals, and received it. And now half of them had got out of the gates, and the others in succession were observing order, marching down each to his own post, when the Roman consul, before the enemy's line could be drawn up, supported by their entire strength, advanced on them; and having attacked them before they were all as yet led forth, and when those who were so had not their ranks sufficiently arranged, he falls on the unsteady crowd of them, running in trepidation from one place to another, and throwing around their eyes on themselves and on their friends, a shout and violent onset adding to the already confused state of their minds. The enemy at first gave way; then, when they had rallied their spirits, and their generals on every side reprovingly asked them, whether they were about to yield to their vanquished foes, the battle was restored.

## 61

On the other side, the consul desired the Romans to remember that "on that day, for the first time, they fought as free men in defence of Rome, now a free city. That it was for themselves they were to conquer, and not that they should be the prize of the decemvirs, after conquering. That it was not under the command of Appius that the action was being conducted, but under their consul Valerius, descended from the liberators of the Roman people, himself too a liberator. That they should show that in former battles it had been the fault of the generals, and not of the soldiers, that they did not conquer. That it was shameful to have had more courage against their own countrymen than against their enemies, and to have dreaded slavery more at home than abroad. That Virginia was the only person whose chastity was in danger in time of peace: that Appius was the only citizen of dangerous lust. But if the fortune of war should turn against them, all their children would be in danger from so many thousands of enemies. That he would not, on account of the omen, mention things which may neither Jupiter nor their father Mars suffer to befall a city built under such auspices." He reminded them of the Aventine and the Sacred mount; and "that they should bring back dominion unimpaired to that spot, where their liberty had been established but a few months before: and that they should show that the Roman soldiers retained the same

abilities after the expulsion of the decemvirs, which they had possessed before they were appointed; and that the valour of the Roman people was not deteriorated after the laws were equalized." After he uttered these words among the battalions of the infantry, he flies from them to the cavalry. "Come, young men, surpass in valour the infantry, as you already surpass them in honour and in rank. The infantry at the first onset have made the enemy give way: now that they have given way, do you give reins to your horses and drive them from the field. They will not stand your charge: even now they rather hesitate than resist." They spur on their horses, and drive in amongst the enemy who were already thrown into confusion by the attack of the infantry; and having broken through the ranks, and pushed on to the rear of their line, a part wheeling round in the open space, turn most of them away from the camp to which they were now flying from all sides, and by riding on before they deter them from that direction. The line of infantry, and the consul himself, and the main body of the army make for the camp, and having taken it with considerable slaughter, they get possession of a great quantity of booty. The fame of this battle was carried not only to the city, but to the other army also among the Sabines. In the city it was celebrated only with public rejoicing; in the camp it fired the courage of the soldiers to emulate such glory. Horatius, by training them in excursions, and making trial of them in slight skirmishes, had accustomed them to trust in themselves rather than to remember the ignominy incurred under the command of the decemvirs, and these little encounters had now gone so far as to insure to them the consummation of all their hopes. The Sabines, elated at their success on the preceding year, ceased not to provoke and urge them (to fight,) constantly asking them why they wasted time, sallying forth in small numbers and returning like marauders, and why they parcelled out the grand effort of a single war on a number of insignificant skirmishes? why did they not engage them in the field, and consign the result to fortune to be determined at once?

## 62

Besides that they had already of themselves recovered a sufficient degree of courage, the Romans were fired with exasperation "that the other army would soon return victorious to the city; that the enemy were now wantonly insulting them by contumelies; when would they be a match for the enemy, if they were not so then?" When the consul ascertained that the soldiers gave expression to these sentiments in the camp, having summoned an assembly: "How matters have gone on in Algidum," says he, "I suppose that you, soldiers, have already heard. As became the army of a free people to behave, so have they behaved: through the judicious conduct of my colleague and the valour of the soldiers, the victory has been gained. For my part, the plan and determination which I am to maintain, you yourselves shall suggest. The war may be both prolonged with advantage, and be brought to a speedy conclusion. If it is to be prolonged, I shall take care by the same discipline with which I have commenced, that your hopes and your valour may increase every day. If you have now sufficient courage, and it is your wish that the matter be decided, come on, raise here that shout such as you will raise in the field of battle, the index at once of your inclination and your valour." When the shout was raised with great alacrity, he assures them "that with the good favour of heaven, he would comply with their wishes and lead them next day to the field." The remainder of the day is spent in preparing their arms. On the following day, as soon as the Sabines saw the Roman army being drawn up in order of battle, they too, as being long since eager for the encounter, come forward. The battle was such a one as may be expected between two armies confident in themselves, the one animated by the

glory of former and uninterrupted glory, the other lately so by an unusual instance of success. The Sabines aided their strength by stratagem also; for having formed a line equal (to that of the enemy,) they kept two thousand men in reserve, to make an attack on the left wing of the Romans in the heat of the battle. When these, by an attack in flank, were overpowering that wing, now almost surrounded, about six hundred of the cavalry of two legions leap down from their horses, and rush forward in front of their men, now giving way; and they at the same time both oppose the progress of the enemy, and incite the courage of the infantry, first sharing the danger equally with them, and then by arousing in them a sense of shame. It was a matter of shame that the cavalry should fight in their own proper character and in that of others; and that the infantry should not be equal to the cavalry even when dismounted.

### 63

They press forward therefore to the fight, which had been suspended on their part, and endeavour to regain the ground which they had lost, and in a moment not only is the battle restored, but one of the wings of the Sabines gives way. The cavalry, covered between the ranks of the foot, return to their horses; they then gallop across to the other division to announce their success to their party; at the same time also they make a charge on the enemy, now disheartened by the discomfiture of their stronger wing. The valour of none shone more conspicuous in that battle. The consul provided for all emergencies; he applauded the brave, rebuked wherever the battle seemed to slacken. When reproved, they displayed immediately the energy of brave men; and a sense of shame stimulated them as much as praises excited the others. The shout being raised anew, and making a united effort, they drive the enemy back; nor could the Roman power be any longer resisted. The Sabines, driven in every direction through the country, leave behind them their camp as plunder for the enemy. There the Roman recovers the effects not of the allies, as at Algidum, but his own property, which had been lost by the devastations of their lands. For this double victory, obtained in two battles, in two different places, the senate through jealousy decreed merely supplications in the name of the consuls for one day only. The people went, however, on the second day also in great numbers of their own accord to offer thanksgiving; and this unauthorized and popular supplication was even more zealously attended. The consuls by concert came to the city within the same two days, and called out the senate to the Campus Martius. Where, when they were relating the services performed by themselves, the chiefs of the patricians complained that the senate was convened among the soldiers designedly for the purpose of intimidation. The consuls therefore, lest there might be any foundation for such a charge, called away the senate to the Flaminian meadows, where the temple of Apollo now is (even then they called it Apollinaris). Where, when a triumph was refused by a large majority of the patricians, Lucius Icilius, tribune of the commons, proposed to the people regarding the triumph of the consuls, many persons coming forward to argue against the measure, but in particular Caius Claudius, exclaiming, "That it was over the senate, not over the enemy, the consuls wished to triumph; and that it was intended as a return for a private service to a tribune, and not as an honour due to valour. That never before was the matter of a triumph managed through the people; but that the consideration concerning the honour and the disposal of it, always lay with the senate; that not even the kings had infringed on the majesty of this highest order. That the tribunes should not thus occupy every department with their own authority, so as to allow the existence of no public council; that the state would be free, and the laws equalized by these means only, if each rank

would retain its own rights, its own dignity." Though much had been said by the other senior patricians also to the same purpose, all the tribes approved that proposition. Then for the first time a triumph was celebrated by order of the people, without the authority of the senate.

#### 64

This victory of the tribunes and people was well nigh terminating in an extravagance of a by no means salutary tendency, a conspiracy being formed among the tribunes to have the same tribunes re-elected, and in order that their ambition might be the less conspicuous, to continue their office to the consuls. They pleaded, as a cause, the combination of the patricians by which the privileges of the commons were attempted to be undermined by the affronts thrown upon the consuls. What would be the consequence, before the laws are yet firmly established, if consuls should through their factions attack the new tribunes. For that Horatii and Valerii would not always be consuls, who would postpone their own interest to the liberty of the people. By some concurrence of circumstances, useful at the time, it fell by lot to Marcus Duilius above any one else to preside at the elections, a man of prudence, and who perceived the storm of public odium that was hanging over them from the continuance of their office. And when he stated that he would take no notice of the former tribunes, and his colleagues strenuously insisted that he should allow the tribes to be at liberty to vote, or should give up the office of presiding at the elections to his colleagues, who would hold the election according to law rather than according to the pleasure of the patricians; a contention being now excited, when Duilius had sent for the consuls to his seat and asked them what they contemplated doing with respect to the consular elections, and they answered that they would appoint new consuls, having found popular supporters of a measure by no means popular, he proceeded with them into the assembly. Where, when the consuls, being brought forward before the people, and asked, whether if the Roman people, mindful of their liberty recovered at home through them, mindful also of their military services, should again elect them consuls, what they would do, made no change in their sentiments; he held the election, after eulogizing the consuls, because they persevered to the last in being unlike the decemvirs; and five tribunes of the people being elected, when, through the zealous exertions of the nine tribunes who openly pushed their canvass, the other candidates could not make up the required number of tribes, he dismissed the assembly; nor did he hold one after for the purpose of an election. He said that he had fulfilled the law, which without any where specifying the number of tribunes, only enacted that tribunes should be left; and recommended that colleagues be chosen by those who had been elected. And he recited the terms of the law, in which (it is said,) "If I shall propose ten tribunes of the commons, if you elect this day less than ten tribunes of the people, then that those whom they may have chosen as colleagues for themselves be legitimate tribunes of the people, by the same law as those whom you have this day elected tribunes of the people." When Duilius persevered to the last, stating that the republic could not have fifteen tribunes of the people, after baffling the ambition of his colleagues, he resigned his office, being equally approved by the patricians and people.

#### 65

The new tribunes of the people in electing their colleagues evinced a disposition to gratify the wishes of the patricians; they even elected two who were patricians, and even consulars, Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aterius. The consuls then elected, Largius

Herminius, Titus Virginius Caelimontanus not very much inclined to the cause either of the patricians or commons, had perfect tranquillity both at home and abroad. Lucius Trebonius, tribune of the commons, incensed against the patricians, because, as he said, he was imposed on by them in the affair of choosing colleagues, and betrayed by his colleagues, carried a proposal, "that whoever took the votes of the commons in electing tribunes of the people, he should go on taking the votes, until he elected ten tribunes of the people;" and he spent his tribuneship in worrying the patricians, whence the cognomen of Asper was given him. Next Marcus Geganius Macerinus, and Caius Julius, being elected consuls, quieted some combinations of the tribunes against the youth of the nobility, without any harsh proceeding against that power, and still preserving the dignity of the patricians; by proclaiming a levy for the war against the Volscians and Æquans, they kept the people from riots by keeping matters in abeyance; affirming, that every thing was quiet abroad, there being harmony in the city, and that through civil discord the enemies assumed new courage. Their anxiety for peace was also the cause of concord at home. But each of the orders ever took advantage of moderation in the other. Acts of injustice began to be committed by the younger patricians on the commons when perfectly quiet. When the tribunes would assist the weaker party, at first it was of little use; then not even themselves escaped being ill-treated; particularly in the latter months, when injustice was committed through the combinations among the more powerful, and the vigour of every magistracy becomes considerably more lax in the latter part of the year; and now the commons placed hopes in the tribuneship, only on the condition that they had tribunes like Icilius; that for the last two years they had had only mere names. On the other hand, the elder members of the patrician order, though they considered their young men to be too overbearing, yet would rather, if bounds were to be exceeded, that a redundancy of spirit should exist in their own order than in their adversaries. So difficult a thing is moderation in maintaining liberty, whilst by pretending to desire equalization, every person raises himself in such a manner as to depress another; and men, by their very precautions against fear, cause themselves to become objects of dread; and we saddle on others injustice thrown off from ourselves, as if it were actually necessary either to commit injustice or to submit to it.

## 66

Titus Quintius Capitolinus, for the fourth time, and Agrippa Furius being then elected consuls, found neither disturbance at home nor war abroad; both, however, were impending. The discord of the citizens could now no longer be checked, both tribunes and commons being exasperated against the patricians, when a day of trial being appointed for any of the nobility always embroiled the assemblies with new contests. On the first noise of which the Æquans and Volscians, as if they had received a signal, took up arms; at the same time because their leaders, desirous of plunder, had persuaded them that the levy proclaimed two years previously could not be proceeded with, the commons now refusing obedience; that on that account no armies were sent against them; that military discipline was subverted by licentiousness; and that Rome was no longer considered as their common country; that whatever resentment and animosity they may have entertained against foreigners, was now turned against each other; that now an occasion offered for destroying those wolves blinded by intestine rage. Having united their forces, they first laid waste the Latin territory: when no resistance was found there, then indeed, to the great exultation of the advisers of the war, they approached the very walls of Rome, carrying their depredations into the district around the Esquiline gate, pointing out to the city the devastation of the land by

way of insult. Whence when they marched back to Corbio unmolested, and driving the prey before them, Quintius the consul summoned the people to an assembly.

### 67

There I find that he spoke to this purport: "Though I am conscious to myself of no fault, Romans, yet with the greatest shame I have come forward to your assembly. That you should know this; that this should be handed down on record to posterity, that the Æquans and Volscians, a short time since scarcely a match for the Hernicians, have with impunity come with arms in their hands to the walls of Rome, in the fourth consulate of Titus Quintius. Had I known that this ignominy was reserved for this particular year, (though we are now long living in such a manner, such is the state of affairs, that my mind could augur nothing good,) I would have avoided this honour either by exile or by death, if there were no other means of escaping it. Then if men of courage had those arms, which were at our gates, could Rome be taken in my consulate? I have had sufficient honours, enough and more than enough of life: I should have died in my third consulate. Whom did these most dastardly enemies despise? us, consuls, or you, citizens? If the fault is in us, take away the command from us as unworthy persons; and if that is insufficient, further inflict punishment on us. If in you, may there be none of gods or men who will punish your offences; do you only repent of them. It is not your cowardice they have despised, nor their own valour they have confided in; for having been so often routed and put to flight, stripped of their camp, amerced in their land, sent under the yoke, they know both themselves and you. The discord among the several orders is the bane of this city; the contests of the patricians and commons have raised their spirits; whilst we have neither bounds in the pursuit of power, nor you in that of liberty, whilst you are tired of patrician, these of plebeian magistrates. In the name of heaven, what would ye have? You coveted tribunes of the commons; we conceded them for the sake of concord. Ye longed for decemvirs; we suffered them to be created. Ye became weary of decemvirs; we compelled them to resign the office. Your resentment against these same persons when they became private citizens still continuing, we suffered men of the highest families and rank to die or go into exile. Ye wished again to create tribunes of the commons; ye created them. Though we saw that it was unjust to the patricians to create consuls in your own interest, we have even seen a patrician magistracy conceded as an offering to the people. The aid of tribunes, right of appeal to the people, the acts of the commons made binding on the patricians under the pretext of equalizing the laws, the subversion of our privileges, we have borne and still bear. What termination is there to be to our dissensions? when shall it be allowed us to have a united city? when to have one common country? When defeated we submit with more resignation than you when victorious. Is it enough for you, that you are objects of terror to us? The Aventine is taken against us; against us the Sacred mount is seized. When the Esquilæ is almost taken by the enemy, and when the Volscian foe is scaling your rampart, there is no one to dislodge him: against us ye are men, against us ye take up arms.

### 68

"Come, when ye have blockaded the senate-house here, and have made the forum the seat of war, and filled the prison with the leading men of the state, march forth through the Esquiline gate, with that same determined spirit; or if ye do not even venture thus far, behold from your walls the lands laid waste with fire and sword, booty driven off, the houses set on fire in every direction and smoking. But (I may be told) it is the public

weal that is in a worse condition through these results: the land is burned, the city is besieged, all the glory of the war is centred in the enemy. What in the name of heaven? in what state is your own private interest? just now his own private losses were announced to each of you from the lands. What, pray, is there at home, whence you may recruit them? Will the tribunes restore and compensate you for what ye have lost? Of sound and words they will heap on you as much as ye please, and of charges against the leading men, and laws one upon another, and of public meetings. But from these meetings never has one of you returned home more increased in substance or in fortune. Has any one ever brought back to his wife and children aught save hatred, quarrels, grudges public and private? from which (and their effects) you have been ever protected, not by your own valour and integrity, but by the aid of others. But, when you served under the guidance of us consuls, not under your tribunes, and the enemy trembled at your shout in the field of battle, not the Roman patricians in the assembly, booty being obtained, land taken from the enemy, with a plentiful stock of wealth and glory, both public and private, you used to return home to your household gods in triumph: now you allow the enemy to go off laden with your property. Continue immovably tied to your assemblies, live in the forum; the necessity of taking the field, which ye avoid, still follows you. Was it too hard on you to march against the Æquans and the Volscians? The war is at your gates: if it is not repelled from thence, it will soon be within your walls, and will scale the citadel and Capitol, and follow you into your very houses. Two years ago the senate ordered a levy to be held, and the army to march to Algidum; yet we sit down listless at home, quarrelling with each other like women; delighting in present peace, and not seeing that after that short-lived intermission complicated wars are sure to return. That there are other topics more pleasing than these, I well know; but even though my own mind did not prompt me to it, necessity obliges me to speak that which is true instead of that which is pleasing. I would indeed be anxious to please you, Romans; but I am much more anxious that ye should be preserved, whatever sentiments ye shall entertain towards me. It has been so ordained by nature, that he who addresses a multitude for his own private interest, is more pleasing than the man whose mind has nothing in view but the public interest. Unless perhaps you suppose that those public sycophants, those flatterers of the commons, who neither suffer you to take up arms nor to live in peace, incite and work you up for your own interests. When excited, you are to them sources either of honour or of profit: and because, during concord between the several orders, they see that themselves are of no importance on any side, they wish to be leaders of a bad cause rather than of no cause whatever, of tumults, and of sedition. Of which state of things, if a tedium can at length enter your minds, and if ye are willing to resume the modes of acting practised by your forefathers, and formerly by yourselves, I submit to any punishment, if I do not rout and put to flight, and strip of their camp, those ravagers of our lands, and transfer from our gates and walls to their cities this terror of war, by which you are now thrown into consternation."

## 69

Scarcely ever was the speech of a popular tribune more acceptable to the commons, than was this of a most strict consul on that occasion. The young men also, who during such alarming emergencies had been accustomed to employ the refusal to enlist as the sharpest weapon against the patricians, began to direct their thoughts to war and arms: and the flight of the rustics, and those who had been robbed on the lands and wounded, announcing matters more revolting even than what was exhibited to view, filled the

whole city with a spirit of vengeance. When the senate assembled, these all turning to Quintius, looked on him as the only champion of Roman majesty; and the leading senators declared "his harangue to be worthy of the consular authority, worthy of so many consulships formerly borne by him, worthy of his whole life, which was full of honours frequently enjoyed, more frequently deserved. That other consuls had either flattered the commons by betraying the dignity of the patricians, or by harshly maintaining the rights of their order, had rendered the multitude more difficult to subdue: that Titus Quintius had delivered a speech mindful of the dignity of the patricians, of the concord of the different orders, and above all, of the times. They entreated him and his colleague to take up the interest of the commonwealth; they entreated the tribunes, that by acting in concert with the consuls they would join in repelling the war from the city and the walls, and that they would induce the commons to be obedient to the senate in so perilous a conjuncture: that, their lands being devastated, and their city in a manner besieged, their common country appealed to them as tribunes, and implored their aid." By universal consent the levy is decreed and held. When the consuls gave public notice "that there was no time for examining into excuses, that all the young men should attend on the following morning at the first dawn in the Campus Martius; that when the war was over, they should afford time for inquiring into the excuses of those who had not given in their names; that the man should be held as a deserter, with whose excuse they might not be satisfied;" the entire youth attended on the following day. The cohorts chose each their centurions: two senators were placed at the head of each cohort. We have heard that all these measures were perfected with such expedition, that the standards, having been brought forth from the treasury on that very day by the quæstors and conveyed to the Campus, began to move from thence at the fourth hour; and the newly raised army halted at the tenth stone, followed by a few cohorts of veteran soldiers as volunteers. The following day brought the enemy within view, and camp was joined to camp near Corbio. On the third day, when resentment urged on the Romans, a consciousness of guilt for having so often rebelled, and despair (of pardon) urged them on the other side, there was no delay made in coming to an engagement.

## 70

In the Roman army, though the two consuls were invested with equal authority, the supreme command was by the concession of Agrippa resigned to his colleague, a thing which is most salutary in the management of matters of great importance; and he who was preferred politely responded to the ready condescension of him who lowered himself, by communicating to him all his measures and sharing with him his honours, and by equalizing himself to him no longer his equal. On the field of battle Quintius commanded the right, Agrippa the left wing; the command of the central line is intrusted to Spurius Postumius Albus, as lieutenant-general. Servius Sulpicius, the other lieutenant-general, they place over the cavalry. The infantry on the right wing fought with distinguished valour, with stout resistance from the Volscians. Servius Sulpicius broke with his cavalry through the centre of the enemy's line; whence though he might have returned in the same way to his own party, before the enemy could have restored their broken ranks, it seemed more advisable to attack the enemy's rear, and by attacking the rear he would in a moment have dispersed the enemy by the twofold attack, had not the cavalry of the Volscians and Æquans intercepted him and kept him engaged by a mode of fighting similar to his own. Then indeed Sulpicius asserted that "there was no time for delaying," crying out that "they were surrounded and cut off

from their own friends, unless they united all their efforts and despatched the engagement with the cavalry. Nor was it enough to rout the enemy without disabling them; that they should slay horses and men, lest any might return to the fight or renew the battle; that they could not resist them, before whom a compact body of infantry had given way." His orders were addressed to by no means deaf ears; by one charge they routed the entire cavalry, dismounted great numbers, and killed with their javelins both the men and the horses. This put a termination to the battle with the cavalry. Then attacking the enemy's line, they send an account to the consuls of what they had done, where the enemy's line was now giving way. The news both gave new spirits to the Romans who were now conquering, and dismayed the Æquans as they were beginning to give way. They first began to be beaten in the centre, where the charge of the cavalry had broken their ranks. Then the left wing began to lose ground before the consul Quintius; there was most difficulty on the right. Then Agrippa, buoyed up by youth and vigour, on seeing matters going more favourably in every part of the battle than in his own quarter, took some of the standards from the standard-bearers and carried them on himself, some even he began to throw into the thick of the enemy. The soldiers, urged on by the fear of this disgrace, attacked the enemy; thus the victory was equalized in every quarter. News then came from Quintius that he, being now victorious, was about to attack the enemy's camp; that he was unwilling to break into it before he learned that they were beaten in the left wing also. If he had routed the enemy, that he should now join him, that all the army together might take possession of the booty. Agrippa being victorious came with mutual congratulations to his victorious colleague and to the enemy's camp. There being but few to defend it, and these being routed in a moment, they break into the fortifications without a struggle; and they march back the army after it obtained a large share of spoil, having recovered also their own effects, which had been lost by the devastation of the lands. I have not ascertained that either they themselves demanded a triumph, nor that such was conferred on them by the senate; nor is any cause assigned for the honour being either overlooked or not hoped for. As far as I can conjecture at so great a distance of time, when a triumph had been refused to the consuls Horatius and Valerius, who, in addition to the Æquans and Volscians, had gained the glory of finishing the Sabine war, the consuls were ashamed to demand a triumph for one half of the services done by them; lest if they even should obtain it, regard of persons rather than of merit might appear to have been entertained.

## 71

A disgraceful decision of the people regarding the boundaries of their allies disgraced the honourable victory obtained over their enemies. The states of Aricia and of Ardea, having frequently contended in arms concerning a disputed piece of land, and being wearied out by many mutual losses, appointed the Roman people as arbitrators. When they came to support their claims, an assembly of the people being granted them by the magistrates, a debate ensued conducted with great warmth. And the witnesses being now produced, when the tribes were to be called, and the people were to give their votes, Publius Scaptius, a plebeian advanced in years, rises up and says; "Consuls, if it is permitted me to speak on the public interest, I will not suffer the people to be led into a mistake in this matter." When the consuls said that he, as unworthy of attention, was not to be heard and, on his exclaiming "that the public interest was being betrayed," ordered him to be put aside, he appeals to the tribunes. The tribunes, as they are always directed by the multitude, rather than they direct them, indulged the people, who were anxious to hear him, in granting Scaptius leave to say what he pleased. He then

commences: "That he was in his eighty-third year, and that he had served in that district which was now in dispute, not even then a young man as he was serving his twentieth campaign, when operations were going on at Corioli. He therefore adduced a fact forgotten by length of time, but one deeply fixed in his own memory: the district now in dispute had belonged to the territory of Corioli, and after the taking of Corioli, it became by right of war the public property of the Roman people. That he was surprised how the states of Ardea and Aricia should hope to intercept from the Roman people, whom from being the right owners they made arbitrators, a district the right to which they never claimed whilst the state of Corioli subsisted. That he for his part had but a short time to live; he could not however bring himself, old as he now was, to decline claiming by his voice, the only means he now had, a district which, as a soldier, he had contributed to acquire, as far as an individual could. That he strenuously advised the people not to damn their own interest by an improper feeling of delicacy."

## 72

The consuls, when they perceived that Scaptius was listened to not only in silence, but even with approbation, appealing to gods and men, that an enormous and disgraceful act was being committed, send for the principal senators: with these they went around to the tribunes; entreated, "that, as judges, they would not be guilty of a most heinous crime, with a still worse precedent, by converting the dispute to their own interest, more especially when, even though it may be lawful for a judge to protect his own emolument, so much would by no means be acquired by keeping the land, as would be lost by alienating the affections of their allies by injustice; for that the losses of character and of reputation were greater than could be estimated. Were the ambassadors to carry home this answer; was this to go out to the world; were their allies to hear this; were their enemies to hear it—with what sorrow the one—with what joy the other party? Could they suppose, that the neighbouring states would impute this proceeding to Scaptius, an old babbler at assemblies? that Scaptius would be rendered distinguished by this statue: that the Roman people would assume the character of a usurper and interceptor of the claims of others. For what judge in a private cause ever acted in this way, so as to adjudge to himself the property in dispute? That even Scaptius himself would not act so, though he has now outlived all sense of shame." Thus the consuls, thus the senators exclaimed; but covetousness, and Scaptius, the adviser of that covetousness, had more influence. The tribes, when convened, decided that the district was the public property of the Roman people. Nor is it denied that it might have been so, if they had gone to other judges; now the disgrace of the decision is certainly not at all diminished by the fairness of the title: nor did it appear more disgraceful or more hideous to the people of Aricia and of Ardea, than it did to the Roman senate. The remainder of the year continued free from either city or foreign commotions.

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## Book IV

*A law was passed concerning the intermarriage of the patricians and plebeians, after strong resistance on the part of the patricians. Military tribunes with consular power. Censors created. Restoration of the lands unjustly taken from the people of Ardea. Spurius Melius, suspected of aiming at regal power, is slain by C. Servilius Ahala by order of Quintius Cincinnatus, dictator. Cornelius Cossus, having killed Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, offers the second spolia opima. Duration of the censorship, originally five years, limited to one year and a half. Fidenæ reduced, and a colony settled there. The colonists destroyed by the Fidenatians, who are subsequently conquered by Mamercus Æmilius, dictator. A conspiracy of the slaves put down. Postumius, a military tribune, slain by the army for his cruelties. Pay from the treasury first given to the soldiers. Operations against the Volscians, Fidenatians, and Faliscians.*

### 1

Marcus Genucius and Caius Curtius followed these as consuls. The year was disturbed both at home and abroad. For at the commencement of the year Caius Canuleius, tribune of the people, proposed a law concerning the intermarriage of the patricians and commons; by which the patricians considered that their blood would be contaminated, and the privileges of birth would be confounded; and a hint at first lightly suggested by the tribunes, that it should be lawful that one of the consuls should be elected from the commons, afterwards proceeded so far, that the nine tribunes proposed a bill, "that the people should have the power of electing the consuls, whether they wished, from the commons or the patricians. But they thought that if that were done, the supreme authority would not only be shared with the lowest ranks, but be wholly transferred from the nobility to the commons. With joy therefore the patricians heard that the people of Ardea had revolted in consequence of the injustice of the taking away their land, and that the Veientians had laid waste the frontiers of the Roman territory, and that the Volscians and Æquans murmured on account of the fortifying of Verrago; so much did they prefer an unsuccessful war to an ignominious peace." These tidings therefore being received and with exaggerations, in order that during the din of so many wars the tribunitian proceedings might be suspended, they order the levies to be held, preparations to be made for war and arms with the utmost activity; with more energy, if possible, than had been used in the consulship of Titus Quintius. Then Caius Canuleius declared aloud in brief terms in the senate, that "the consuls wished in vain to divert the commons from attention to the new laws; that they never should hold a levee while he lived, before the commons had first ratified the laws proposed by him and his colleagues;" and he instantly summoned them to an assembly.

### 2

Both the consuls incited the senate against the tribune, and the tribune the people against the consuls at one and the same time. The consuls denied "that tribunitian frenzies could any longer be endured; that they were now come to a crisis; that more hostilities were being stirred up at home than abroad. That this happened not more through the fault of the commons than of the patricians; nor more through that of the tribunes than of the consuls. That the matter for which there was a reward in the state thrived always with the greatest proficiency; that thus it was that men became

meritorious in peace, thus in war. That at Rome the highest reward was for sedition; that had ever been the source of honour both to individuals and to collective bodies. They should remember in what condition they had received the majesty of the senate from their forefathers, in what condition they were about to transmit it to their children; that, like the commons, they should have it in their power to boast that it was improved in degree and in splendour. That there was no end, nor would there be, so long as the promoters of sedition were rewarded with honour in proportion as sedition was successful. What and how important schemes Caius Canuleius had set on foot! that he was introducing confounding of family rank, a disturbance of the auspices both public and private, that nothing may remain pure, nothing uncontaminated; that, all distinction being abolished, no one might know either himself or those he belonged to. For what other tendency had those promiscuous intermarriages, except that intercourse between commons and patricians might be made common after the manner of wild beasts; so that of the offspring each may be ignorant of what blood he may be, of what form of religion he was; that he may belong half to the patricians, half to the commons, not being homogeneous even with himself? That it appeared not enough, that all things divine and human should be confounded; that those disturbers of the common people were now preparing to (seize) the consulship; and first that they sounded people's sentiments in mere conversation on the project of having one consul appointed from the commons; that now the proposition was brought forward, that the people may appoint the consuls, whether they pleased from the patricians or from the people; and that they would appoint no doubt every most turbulent person. The Canuleii, therefore, and the Iciliii would be consuls. (They expressed a hope) that Jupiter, the best and greatest, would not suffer the imperial majesty of the sovereign power to descend to that; and that they would certainly die a thousand deaths rather than such a disgrace should be incurred. They were certain that their ancestors, could they have divined that the commons would become not more placable to them, but more intractable, by making successive demands still more unreasonable, after they had obtained the first, would have rather submitted to any struggle, than have suffered such laws to be saddled on them. Because it was then conceded to them with respect to tribunes, the concession was made a second time. There was no end to it; tribunes of the commons and patricians could not subsist in the same state; either the one order or the other office must be abolished; and that a stop should be put to presumption and temerity rather late than never. (Was it right) that they, by sowing discord, should with impunity stir up the neighbouring states against us? and then prevent the state from arming and defending itself against those evils which they may have brought on us? and after they have almost sent for the enemy, not suffer the armies to be levied against the enemies? But Canuleius may have the audacity to declare openly in the senate that, unless the patrician suffer the laws proposed by himself as victorious, to be enacted, he would prevent the levy from being held. What else was this, but threatening that he would betray his country; that he would suffer it to be attacked and captured? What courage would that expression afford, not to the Roman commons, but to the Volscians, Æquans, and the Veientians! would they not hope that, under the generalship of Canuleius, they should be able to scale the Capitol and citadel, if with the deprivation of privilege and majesty, the tribunes should rob the patricians of their courage also? That the consuls were prepared to act against the wicked schemes of their countrymen, before they would act against the arms of the enemy."

Just when these matters were going on in the senate, Canuleius thus declaimed in favour of his laws and against the consuls: "Frequently even before now I think I have observed how much the patricians despised you, Romans, how unworthy they deemed you to dwell in the one city and within the same walls with them; but on the present occasion most clearly, in their having risen up so determinedly in opposition to those propositions of ours: in which what else do we do, but remind them that we are their fellow citizens, and that though we possess not the same power, we inhabit the same city? In the one we demand intermarriage, a thing which is usually granted to neighbours and foreigners: we have granted even to vanquished enemies the right of citizenship, which is more than the right of intermarriage. In the other we propose nothing new; we only reclaim and demand that which is the people's; that the Roman people may confer honours on whomsoever they may please. And what in the name of goodness is it for which they embroil heaven and earth? why was almost an attack made on me just now in the senate? why do they say that they will not restrain themselves from violence, and threaten that they will insult an office, sacred and inviolable? Shall this city no longer be able to stand, and is the empire at stake, if the right of free suffrage is granted to the Roman people, to confer the consulship on whomsoever they may please, and if a plebeian, though he may be worthy of the highest honour, is not precluded from the hope of attaining that honour? and is this of the same import, whether a plebeian be made a consul, as if any one were to propose a slave or the son of a slave to be consul? Do you perceive in what contempt you live? they would take from you a participation in this light, if it were permitted them. That you breathe, that you enjoy the faculty of speech, that you possess the forms of human beings, excites their indignation. Nay even, as I hope for mercy, they say that it is contrary to religion that a plebeian should be made consul. I pray, though we are not admitted to the annals, nor to the commentaries of the pontiffs, do we not know even those things which strangers know? that consuls have succeeded kings? and that they possess no privilege, no majesty which was not formerly inherent in kings? Do you suppose that we ever heard it mentioned that Numa Pompilius, who not only was not a patrician, but not even a citizen of Rome, was sent for from the country of the Sabines by order of the people, with the approbation of the senate, and that he was made king at Rome? that afterwards Lucius Tarquinius, who was not only not of Roman, but not even of Italian extraction, the son of Damaratus of Corinth, an emigrant from Tarquinii, was made king, even whilst the sons of Ancus still lived? that after him Servius Tullius, the son of a captive woman of Corniculum, with his father unknown, his mother a slave, attained the throne by his ability and merit? For what shall I say of Titus Tatius the Sabine, whom Romulus himself, the founder of our city, admitted into partnership of the throne? Accordingly, whilst no class of persons is disdained, in whom conspicuous merit may be found, the Roman dominion increased. You do well to be dissatisfied now with a plebeian consul, when your ancestors disdained not foreigners as kings, and when, even after the expulsion of kings, the city was not shut against foreign merit. After the expulsion of the kings, we certainly admitted the Claudian family from the Sabine country not only into citizenship, but even into the number of the patricians. Can a man from a foreigner be made a patrician, then a consul? shall a Roman citizen, if he belong to the commons, be precluded from all hope of the consulate? Do we then deem it impossible that a man of the commons can be a person of fortitude and activity, qualified to excel both in peace and war, tyke to Numa, Lucius Tarquinius, and Servius Tullius? Or, should such appear, shall we not suffer him to meddle with the helm of government? or shall we have

consuls like the decemvirs, the most abandoned of mortals, who were, however, all patricians, rather than like the best of kings, though new men?

4

"But (I may be told) no commoner has been consul since the expulsion of the kings. What then? ought no innovation to be introduced? and what has not yet been practised, (and in a new state there are many things not yet practised,) ought not even such measures, even though they be useful, be adopted? During the reign of Romulus there were no pontiffs, nor augurs: they were appointed by Numa Pompilius. There was no census in the state, nor the distribution of centuries and classes; it was introduced by Servius Tullius: there never had been consuls; they were created after the expulsion of the kings. Of a dictator neither the office nor the name had existed; it commenced its existence among the senators. There were no tribunes of the people, ædiles, nor quæstors: it was resolved that those officers should be appointed. Within the last ten years we both created decemvirs for compiling laws, and we abolished them. Who can doubt but that in a city doomed for eternal duration, increasing to an immense magnitude, new civil offices, priesthoods, rights of families and of individuals, may be established? This very matter, that there should not be the right of intermarriage between patricians and commons, did not the decemvirs introduce within the last few years to the utmost injury of the commons, on a principle most detrimental to the public? Can there be a greater or more marked insult, than that one portion of the state, as if contaminated, should be deemed unworthy of intermarriage? What else is it than to suffer exile within the same walls, actual rustication? They wish to prevent our being mixed with them by affinity or consanguinity; that our blood be not mingled with theirs. What? if this cast a stain on that nobility of yours, which most of you, the progeny of Albans or Sabines, possess, not in right of birth or blood, but by co-optation into the patricians, having been elected either by the kings, or after the expulsion of kings, by order of the people, could ye not keep it pure by private regulations, by neither marrying into the commons, and by not suffering your daughters or sisters to marry out of the patricians. No one of the commons would offer violence to a patrician maiden; such lust as that belongs to the patricians. None of them would oblige any man against his will to enter into a marriage contract. But really that such a thing should be prevented by law, that the intermarriage of the patricians and plebeians should be interdicted, that it is which is insulting to the commons. Why do you not combine in enacting a law that there shall be no intermarriage between rich and poor? That which has in all places and always been the business of private regulations, that a woman might marry into whatever family she has been engaged to, and that each man might take a wife out of whatever family he had contracted with, that ye shackle with the restraints of a most tyrannical law, by which ye sever the bonds of civil society and split one state into two. Why do ye not enact a law that a plebeian shall not dwell in the neighbourhood of a patrician? that he shall not go the same road with him? that he shall not enter the same banquet with him? that he shall not stand in the same forum? For what else is there in the matter, if a patrician man wed a plebeian woman, or a plebeian a patrician? What right, pray, is thereby changed? the children surely go with the father. Nor is there any thing which we seek from intermarriage with you, except that we may be held in the number of human beings and fellow citizens; nor is there any reason why ye contest the point, except that it delights you to strive for insult and ignominy to us.

5

"In a word, whether is the supreme power belonging to the Roman people, or is it yours? Whether by the expulsion of kings has dominion been acquired for you or equal liberty for all? It is fitting that the Roman people should be allowed to enact a law, if it please. Or will ye decree a levy by way of punishment, according as each bill shall be proposed? and as soon as I, as tribune, shall begin to call the tribes to give their votes, will you, forthwith, as consul, force the younger men to take the military oath, and lead them out to camp? and will you threaten the commons? will you threaten the tribune? What, if you had not already twice experienced how little those threats availed against the united sense of the people? Of course it was because you wished to consult for our interest, that you abstained from force. Or was there no contest for this reason, that the party which was the stronger was also the more moderate? Nor will there be any contest now, Romans: they will try your spirit; your strength they will not make trial of. Wherefore, consuls, the commons are prepared to accompany you to these wars, whether real or fictitious, if, by restoring the right of intermarriage, you at length make this one state; if they can coalesce, be united and mixed with you by private ties; if the hope, if the access to honours be granted to men of ability and energy; if it is lawful to be in a partnership and share of the government; if, what is the result of equal freedom, it be allowed in the distribution of the annual offices to obey and to govern in their turns. If any one shall obstruct these measures, talk about wars, multiply them by report; no one will give in his name, no one will take up arms, no one will fight for haughty masters, with whom there is no participation of honours in public, nor of intermarriage in private."

## 6

When both the consuls came forward into the assembly, and the matter had changed from a long series of harangues to altercation, the tribune, on asking why it was not right that a plebeian should be made a consul, an answer was returned truly perhaps, though by no means expediently for the present contest, "that no plebeian could have the auspices, and for this reason the decemvirs had prohibited the intermarriage, lest from uncertainty of descent the auspices might be vitiated." The commons were fired with indignation at this above all, because, as if hateful to the immortal gods, they were denied to be qualified to take auspices. And now (as the commons both had a most energetic supporter in the tribune, and they themselves vied with him in perseverance) there was no end of the contentions, until the patricians, being at length overpowered, agreed that the law regarding intermarriage should be passed, judging that by these means most probably the tribunes would either give up altogether or postpone till after the war the question concerning the plebeian consuls; and that in the mean time the commons, content with the intermarriage-law (being passed,) would be ready to enlist. When Canuleius was now in high repute by his victory over the patricians and by the favour of the commons, the other tribunes being excited to contend for their bill, set to work with all their might, and, the accounts regarding the war augmenting daily, obstruct the levy. The consuls, when nothing could be transacted through the senate in consequence of the opposition of the tribunes, held meetings of the leading men at their own houses. It was becoming evident that they must concede the victory either to the enemies or to their countrymen. Valerius and Horatius alone of the consulars did not attend the meetings. The opinion of Caius Claudius was for arming the consuls against the tribunes. The sentiments of the Quintii, both Cincinnatus and Capitolinus, were averse to bloodshed, and to violating (persons) whom by the treaty concluded with the commons they had admitted to be sacred and inviolable. Through these meetings the

matter was brought to this, that they suffered tribunes of the soldiers with consular authority to be elected from the patricians and commons without distinction; that with respect to the election of consuls no change should be made; and with this the tribunes were content, as were also the commons. An assembly is now proclaimed for electing three tribunes with consular power. This being proclaimed, forthwith whoever had contributed to promote sedition by word or deed, more particularly men who had been tribunes, began to solicit support and to bustle about the forum as candidates; so that despair, in the first instance, of obtaining the honour, by reason of the irritated state of the people's mind, then indignation at having to hold the office with such persons, deterred the patricians; at length however, being forced, they stood as candidates, lest they might appear to have relinquished all share in the government. The result of this election showed that the sentiments of persons in the struggle for liberty and dignity are different from those they feel when the contest is laid aside, the judgment being unbiassed; for the people elected all patricians as tribunes, content with this, that the plebeians had been taken into account. Where could you now find in an individual such moderation, disinterestedness, and elevation of mind, as was then displayed by the entire people?

## 7

In the three hundred and tenth year after the city of Rome was built, for the first time military tribunes in the room of consuls enter into office, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Atilius, Titus Clælius; in whose office the concord prevailing at home afforded peace also abroad. There are some who, without mentioning the proposal of the law concerning the election of consuls from among the commons, say that three military tribunes were elected on account of the Veientian war being added to the war of the Æquans and the Volscians and to the revolt of the Ardeates, because two consuls could not execute so many wars together, these tribunes being invested also with the authority and insignia of consuls. The jurisdiction of that office however did not stand on a firm footing, because the third month after they entered on the office, they resigned the honour, in pursuance of a decree of the augurs, as if unduly elected; because Caius Curtius, who had presided at the election, had not selected his tent with due regard to ceremony. Ambassadors came to Rome from Ardea complaining of the injustice in such a manner, that it appeared that, if it were redressed, they would continue in amity and the observance of the treaty, on the restitution of their land. The answer returned by the senate was: "that the judgment of the people could not be rescinded by the senate, besides such a measure could not be adopted on precedent or with justice; as an additional reason also for the purpose of preserving concord between the several orders of the state. If the Ardeans were willing to abide a seasonable conjuncture, and leave to the senate the mode of redressing the injustice done to them, that the consequence would be that they would rejoice for having moderated their resentment, and that they should be convinced that the patricians were equally anxious that no injustice should arise against them, and that any which may have arisen should not be lasting." Thus the ambassadors, saying that they should lay the whole matter anew before their friends, were dismissed courteously. The patricians, now that the republic was without any curule magistrate, assembled together and elected an interrex. The contest whether consuls or military tribunes should be elected, kept the matter for several days in a state of interregnum. The interrex and senate strive that the elections of consuls be held; the tribunes of the people, and the people themselves, that elections of the military tribunes be held. The patricians succeeded, because both the commons,

sure to confer the one or the other honour on patricians, gave up a needless contest, and the leaders of the commons preferred those elections at which no account was to be taken of them (as candidates) to those at which they should be passed by as unworthy. The tribunes of the commons also gave up the contest without a decision, as a compliment to the chiefs of the patricians. Titus Quintius Barbatius, the interrex, elects consuls Lucius Papirius Mugillanus, Lucius Sempronius Atratinus. During their consulship, the treaty was renewed with the Ardeans; and that is a record to prove, that they were consuls in that year, though they are not to be found among the ancient annals, nor in the books of the magistrates. I suppose because military tribunes existed at the commencement of the year, on that account, though these consuls were substituted, the names of the consuls were left out, just as if the military tribunes were the entire year in office. Licinius Macer states, that they were found both in the Ardean treaty and in the linen books at the temple of Moneta. There was tranquillity both at home and abroad, though so many alarms were held out by the neighbouring states.

## 8

This year (whether it had tribunes only, or consuls substituted in the room of tribunes) is followed by a year when there were undoubtedly consuls, scil. Marcus Geganius Macerinus a second time, Titus Quintius Capitolinus a fifth time. This same year was the commencement of the censorship, a thing which arose from an humble origin, which afterwards increased so much in importance, that in it was vested the regulation of the morals and discipline of Rome, the senate and the centuries of the knights, the distinction of honour and of ignominy were under the sway of that office, the legal right to public and private places, the revenues of the Roman people fell under their beck and jurisdiction. The institution of the thing originated in this, that the people not having been subjected to a survey for several years, the census could neither be deferred, nor had the consuls leisure to discharge their duty, when wars impended from so many states. An observation was made by the senate, "that an office laborious in itself, and one little suited to the consular office, required a magistrate for itself, to whose authority should be submitted the duties of the several scribes, the custody and care of the records, as well as the adjustment of the form to be adopted in the census." And inconsiderable though the proposal might be, still the senate received it with great pleasure, because it increased the number of patrician magistrates in the state, judging also that that would come to pass, which really did occur, viz. that the influence of those who should preside, and the honour of the office would derive on it additional authority and dignity. The tribunes also, considering the discharge of the duty (as was really the case) as necessary rather than the duty itself, as being attended with lustre, did not indeed offer opposition, lest they should through perverseness show a disposition to thwart them even in trifles. After the honour was rejected by the leading men of the state, the people by their suffrages appointed to the office of conducting the census Papirius and Sempronius, concerning whose consulate doubts are entertained, that in that magistracy they might have some recompence for the incompleteness of their consulate. They were called censors from the nature of their office.

## 9

Whilst these matters are transacting at Rome, ambassadors come from Ardea, imploring aid for their city, which was nearly destroyed, in consideration of their very ancient alliance, and of the treaty recently renewed. For by intestine wars they were not allowed to enjoy the peace with Rome, which they had by the soundest policy

preserved; the cause and origin of which is said to have arisen from a struggle between factions; which have proved and ever will prove more a cause of destruction to several states, than foreign wars, famine, or disease, or any of the other evils which men refer to the anger of heaven, as the severest of public calamities. Two young men courted a maiden of a plebeian family, highly distinguished for beauty: one of them on a level with the maid in point of birth, and favoured by her guardians, who were themselves of the same rank; the other of noble birth, captivated by nothing but her beauty. The latter was aided by the good wishes of the nobles, through which party disputes made their way even into the girl's family. The nobleman was preferred in the judgment of the mother, who was anxious that her daughter should have the most splendid match possible: the guardians, mindful of party even in that transaction, strove for the person of their own order. As the matter could not be settled within the walls of the house, they proceeded to a court of justice. On hearing the claim of the mother and of the guardians, the magistrate decides the right of marriage in conformity with the wish of the mother. But violence was the more powerful. For the guardians, having harangued openly in the forum among persons of their own faction, on the injustice of the decree, collected a party and carry off the girl from her mother's house: against whom a body of nobles having arisen more incensed than before, attends the young man rendered furious by the outrage. A desperate battle takes place; the commons in no respect like to the Roman commons were worsted, and having set out from the city in arms, and taken possession of a hill, make excursions into the lands of the nobles with fire and sword. The city too, which had been previously free from all contest, they set about besieging, having induced, by the hope of plunder, a multitude of artisans to join them: nor was any appearance or calamity of war absent; as if the whole state were infested by the mad rage of the two young men, who sought the accomplishment of the fatal match through their country's ruin. The arms and war at home seemed insufficient to both parties. The nobles called in the Romans to the relief of their besieged city; the commons called upon the Volscians to join them in storming Ardea. The Volscians, under the command of Clælius, an Æquan, came first to Ardea, and drew a line of circumvallation around the enemy's walls. When news of this was brought to Rome, Marcus Geganius, the consul, having set out immediately at the head of an army, selected a place for his camp about three miles from the enemy; and the day being now fast declining, he orders his soldiers to refresh themselves; then at the fourth watch he puts his troops in motion; and the work, once commenced, was expedited in such a manner, that at sun-rise the Volscians found themselves enclosed by the Romans with stronger works than the city was by themselves. The consul had also at another place connected an arm to the wall of Ardea, through which his friends might pass to and from the town.

## 10

The Volscian general, who up to that period had maintained his army, not out of provisions which had been previously provided, but with corn brought in daily from the plunder of the country, when now encompassed by a rampart he perceives himself suddenly destitute of every thing, calling the consul to a conference, says, that "if the Roman came for the purpose of raising the siege, he would withdraw the Volscians from thence." To this the consul made answer, that "the vanquished had to accept terms, not to dictate them; and as the Volscians came at their own discretion to attack the allies of the Roman people, they should not go off in the same way." He orders, "that their general be given up, their arms laid down, acknowledging themselves vanquished, and

ready to submit to his further orders: otherwise, whether they went away or stayed, that he would prove a determined enemy, and would prefer to carry to Rome a victory over the Volscians than an insidious peace." The Volscians, determined on trying the slender hope they had in arms, all other being now cut off, besides many other disadvantages, having come to an engagement in a place unfavourable for fighting, and still more so for retreat, when they were being cut down on every side, from fighting have recourse to entreaties; having given up their general and surrendered their arms, they are sent under the yoke and dismissed full of disgrace and suffering, with one garment each. And when they halted not far from the city of Tusculum, in consequence of an old grudge of the Tusculans they were surprised, unarmed as they were, and suffered severe punishment, a messenger being scarcely left to bring an account of their defeat. The Roman general quieted the disturbed state of affairs at Ardea, beheading the principal authors of that commotion, and confiscating their effects to the public treasury of the Ardeans; the Ardeans considered the injustice of the decision completely repaired by such kindness on the part of the Roman people; it seemed to the senate, however, that something remained to be done to obliterate the remembrance of public avarice. The consul returns to the city in triumph, Clælius, the general of the Volscians, being led before his chariot, and the spoils being carried before him, of which he had stripped the enemy's army after he had sent them under the yoke. Quintius the consul, by his civil administration, equalled, which is no easy matter, the glory attained by his colleague in war; for he so regulated the domestic care of harmony and peace, by dispensing justice with moderation to the highest and the lowest, that both the patricians considered him a strict consul, and the commons, as one sufficiently lenient. Against the tribunes too he carried his measures more by his influence than by striving against them. Five consulships conducted with the same even tenor of conduct, and every part of his life being passed in a manner worthy of the consular dignity, rendered himself almost more venerable than the high office itself. On this account no mention was made of the military tribunes during this consulate.

## 11

They appoint as consuls Marcus Fabius Vibulanus, Publius Æbutius Cornicen. Fabius and Æbutius, the consuls, inasmuch as they perceived that they succeeded to a greater glory of achievements performed at home and abroad, (the year was rendered particularly remarkable among the neighbouring states, both friendly and hostile, because relief had been afforded to the Ardeans in their perilous situation with so much zeal,) the more strenuously exerted themselves in obtaining a decree of the senate, that they might completely efface the infamy of the decision from the memory of men, to the effect that since the state of the Ardeans had been reduced to a few by intestine war, a colony should be sent thither as a protection against the Volscians. This is what was stated publicly on the tables, that the intention entertained of rescinding the decision might escape the knowledge of the commons and tribunes. But they had agreed that, a much greater number of Rutulian colonists being enrolled than of Romans, no land should be distributed, except that which had been intercepted by the infamous decision; and that not a sod of it should be assigned to any Roman, until all the Rutulians had had their share. In this way the land returned to the Ardeans. The commissioners appointed to transplant the colony to Ardea were Agrippa Menenius, Titus Clælius Siculus, and Marcus Æbutius Elva. When they, in the discharge of their by no means popular office, had given offence to the commons by assigning to the allies the land which the Roman people had decided to be their own, and were not even much supported by the

patricians, because they had not deferred in any way to the influence of any one, a day having been appointed for them by the tribunes to appear before the people, they escaped all vexatious annoyance by enrolling themselves as settlers and remaining in the colony, which they now had as a testimony of their integrity and justice.

## 12

There was peace at home and abroad both this and the following year, Caius Furius Pacilus and Marcus Papirius Crassus being consuls. The games which had been vowed by the decemvirs, in pursuance of a decree of the senate on occasion of the secession of the commons from the patricians, were performed this year. An occasion for sedition was sought in vain by Pætelius, who, having been made a tribune of the commons a second time, by denouncing these same threats, could neither prevail on the consuls to submit to the senate the questions concerning the division of the lands among the people; and when, after a hard struggle, he had succeeded so far that the patricians should be consulted as to whether it was their pleasure that an election should be held of consuls or of tribunes, consuls were ordered to be elected; and the menaces of the tribune were now laughed at, when he threatened that he would stop the levy, inasmuch as the neighbouring states being now quiet, there was no occasion either for war or for preparations for war. This tranquil state of things is followed by a year, in which Proculus Geganius Macerinus, Lucius Menenius Lanatus were consuls, remarkable for a variety of disasters and dangers, also for disturbances, famine, for their having almost submitted their necks to the yoke of arbitrary power through the allurements of largesses. Foreign war alone was wanting, by which if matters had been aggravated, they could scarcely have stood out against them by the aid of all the gods. Their misfortunes began with famine; whether it was that the season was unfavourable to the crops, or that the cultivation of the land was relinquished for the allurements of the city, and of public harangues; for both causes are assigned. And the patricians accused the commons as being idle; the tribunes of the commons complained sometimes of the fraud, at other times of the negligence of the consuls. At length the commons prevailed, without opposition on the part of the senate, that Lucius Minutius should be appointed president of the market; doomed to be more successful in that office in preserving liberty than in the discharge of his own peculiar province: although in the end he bore away the well-earned gratitude of the people as well as the glory of having lowered the price of provisions. When he had made but slight advance in relieving the markets by sending embassies around the neighbouring states by land and sea to no purpose, except that an inconsiderable quantity of corn was imported from Etruria, and applying himself to the careful dispensations of their scanty stock, by obliging persons to show their supply, and to sell whatever was over and above a month's provision, and by depriving the slaves of one half of their daily allowance; then by censuring and holding up to the resentment of the people the corn-hoarders, he rather discovered the great scarcity of grain than relieved it by this rigorous inquisition. Many of the commons, all hope being lost, rather than be tortured by dragging out existence, muffled up their heads and precipitated themselves into the Tiber.

## 13

Then Spurius Mælius, of the equestrian order, extremely rich considering these times, set about a project useful in itself, but having a most pernicious tendency, and a still more pernicious motive. For having, by the assistance of his friends and clients, bought up corn from Etruria at his private expense, (which very circumstance, I think, had been

an impediment in the endeavour to reduce the price of corn by the exertions of the state,) he set about giving out largesses of corn: and having won over the commons by this munificence, he drew them with him wherever he went, conspicuous and consequential beyond the rank of a private citizen, insuring to him as undoubted the consulship by the favour (they manifested towards him) and the hopes (they excited in him.) He himself, as the mind of man is not to be satiated with that which fortune holds out the hope of, began to aspire to things still higher, and altogether unwarrantable; and since even the consulship would have to be taken from the patricians against their will, he began to set his mind on kingly power;—that that would be the only prize worthy of such grand designs and of the struggle which would have to be endured. The consular elections were now coming on, which circumstance destroyed him completely, his plans being not yet arranged or sufficiently matured. Titus Quintius Capitolinus was elected consul for the sixth time, a man by no means well suited to answer the views of one meditating political innovations: Agrippa Menenius is attached to him as colleague, who bore the cognomen of Lanatus: and Lucius Minutius as president of the markets, whether he was re-elected, or created for an indefinite period, as long as circumstances should require; for there is nothing certain in the matter, except this, his name was entered as president in the linen books among the magistrates for both years. Here Minucius, conducting the same office in a public capacity which Mælius had undertaken to conduct in a private character, the same class of persons frequenting the houses of both, having ascertained the matter, lays it before the senate, "that arms were collecting in the house of Mælius, and that he held assemblies in his house: and that his designs were unquestionably bent on regal dominion: that the time for the execution of the project was not yet fixed: that all other matters were settled; and that the tribunes were bought over for hire to betray the public liberty, and that the several parts were assigned to the leaders of the multitude. That he laid these things before them almost later than was consistent with safety, lest he might be the reporter of any thing uncertain or ill-grounded." When these things were heard, the chiefs of the patricians both rebuked the consuls of the former year, for having suffered those largesses and meetings of the people to go on in a private house, as well as the new consuls for having waited until a matter of such importance should be reported to the senate by the president of the markets, which required the consul to be not only the reporter, but the punisher also; then Titus Quintius said, "that the consuls were unfairly censured, who being fettered by the laws concerning appeal, enacted to weaken their authority, by no means possessed as much power in their office as will, to punish that proceeding according to its atrocity. That there was wanting a man not only determined in himself, but one who was unshackled and freed from the fetters of those laws. That he would therefore appoint Lucius Quintius dictator; that in him there would be a determination suitable to so great a power." Whilst all approved, Quintius at first refused; and asked them what they meant, in exposing him in the extremity of age to such a contest. Then when they all said that in that aged mind there was not only more wisdom, but more energy also, than in all the rest, and went on loading him with deserved praises, whilst the consul relaxed not in his original determination; Cincinnatus at length having prayed to the immortal gods, that his old age might not prove a detriment or disgrace to the republic at so dangerous a juncture, is appointed dictator by the consul: he himself then appoints Caius Servilius Ahala his master of the horse.

On the next day, having stationed proper guards, when he had gone down to the forum, and the attention of the commons was attracted to him by the strangeness and extraordinary nature of the thing, and Mælius's friends and himself their leader perceived that the power of such high authority was directly aimed at them; when, moreover, those who were not aware of the designs on regal power, went on asking, "what tumult, what sudden war, had called for either the dictatorial authority, or Quintius, after his eightieth year, administrator of affairs," Servilius, master of the horse, being sent by the dictator to Mælius, says, "The dictator summons you." When he, being alarmed, asked what he meant, and Servilius stated that "he must stand a trial," and answer the charge brought against him before the senate by Minucius, Mælius drew back into the band of his adherents, and at first, looking around him, he began to skulk off: at length when the beadle, by order of the master of the horse, was bringing him off, being rescued by those present, and running away, he implored the protection of the Roman people, and alleged that he was persecuted by a conspiracy of the patricians because he had acted kindly towards the people: he besought them that they would assist him in this critical emergency, and not suffer him to be butchered before their eyes. Ahala Servilius overtook and slew him whilst exclaiming in this manner; and smeared with the blood of the person so slain, and surrounded by a body of young nobles, he carries back word to the dictator that Mælius having been summoned to him, and commencing to excite the multitude after he had repulsed the beadle, had received condign punishment. "Thou hast acted nobly, Caius Servilius," said the dictator, "in having saved the republic."

## 15

He then ordered the multitude, who were much agitated, not knowing what judgment to form of the deed, to be called to an assembly: and he openly declared, "that Mælius had been justly put to death, even though he may have been innocent of the charge of aiming at regal power, who, when summoned to attend the dictator by the master of the horse, had not come. That he himself had taken his seat to examine into the case; that, after it had been investigated, Mælius should have met a result corresponding to his deserts; that when employing force, in order that he might not commit himself to a trial, he had been checked by force. Nor should they proceed with him as with a citizen, who, born in a free state amid laws and rights, in a city from which he knew that kings had been expelled, and on the same year the sons of the king's sister and the children of the consul, the liberator of his country, had been put to death by their father, on a plot for readmitting the royal family into the city having been discovered, from which Collatinus Tarquinius the consul, through a hatred of his name, was ordered to resign his office and go into exile; in which capital punishment was inflicted on Spurius Cassius several years after for forming designs to assume the sovereignty; in which the decemvirs were recently punished with confiscation, exile, and death, in consequence of regal tyranny in that city, Spurius Mælius conceived a hope of attaining regal power. And who was this man? Although no nobility, no honours, no deserts should open to any man the road to domination, yet still the Claudii and Cassii, by reason of the consulates, the decemvirates, the honours of their own and those of their ancestors, and from the splendour of their families, had raised their aspiring minds to heights to which it was impious to raise them: that Spurius Mælius, to whom a tribuneship of the commons should rather be an object of wishes than of hope, a wealthy corn-merchant, had conceived the hope to purchase the liberty of his countrymen for two pounds of corn; had supposed that a people victorious over all their neighbours could be cajoled into

servitude by throwing them a morsel of food; so that a person whom the state could scarcely digest as a senator, it should tolerate as king, possessing the ensigns and authority of Romulus their founder, who had descended from and had returned to the gods. This was to be considered not more criminal than it was monstrous: nor was it sufficiently expiated by his blood; unless the roof and walls within which so mad a project had been conceived, should be levelled to the ground, and his effects were confiscated, as being contaminated with the price of purchasing kingly domination. He ordered, therefore, that the quæstors should sell this property and deposit the proceeds in the treasury."

## 16

He then ordered his house to be immediately razed, that the vacant ground might serve as a monument of nefarious hopes destroyed. This was called *Æquimælium*. Lucius Minucius was presented with a gilded ox on the outside of the gate *Trigemina*, and this not even against the will of the commons, because he distributed *Mælius's* corn, after valuing it at one *as* per bushel. In some writers I find that this Minucius had changed sides from the patricians to the commons, and that having been chosen as eleventh tribune of the people, he quieted a commotion which arose on the death of *Mælius*. But it is scarcely credible that the patricians would have suffered the number of the tribunes to be increased, and that such a precedent should be introduced more particularly in the case of a man who was a patrician; or that the commons did not afterwards maintain, or at least attempt, that privilege once conceded to them. But the legal provision made a few years before, viz. that it should not be lawful for the tribunes to choose a colleague, refutes beyond every thing else the false inscription on the statue. *Quintus Cæcilius*, *Quintus Junius*, *Sextus Titinius*, were the only members of the college of tribunes who had not been concerned in passing the law for conferring honours on Minucius; nor did they cease both to throw out censures one time on Minucius, at another time on *Servilius*, before the commons, and to complain of the unmerited death of *Mælius*. They succeeded, therefore, in having an election held for military tribunes rather than for consuls, not doubting but that in six places, for so many were now allowed to be elected, some plebeians also might be appointed, by their professing to be avengers of the death of *Mælius*. The commons, though they had been agitated that year by many and various commotions, neither elected more than three tribunes with consular power; and among them *Lucius Quintius*, son of *Cincinnatus*, from the unpopular nature of whose dictatorship an occasion for disturbance was sought. *Mamercus Æmilius*, a man of the highest dignity, was voted in, prior to *Quintius*. In the third place they appoint *Lucius Julius*.

## 17

During their office *Fidenæ*, a Roman colony, revolted to *Lars Tolunnius*, king of the *Veientians*, and to the *Veientians*. To the revolt a more heinous crime was added. By order of *Tolunnius* they put to death *Caius Fulcinius*, *Clælius Tullus*, *Spurius Antius*, *Lucius Roscius*, Roman ambassadors, who came to inquire into the reason of this new line of conduct. Some palliate the guilt of the king; that an ambiguous expression of his, during a lucky throw of dice, having been mistaken by the *Fidenatians*, as if it seemed to be an order for their execution, had been the cause of the ambassadors' death. An incredible tale; that his thoughts should not have been drawn away from the game on the arrival of the *Fidenatians*, his new allies, when consulting him on a murder tending to violate the law of nations; and that the act was not afterwards viewed by him with

horror. It is more probable that he wished the state of the Fidenatians to be so compromised by their participation in so great a crime, that they might not afterwards look to any hope from the Romans. Statues of the ambassadors, who were slain at Fidenæ, were set up in the rostra at the public expense. A desperate struggle was coming on with the Veientians and Fidenatians, who, besides that they were neighbouring states, had commenced the war with so heinous a provocation. Therefore, the commons and their tribunes being now quiet, so as to attend to the general welfare, there was no dispute with respect to the electing of Marcus Geganius Macerinus a third time, and Lucius Sergius Fidenas, as consuls; so called, I suppose, from the war which he afterwards conducted. For he was the first who fought a successful battle with the king of the Veientians on this side of the Anio, nor did he obtain an unbloody victory. Greater grief was therefore felt from the loss of their countrymen, than joy from the defeat of the enemy: and the senate, as in an alarming crisis, ordered Mamercus Æmilius to be appointed dictator. He appointed as his master of the horse from the college of the preceding year, in which there had been tribunes of the soldiers with consular power, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, a youth worthy of his parent. To the levy held by the consuls were added the old centurions well versed in war, and the number of those lost in the late battle was made up. The dictator ordered Lucius Quintus Capitolinus and Marcus Fabius Vibulanus to attend him as his lieutenants-general. Both the higher powers, and the man suitable to such powers, caused the enemy to move from the Roman territory to the other side of the Anio, and continuing their retrograde movement, they took possession of the hills between Fidenæ and the Anio, nor did they descend into the plains until the troops of the Faliscians came to their aid; then at length the camp of the Etrurians was pitched before the walls of Fidenæ. The Roman dictator took his post at no great distance from thence at the conflux on the banks of both rivers, lines being run across between them, as far as he was able to follow by a fortification. Next day he marched out his army into the field.

## 18

Among the enemy there was a diversity of opinion. The Faliscians, impatient of the hardships of war at a distance from home, and sufficiently confident of their own strength, earnestly demanded battle; the Veientians and Fidenatians placed more hope in protracting the war. Tolumnius, though the measures of his own subjects were more agreeable to him, proclaims that he would give battle on the following day, lest the Faliscians might not brook the service at so great a distance from their home. The dictator and the Romans took additional courage from the fact of the enemy having declined giving battle: and on the following day, the soldiers exclaiming that they would attack the camp and the city, if an opportunity of fighting were not afforded them, the armies advance on both sides into the middle of a plain between the two camps. The Veientians, having the advantage in numbers, sent around a party behind the mountains to attack the Roman camp during the heat of the battle. The army of the three states stood drawn up in such a manner, that the Veientians occupied the right wing, the Faliscians the left, whilst the Fidenatians constituted the centre. The dictator charged on the right wing against the Faliscians, Quintus Capitolinus on the left against the Veientians, and the master of the horse with the cavalry advanced in the centre. For a short time all was silence and quiet, the Etrurians being determined not to engage unless they were compelled, and the dictator looking back towards a Roman fort, until a signal should be raised, as had been agreed on, by the augurs, as soon as the birds had given a favourable omen. As soon as he perceived this, he orders the cavalry first to

charge the enemy, after raising a loud shout; the line of infantry following, engaged with great fury. In no quarter did the Etrurian legions withstand the shock of the Romans. The cavalry made the greatest resistance; and the king himself, far the bravest of the cavalry, charging the Romans whilst they were pursuing in disorder in every direction, prolonged the contest.

## 19

There was then among the cavalry, Aulus Cornelius Cossus, a tribune of the soldiers, distinguished for the beauty of his person, and equally so for courage and great strength of body, and mindful of his rank, which, having received in a state of the highest lustre, he left to his posterity still greater and more distinguished. He perceiving that the Roman troops gave way at the approach of Tolumnius, wherever he directed his charge, and knowing him as being remarkable by his royal apparel, as he flew through the entire line, exclaims, "Is this the infringer of human treaties and the violator of the law of nations? This victim I shall now slay, (provided the gods wish that there should be any thing sacred on earth,) and shall offer him up to the manes of the ambassadors." Having clapped spurs to his horse, he advances against this single foe with spear presented; and after having struck and unhorsed him, he immediately, by help of his lance, sprung on the ground. And as the king attempted to rise, he throws him back again with the boss of his shield, and with repeated thrusts pins him to the earth. He then stripped off the spoils from the lifeless body; and having cut off his head and carrying it on the point of his spear, he puts the enemy to rout through terror on seeing their king slain. Thus the line of cavalry, which alone had rendered the combat doubtful, was beaten. The dictator pursues closely the routed legions, and drove them to their camp with slaughter. The greater number of the Fidenatians, through their knowledge of the country, made their escape to the mountains. Cossus, having crossed the Tiber with the cavalry, carried off great plunder from the Veientian territory to the city. During the battle there was a fight also at the Roman camp against a party of the forces, which, as has been already mentioned, had been sent by Tolumnius to the camp. Fabius Vibulanus first defends his lines by a ring; then, whilst the enemy were wholly taken up with the entrenchment, sallying out from the principal gate on the right, he suddenly attacks them with the triarii: and a panic being thus struck into them there was less slaughter, because they were fewer, but their flight was no less disorderly than it had been on the field of battle.

## 20

Matters being managed successfully in every direction, the dictator, by a decree of the senate and order of the people, returned to the city in triumph. By far the most remarkable object in the triumph was Cossus, bearing the *spolia opima* of the king he had slain. The soldiers chaunted their uncouth verses on him, extolling him as equal to Romulus. With the usual form of dedication, he presented, as an offering, the spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, near the spoils of Romulus, which, having been the first called *opima*, were the only ones at that time; and he attracted the eyes of all the citizens from the dictator's chariot to himself, and enjoyed almost solely the honour of that day's solemnity. The dictator offered up to Jupiter in the Capitol a golden crown a pound in weight, at the public expense, by order of the people. Following all the Roman writers, I have represented Aulus Cornelius Cossus as a military tribune, when he carried the second *spolia opima* to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. But besides that those spoils are rightly considered *opima*, which one general has taken from another; and we know no

general but the person under whose auspices the war is conducted, the inscription itself written on the spoils proves, against both me and them, that Cossus was consul when he took them. Having once heard Augustus Cæsar, the founder or restorer of all our temples, on entering the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which being dilapidated by time he rebuilt, aver that he himself had read the said inscription on the linen breastplate, I thought it would be next to sacrilege to rob Cossus of such a testimony respecting his spoils as that of Cæsar, the renovator of the temple itself. Whether the mistake is chargeable on the very ancient annals and the linen books of the magistrates, deposited in the temple of Moneta, and which Licinius Macer occasionally cites as authorities, which have Aulus Cornelius Cossus consul with Titus Quintius Pennus, in the ninth year after this, every person may form his own opinion. For there is this additional proof, that a battle so celebrated could not be transferred to that year; that the three years before and after the consulship of Aulus Cornelius were entirely free from war, in consequence of a pestilence and a scarcity of grain; so that some annals, as if in mourning, present nothing but the names of the consuls. The third year from the consulship of Cossus has him as military tribune with consular power; in the same year as master of the horse, in which office he fought another distinguished horse battle. Conjecture is open on the matter; but, as I think, idle surmises may be turned to support any opinion: when the hero of the fight, having placed the recent spoils in the sacred repository, having before him Jove himself, to whom they were consecrated, and Romulus, no contemptible witnesses in case of a false inscription, entitled himself Aulus Cornelius Cossus consul.

## 21

Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis and Lucius Papirius Crassus being consuls, the armies were led into the territories of the Veientians and Faliscians; numbers of men and cattle were driven off as spoil; the enemy was no where to be found on the land, and no opportunity of fighting was afforded; the cities however were not attacked, because a pestilential disorder ran through the people. Disturbances were also sought at home, but not actually excited, however, by Spurius Mælius, tribune of the people; who thinking that he might create some tumult through the popularity of his name, had both appointed a day of trial for Minucius, and had also proposed a law for confiscating the property of Servilius Ahala: alleging that Mælius had been circumvented through false impeachments by Minucius, charging Servilius with the killing of a citizen on whom no sentence had been passed; charges which, when brought before the people, proved to be more idle than the author himself. But the virulence of the disease now becoming worse, was more an object of concern to them, as also the terrors and prodigies, more especially because accounts were being brought, that houses were falling throughout the country, in consequence of frequent earthquakes. A supplication was therefore performed by the people, according to the form dictated by the decemvirs.<sup>153</sup> The year being still more pestilential, Caius Julius a second time and Lucius Virginius being consuls, occasioned such dread of desolation through the city and country, that not only no one left the Roman territory for the purpose of committing depredations, and not only did none of the patricians or commons entertain an idea of commencing any military aggressions; but the Fidenatians, who at first had shut themselves up either within their town, or mountains, or fortifications, now descended without provocation

<sup>153</sup> In the performance of such rites, the slightest mistake of a word or syllable was deemed highly inauspicious; to prevent which, the regular form of words was pronounced by a priest, and repeated after him by the persons officiating.

to commit depredations on the Roman territory. Then the army of the Veientians being called in to their aid, (for the Faliscians could be induced to renew the war neither by the distresses of the Romans, nor by the remonstrances of their allies,) the two states crossed the Anio; and displayed their ensigns at no great distance from the Colline gate. Great consternation arose therefore, not more in the country than in the city. Julius the consul draws up his troops on the rampart and walls; the senate is consulted by Virginius in the temple of Quirinus. It is determined that Aulus Servilius be appointed dictator, who some say had the cognomen of Priscus, others that of Structus. Virginius having delayed whilst he consulted his colleague, with his permission, named the dictator at night. He appoints Postumus Æbutius Elva his master of the horse.

## 22

The dictator orders all to attend at break of day outside the Colline gate. All whosoever had sufficient strength to bear arms, attended; the standards were quickly brought forth from the treasury and conveyed to the dictator. Whilst these matters were going on, the enemies retired to the higher grounds; thither the dictator follows them with a determined army; and having come to a general engagement not far from Nomentum, he routed the Etrurian legions; he then drove them into the city of Fidenæ, and surrounded it with a rampart. But neither could the city be taken by storm as being high and well fortified, nor was there any effect in a blockade, because corn was supplied to them in abundance not only for necessary consumption, but for plenty also, in consequence of that previously laid up. Thus all hope being lost of taking it by assault, or of forcing it to a surrender, the dictator determined on carrying a sap into the citadel in places which were well known to him on account of their near situation on the remote side of the city, as being most neglected because it was best protected by reason of its own nature; he himself by advancing up to the walls in places most remote, with his army divided into four sections, which were to succeed each other in the action, by continuing the fight day and night continuously he prevented the enemy from perceiving the work; until the mountain being dug through from the camp, a passage was opened up into the citadel; and the Etrurians being diverted from the real danger by the idle threats, the shouting of the enemy over their heads proved to them that their city was taken. On that year Caius Furius Pacilus and Marcus Geganius Macerinus, censors, approved of the public edifice<sup>154</sup> in the Campus Martius, and the census of the people was there performed for the first time.

## 23

That the same consuls were re-elected on the following year, Julius for the third time, Virginius for the second time, I find in Licinius Macer. Valerius Antias and Quintus Tubero state that Marcus Manlius and Quintus Sulpicius were, the consuls for that year. But in representations so different both Tubero and Macer cite the linen books as their authority; neither of them denies that it was said by ancient historians that there were military tribunes on that year. Licinius thinks that we should unhesitatingly follow the linen books; and Tubero is uncertain as to the truth. But this also is left unsettled among other points not ascertained from length of time. Alarm was raised in Etruria after the capture of Fidenæ, not only the Veientians being terrified by the apprehension of similar ruin, but the Faliscians also, from the recollection of the war having first commenced with them, although they had not joined with those who renewed hostilities.

<sup>154</sup> *Villa publica*. It was destined to public uses, such as holding the *census*, or survey of the people, the reception of ambassadors, &c.

Accordingly when the two nations, having sent ambassadors around to the twelve states, succeeded so far that a general meeting was proclaimed for all Etruria at the temple of Voltumna; the senate, apprehending a great attack threatening from that quarter, ordered Mamercus Æmilius again to be appointed dictator. Aulus Postumius Tubertus was appointed by him as master of the horse; and preparations for war were made with so much the more energy than on the last occasion, in proportion as there was more danger from the whole body of Etruria than from two of its states.

## 24

That matter passed off much more quietly than any one expected. Therefore when word was brought by certain traders, that aid was refused to the Veientians, and that they were bid to prosecute with their own strength a war entered into on their own separate views, and not to seek out persons as sharers in their distresses, to whom they had not communicated their hopes when flourishing; the dictator, that his appointment might not be in vain, all opportunity of acquiring military glory being now taken from him, desirous of performing during peace some work which might serve as a memorial of his dictatorship, sets about limiting the censorship, either judging its powers excessive, or disapproving of the duration rather than the extent of the office. Accordingly, having summoned a meeting, he says "that the immortal gods had taken on themselves that the public affairs should be managed externally, and that the general security should be insured; that with respect to what was to be done within the walls, he would provide for the liberty of the Roman people. But that the most effectual guarding of it was, that offices of great power should not be of long continuance; and that a limit of time should be set to those to which a limit of jurisdiction could not be set. That other offices were annual, that the censorship was quinquennial; that it was a grievance to be subject to the same individuals for such a number of years in a considerable part of the affairs of life. That he would propose a law, that the censorship should not last longer than a year and half." Amid the great approbation of the people he passed the law on the following day, and says, "that you may know, Romans, in reality, how little pleasing to me are offices of long duration, I resign the dictatorship." Having laid down his own office, and set a limit to the office of others, he was escorted home with the congratulation and great good will of the people. The censors resenting Mamercus' conduct for his having diminished the duration of one of the offices of the Roman people, degraded him from his tribe, and increasing his taxes eight-fold, disfranchised<sup>155</sup> him. They say that he bore this with great magnanimity, as he considered the cause of the disgrace, rather than the disgrace itself; that the principal patricians also, though they had been averse to the curtailing the privileges of the censorship, were much displeased at this instance of censorial severity; inasmuch as each saw that he would be longer and more frequently subjected to the censors, than he should hold the office of censor. Certain it is that such indignation is said to have arisen on the part of the people, that violence could not be kept off from the censors through the influence of any person except of Mamercus himself.

## 25

The tribunes of the people, by preventing the election of consuls by incessant harangues, succeeded at length, after the matter had been well nigh brought to an interregnum, in having tribunes of the soldiers elected with consular authority: as for

<sup>155</sup> *ærarium facere*, signifies to strip a person of all the privileges of a citizen, on which he became *civis ærarius*, a citizen only so far as he paid taxes.

the prize of their victory, which was the thing sought, *scil.* that a plebeian should be elected, there was none. All patricians were elected, Marcus Fabius Vibulanus, Marcus Foslius, Lucius Sergius Fidenas. The pestilence during that year afforded a quiet in other matters. A temple was vowed to Apollo for the health of the people. The duumvirs did much, by direction of the books, for the purpose of appeasing the wrath of heaven and averting the plague from the people; a great mortality however was sustained in the city and country, by the death of men and of cattle promiscuously. Apprehending a famine for the agriculturists, they sent into Etruria, and the Pomptine district, and to Cumæ, and at last to Sicily also to procure corn. No mention was made of electing consuls. Military tribunes with consular authority were appointed, all patricians, Lucius Pinarius Mamercinus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Spurius Postumius Albus. In this year the violence of the distemper abated, nor was there any danger from a scarcity of corn, because provision had been previously made against it. Schemes for exciting wars were agitated in the meetings of the Æquans and Volscians, and in Etruria at the temple of Voltumna. Here the matter was postponed for a year, and by a decree it was enacted, that no meeting should be held before that time, the Veientian state in vain complaining that the same destiny hung over Veii, as that by which Fidenæ was destroyed. Meanwhile at Rome the chiefs of the commons, who had now for a long time been vainly pursuing the hope of higher dignity, whilst there was tranquillity abroad, appointed meetings to be held in the houses of the tribunes of the commons. There they concerted plans in secret: they complained "that they were so despised by the commons, that though tribunes of the soldiers, with consular authority, were now appointed for so many years, no plebeian ever obtained access to that honour. That their ancestors had shown much foresight in providing that plebeian offices should not be open to any patrician; otherwise they should be forced to have patricians as tribunes of the commons; so despicable were they even with their own party, and were not less despised by the commons than by the patricians." Others exculpated the commons, and threw the blame on the patricians,—"that by their intriguing and schemes it happened that the road to honour was barred against the commons. If the commons were allowed to breathe from their mixed entreaties and menaces, that they would enter on their suffrages with a due regard to men of their own party; and, assistance being already procured, that they would assume a share in the government also." It is determined that, for the purpose of doing away with all intriguing, the tribunes should propose a law, that no person be allowed to add white to his garment for the purposes of canvassing. The matter may now appear trivial and scarcely deserving serious consideration, which then enkindled such strife between the patricians and commons. The tribunes, however, prevailed in carrying the law; and it appeared evident, that in their present state of irritation, the commons would incline their support to men of their own party; and lest this should be optional with them, a decree of the senate is passed, that the election for consuls should be held.

## 26

The cause was the rising, which the Hernicians and Latins announced as about to take place on the part of the Æquans and Volscians. Titus Quintius Cincinnatus, son of Lucius, (to the same person the cognomen of Pennus also is annexed,) and Caius Julius Mento were elected consuls: nor was the terror of war longer deferred. A levy being held under the devoting law, which with them is the most powerful instrument of forcing men into service, powerful armies set out from thence, and met at Algidum; and there the Æquans and Volscians fortified their camps separately; and the general took greater

care than ever before to fortify their posts and train their soldiers; so much the more terror did the messengers bring to Rome. The senate wished that a dictator should be appointed, because though these nations had been often conquered, yet they renewed hostilities with more vigorous efforts than ever before, and a considerable number of the Roman youth had been carried off by sickness. Above all, the perverseness of the consuls, and the disagreement between them, and their contentions in all the councils, terrified them. There are some who state that an unsuccessful battle was fought by these consuls at Algidum, and that such was the cause of appointing a dictator. This much is certain, that, though differing in other points, they perfectly agreed in one against the wishes of the patricians, not to nominate a dictator; until when accounts were brought, one more alarming than another, and the consuls would not be swayed by the authority of the senate, Quintus Servilius Priscus, who had passed through the highest honours with singular honour, says, "Tribunes of the people, since we are come to extremities, the senate calls on you, that you would, by virtue of your authority, compel the consuls to nominate a dictator in so critical a conjuncture of the state." On hearing this, the tribunes, conceiving that an opportunity was presented to them of extending their power, retire together, and declare for their college, that "it was their wish that the consuls should be obedient to the instruction of the senate; if they persisted further against the consent of that most illustrious order, that they would order them to be taken to prison." The consuls were better pleased to be overcome by the tribunes than by the senate, alleging that the prerogatives of the highest magistracy were betrayed by the patricians and the consulship subjugated to tribunitian power, inasmuch as the consuls were liable to be overruled by a tribune in any particular by virtue of his power, and (what greater hardship could a private man have to dread?) even to be carried off to prison. The lot to nominate the dictator (for the colleagues had not even agreed on that) fell on Titus Quintius. He appointed a dictator, Aulus Postumius Tubertus, his own father-in-law, a man of the utmost strictness in command: by him Lucius Julius was appointed master of the horse: a suspension of civil business is also proclaimed; and, that nothing else should be attended to throughout the city but preparations for war, the examination of the cases of those who claimed exemption from the military service is deferred till after the war. Thus even doubtful persons are induced to give in their names. Soldiers were also enjoined of the Hernicians and Latins: the most zealous obedience is shown to the dictator on both sides.

## 27

All these measures were executed with great despatch: and Caius Julius the consul being left to guard the city, and Lucius Julius master of the horse, for the sudden exigencies of the war, lest any thing which they might want in the camp should cause delay, the dictator, repeating the words after Aulus Cornelius the chief pontiff, vowed the great games on account of the sudden war; and having set out from the city, after dividing his army with the consul Quintius, he came up with the enemy. As they had observed two separate camps of the enemy at a small distance one from the other, they in like manner encamped separately about a mile from them, the dictator towards Tusculum, the consul towards Lanuvium. Thus they had their four armies, as many fortified posts, having between them a plain sufficiently extended not only for excursions to skirmish, but even for drawing up the armies on both sides in battle-array. From the time camp was brought close to camp, they ceased not from light skirmishing, the dictator readily allowing his soldiers, by comparing strength, to entertain beforehand the hope of a general victory, after they had gradually essayed the result of slight skirmishes.

Wherefore the enemy, no hope being now left in a regular engagement, attacked the consuls' camp in the night, and bring the matter to the chance of a doubtful result. The shout which arose suddenly awoke not only the consuls' sentinels and then all the army, but the dictator also. When circumstances required instant exertion, the consul evinced no deficiency either in spirit or in judgment. One part of the troops reinforce the guards at the gates, another man the rampart around. In the other camp with the dictator, inasmuch as there is less of confusion, so much the more readily is it observed, what is required to be done. Despatching then forthwith a reinforcement to the consuls' camp, to which Spurius Postumius Albus is appointed lieutenant-general, he himself with a part of his forces, making a small circuit, proceeds to a place entirely sequestered from the bustle, whence he might suddenly attack the enemy's rear. Quintus Sulpicius, his lieutenant-general, he appoints to take charge of the camp; to Marcus Fabius as lieutenant he assigns the cavalry, and orders that those troops, which it would be difficult to manage amid a nightly conflict, should not stir before day-light. All the measures which any other prudent and active general could order and execute at such a juncture, he orders and executes with regularity; that was an extraordinary specimen of judgment and intrepidity, and one deserving of no ordinary praise, that he despatched Marcus Geganius with some chosen troops to attack the enemy's camp, whence it had been ascertained that they had departed with the greater part of their troops. When he fell on these men, wholly intent on the result of the danger of their friends, and incautious with respect to themselves, the watches and advanced guards being even neglected, he took their camp almost before the enemy were perfectly sure that it was attacked. Then when the signal given with smoke, as had been agreed on, was perceived by the dictator, he exclaims that the enemy's camp was taken, and orders it to be announced in every direction.

## 28

And now day was appearing, and every thing lay open to view; and Fabius had made an attack with his cavalry, and the consul had sallied from the camp on the enemy now disconcerted; when the dictator on the other side, having attacked their reserve and second line, threw his victorious troops, both horse and foot, in the way of the enemy as they turned themselves about to the dissonant shouts and the various sudden assaults. Thus surrounded on every side, they would to a man have suffered the punishment due to their re-assumption of hostilities, had not Vectius Messius, a Volscian, a man more ennobled by his deeds than his extraction, upbraiding his men as they were forming a circle, called out with a loud voice, "Are ye about offering yourselves here to the weapons of the enemy, undefended, unavenged? why is it then ye have arms? or why have you undertaken an offensive war, ever turbulent in peace, and dastardly in war? What hopes have you in standing here? do you expect that some god will protect you and bear you hence? With the sword way must be opened. Come on ye, who wish to behold your homes, your parents, your wives, and your children, follow me in the way in which you shall see me lead you on. It is not a wall, not a rampart, but armed men that stand in your way with arms in your hands. In valour you are equal to them; in necessity, which is the ultimate and most effective weapon, superior." As he uttered these words and was putting them into execution, they, renewing the shout and following him, make a push in that quarter where Postumius Alba had opposed his troops to them: and they made the victor give ground, until the dictator came up, as his own men were now retreating. To that quarter the whole weight of the battle was now turned. On Messius alone the fortune of the enemy depends. Many wounds and great

slaughter now took place on both sides. By this time not even the Roman generals themselves fight without receiving wounds, one of them, Postumius, retired from the field having his skull fractured by a stroke of a stone; neither the dictator could be removed by a wound in the shoulder, nor Fabius by having his thigh almost pinned to his horse, nor the consul by his arm being cut off, from the perilous conflict.

## 29

Messius, with a band of the bravest youths, by a furious charge through heaps of slaughtered foes, was carried on to the camp of the Volscians, which had not yet been taken: the same route the entire body of the army followed. The consul, pursuing them in their disordered flight to the very rampart, attacks both the camp and the rampart; in the same direction the dictator also brings up his forces on the other side. The assault was conducted with no less intrepidity than the battle had been. They say that the consul even threw a standard within the rampart, in order that the soldiers might push on the more briskly, and that the first impression was made in recovering the standard. The dictator also, having levelled the rampart, had now carried the fight into the camp. Then the enemy began in every direction to throw down their arms and to surrender: and their camp also being taken, all the enemy were set up to sale, except the senators.<sup>156</sup> Part of the plunder was restored to the Latins and Hernicians, when they demanded their property; the remainder the dictator sold by auction: and the consul, being invested with the command of the camp, he himself, entering the city in triumph, resigned his dictatorship. Some writers cast a gloom on the memory of this glorious dictatorship, when they state that his son, though victorious, was beheaded by Aulus Postumius, because, tempted by a favourable opportunity of fighting to advantage, he had left his post without orders. We are disposed to refuse our belief; and we are warranted by the variety of opinions on the matter. And it is an argument against it, that such orders have been entitled "Manlian," not "Postumian," since the person who first set on foot so barbarous a precedent, was likely to obtain the signal title of cruelty. Besides, the cognomen of "Imperiosus" was affixed to Manlius: Postumius has not been marked by any hateful brand. Caius Julius the consul, in the absence of his colleague, without casting lots, dedicated the temple of Apollo: Quintius resenting this, when, after disbanding his army, he returned into the city, made a complaint of it in the senate to no purpose.

To the year marked by great achievements is added an event which seemed to have no relation to the interest of Rome, viz. that the Carthaginians, destined to be such formidable enemies, then, for the first times on the occasion of some disturbances among the Sicilians, transported an army into Sicily in aid of one of the parties.

## 30

In the city efforts were made by the tribunes of the people that military tribunes with consular power should be elected; nor could the point be carried. Lucius Papirius Crassus and Lucius Junius were made consuls. When the ambassadors of the Æquans solicited a treaty from the senate, and instead of a treaty a surrender was pointed out to them, they obtained a truce for eight years. The affairs of the Volscians, in addition to the disaster sustained at Algidum, were involved in strifes and seditions by an obstinate contention between the advocates for peace and those for war. The Romans enjoyed

<sup>156</sup> *Senators.* Niebuhr, ii. note 995, seems to doubt whether these belonged to single cities or were the senators of the entire Volscian nation.

tranquillity on all sides. The consuls, having ascertained through the information of one of the college, that a law regarding the appraising of the fines,<sup>157</sup> which was very acceptable to the people, was about to be introduced by the tribunes, took the lead themselves in proposing it. The new consuls were Lucius Sergius Fidenas a second time, and Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus. During their consulate nothing worth mentioning occurred. The consuls who followed them were Aulus Cornelius Cossus and Titus Quintius Pennus a second time. The Veientians made excursions into the Roman territory. A report existed that some of the youth of the Fidenatians had been participators in that depredation; and the cognizance of that matter was left to Lucius Sergius, and Quintus Servilius and Mamercus Æmilius. Some of them were sent into banishment to Ostia, because it did not appear sufficiently clear why during these days they had been absent from Fidenæ. A number of new settlers was added, and the land of those who had fallen in war was assigned to them. There was very great distress that year in consequence of drought; there was not only a deficiency of rain; but the earth also destitute of its natural moisture, scarcely enabled the rivers to flow. In some places the want of water occasioned heaps of cattle, which had died of thirst, around the springs and rivulets which were dried up; others were carried off by the mange; and the distempers spread by infection to the human subject, and first assailed the husbandmen and slaves; soon after the city becomes filled with them; and not only were men's bodies afflicted by the contagion, but superstitions of various kinds, and most of them of foreign growth, took possession of their minds; persons, to whom minds enslaved by superstition were a source of gain, introducing by pretending to divination new modes of sacrificing; until a sense of public shame now reached the leading men of the state, seeing in all the streets and chapels extraneous and unaccustomed ceremonies of expiation for the purpose of obtaining the favour of the gods. A charge was then given to the ædiles, that they should see that no other than Roman gods should be worshipped, nor in any other manner, save that of the country. Their resentment against the Veientians was deferred till the following year, Caius Servilius Ahala and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus being consuls. Then also superstitious influences prevented the immediate declaration of war or the armies being sent; they deemed it necessary that heralds should be first sent to demand restitution. There had been battles fought lately with the Veientians at Nomentum and Fidenæ; and after that a truce, not a peace, had been concluded; of which both the time had expired and they had renewed hostilities before the expiration. Heralds however were sent; and when, according to ancient usage, they were sworn and demanded restitution, their application was not listened to. Then arose a dispute whether a war should be declared by order of the people, or whether a decree of the senate would be sufficient. The tribunes, by threatening that they would stop the levy, so far prevailed that the consuls should take the sense of the people concerning the war. All the centuries voted for it. In this particular also the commons showed a superiority by gaining this point, that consuls should not be elected for the next year.

### 31

Four military tribunes with consular authority were elected—Titus Quintius Pennus, from the consulship, Caius Furius, Marcus Postumius, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus. Of these Cossus held the command in the city. The other three, after the levy was held, set out to Veii, and were an instance how mischievous in military affairs is a plurality of

<sup>157</sup> *Fines*. The fines imposed in early times were certain numbers of sheep or oxen; afterwards it was ordered by law that these fines should be appraised and the value paid in money. Another law fixed a certain rate at which the cattle should be estimated, 100 asses for an ox, 10 for a sheep.

commanders. By insisting each on his own plans, whilst they severally entertained different views, they left an opportunity open to the enemy to take them at advantage. For the Veientians, taking an opportunity, attacked their line whilst still uncertain as to their movements, some ordering the signal to be given, others a retreat to be sounded: their camp, which was nigh at hand, received them in their confusion and turning their backs. There was more disgrace therefore than loss. The state, unaccustomed to defeat, was become melancholy; they hated the tribunes, they insisted on a dictator, the hopes of the state now seemed to rest on him. When a religious scruple interfered here also, lest a dictator could not be appointed except by a consul, the augurs on being consulted removed that scruple. Aulus Cornelius nominated Mamercus Æmilius, and he himself was nominated by him master of the horse. So little did censorial animadversion avail, so as to prevent them from seeking a regulator of their affairs from a family unmeritedly censured, as soon as the condition of the state stood in need of genuine merit. The Veientians elated with their success, having sent ambassadors around the states of Etruria, boasting that three Roman generals had been beaten by them in an engagement, though they could not effect a public co-operation in their designs, procured volunteers from all quarters allured by the hope of plunder. The state of the Fidenatians alone determined on renewing hostilities; and as if it would be an impiety to commence war unless with guilt, after staining their arms with the blood of the new settlers there, as they had on a former occasion with that of the ambassadors, they join the Veientians. After this the leading men of the two states consulted whether they should select Veii or Fidenæ as the seat of war. Fidenæ appeared the more convenient. Accordingly, having crossed the Tiber, the Veientians transferred the war thither. There was great consternation at Rome. The army being recalled from Veii, and that same army dispirited in consequence of their defeat, the camp is pitched before the Colline gate, and armed soldiers are posted along the walls, and a suspension of all civil business is proclaimed in the forum, and the shops were closed; and every place becomes more like to a camp than a city.

### 32

Then the dictator, having sent criers through the streets, and having summoned the alarmed citizens to an assembly, began to chide them "that they allowed their minds to depend on such slight impulses of fortune, that, on the receipt of a trifling loss, which itself was sustained not by the bravery of the enemy, nor by the cowardice of the Roman army, but by the disagreement of the generals, they now dreaded the Veientian enemy, six times vanquished, and Fidenæ, which was almost taken oftener than attacked. That both the Romans and the enemies were the same as they were for so many ages: that they retained the same spirits, the same bodily strength, the same arms. That he himself, Mamercus Æmilius, was also the same dictator, who formerly defeated the armies of the Veientians and Fidenatians, with the additional support of the Faliscians, at Nomentum. That his master of the horse, Aulus Cornelius, would be the same in the field, he who, as military tribune in a former war, slew Lar Tolumnius, king of the Veientians, in the sight of both armies, and brought the *spolia opima* into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Wherefore that they should take up arms, mindful that with them were triumphs, with them spoils, with them victory; with the enemy the guilt of murdering the ambassadors contrary to the law of nations, the massacre of the Fidenatian colonists in time of peace, the infraction of truces, a seventh unsuccessful revolt. As soon as they should bring their camp near them, he was fully confident that the joy of these most impious enemies at the disgrace of the Roman army would not be of long continuance, and that the Roman

people would be convinced how much better those persons deserved of the republic, who nominated him dictator for the third time, than those who, in consequence of his abolishing the despotism of the censorship, would cast a slur on his second dictatorship." Having offered up his vows and set out on his march, he pitches his camp fifteen hundred paces on this side of Fidenæ, covered on his right by mountains, on his left by the river Tiber. He orders Titus Quintius Pennus to take possession of the mountains, and to post himself secretly on some eminence which might be in the enemy's rear. On the following day, when the Etrurians had marched out to the field, full of confidence in consequence of their accidental success of the preceding day, rather than of their good fighting, he himself, having delayed a little until the senate brought back word that Quintius had gained an eminence nigh to the citadel of Fidenæ, puts his troops into motion and led on his line of infantry in order of battle in their quickest pace against the enemy: the master of the horse he directs not to commence the fight without orders; that, when it would be necessary, he would give the signal for the aid of the cavalry; then that he would conduct the action, mindful of his fight with the king, mindful of the rich oblation, and of Romulus and Jupiter Feretrius. The legions begin the conflict with impetuosity. The Romans, fired with hatred, gratified that feeling both with deeds and words, calling the Fidenatian impious, the Veientian robbers, truce-breakers, stained with the horrid murder of ambassadors, sprinkled with the blood of their own brother-colonists, treacherous allies, and dastardly enemies.

### 33

In the very first onset they had made an impression on the enemy; when on a sudden, the gates of Fidenæ flying open, a strange sort of army sallies forth, unheard of and unseen before that time. An immense multitude armed with fire and all blazing with fire-brands, as if urged on by fanatical rage, rush on the enemy: and the form of this unusual mode of fighting frightened the Romans for the moment. Then the dictator, having called to him the master of the horse and the cavalry, and also Quintius from the mountains animating the fight, hastens himself to the left wing, which, more nearly resembling a conflagration than a battle, had from terror given way to the flames, and exclaims with a loud voice, "Vanquished by smoke, driven from your ground as if a swarm of bees, will ye yield to an unarmed enemy? will ye not extinguish the fires with the sword? or if it is with fire, not with weapons, we are to fight, will ye not, each in his post, snatch those brands, and hurl them on them? Come, mindful of the Roman name, of the valour of your fathers, and of your own, turn this conflagration against the city of your enemy, and destroy Fidenæ by its own flames, which ye could not reclaim by your kindness. The blood of your ambassadors and colonists and the desolation of your frontiers suggest this." At the command of the dictator the whole line advanced; the firebrands that were discharged are partly caught up; others are wrested by force: the armies on either side are now armed with fire. The master of the horse too, on his part, introduces among the cavalry a new mode of fighting; he commands his men to take the bridles off their horses: and he himself at their head, putting spurs to his own, dashing forward, is carried by the unbridled steed into the midst of the fires: the other horses also being urged on carry their riders with unrestrained speed against the enemy. The dust being raised and mixed with smoke excluded the light from the eyes of both men and horses. That appearance which had terrified the soldiers, no longer terrified the horses. The cavalry therefore, wherever they penetrated, produced a heap of bodies like a ruin. A new shout then assailed their ears; and when this attracted the attention of the two armies looking with amazement at each other, the dictator cries out "that his

lieutenant-general and his men had attacked the enemy on the rear:" he himself, on the shout being renewed, advances against them with redoubled vigour. When two armies, two different battles pressed on the Etrurians, now surrounded, in front and rear, and there was now no means of flight back to their camp, nor to the mountains, where new enemies were ready to oppose them, and the horses, now freed from their bridles, had scattered their riders in every direction, the principal part of the Veientians make precipitately for the Tiber. Such of the Fidenatians as survived, bend their course to the city of Fidenæ. Their flight hurries them in their state of panic into the midst of slaughter; they are cut to pieces on the banks; others, when driven into the water, were carried off by the eddies; even those who could swim were weighed down by fatigue, by their wounds, and by fright; a few out of the many make their way across. The other party make their way through the camp into the city. In the same direction their impetuosity carries the Romans in pursuit; Quintius more especially, and with him those who had just come down from the mountain, being the soldiers who were freshest for labour, because they had come up towards the close of the engagement.

### 34

These, after they entered the gate mixed with the enemy, make their way to the walls, and raise from their summit a signal to their friends of the town being taken. When the dictator saw this, (for he had now made his way into the deserted camp of the enemy,) he leads on the soldiers, who were now anxious to disperse themselves in quest of booty, entertaining a hope of a greater spoil in the city, to the gate; and being admitted within the walls, he proceeds to the citadel, whither he saw the crowds of fugitives hurrying. Nor was the slaughter in the city less than in the battle; until, throwing down their arms, begging nothing but their life, they surrendered to the dictator. The city and camp are plundered. On the following day, one captive being allotted to each horseman and centurion, and two to those whose valour had been conspicuous, and the rest being sold by auction, the dictator in triumph led back to Rome his army victorious and enriched with spoil; and having ordered the master of the horse to resign his office, he immediately resigned his own on the sixteenth day (after he had obtained it); surrendering in peace that authority which he had received during war and trepidations. Some annals have reported that there was a naval engagement with the Veientians at Fidenæ, a thing as difficult as it was incredible, the river even now not being broad enough for such a purpose; and at that time, as we learn from old writers, being considerably narrower: except that perhaps in disputing the passage of the river, magnifying, as will happen, the scuffle of a few ships, they sought the empty honour of a naval victory.

### 35

The following year had as military tribunes with consular power Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Lucius Horatius Barbatus. To the Veientians a truce for twenty years was granted, and one for three years to the Æquans, though they had solicited one for a longer term. There was quiet also from city riots. The year following, though not distinguished either by war abroad or by disturbance at home, was rendered celebrated by the games which had been vowed during the war, both through the magnificence displayed in them by the military tribunes, and also through the concourse of the neighbouring states. The tribunes with consular power were Appius Claudius Crassus, Spurius Nautilus Rutilus, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Sextus Julius Iulus. The exhibition, besides that they had come with the public

concurrence of their states, was rendered still more grateful to the strangers by the courtesy of their hosts. After the games seditious harangues were delivered by the tribunes of the commons upbraiding the multitude; "that stupified with admiration of those persons whom they hated, they kept themselves in a state of eternal bondage; and they not only had not the courage to aspire to the recovery of their hopes of a share in the consulship, but even in the electing of military tribunes, which elections lay open to both patricians and commons, they neither thought of themselves nor of their party. That they must therefore cease feeling surprised why no one busied himself about the interests of the commons: that labour and danger would be expended on objects whence emolument and honour might be expected. That there was nothing men would not attempt if great rewards were proposed for those who make great attempts. That any tribune of the commons should rush blindly at great risk and with no advantage into contentions, in consequence of which he may rest satisfied that the patricians against whom he should strive, will persecute him with inexpiable war, whilst with the commons in whose behalf he may have contended he will not be one whit the more honoured, was a thing neither to be expected nor required. That by great honours minds became great. That no plebeian would think meanly of himself, when they ceased to be despised by others. That the experiment should be at length made in the case of one or two, whether there were any plebeian capable of sustaining a high dignity, or whether it were next to a miracle and a prodigy that any one sprung from the commons should be a brave and industrious man. That by the utmost energy the point had been gained, that military tribunes with consular power might be chosen from among the commons also. That men well approved both in the civil and military line had stood as candidates. That during the first years they were hooted at, rejected, and ridiculed by the patricians: that at length they had ceased to expose themselves to insult. Nor did he for his part see why the law itself might not be repealed; by which that was made lawful which never could take place; for that there would be less cause for blushing at the injustice of the law, than if they were to be passed over through their own want of merit."

### 36

Harangues of this kind, listened to with approbation, induced some persons to stand for the military tribuneship, each avowing that if in office he would propose something to the advantage of the commons. Hopes were held out of a distribution of the public land, of colonies to be planted, and of money to be raised for the pay of the soldiers, by a tax imposed on the proprietors of estates. Then an opportunity was laid hold of by the military tribunes, so that during the absence of most persons from the city, when the patricians who were to be recalled by a private intimation were to attend on a certain day, a decree of the senate might be passed in the absence of the tribunes of the commons; that a report existed that the Volscians had gone forth into the lands of Hernici to commit depredations, the military tribunes were to set out to examine into the matter, and that an assembly should be held for the election of consuls. Having set out, they leave Appius Claudius, son of the decemvir, as prefect of the city, a young man of great energy, and one who had ever from his cradle imbibed a hatred of the tribunes and the commons. The tribunes of the commons had nothing for which they should contend, either with those persons now absent, who had procured the decree of the senate, nor with Appius, the matter being now all over.

### 37

Caius Sempronius Atratinus, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus were elected consuls. An affair in a foreign country, but one deserving of record, is stated to have happened in that year. Vulturnum, a city of the Etrurians, which is now Capua, was taken by the Samnites; and was called Capua from their leader, Capys, or, what is more probable, from its champaign grounds. But they took possession of it, after having been admitted into a share of the city and its lands, when the Etrurians had been previously much harassed in war; afterwards the new-comers attacked and massacred during the night the old inhabitants, when on a festival day they had become heavy with wine and sleep. After those transactions the consuls whom we have mentioned entered on office on the ides of December. Now not only those who had been expressly sent, reported that a Volscian war was impending; but ambassadors also from the Latins and Hernicians brought word, "that never at any former period were the Volscians more intent either in selecting commanders, or in levying an army; that they commonly observed either that arms and war were to be for ever consigned to oblivion, and the yoke to be submitted to; or that they must not yield to those, with whom they contended for empire, either in valour, perseverance, or military discipline." The accounts they brought were not unfounded; but neither the senate were so much affected by the circumstance; and Caius Sempronius, to whom the province fell by lot, relying on fortune, as if a most constant object, because he was the leader of a victorious state against one frequently vanquished, executed all his measures carelessly and remissly; so that there was more of the Roman discipline in the Volscian than in the Roman army. Success therefore, as on many other occasions, attended merit. In the first battle, which was entered on by Sempronius without either prudence or caution, they met, without their lines being strengthened by reserves, or their cavalry being properly stationed. The shout was the first presage which way the victory would incline; that raised by the enemy was louder and more continued; that by the Romans, being dissonant, uneven, and frequently repeated in a lifeless manner, betrayed the prostration of their spirits. The enemy advancing the more boldly on this account, pushed with their shields, brandished their swords; on the other side the helmets drooped, as the men looked around, and disconcerted they waver, and keep close to the main body. The ensigns at one time standing their ground are deserted by their supporters, at another time they retreat between their respective companies. As yet there was no absolute flight, nor was there victory. The Romans rather covered themselves than fought. The Volscians advanced, pushed against their line, saw more of the enemy slain than running away.

### 38

They now give way in every direction, the consul Sempronius in vain chiding and exhorting them; neither his authority nor his dignity availed any thing; and they would presently have turned their backs to the enemy, had not Sextus Tempanius, a commander of a troop of horse, with great presence of mind brought them support, when matters were now desperate. When he called out aloud, "that the horsemen who wished for the safety of the commonwealth should leap from their horses," the horsemen of all the troops being moved, as if by the consul's orders, he says, "unless this cohort by its arms can stop the progress of the enemy, there is an end of the empire. Follow my spear as your standard. Show to the Romans and Volscians, that no cavalry are equal to you as cavalry, nor infantry to you as infantry." When this exhortation was approved by a loud shout, he advances, holding his spear aloft. Wherever they go, they open a passage for themselves; putting forward their targets they force on to the place where they saw the distress of their friends greatest. The fight is restored in every part,

as far as their onset reached; nor was there a doubt but that if so few could, accomplish every thing at the same time, the enemy would have turned their backs.

### 39

And when they could now be withstood in no part, the Volscian commander gives a signal, that an opening should be made for the targeteers, the enemy's new cohort; until carried away by their impetuosity they should be cut off from their own party. When this was done, the horsemen were intercepted; nor were they able to force their way in the same direction as that through which they had passed; the enemy being thickest in that part through which they had made their way; and the consul and Roman legions, when they could no where see that party which had lately been a protection to the entire army, lest the enemy should cut down so many men of distinguished valour by cutting them off, push forward at all hazards. The Volscians, forming two fronts, sustained the attack of the consul and the legions on the one hand, with the other front pressed on Tempanius and the horsemen: and when they after repeated attempts were unable to force their way to their own party, they took possession of an eminence, and defended themselves by forming a circle, not without taking vengeance on their enemies. Nor was there an end of the battle before night. The consul also, never relaxing his efforts as long as any light remained, kept the enemy employed. The night at length separated them undecided as to victory; and such a panic seized both camps, from their uncertainty as to the issue, that, leaving behind their wounded and a great part of the baggage, both armies, as if vanquished, betook themselves to the adjoining mountains. The eminence, however, continued to be besieged till beyond midnight; but when word was brought to the besiegers that the camp was deserted, supposing that their own party had been defeated, they too fled, each whithersoever his fears carried him in the dark. Tempanius, through fear of an ambush, detained his men till daylight. Then having himself descended with a few men to look about, when he ascertained by inquiring from some of the wounded enemy that the camp of the Volscians was deserted, he joyously calls down his men from the eminence, and makes his way into the Roman camp: where, when he found every thing waste and deserted, and the same unsightliness as with the enemy, before the discovery of this mistake should bring back the Volscians, taking with him all the wounded he could, and not knowing what route the consul had taken, he proceeds by the shortest roads to the city.

### 40

The report of the unsuccessful battle and of the abandonment of the camp had already reached there; and, above all other objects, the horsemen were mourned not more with private than with public grief; and the consul Fabius, the city also being now alarmed, stationed guards before the gates; when the horsemen, seen at a distance, not without some degree of terror by those who doubted who they were, but soon being recognised, from a state of dread produced such joy, that a shout pervaded the city, of persons congratulating each other on the horsemen having returned safe and victorious; and from the houses a little before in mourning, as they had given up their friends for lost, persons were seen running into the street; and the affrighted mothers and wives, forgetful of all ceremony through joy, ran out to meet the band, each one rushing up to her own friends, and through extravagance of delight scarcely retaining power over body or mind. The tribunes of the people who had appointed a day of trial for Marcus Postumius and Titus Quintius, because of the unsuccessful battle fought near Veii by their means, thought that an opportunity now presented itself for renewing the public

odium against them by reason of the recent displeasure felt against the consul Sempronius. Accordingly, a meeting being convened, when they exclaimed aloud that the commonwealth had been betrayed at Veii by the generals, that the army was afterwards betrayed by the consul in the country of the Volscians, because they had escaped with impunity, that the very brave horsemen were consigned to slaughter, that the camp was shamefully deserted; Caius Julius, one of the tribunes, ordered the horseman Tempanius to be cited, and in presence of them he says, "Sextus Tempanius, I ask of you, whether do you think that Caius Sempronius the consul either commenced the battle at the proper time, or strengthened his line with reserves, or that he discharged any duty of a good consul? or did you yourself, when the Roman legions were beaten, of your own judgment dismount the cavalry and restore the fight? then when you and the horsemen with you were cut off from our army, did either the consul himself come to your relief, or did he send you succour? Then again, on the following day, had you any assistance any where? or did you and your cohort by your own bravery make your way into your camp? Did you find a consul or an army in the camp, or did you find the camp forsaken, the wounded soldiers left behind? These things are to be declared by you this day, as becomes your valour and honour, by which alone the republic has stood its ground on this day. In a word, where is Caius Sempronius, where are our legions? Have you been deserted, or have you deserted the consul and the army? In a word, have we been defeated, or have we gained the victory?"

#### 41

In answer to these questions the language of Tempanius is said to have been entirely devoid of elegance, but firm as became a soldier, not vainly parading his own merits, nor exulting in the inculpation of others: "How much military skill Caius Sempronius possessed, that it was not his business as a soldier to judge with respect to his commander, but the business of the Roman people when they were choosing consuls at the election. Wherefore that they should not require from him a detail of the plans to be adopted by a general, nor of the qualifications to be looked for in a consul; which matters required to be considered by great minds and great capacities; but what he saw, that he could state. That before he was separated from his own party, he saw the consul fighting in the first line, encouraging his men, actively employed amid the Roman ensigns and the weapons of the enemy; that he was afterwards carried out of sight of his friends. That from the din and shouting he perceived that the contest was protracted till night; nor did he think it possible, from the great numbers of the enemy, that they could force their way to the eminence which he had seized on. Where the army might be, he did not know; he supposed that as he protected himself and his men, by advantage of situation when in danger, in the same way the consul, for the purpose of preserving his army, had selected a more secure place for his camp. Nor did he think that the affairs of the Volscians were in a better condition than those of the Roman people. That fortune and the night had occasioned a multitude of mistakes on both sides:" and then when he begged that they would not detain him, fatigued with toil and wounds, he was dismissed with high encomiums, not more on his bravery than his modesty. While these things were going on, the consul was at the temple of Rest on the road leading to Lavici. Waggons and other modes of conveyance were sent thither from the city, and took up the army, exhausted by the action and the travelling by night. Soon after the consul entered the city, not more anxious to remove the blame from himself, than to bestow on Tempanius the praises so well deserved. Whilst the citizens were still sorrowful in consequence of their ill success, and incensed against their leaders, Marcus Postumius,

being arraigned and brought before them, he who had been military tribune with consular power at Veii, is condemned in a fine of ten thousand *asses* in weight, of brass. His colleague, Titus Quintius, who endeavoured to shift the entire blame of that period on his previously condemned colleague, was acquitted by all the tribes, because both in the country of the Volscians, when consul, he had conducted business successfully under the auspices of the dictator, Postumius Tubertus, and also at Fidenæ, as lieutenant-general of another dictator, Mamercus Æmilius. The memory of his father, Cincinnatus, a man highly deserving of veneration, is said to have been serviceable to him, as also Capitolinus Quintius, now advanced in years, humbly entreating that they would not suffer him who had so short a time to live to be the bearer of such dismal tidings to Cincinnatus.

#### 42

The commons elected as tribunes of the people, though absent, Sextus Tempanius, Aulus Sellius, Sextus Antistius, and Spurius Icilius, whom the horsemen by the advice of Tempanius had appointed to command them as centurions. The senate, inasmuch as the name of consuls was now becoming displeasing through the hatred felt towards Sempronius, ordered that military tribunes with consular power should be elected. Those elected were Lucius Manlius Capitolinus, Quintus Antonius Merenda, Lucius Papirius Mugillanus. At the very commencement of the year, Lucius Hortensius, a tribune of the people, appointed a day of trial for Caius Sempronius, a consul of the preceding year, and when his four colleagues, in sight of the Roman people, entreated him that he would not involve in vexation their unoffending general, in whose case nothing but fortune could be blamed, Hortensius took offence, thinking it to be a trying of his perseverance, and that the accused depended not on the entreaties of the tribunes, which were merely used for show, but on their protection. Therefore now turning to him, he asked, "Where were those patrician airs, where the spirit supported and confiding in conscious innocence; that a man of consular dignity took shelter under the shade of the tribunes?" Another time to his colleagues, "What do you intend doing, if I go on with the prosecution; will you wrest their jurisdiction from the people and overturn the tribunitian authority?" When they said that, "both with respect to Sempronius and all others, the power of the Roman people was supreme; that they had neither the will nor the power to do away with the judgment of the people; but if their entreaties for their commander, who was to them in the light of a parent, were to prove of no avail, that they would change their apparel along with him:" then Hortensius says, "The commons of Rome shall not see their tribunes in the garb of culprits. To Caius Sempronius I have nothing more to say, since when in office he has attained this good fortune, to be so dear to his soldiers." Nor was the dutiful attachment of the four tribunes more grateful alike to the commons and patricians, than was the temper of Hortensius, which yielded so readily to their just entreaties. Fortune no longer indulged the Æquans, who had embraced the doubtful victory of the Volscians as their own.

#### 43

In the year following, when Numerius Fabius Vibulanus and Titus Quintius Capitolinus, son of Capitolinus, were consuls, nothing worth mentioning was performed under the conduct of Fabius, to whom that province had fallen by lot. When the Æquans had merely showed their dastardly army, they were routed by a shameful flight, without any great honour to the consul; therefore a triumph is refused. However in consequence of having effaced the ignominy of Sempronius's defeat, he was allowed to enter the city

with an ovation. As the war was terminated with less difficulty than they had apprehended, so in the city, from a state of tranquillity, an unexpected mass of dissensions arose between the commons and patricians, which commenced with doubling the number of quæstors. When the patricians approved most highly of this measure, (viz. that, besides the two city quæstors, two should attend the consuls to discharge some duties of the military service,) after it was moved by the consuls, the tribunes of the commons contended in opposition to the consuls, that half of the quæstors should be appointed from the commons; for up to that time all patricians were appointed. Against this proceeding both the consuls and patricians at first strove with all their might; then by making a concession that the will of the people should be equally free in the case of quæstors, as they enjoyed in the election of tribunes with consular power, when they produced but little effect, they gave up the entire matter about increasing the number of quæstors. When relinquished, the tribunes take it up, and other seditious schemes are continually started, among which is that of the agrarian law. On account of these disturbances the senate was desirous that consuls should be elected rather than tribunes, but no decree of the senate could be passed in consequence of the protests of the tribunes; the government from being consular came to an interregnum, and not even that without a great struggle (for the tribunes prevented the patricians from meeting). When the greater part of the following year was wasted in contentions by the new tribunes of the commons and some interreges, the tribunes at one time hindering the patricians from assembling to declare an interrex, at another time preventing the interrex from passing a decree regarding the election of consuls; at length Lucius Papirius Mugillanus, being nominated interrex, censuring now the patricians, now the tribunes of the people, asserted "that the state, deserted and forsaken by man, being taken up by the providence and care of the gods, subsisted by the Veientian truce and the dilatoriness of the Æquans. From which quarter if any alarm of danger be heard, did it please them that the state, left without a patrician magistrate, should be taken by surprise? that there should be no army, nor general to enlist one? Will they repel a foreign war by an intestine one? And if they both meet, the Roman state can scarcely be saved, even by the aid of the gods, from being overwhelmed. That they, by resigning each a portion of their strict right, should establish concord by a compromise; the patricians, by suffering military tribunes with consular authority to be elected; the tribunes of the commons, by ceasing to protest against the four quæstors being elected promiscuously from the commons and patricians by the free suffrage of the people."

#### 44

The election of tribunes was first held. There were chosen tribunes with consular power, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus a third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a second time, Marcus Manlius, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus. On the last-named tribune presiding at the election of quæstors, and among several other plebeians a son of Antistius, a plebeian tribune, and a brother of Sextus Pompilius, also a tribune of the commons, becoming candidates, neither the power nor interest of the latter at all availed so as to prevent those, whose fathers and grandfathers they had seen consuls, from being preferred for their high birth. All the tribunes of the commons became enraged, above all Pompilius and Antistius were incensed at the rejection of their relatives. "What could this mean? that neither through their own kindnesses, nor in consequence of the injurious treatment of the patricians, nor even through the natural desire of making use of their new right, as that is now allowed which was not allowed before, was any

individual of the commons elected if not a military tribune, not even a quæstor. That the prayers of a father in behalf of a son, those of one brother in behalf of another, had been of no avail, though proceeding from tribunes of the people, a sacrosanct power created for the support of liberty. There must have been some fraud in the matter, and Aulus Sempronius must have used more of artifice at the elections than was compatible with honour." They complained that by the unfairness of his conduct their friends had been kept out of office. Accordingly as no attack could be made on him, secured by his innocence and by the office he then held, they turned their resentment against Caius Sempronius, uncle to Atratinus; and, with the aid of their colleague Marcus Cornelius, they entered a prosecution against him on account of the disgrace sustained in the Volscian war. By the same tribunes mention was frequently made in the senate concerning the division of the lands, (which scheme Caius Sempronius had always most vigorously opposed,) they supposing, as was really the case, that the accused, should he give up the question, would become less valued among the patricians, or by persevering up to the period of trial he would give offence to the commons. He preferred to expose himself to the torrent of popular prejudice, and to injure his own cause, than to be wanting to the public cause; and he stood firm in the same sentiment, "that no largess should be made, which was sure to turn to the benefit of the three tribunes; that it was not land was sought for the people, but odium for him. That he too would undergo that storm with a determined mind; nor should either himself, nor any other citizen, be of so much consequence to the senate, that in showing tenderness to an individual, a public injury may be done." When the day of trial came, he, having pleaded his own cause with a spirit by no means subdued, is condemned in a fine of fifteen thousand *asses*, though the patricians tried every means to make the people relent. The same year Postumia, a Vestal virgin, is tried for a breach of chastity, though guiltless of the charge; having fallen under suspicion in consequence of her dress being too gay and her manners less reserved than becomes a virgin, not avoiding the imputation with sufficient care. The case was first deferred, she was afterwards acquitted; but the chief pontiff, by the instruction of the college, commanded her to refrain from indiscreet mirth, and to dress with more regard to sanctity than elegance. In the same year Cumæ, a city which the Greeks then occupied, was taken by the Campanians.

#### 45

The following year had for military tribunes with consular power, Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus: to the good fortune of the Roman people, the year was remarkable rather by great danger than by losses. The slaves conspire to set fire to the city in several quarters, and whilst the people should be intent in bearing assistance to the houses in every direction, to take up arms and seize the citadel and Capitol. Jupiter frustrated their horrid designs; and the offenders, being seized on the information of two (accomplices), were punished. Ten thousand *asses* in weight of brass paid out of the treasury, a sum which at that time was considered wealth, and their freedom, was the reward conferred on the parties who discovered. The Æquans then began to prepare for a renewal of hostilities; and an account was brought to Rome from good authority, that new enemies, the Lavicanians, were forming a coalition with the old ones. The state had now become habituated, as it were, to the anniversary arms of the Æquans. When ambassadors were sent to Lavici and brought back from thence an evasive answer, from which it became evident that neither war was intended there, nor would peace be of long continuance, instructions were given to the Tusculans, that they should observe attentively, lest any new commotion should arise at

Lavici. To the military tribunes, with consular power, of the following year, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Marcus Papirius Mugillanus, Caius Servilius the son of Priscus, in whose dictatorship Fidenæ had been taken, ambassadors came from Tusculum, just as they entered on their office. The ambassadors brought word that the Lavicanians had taken arms, and having ravaged the Tusculan territory in conjunction with the army of the Æquans, that they had pitched their camp at Algidum. Then war was proclaimed against the Lavicanians; and a decree of the senate having been passed, that two of the tribunes should proceed to the war, and that one should manage affairs at Rome, a contest suddenly sprung up among the tribunes. Each represented himself as a fitter person to take the lead in the war, and scorned the management of the city as disagreeable and inglorious. When the senate beheld with surprise the indecent contention between the colleagues, Quintus Servilius says, "Since there is no respect either for this house, or for the commonwealth, parental authority shall set aside this altercation of yours. My son, without having recourse to lots, shall take charge of the city. I wish that those who are so desirous of managing the war, may conduct it with more consideration and harmony than they covet it."

#### 46

It was determined that the levy should not be made out of the entire body of the people indiscriminately. Ten tribes were drawn by lot; the two tribunes enlisted the younger men out of these, and led them to the war. The contentions which commenced between them in the city, were, through the same eager ambition for command, carried to a much greater height in the camp: on no one point did they think alike; they contended strenuously for their own opinion; they desired their own plans, their own commands only to be ratified; they mutually despised each other, and were despised, until, on the remonstrances of the lieutenant-generals, it was at length so arranged, that they should hold the supreme command on alternate days. When an account of these proceedings was brought to Rome, Quintus Servilius, taught by years and experience, is said to have prayed to the immortal gods, that the discord of the tribunes might not prove more detrimental to the commonwealth than it had done at Veii: and, as if some certain disaster was impending over them, he pressed his son to enlist soldiers and prepare arms. Nor was he a false prophet. For under the conduct of Lucius Sergius, whose day of command it was, being suddenly attacked by the Æquans on disadvantageous ground near the enemy's camp, after having been decoyed thither by the vain hope of taking it, because the enemy had counterfeited fear and betaken themselves to their rampart, they were beaten down a declivity, and great numbers were overpowered and slaughtered by their tumbling one over the other rather than by flight: and the camp, retained with difficulty on that day, was, on the following day, deserted by a shameful flight through the opposite gate, the enemy having invested it in several directions. The generals, lieutenant-generals, and such of the main body of the army as kept near the colours, made their way to Tusculum; others, dispersed in every direction through the fields, hastened to Rome by different roads, announcing a heavier loss than had been sustained. There was less of consternation, because the result corresponded to the apprehensions of persons; and because the reinforcements, which they could look to in this distressing state of things, had been prepared by the military tribune: and by his orders, after the disturbance in the city was quieted by the inferior magistrates, scouts were instantly despatched, and brought intelligence that the generals and the army were at Tusculum; that the enemy had not removed their camp. And, what raised their spirits most, Quintus Servilius Priscus was created dictator in pursuance of a decree of

the senate; a man whose judgment in public affairs the state had experienced as well on many previous occasions, as in the issue of that war, because he alone had expressed his apprehensions of the result of the disputes among the tribunes, before the occurrence of the misfortune; he having appointed for his master of the horse, by whom, as military tribune, he had been nominated dictator, his own son, as some have stated, (for others mention that Ahala Servilius was master of the horse that year;) and setting out to the war with his newly-raised army, after sending for those who were at Tusculum, chose ground for his camp at the distance of two miles from the enemy.

#### 47

The arrogance and negligence arising from success, which had previously existed in the Roman generals, were now transferred to the Æquans. Accordingly, when in the very first engagement the dictator had thrown the enemy's van into disorder by a charge of his cavalry, he immediately ordered the infantry to advance, and slew one of his own standard-bearers who hesitated in so doing. So great was the ardour to fight, that the Æquans did not stand the shock; and when, vanquished in the field, they made for their camp in a precipitate flight, the taking of it was shorter in time and less in trouble than the battle had been. After the camp had been taken and plundered, and the dictator had given up the spoil to the soldiers, and the cavalry, who had pursued the enemy in their flight, brought back intelligence that all the Lavicanians were vanquished, and that a considerable number of the Æquans had fled to Lavici, the army was marched to Lavici on the following day; and the town, being invested on all sides, was taken by storm and plundered. The dictator, having marched back his victorious army to Rome, resigned his office on the eighth day after he had been appointed; and before agrarian disturbances could be raised by the tribunes of the commons, allusion having been made to a division of the Lavicanian land, the senate very opportunely voted in full assembly that a colony should be conducted to Lavici. One thousand five hundred colonists were sent from the city, and received each two acres. Lavici being taken, and subsequently Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, and Lucius Servilius Structus, and Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, all these a second time, and Spurius Rutilius Crassus being military tribunes with consular authority, and on the following year Aulus Sempronius Atratinus a third time, and Marcus Papirius Mugillanus and Spurius Nautius Rutilus both a second time, affairs abroad were peaceable for two years, but at home there was dissension from the agrarian laws.

#### 48

The disturbers of the commons were Spurius Mæcilius a fourth time, and Spurius Mætilius a third time, tribunes of the people, both elected during their absence. And after they had proposed a bill, that the land taken from the enemy should be divided man by man, and the property of a considerable part of the nobles would be confiscated by such a measure; for there was scarcely any of the land, considering the city itself was built on a strange soil, that had not been acquired by arms; nor had any other persons except the commons possession of that which had been sold or publicly assigned, a violent contest between the commons and patricians seemed to be at hand; nor did the military tribunes discover either in the senate, or in the private meetings of the nobles, any line of conduct to pursue; when Appius Claudius, the grandson of him who had been decemvir for compiling the laws, being the youngest senator of the meeting, is stated to have said; "that he brought from home an old and a family scheme, for that his great-grandfather, Appius Claudius, had shown the patricians one method of baffling

tribunitian power by the protests of their colleagues; that men of low rank were easily led away from their opinions by the influence of men of distinction, if language were addressed to them suitable to the times, rather than to the dignity of the speakers. That their sentiments were regulated by their circumstances. When they should see that their colleagues, having the start in introducing the measure, had engrossed to themselves the whole credit of it with the commons, and that no room was left for them, that they would without reluctance incline to the interest of the senate, through which they may conciliate the favour not only of the principal senators, but of the whole body." All expressing their approbation, and above all, Quintus Servilius Priscus eulogizing the youth, because he had not degenerated from the Claudian race, a charge is given, that they should gain over as many of the college of the tribunes as they could, to enter protests. On the breaking up of the senate the tribunes are applied to by the leading patricians: by persuading, admonishing, and assuring them "that it would be gratefully felt by them individually, and gratefully by the entire senate, they prevailed on six to give in their protests." And on the following day, when the proposition was submitted to the senate, as had been preconcerted, concerning the sedition which Mæcilius and Mætilius were exciting by urging a largess of a most mischievous precedent, such speeches were delivered by the leading senators, that each declared "that for his part he had no measure to advise, nor did he see any other resource in any thing, except in the aid of the tribunes. That to the protection of that power the republic, embarrassed as it was, fled for succour, just as a private individual in distress. That it was highly honourable to themselves and to their office that there resided not in the tribuneship more strength to harass the senate and to excite disunion among the several orders, than to resist their perverse colleagues." Then a shout arose throughout the entire senate, when the tribunes were appealed to from all parts of the house: then silence being established, those who had been prepared through the interest of the leading men, declare that they will protest against the measure which had been proposed by their colleagues, and which the senate considers to tend to the dissolution of the state. Thanks were returned to the protestors by the senate. The movers of the law, having convened a meeting, and styling their colleagues traitors to the interests of the commons and the slaves of the consulars, and after inveighing against them in other abusive language, relinquished the measure.

#### 49

The following year, on which Publius Cornelius Cossus, Caius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Quintus Cincinnatus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus were military tribunes with consular power, would have brought with it two continual wars, had not the Veientian campaign been deferred by the religious scruples of the leaders, whose lands were destroyed, chiefly by the ruin of the country-seats, in consequence of the Tiber having overflowed its banks. At the same time the loss sustained three years before prevented the Æquans from affording assistance to the Bolani, a state belonging to their own nation. Excursions had been made from thence on the contiguous territory of Lavici, and hostilities were committed on the new colony. As they had expected to be able to defend this act of aggression by the concurrent support of all the Æquans, when deserted by their friends they lost both their town and lands, after a war not even worth mentioning, through a siege and one slight battle. An attempt made by Lucius Sextius, tribune of the people, to move a law by which colonists might be sent to Bolæ also, in like manner as to Lavici, was defeated by the protests of his colleagues, who declared openly that they would suffer no order of the commons to be passed, unless with the approbation of the

senate. On the following year the Æquans, having recovered Bolæ, and sent a colony thither, strengthened the town with additional fortifications, the military tribunes with consular power at Rome being Cneius Cornelius Cossus, Lucius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus a second time, Marcus Postumius Regillensis. The war against the Æquans was intrusted to the latter, a man of depraved mind, which victory manifested more effectually than war. For having with great activity levied an army and marched it to Bolæ, after breaking down the spirits of the Æquans in slight engagements, he at length forced his way into the town. He then turned the contest from the enemy to his countrymen; and when during the assault he had proclaimed, that the plunder should belong to the soldiers, after the town was taken he broke his word. I am more inclined to believe that this was the cause of the displeasure of the army, than that in a city lately sacked and in a colony still young there was less booty found than the tribune had represented. An expression of his heard in the assembly, which was very silly and almost insane, after he returned into the city on being sent for on account of some tribunitian disturbances, increased this bad feeling; on Sextus, a tribune of the commons, proposing an agrarian law, and at the same time declaring that he would also propose that colonists should be sent to Bolæ; for that those who had taken them by their arms were deserving that the city and lands of Bolæ should belong to them, he exclaimed, "Woe to my soldiers, if they are not quiet;" which words, when heard, gave not greater offence to the assembly, than they did soon after to the patricians. And the plebeian tribune being a sharp man and by no means devoid of eloquence, having found among his adversaries this haughty temper and unbridled tongue, which by irritating and exciting he could urge into such expressions as might prove a source of odium not only to himself, but to his cause and to the entire body, he strove to draw Postumius into discussion more frequently than any of the college of military tribunes. Then indeed, after so brutal and inhuman an expression, "Romans," says he, "do ye hear him threatening woe to his soldiers as to slaves? Yet this brute will appear to you more deserving of so high an honour than those who send you into colonies, after having granted to you cities and lands; who provide a settlement for your old age, who fight against such cruel and arrogant adversaries in defence of your interests. Begin then to wonder why few persons now undertake your cause. What are they to expect from you? is it honours which you give to your adversaries rather than to the champions of the Roman people. You felt indignant just now, on hearing an expression of this man? What matters that, if you will prefer this man who threatens woe to you, to those who are desirous to secure for you lands, settlements, and property?"

## 50

This expression of Postumius being conveyed to the soldiers, excited in the camp much greater indignation. "Did the embezzler of the spoils and the defrauder threaten woe also to the soldiers?" Accordingly, when the murmur of indignation now became avowed, and the quæstor, Publius Sestius, thought that the mutiny might be quashed by the same violence by which it had been excited; on his sending a lictor to one of the soldiers who was clamorous, when a tumult and scuffle arose from the circumstance, being struck with a stone he retired from the crowd; the person who had given the blow, further observing with a sneer, "That the quæstor got what the general had threatened to the soldiers." Postumius being sent for in consequence of the disturbance, exasperated every thing by the severity of his inquiries and the cruelty of his punishment. At last, when he set no bounds to his resentment, a crowd collecting at the cries of those whom he had ordered to be put to death under a hurdle, he himself madly

ran down from his tribunal to those who were interrupting the execution. There, when the lictors, endeavouring to disperse them, as also the centurions, irritated the crowd, their indignation burst forth to such a degree, that the military tribune was overwhelmed with stones by his own army. When an account was brought to Rome of so heinous a deed, the military tribunes endeavouring to procure a decree of the senate for an inquiry into the death of their colleague, the tribunes of the people entered their protest. But that contention branched out of another subject of dispute; because the patricians had become uneasy lest the commons, through dread of the inquiries and through resentment, might elect military tribunes from their own body: and they strove with all their might that consuls should be elected. When the plebeian tribunes did not suffer the decree of the senate to pass, and when they also protested against the election of consuls, the affair was brought to an interregnum. The victory was then on the side of the patricians.

## 51

Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, interrex, presiding in the assembly, Aulus Cornelius Cossus, Lucius Furius Medullinus were elected consuls. During their office, at the commencement of the year, a decree of the senate was passed that the tribunes should, at the earliest opportunity, propose to the commons an inquiry into the murder of Postumius, and that the commons should appoint whomsoever they thought proper to conduct the inquiry. The office is intrusted to the consuls by the commons with the consent of the people at large, who, after having executed the task with the utmost moderation and lenity by punishing only a few, who there are sufficient grounds for believing put a period to their own lives, still could not succeed so as to prevent the people from feeling the utmost displeasure. "That constitutions, which were enacted for their advantages, lay so long unexecuted; while a law passed in the mean time regarding their blood and punishment was instantly put into execution and possessed full force." This was a most seasonable time, after the punishment of the mutiny, that the division of the territory of Bolæ should be presented as a soother to their minds; by which proceeding they would have diminished their eagerness for an agrarian law, which tended to expel the patricians from the public land unjustly possessed by them. Then this very indignity exasperated their minds, that the nobility persisted not only in retaining the public lands, which they got possession of by force, but would not even distribute to the commons the unoccupied land lately taken from the enemy, and which would, like the rest, soon become the prey of a few. The same year the legions were led out by the consul Furius against the Volscians, who were ravaging the country of the Hernicians, and finding no enemy there, they took Ferentinum, whither a great multitude of the Volscians had betaken themselves. There was less plunder than they had expected; because the Volscians, seeing small hopes of keeping it, carried off their effects and abandoned the town. It was taken on the following day, being nearly deserted. The land itself was given to the Hernicians.

## 52

The year, tranquil through the moderation of the tribunes, was succeeded by one in which Lucius Icilius was plebeian tribune, Quintus Fabius Ambustus, Caius Furius Pacilus being consuls. When this man, at the very commencement of the year, began to excite disturbances by the publication of agrarian laws, as if such was the task of his name and family, a pestilence broke out, more alarming however than deadly, which diverted men's thoughts from the forum and political disputes to their domestic

concerns and the care of their personal health; and persons think that it was less mischievous than the disturbance would have proved. The state being freed from this (which was attended) with a very general spread of illness, though very few deaths, the year of pestilence was followed by a scarcity of grain, the cultivation of the land having been neglected, as usually happens, Marcus Papirius Atratinus, Caius Nautius Rutilus being consuls. The famine would now have proved more dismal than the pestilence, had not the scarcity been relieved by sending envoys around all the states, which border on the Tuscan Sea and the Tiber, to purchase the corn. The envoys were prevented from trading in an insolent manner by the Samnitiens, who were in possession of Capua and Cumæ; on the contrary, they were kindly assisted by the tyrants of Sicily. The Tiber brought down the greatest supplies, through the very active zeal of the Etrurians. In consequence of the sickness, the consuls laboured under a paucity of hands in conducting the government; when not finding more than one senator for each embassy, they were obliged to attach to it two knights. Except from the pestilence and the scarcity, there was no internal or external annoyance during those two years. But as soon as these causes of anxiety disappeared, all those evils by which the state had hitherto been distressed, started up, discord at home, war abroad.

### 53

In the consulship of Mamercus Æmilius and Caius Valerius Potitus, the Æquans made preparations for war; the Volscians, though not by public authority, taking up arms, and entering the service as volunteers for pay. When on the report of these enemies having started up, (for they had now passed into the Latin and Hernican land,) Marcus Mænius, a proposer of an agrarian law, would obstruct Valerius the consul when holding a levy, and when no one took the military oath against his own will under the protection of the tribune; an account is suddenly brought that the citadel of Carventa had been seized by the enemy. The disgrace incurred by this event was both a source of odium to Mænius in the hands of the fathers, and it moreover afforded to the other tribunes, already pre-engaged as protestors against an agrarian law, a more justifiable pretext for resisting their colleague. Wherefore after the matter had been protracted for a long time by wrangling, the consuls calling gods and men to witness, that whatever disgrace or loss had either been already sustained or hung over them from the enemy, the blame of it would be imputed to Mænius, who hindered the levy; Mænius, on the other hand, exclaiming "that if the unjust occupiers would yield up possession of the public land, he would cause no delay to the levy:" the nine tribunes interposing a decree, put an end to the contest; and they proclaimed as the determination of their college, "that they would, for the purposes of the levy, in opposition to the protest of their colleague, afford their aid to Caius Valerius the consul in inflicting fines and other penalties on those who refused to enlist." When the consul, armed with this decree, ordered into prison a few who appealed to the tribune, the rest took the military oath from fear. The army was marched to the citadel of Carventa, and though hated by and disliking the consul, they on their first arrival recovered the citadel in a spirited manner, having dislodged those who were protecting it; some in quest of plunder having straggled away through carelessness from the garrison, afforded an opportunity for attacking them. There was considerable booty from the constant devastations, because all had been collected into a safe place. This the consul ordered the quæstors to sell by auction and carry it into the treasury, declaring that the army should then participate in the booty, when they had not declined the service. The exasperation of the commons and soldiers against the consul was then augmented. Accordingly, when by a decree of the senate the consul

entered the city in an ovation, rude verses in couplets were thrown out with military licence; in which the consul was severely handled, whilst the name of Mænius was cried up with encomiums, when at every mention of the tribune the attachment of the surrounding people vied by their applause and commendation with the loud praises of the soldiers. And that circumstance occasioned more anxiety to the patricians, than the wanton raillery of the soldiers against the consul, which was in a manner a usual thing; and the election of Mænius among the military tribunes being deemed as no longer questionable, if he should become a candidate, he was kept out of it by an election for consuls being appointed.

#### 54

Cneius Cornelius Cossus and Lucius Furius Medullinus were elected consuls. The commons were not on any other occasion more dissatisfied at the election of tribunes not being conceded to them. This sense of annoyance they both manifested at the nomination of quæstors, and avenged by then electing plebeians for the first time as quæstors; so that in electing four, room was left for only one patrician; whilst three plebeians, Quintus Silius, Publius Aelius, and Publius Pupius, were preferred to young men of the most illustrious families. I learn that the principal advisers of the people, in this so independent a bestowing of their suffrage, were the Icili, three out of this family most hostile to the patricians having been elected tribunes of the commons for that year, by their holding out the grand prospect of many and great achievements to the people, who became consequently most ardent; after they had affirmed that they would not stir a step, if the people would not, even at the election of quæstors, the only one which the senate had left open to the commons and patricians, evince sufficient spirit to accomplish that which they had so long wished for, and which was allowed by the laws. This therefore the people considered an important victory; and that quæstorship they estimated not by the extent of the honour itself; but an access seemed opened to new men to the consulship and the honours of a triumph. The patricians, on the other hand, expressed their indignation not so much at the honours of the state being shared, but at their being lost; they said that, "if matters be so, children need no longer be educated; who being driven from the station of their ancestors, and seeing others in the possession of their dignity, would be left without command or power, as mere salii and flamens, with no other employment than to offer sacrifices for the people." The minds of both parties being irritated, since the commons had both assumed new courage, and had now three leaders of the most distinguished reputation for the popular side; the patricians seeing that the result of all the elections would be similar to that for quæstors, wherever the people had the choice from both sides, strove vigorously for the election of consuls, which was not yet open to them. The Icili, on the contrary, said that military tribunes should be elected, and that posts of honour should be at length imparted to the commons.

#### 55

But the consuls had no proceeding on hand, by opposing which they could extort that which they desired; when by an extraordinary and favourable occurrence an account is brought that the Volscians and Æquans had proceeded beyond their frontiers into the Latin and Hernican territory to commit depredations. For which war when the consuls commence to hold a levy in pursuance of a decree of the senate, the tribunes then strenuously opposed them, affirming that such a fortunate opportunity was presented to them and to the commons. There were three, and all very active men, and of

respectable families, considering they were plebeians. Two of them choose each a consul, to be watched by them with unremitting assiduity; to one is assigned the charge sometimes of restraining, sometimes of exciting, the commons by his harangues. Neither the consuls effected the levy, nor the tribunes the election which they desired. Then fortune inclining to the cause of the people, expresses arrive that the Æquans had attacked the citadel of Carventa, the soldiers who were in garrison having straggled away in quest of plunder, and had put to death the few left to guard it; that others were slain as they were returning to the citadel, and others who were dispersed through the country. This circumstance, prejudicial to the state, added force to the project of the tribunes. For, assailed by every argument to no purpose that they would then at length desist from obstructing the war, when they yielded neither to the public storm, nor to the odium themselves, they succeed so far as to have a decree of the senate passed for the election of military tribunes; with an express stipulation, however, that no candidate should be considered, who was tribune of the people that year, and that no one should be re-elected plebeian tribune for the year following; the senate undoubtedly pointing at the Icilians, whom they suspected of aiming at the consular tribuneship as the reward of their turbulent tribuneship of the commons. Then the levy began to proceed, and preparations for war began to be made with the concurrence of all ranks. The diversity of the statements of writers leaves it uncertain whether both the consuls set out for the citadel of Carventa, or whether one remained behind to hold the elections; those facts in which they do not disagree are to be received as certain, that they retired from the citadel of Carventa, after having carried on the attack for a long time to no purpose: that Verrugo in the Volscian country was taken by the same army, and that great devastation had been made, and considerable booty captured both amongst the Æquans and in the Volscian territory.

## 56

At Rome, as the commons gained the victory so far as to have the kind of elections which they preferred, so in the issue of the elections the patricians were victorious; for, contrary to the expectation of all, three patricians were elected military tribunes with consular power, Caius Julius Julus, Publius Cornelius Cossus, Caius Servilius Ahala. They say that an artifice was employed by the patricians (with which the Iciliii charged them even at the time); that by intermixing a crowd of unworthy candidates with the deserving, they turned away the thoughts of the people from the plebeian through the disgust excited by the remarkable meanness of some. Then tidings are brought that the Volscians and Æquans, whether the retention of the citadel of Carventa raised their hopes, or the loss of the garrison at Verrugo excited their resentment, united in making preparations for war with the utmost energy: that the Antians were the chief promoters of the project; that their ambassadors had gone about the states of both these nations, upbraiding their dastardly conduct; that shut up within their walls, they had on the preceding year suffered the Romans to carry their depredations throughout their country, and the garrison of Verrugo to be overpowered. That now not only armed troops but colonies also were sent into their territories; and that not only the Romans distributed among themselves and kept their property, but that they had made a present to the Hernici of Ferentinum what had been taken from them. After their minds were inflamed by these remonstrances, according as they made applications to each, a great number of young men were enlisted. Thus the youth of all the states were drawn together to Antium: there they pitched their camp and awaited the enemy. When these accounts are reported at Rome with much greater alarm than the circumstance

warranted, the senate instantly ordered a dictator to be nominated, which was their last resource in perilous circumstances. They say that Julius and Cornelius were much offended at this proceeding, and that the matter was accomplished with great warmth of temper: when the leading men of the patricians, complaining fruitlessly that the military tribunes would not conform to the judgment of the senate, at last appealed even to the tribunes of the commons, and stated that force had been used even with the consuls by that body on a similar occasion. The plebeian tribunes, overjoyed at the dissension among the patricians, said, "that there was no support in persons who were not held in the rank of citizens, nor even of human beings; if ever the posts of honour were open, and the administration of government were shared, that they should then see that the decrees of the senate should not be invalidated by the arrogance of magistrates; that in the mean while, the patricians, unrestrained as they were by respect for laws or magistrates, must manage the tribunitian office also by themselves."

## 57

This contention occupied men's thoughts at a most unseasonable time, when a war of such importance was on hand: until when Julius and Cornelius descanted for a long time by turns, on "how unjust it was that a post of honour conferred on them by the people was now to be wrested from them, since they were generals sufficiently qualified to conduct that war." Then Ahala Servilius, military tribune, says, "that he had remained silent for so long a time, not because he was uncertain as to his opinion, (for what good citizen can separate his own interests from those of the public,) but because he wished that his colleagues should of their own accord yield to the authority of the senate, rather than suffer the tribunitian power to be suppliantly appealed to against them. That even then, if circumstances permitted, he would still give them time to retract an opinion too pertinaciously adhered to. But since the exigences of war do not await the counsels of men, that the public weal was of deeper importance to him than the good will of his colleagues, and if the senate continued in the same sentiments, he would, on the following night, nominate a dictator; and if any one protested against a decree of the senate being passed, that he would be content with its authority."<sup>158</sup> When by this conduct he bore away the well-merited praises and good will of all, having named Publius Cornelius dictator, he himself being appointed by him as master of the horse, served as an instance to those who considered his case and that of his colleagues, how much more attainable public favour and honour sometimes were to those who evinced no desire for them. The war was in no respect a memorable one. The enemy were beaten at Antium in one, and that an easy battle; the victorious army laid waste the Volscian territory; their fort at the lake Fucinus was taken by storm, and in it three thousand men made prisoners; the rest of the Volscians being driven within the walls, and not defending the lands. The dictator having conducted the war in such a manner as to show that he was not negligent of fortune's favours, returned to the city with a greater share of success than of glory, and resigned his office. The military tribunes, without making any mention of an election of consuls, (through pique, I suppose, for the appointment of a dictator,) issued a proclamation for the election of military tribunes. Then indeed the perplexity of the patricians became still greater, as seeing their cause betrayed by their own party. Wherefore, as on the year before, by bringing forward as candidates the most unworthy individuals from amongst the plebeians, they produced a

<sup>158</sup> The passing of a *senatus-consultum*, or decree of the senate, might be prevented in several ways; as, for instance, by the want of a sufficiently full meeting, &c.; in such cases the judgment of the majority was recorded, and that was called *auctoritas senatûs*.

disgust against all, even those who were deserving; so then by engaging such of the patricians as were most distinguished by the splendour of their character and by their influence to stand as candidates, they secured all the places; so that no plebeian could get in. Four were elected, all of them men who had already served the office, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Caius Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, Caius Servilius Ahala. The last had the honour continued to him by re-election, as well in consequence of his other deserts, as on account of his recent popularity, acquired by his singular moderation.

## 58

In that year, because the term of the truce with the Veientian nation was expired, restitution began to be demanded through ambassadors and heralds, who on coming to the frontiers were met by an embassy from the Veientians. They requested that they would not proceed to Veii, until they should first have access to the Roman senate. They obtained from the senate, that, because the Veientians were distressed by intestine dissension, restitution would not be demanded from them; so far were they from seeking, in the troubles of others, an opportunity for advancing their own interest. In the Volscian territory also a disaster was sustained in the loss of the garrison at Verrugo; where so much depended on time, that when the soldiers who were besieged there, and were calling for succour, might have been relieved, if expedition had been used, the army sent to their aid only came in time to surprise the enemy, who were straggling in quest of plunder, just after their putting [the garrison] to the sword. The cause of the dilatoriness was less referrible to the tribunes than to the senate, who, because word was brought that they were holding out with the most vigorous resistance, did not duly reflect that there is a limit to human strength, which no bravery can exceed. These very gallant soldiers, however, were not without revenge, both before and after their death. In the following year, Publius and Cneius Cornelius Cossus, Numerius Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus, being military tribunes with consular power, the Veientian war was commenced on account of an insolent answer of the Veientian senate, who, when the ambassadors demanded restitution, ordered them to be told, that if they did not speedily quit the city and the territories, they should give them what Lars Tolumnius had given them. The senate, indignant at this, decreed that the military tribunes should, on as early a day as possible, propose to the people the proclaiming war against the Veientians. When this was first made public, the young men expressed their dissatisfaction. "That the war with the Volscians was not yet over; that a little time ago two garrisons were utterly destroyed, and that [one of the forts] was with great risk retained. That there was not a year in which they had not to fight in the field: and, as if they were dissatisfied at the insufficiency of these toils, a new war was now set on foot with a neighbouring and most powerful nation, who were likely to rouse all Etruria." These discontents, first discussed among themselves, were further aggravated by the plebeian tribunes. These constantly affirm that the war of the greatest moment was that between the patricians and commons. That the latter was designedly harassed by military service, and exposed to be butchered by the enemy; that they were kept at a distance from the enemy, and as it were banished, lest during the enjoyment of rest at home, mindful of liberty and of establishing colonies, they may form plans for obtaining some of the public land, or for giving their suffrages freely; and taking hold of the veterans, they recounted the campaigns of each, and their wounds and scars, frequently asking what sound spot was there on their body for the reception of new wounds? what blood had they remaining which could be shed for the commonwealth? When by

discussing these subjects in private conversations, and also in public harangues, they produced in the people an aversion to undertaking a war, the time for proposing the law was adjourned; which would obviously have been rejected, if it had been subjected to the feeling of discontent then prevailing.

## 59

In the mean time it was determined that the military tribunes should lead an army into the Volscian territory. Cneius Cornelius alone was left at Rome. The three tribunes, when it became evident that the Volscians had not established a camp any where, and that they would not venture an engagement, separated into three different parties to lay waste the country. Valerius makes for Antium, Cornelius for Ecetræ. Wherever they came, they committed extensive devastations on the houses and lands, so as to separate the Volscians: Fabius, without committing any devastation, proceeded to attack Auxur, which was a principal object in view. Auxur is the town now called Tarracinæ; a city built on a declivity leading to a morass: Fabius made a feint of attacking it on that side. When four cohorts sent round under Caius Servilius Ahala took possession of a hill which commanded the city, they attacked the walls with a loud shout and tumult, from the higher ground where there was no guard of defence. Those who were defending the lower parts of the city against Fabius, astounded at this tumult, afforded him an opportunity of applying the scaling ladders, and every place soon became filled with the enemy, and a dreadful slaughter continued for a long time, indiscriminately of those who fled and those who resisted, of the armed or unarmed. The vanquished were therefore obliged to fight, there being no hope for those who gave way, when a proclamation suddenly issued, that no persons except those with arms in their hands should be injured, induced all the remaining multitude voluntarily to lay down their arms; of whom two thousand five hundred are taken alive. Fabius kept his soldiers from the spoil, until his colleagues should come; affirming that Auxur had been taken by these armies also, who had diverted the other Volscian troops from the defence of that place. When they came, the three armies plundered the town, which was enriched with wealth of many years' accumulation; and this generosity of the commanders first reconciled the commons to the patricians. It was afterwards added, by a liberality towards the people on the part of the leading men the most seasonable ever shown, that before any mention should be made of it by the commons or tribunes, the senate should decree that the soldiers should receive pay out of the public treasury, whereas up to that period every one had discharged that duty at his own expense.

## 60

It is recorded that nothing was ever received by the commons with so much joy; that they ran in crowds to the senate-house, and caught the hands of those coming out, and called them fathers indeed; acknowledging that the result of such conduct was that no one would spare his person or his blood, whilst he had any strength remaining, in defence of a country so liberal. Whilst the prospect of advantage pleased them, that their private property should remain unimpaired at the time during which their bodies should be devoted and employed for the interest of the commonwealth, it further increased their joy very much, and rendered their gratitude for the favour more complete, because it had been offered to them voluntarily, without ever having been agitated by the tribunes of the commons, or made the subject of a demand in their own conversations. The tribunes of the commons, the only parties who did not participate in the general joy and harmony prevailing through the different ranks, denied "that this

measure would prove so much a matter of joy, or so honourable to the patricians,<sup>159</sup> as they themselves might imagine. That the measure at first sight was better than it would prove by experience. For from what source was that money to be raised, except by levying a tax on the people. That they were generous to some therefore at the expense of others; and even though others may endure it, those who had already served out their time in the service, would never endure that others should serve on better terms than they themselves had served; and that these same individuals should have to bear the expense of their own service, and then that of others." By these arguments they influenced a part of the commons. At last, when the tax was now announced, the tribunes publicly declared, that they would afford protection to any one who should refuse to contribute his proportion for the pay of the soldiers. The patricians persisted in supporting a matter so happily commenced. They themselves were the first to contribute; and because there was as yet no coined silver, some of them conveying their weighed brass to the treasury in waggons, rendered their contribution very showy. After the senate had contributed with the utmost punctuality according to their rated properties, the principal plebeians, friends of the nobility, according to a concerted plan, began to contribute. And when the populace saw these men highly applauded by the patricians, and also looked up to as good citizens by men of the military age, scorning the support of the tribunes, an emulation commenced at once about paying the tax. And the law being passed about declaring war against the Veientians, the new military tribunes with consular power marched to Veii an army consisting in a great measure of volunteers.

## 61

The tribunes were Titus Quintius Capitolinus, Publius Quintius Cincinnatus, Caius Julius Julus a second time, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Furius Medullinus a second time, and Manius Æmilius Mamercinus. By these Veii was first invested. A little before the commencement of this siege, when a full meeting of the Etrurians was held at the temple of Voltumna, it was not finally determined whether the Veientians were to be supported by the public concurrence of the whole confederacy. The siege was less vigorous in the following year, some of the tribunes and their army being called off to the Volscian war. The military tribunes with consular power in this year were Caius Valerius Potitus a third time, Manius Largius Fidenas, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, Cneius Cornelius Cossus, Kæso Fabius Ambustus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus a second time. A pitched battle was fought with the Volscians between Ferentinum and Ecetra; the result of the battle was favourable to the Romans. Artena then, a town of the Volscians, began to be besieged by the tribunes. Thence during an attempt at a sally, the enemy being driven back into the town, an opportunity was afforded to the Romans of forcing in; and every place was taken except the citadel. Into the fortress, well protected by nature, a body of armed men retired. Beneath the fortress many were slain and made prisoners. The citadel was then besieged; nor could it either be taken by storm, because it had a garrison sufficient for the size of the place, nor did it hold out any hope of surrender, all the public corn having been conveyed to the citadel before the city was taken; and they would have retired from it, being wearied out, had not a slave betrayed the fortress to the Romans: the soldiers being admitted by him through a place difficult of access, took it; by whom when the guards were being killed, the rest of the multitude, overpowered with sudden panic, surrendered. After demolishing both the citadel and city of Artena, the legions

<sup>159</sup> The reading of the original here is decidedly incorrect. Various emendations have been attempted, but none can be deemed satisfactory.

were led back from the Volscian territory; and the whole Roman power was turned against Veii. To the traitor, besides his freedom, the property of two families was given as a reward. His name was Servius Romanus. There are some who think that Artena belonged to the Veientians, not to the Volscians. What occasions the mistake is that there was a city of the same name between Cære and Veii. But the Roman kings destroyed it; and it belonged to the Cæretians, not to the Veientians. The other of the same name, the demolition of which has been mentioned, was in the Volscian territory.

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# Book V

*During the siege of Veii winter dwellings erected for the soldiers. This being a novelty, affords the tribunes of the people a pretext for exciting discontent. The cavalry for the first time serve on horses of their own. Furius Camillus, dictator, takes Veii after a siege of ten years. In the character of military tribune, whilst laying siege to Falisci, he sends back the children of the enemy, who were betrayed into his hands. Furius Camillus, on a day being appointed for his trial, goes into exile. The Senonian Gauls lay siege to Clusium. Roman ambassadors, sent to mediate peace between the Clusians and Gauls, are found to take part with the former; in consequence of which the Gauls march directly against Rome, and after defeating the Romans at Allia take possession of the city with the exception of the Capitol. They scaled the Capitol by night, but are discovered by the cackling of geese, and repulsed, chiefly by the exertions of Marcus Manlius. The Romans, compelled by famine, agree to ransom themselves. Whilst the gold is being weighed to them, Camillus, who had been appointed dictator, arrives with an army, expels the Gauls, and destroys their army. He successfully opposes the design of removing to Veii.*

## 1

Peace being established in every other quarter, the Romans and Veientians were still in arms with such rancour and animosity, that it was evident that ruin awaited the vanquished party. The elections in the two states were conducted in very different methods. The Romans augmented the number of military tribunes with consular power. Eight, a number greater than on any previous occasion, were appointed, Manius Æmilius Mamercinus a second time, Lucius Valerius Potitus a third time, Appius Claudius Crassus, Marcus Quintilius Varus, Lucius Julius Iulus, Marcus Postumius, Marcus Furius Camillus, Marcus Postumius Albinus. The Veientians, on the contrary, through disgust at the annual intriguing which was sometimes the cause of dissensions, elected a king. That step gave offence to the feelings of the states of Etruria, not more from their hatred of kingly government than of the king himself. He had before this become obnoxious to the nation by reason of his wealth and arrogance, because he had violently broken off the performance of some annual games, the omission of which was deemed an impiety: when through resentment of a repulse, because another had been preferred to him as a priest by the suffrages of the twelve states, he suddenly carried off, in the middle of the performance, the performers, of whom a great part were his own slaves. The nation, therefore, devoted beyond all others to religious performances, because they excelled in the method of conducting them, passed a decree that aid should be refused to the Veientians, as long as they should be subject to a king. All allusion to this decree was suppressed at Veii through fear of the king, who would have considered the person by whom any such matter might be mentioned as a leader of sedition, not as the author of an idle rumour. Although matters were announced to the Romans as being quiet in Etruria, yet because it was stated that this matter was being agitated in all their meetings, they so managed their fortifications, that there should be security on both sides; some were directed towards the city and the sallies of the townsmen; by means of others a front looking towards Etruria was opposed to such auxiliaries as might happen to come from thence.

## 2

When the Roman generals conceived greater hopes from a blockade than from an assault, winter huts also, a thing quite new to the Roman soldier, began to be built; and their determination was to continue the war by wintering there. After an account of this was brought to Rome to the tribunes of the people, who for a long time past had found no pretext for exciting disturbances, they run forward into the assembly, stir up the minds of the commons, saying that "this was the motive for which pay had been established for the soldiers, nor had it escaped their knowledge, that such a present from the enemies was tainted with poison. That the liberty of the commons had been sold; that their youth removed for ever, and exiled from the city and the republic, did not now even yield to the winter and to the season of the year, and visit their homes and private affairs. What could they suppose was the cause for continuing the service without intermission? That undoubtedly they should find none other than [the fear] lest any thing might be done in furtherance of their interests by the attendance of those youths in whom the entire strength of the commons lay. Besides that they were harassed and worked much more severely than the Veientians. For the latter spent the winter beneath their own roofs, defending their city by strong walls and its natural situation, whilst the Roman soldier, in the midst of toil and hardship, continued beneath the covering of skins, overwhelmed with snow and frost, not laying aside his arms even during the period of winter, which is a respite from all wars by land and sea. Neither kings, nor those consuls, tyrannical as they were before the institution of the tribunitian office, nor the stern authority of the dictator, nor the overbearing decemvirs, ever imposed such slavery as that they should perform unremitting military service, which degree of regal power the military tribunes now exercised over the Roman commons. What would these men have done as consuls or dictators, who have exhibited the picture of the proconsular office so implacable and menacing? but that all this happened justly. Among eight military tribunes there was no room even for one plebeian. Formerly the patricians filled up three places with the utmost difficulty; now they went in file eight deep to take possession of the various offices; and not even in such a crowd is any plebeian intermixed; who, if he did no other good, might remind his colleagues, that it was freemen and fellow citizens, and not slaves, that constituted the army, who ought to be brought back during winter at least to their homes and roofs; and to come and see at some part of the year their parents, children, and wives, and to exercise the rights of freedom, and to take part in electing magistrates." While they exclaimed in these and such terms, they found in Appius Claudius an opponent not unequal to them, who had been left behind by his colleagues to check the turbulence of the tribunes; a man trained even from his youth in contests with the plebeians; who several year's before, as has been mentioned, recommended the dissolution of the tribunitian power by means of the protests of their colleagues.

### 3

He, not only endowed with good natural powers, but well trained also by experience, on that particular occasion, delivered the following address: "If, Romans, there was ever reason to doubt, whether the tribunes of the people have ever promoted sedition for your sake or their own, I am certain that in the course of this year that doubt must have ceased to exist; and while I rejoice that an end has at length come of a mistake of such long continuance, I in the next place congratulate you, and on your account the republic, that this delusion has been removed during a course of prosperous events. Is there any person who can feel a doubt that the tribunes of the commons were never so highly displeased and provoked by any wrongs done to you, if ever such did happen, as by the

munificence of the patricians to the commons, when pay was established for those serving in the army. What else do you suppose that they either then dreaded, or now wish to disturb, except the union between the orders, which they think contributes most to the dissolution of the tribunitian power? Thus, by Jove, like workers in iniquity, they are seeking for work, who also wish that there should be always some diseased part in the republic, that there may be something for the cure of which they may be employed by you. For, [tribunes,] whether do you defend or attack the commons? whether are you the enemies of those in the service, or do you plead their cause? Unless perhaps you say, whatever the patricians do, displeases us; whether it is for the commons, or against the commons; and just as masters forbid their slaves to have any dealing with those belonging to others, and deem it right that they should equally refrain from having any commerce with them, either for kindness or unkindness; ye, in like manner, interdict us the patricians from all intercourse with the people, lest by our courteousness and munificence we may challenge their regard, and they become tractable and obedient to our direction. And if there were in you any thing of the feeling, I say not of fellow-citizens, but of human beings, how much more ought you to favour, and, as far as in you lay, to promote rather the kindly demeanour of the patricians and the tractability of the commons! And if such concord were once permanent, who would not venture to engage, that this empire would in a short time become the highest among the neighbouring states?

#### 4

"I shall hereafter explain to you how not only expedient, but even necessary has been this plan of my colleagues, according to which they would not draw off the army from Veii until the business has been completed. For the present I am disposed to speak concerning the condition of the soldiers. Which observations of mine I think would appear reasonable not only before you, but even, if they were delivered in the camp, in the opinion of the soldiers themselves; on which subject if nothing could suggest itself to my own mind to say, I certainly should be satisfied with that which is suggested by the arguments of my adversaries. They lately said, that pay should not be given to the soldiers because it had never been given. How then can they now feel displeased, that additional labour should be imposed in due proportion on those to whom some addition of profit has been added? In no case is there either labour without emolument, nor emolument in general without the expense of labour. Toil and pleasure, in their natures most unlike, are yet linked together by a sort of natural connexion. Formerly the soldier thought it a hardship that he gave his labour to the commonwealth at his own expense; at the same time he was glad for a part of the year to till his own ground; to acquire that means whence he might support himself and family at home and in war. Now he feels a pleasure that the republic is a source of advantage to him, and gladly receives his pay. Let him therefore bear with patience that he is a little longer absent from home and his family affairs, to which no heavy expense is now attached. Whether if the commonwealth should call him to a settlement of accounts, would it not justly say, You have pay by the year, perform labour by the year? do you think it just to receive a whole year's pay for six months' service? Romans, with reluctance do I dwell on this topic; for so ought those persons proceed who employ mercenary troops. But we wish to treat as with fellow-citizens, and we think it only just that you treat with us as with the country. Either the war should not have been undertaken, or it ought to be conducted suitably to the dignity of the Roman people, and brought to a close as soon as possible. But it will be brought to a conclusion if we press on the besieged; if we do not retire until we have

consummated our hopes by the capture of Veii. In truth, if there were no other motive, the very discredit of the thing should impose on us perseverance. In former times a city was kept besieged for ten years, on account of one woman, by all Greece. At what a distance from their homes! how many lands, how many seas distant! We grumble at enduring a siege of a year's duration within twenty miles of us, almost within sight of our own city; because, I suppose, the cause of the war is trifling, nor is there resentment sufficiently just to stimulate us to persevere. Seven times they have rebelled: in peace they never acted faithfully. They have laid waste our lands a thousand times: the Fidenatians they forced to revolt from us: they have put to death our colonists there: contrary to the law of nations, they have been the instigators of the impious murder of our ambassadors: they wished to excite all Etruria against us, and are at this day busily employed at it; and they scarcely refrained from violating our ambassadors when demanding restitution. With such people ought war to be conducted in a remiss and dilatory manner?

## 5

"If such just resentment have no influence with us, will not, I entreat you, the following considerations influence you? Their city has been enclosed with immense works, by which the enemy is confined within their walls. They have not tilled their land, and what was previously tilled has been laid waste in the war. If we withdraw our army, who is there who can doubt that they will invade our territory not only from a desire of revenge, but from the necessity also imposed on them of plundering from the property of others, since they have lost their own? By such measures then we do not put off the war, but admit it within our own frontiers. What shall I say of that which properly interests the soldiers, for whose interests those worthy tribunes of the commons, all on a sudden, are now so anxious to provide, after they have endeavoured to wrest their pay from them? How does it stand? They have formed a rampart and a trench, both works of great labour, through so great an extent of ground; they have erected forts, at first only a few, afterwards very many, when the army became increased; they have raised defenders not only towards the city, but towards Etruria also, against any succours which may come from thence. What need I mention towers, vineæ, and testudines, and the other apparatus used in attacking towns? When so much labour has been expended, and they have now at length reached the end of the work, do you think that all these preparations should be abandoned that, next summer, the same course of toil may have to be undergone again in forming them anew? How much less trouble to support the works already done, and to press on and persevere, and to get rid of our task! For certainly the matter is of short duration, if it be conducted with a uniform course of exertions; nor do we by these intermissions and interruptions expedite the attainment of our hopes. I am now speaking of labour and of loss of time. What? do these such frequent meetings in Etruria on the subject of sending aid to Veii suffer us to disregard the danger which we encounter by procrastinating the war? As matters stand now, they are incensed, they dislike them, they refuse to send any; as far as they are concerned, we are at liberty to take Veii. Who can promise that their temper will be the same hereafter, if the war is suspended? when, if you suffer any relaxation, more respectable and more frequent embassies will go; when that which now displeases the Etrurians, the establishment of a king at Veii, may, after an interval, be done away with, either by the joint determination of the state that they may recover the good will of the Etrurians, or by a voluntary act of the king, who may be unwilling that his reign should stand in the way of the welfare of his countrymen. See how many circumstances, and how

detrimental, follow that line of conduct: the loss of works formed with so great labour; the threatening devastation of our frontiers; an Etruscan excited instead of a Veientian war. These, tribunes, are your measures, pretty much the same, in truth, as if a person should render a disease tedious, and perhaps incurable, for the sake of present meat or drink, in a patient who, by resolutely suffering himself to be treated, might soon recover his health.

## 6

"If, by Jove, it were of no consequence with respect to the present war, yet it certainly would be of the utmost importance to military discipline, that our soldiers should be accustomed not only to enjoy the victory obtained by them; but even though matters should proceed more slowly than was anticipated, to brook the tediousness and await the issue of their hopes, however tardy; and if the war be not finished in the summer, to wait for the winter, and not, like summer birds, in the very commencement of autumn look out for shelter and a retreat. I pray you, the eagerness and pleasure of hunting hurries men into snow and frost, over mountains and woods; shall we not employ that patience on the exigencies of war, which even sport and pleasure are wont to call forth? Are we to suppose that the bodies of our soldiers are so effeminate, their minds so feeble, that they cannot hold out for one winter in a camp, and be absent from home? that, like persons who wage a naval war, by taking advantage of the weather, and observing the season of the year, they are able to endure neither heat nor cold? They would certainly blush, should any one lay these things to their charge; and would maintain that both their minds and their bodies were possessed of manly endurance, and that they were able to conduct war equally well in winter and in summer; and that they had not consigned to the tribunes the patronage of indolence and sloth, and that they remembered that their ancestors had created this very power, neither in the shade nor beneath their roofs. Such sentiments are worthy of the valour of your soldiers, such sentiments are worthy of the Roman name, not to consider merely Veii, nor this war which is now pressing us, but to seek a reputation for hereafter for other wars and for other states. Do you consider the difference of opinion likely to result from this matter as trivial? Whether, pray, are the neighbouring states to suppose that the Roman people is such, that if any one shall sustain their first assault, and that of very short continuance, they have nothing afterwards to fear? or whether such should be the terror of our name, that neither the tediousness of a distant siege, nor the inclemency of winter, can dislodge the Roman army from a city once invested, and that they know no other termination of war than victory, and that they carry on wars not more by briskness than by perseverance; which is necessary no doubt in every kind of war, but more especially in besieging cities; most of which, impregnable both by their works and by natural situation, time itself overpowers and reduces by famine and thirst; as it will reduce Veii, unless the tribunes of the commons shall afford aid to the enemy, and the Veientians find in Rome reinforcements which they seek in vain in Etruria. Is there any thing which can happen so much in accordance with the wishes of the Veientians, as that first the Roman city, then the camp, as it were by contagion, should be filled with sedition? But, by Jove, among the enemy so forbearing a state of mind prevails, that not a single change has taken place among them, either through disgust at the length of the siege nor even of the kingly form of government; nor has the refusal of aid by the Etrurians aroused their tempers. For whoever will be the abettor of sedition, will be instantly put to death; nor will it be permitted to any one to utter those sentiments which amongst you are expressed with impunity. He is sure to receive the bastinade,

who forsakes his colours or quits his post. Persons advising not one or two soldiers, but whole armies to relinquish their colours or to forsake their camp, are openly listened to in your public assemblies. Accordingly whatever a tribune of the people says, although it tends to the ruin of the country or the dissolution of the commonwealth, you are accustomed to listen to with partiality; and captivated with the charms of that authority, you suffer all sorts of crimes to lie concealed beneath it. The only thing that remains is, that what they vociferate here, the same projects do they realize in the camp and among the soldiers, and seduce the armies, and not suffer them to obey their officers; since that and that only is liberty in Rome, to show no deference to the senate, nor to magistrates, nor laws, nor the usages of ancestors, nor the institutions of our fathers, nor military discipline."

## 7

Even already Appius was a match for the tribunes of the people in the popular assemblies; when suddenly a misfortune sustained before Veii, from a quarter whence no one could expect it, both gave Appius the superiority in the dispute, produced also a greater harmony between the different orders, and greater ardour to carry on the siege of Veii with more pertinacity. For when the trenches were now advanced to the very city, and the machines were almost about to be applied to the walls, whilst the works are carried on with greater assiduity by day, than they are guarded by night, a gate was thrown open on a sudden, and a vast multitude, armed chiefly with torches, cast fire about on all sides; and after the lapse of an hour the flames destroyed both the rampart and the machines, the work of so long a time, and great numbers of men, bearing assistance in vain, were destroyed by the sword and by fire. When the account of this circumstance was brought to Rome, it inspired sadness into all ranks; into the senate anxiety and apprehension, lest the sedition could no longer be withstood either in the city or in the camp, and lest the tribunes of the commons should insult over the commonwealth, as if vanquished by them; when on a sudden, those who possessed an equestrian fortune, but to whom horses had not been assigned by the public, having previously held a meeting together, went to the senate; and having obtained permission to speak, promise that they will serve on their own horses. And when thanks were returned to them by the senate in the most complimentary terms, and the report of this proceeding spread through the forum and the city, there suddenly ensues a concourse of the commons to the senate-house. They say that "they are now of the pedestrian order, and they preferred their services to the commonwealth, though not compelled to serve, whether they wished to march them to Veii, or to any other place. If they were led to Veii, they affirm, that they would not return from thence, until the city of the enemy was taken." Then indeed they with difficulty set bounds to the joy which now poured in upon them; for they were not ordered, as in the case of the horsemen, to be publicly eulogized, the order for so doing being consigned to the magistrates, nor were they summoned into the senate-house to receive an answer; nor did the senate confine themselves within the threshold of their house, but every one of them individually with their voice and hands testified from the elevated ground the public joy to the multitude standing in the assembly; they declared that by that unanimity the Roman city would be happy, and invincible and eternal; praised the horsemen, praised the commons; extolled the day itself by their praises; they acknowledged that the courtesy and kindness of the senate was outdone. Tears flowed in abundance through joy both from the patricians and commons; until the senators being called back into the house, a decree of the senate was passed, "that the military tribunes, summoning an assembly, should return thanks

to the infantry and cavalry; and should state that the senate would be mindful of their affectionate attachment to their country. But that it was their wish that their pay should go on for those who had, out of their turn, undertaken voluntary service." To the horsemen also a certain stipend was assigned. Then for the first time the cavalry began to serve on their own horses. This army of volunteers being led to Veii, not only restored the works which had been lost, but also erected new ones. Supplies were conveyed from the city with greater care than before; lest any thing should be wanting for the accommodation of an army who deserved so well.

## 8

The following year had military tribunes with consular authority, Caius Servilius Ahala a third time, Quintus Servilius, Lucius Virginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Manlius a second time, Manius Sergius a second time. During their tribuneship, whilst the solicitude of all was directed to the Veientian war, the garrison at Anxur was neglected in consequence of the absence of the soldiers on leave, and from the indiscriminate admission of Volscian traders was overpowered, the guards at the gates being suddenly betrayed. Less of the soldiers perished, because they were all trafficking through the country and city like suttlers. Nor were matters conducted more successfully at Veii, which was then the chief object of all public solicitude. For both the Roman commanders had more quarrels among themselves, than spirit against the enemy; and the severity of the war was exaggerated by the sudden arrival of the Capenatians and the Faliscians. These two states of Etruria, because they were contiguous in situation, judging that in case Veii was conquered, they should be next to the attacks of the Romans in war; the Faliscians also, incensed from a cause affecting themselves, because they had already on a former occasion mixed themselves up in a Fidenatian war, being bound together by an oath by reciprocal embassies, marched unexpectedly with their armies to Veii. It so happened, they attacked the camp in that quarter where Manius Sergius, military tribune, commanded, and occasioned great alarm; because the Romans imagined that all Etruria was aroused and were advancing in a great mass. The same opinion aroused the Veientians in the city. Thus the Roman camp was attacked on both sides; and crowding together, whilst they wheeled round their battalions from one post to another, they were unable either to confine the Veientians within their fortifications, or repel the assault from their own works, and to defend themselves from the enemy on the outside. The only hope was, if succour could be brought from the greater camp, that the different legions should fight, some against the Capenatians and Faliscians, others against the sallies of the townsmen. But Virginius had the command of that camp, who, from personal grounds, was hateful to and incensed against Sergius. This man, when word was brought that most of the forts were attacked, the fortifications scaled, and that the enemy were pouring in on both sides, kept his men under arms, saying that if there was need of assistance, his colleague would send to him. His arrogance was equalled by the obstinacy of the other; who, that he might not appear to have sought any aid from an adversary, preferred being defeated by an enemy to conquering through a fellow-citizen. His men were for a long time cut down between both: at length, abandoning their works, a very small number made their way to the principal camp; the greater number, with Sergius himself, made their way to Rome. Where, when he threw the entire blame on his colleague, it was resolved that Virginius should be sent for from the camp, and that lieutenant-generals should take the command in the mean time. The affair was then discussed in the senate, and the dispute was carried on between the colleagues with (mutual) recriminations. But few took up the interests of the republic,

(the greater number) favoured the one or the other, according as private regard or interest prejudiced each.

## 9

The principal senators were of opinion, that whether so ignominious a defeat had been sustained through the misconduct or the misfortune of the commanders, "the regular time of the elections should not be waited for, but that new military tribunes should be created immediately, who should enter into office on the calends of October." Whilst they were proceeding to intimate their assent to this opinion, the other military tribunes offered no opposition. But Sergius and Virginius, on whose account it was evident that the senate were dissatisfied with the magistrates of that year, at first deprecated the ignominy, then protested against the decree of the senate; they declared that they would not retire from office before the ides of December, the usual day for persons entering on magisterial duties. Upon this the tribunes of the plebeians, whilst in the general harmony and in the prosperous state of public affairs they had unwillingly kept silence, suddenly becoming confident, began to threaten the military tribunes, that unless they conformed to the order of the senate, they would order them to be thrown into prison. Then Caius Servilius Ahala, a military tribune, observed, "With respect to you, tribunes of the commons, and your threats, I would with pleasure put it to the test, how there is not more of authority in the latter than of spirit in yourselves. But it is impious to strive against the authority of the senate. Wherefore do you cease to seek amid our quarrels for an opportunity of doing mischief; and my colleagues will either do that which the senate thinks fit, or if they shall persist with too much pertinacity, I will immediately nominate a dictator, who will oblige them to retire from office." When this speech was approved with general consent, and the patricians rejoiced, that without the terrors of the tribunitian office, another and a superior power had been discovered to coerce the magistrates, overcome by the universal consent, they held the elections of military tribunes, who were to commence their office on the calends of October, and before that day they retired from office.

## 10

During the military tribuneship of Lucius Valerius Potitus for the fourth time, Marcus Furius Camillus for the second time, Manius Æmilius Mamercinus a third time, Cneius Cornelius Cossus a second time, Kæso Fabius Ambustus, Lucius Julius Iulus, much business was transacted at home and abroad. For there was both a complex war at the same time, at Veii, at Capena, at Falerii, and among the Volscians, that Anxur might be recovered from the enemy; and at the same time there was some difficulty experienced both in consequence of the levy, and of the contribution of the tax: there was also a contention about the appointment of plebeian tribunes; and the two trials of those, who a little before had been invested with consular authority, excited no trifling commotion. First of all the tribunes of the soldiers took care that the levy should be held; and not only the juniors were enlisted, but the seniors also were compelled to give in their names, to serve as a garrison to the city. But in proportion as the number of the soldiers was augmented, so much the greater sum of money was required for pay; and this was collected by a tax, those who remained at home contributing against their will, because those who guarded the city had to perform military service also, and to serve the commonwealth. The tribunes of the commons, by their seditious harangues, caused these things, grievous in themselves, to seem more exasperating, by their asserting, "that pay was established for the soldiers with this view, that they might wear out one

half of the commons by military service, the other half by the tax. That a single war was being waged now for the third year, on purpose that they may have a longer time to wage it. That armies had been raised at one levy for four different wars, and that boys even and old men were dragged from home. That neither summer nor winter now made any difference, so that there may never be any respite for the unfortunate commons, who were now even at last made to pay a tax; so that after they brought home their bodies wasted by hardship, wounds, and eventually by age, and found their properties at home neglected by the absence of the proprietors, had to pay a tax out of their impaired fortunes, and to refund to the state in a manifold proportion the military pay which had been as it were received on interest." Between the levy and the tax, and their minds being taken up by more important concerns, the number of plebeian tribunes could not be filled up at the elections. A struggle was afterwards made that patricians should be elected into the vacant places. When this could not be carried, still, for the purpose of weakening the Trebonian law, it was managed that Caius Lacerius and Marcus Acutius should be admitted as tribunes of the commons, no doubt through the influence of the patricians.

## 11

Chance so directed it, that this year Cneius Trebonius was tribune of the commons, and he considered that he undertook the patronage of the Trebonian law as a debt due to his name and family. He crying out aloud, "that a point which some patricians had aimed at, though baffled in their first attempt, had yet been carried by the military tribunes; that the Trebonian law had been subverted, and tribunes of the commons had been elected not by the suffrages of the people but by the mandate of the patricians; and that the thing was now come to this, that either patricians or dependants of patricians were to be had for tribunes of the commons; that the devoting laws were taken away, the tribunitian power wrested from them; he alleged that this was effected by some artifice of the patricians, by the villany and treachery of his colleagues." While not only the patricians, but the tribunes of the commons also became objects of public resentment; as well those who were elected, as those who had elected them; then three of the college, Publius Curiatius, Marcus Metilius, and Marcus Minucius, alarmed for their interests, make an attack on Sergius and Virginius, military tribunes of the former year; they turn away the resentment of the commons, and public odium from themselves on them, by appointing a day of trial for them. They observe that "those persons by whom the levy, the tribute, the long service, and the distant seat of the war was felt as a grievance, those who lamented the calamity sustained at Veii; such as had their houses in mourning through the loss of children, brothers, relatives, and kinsmen, had now through their means the right and power of avenging the public and private sorrow on the two guilty causes. For that the sources of all their sufferings were centred in Sergius and Virginius: nor did the prosecutor advance that charge more satisfactorily than the accused acknowledged it; who, both guilty, threw the blame from one to the other, Virginius charging Sergius with running away, Sergius charging Virginius with treachery. The folly of whose conduct was so incredible, that it is much more probable that the affair had been contrived by concert, and by the common artifice of the patricians. That by them also an opportunity was formerly given to the Veientians to burn the works for the sake of protracting the war; and that now the army was betrayed, and the Roman camp delivered up to the Faliscians. That every thing was done that the young men should grow old before Veii, and that the tribunes should not be able to consult the people either regarding the lands or the other interests of the

commons, and to give weight to their measures by a numerous attendance [of citizens], and to make head against the conspiracy of the patricians. That a previous judgment had been already passed on the accused both by the senate and the Roman people and by their own colleagues. For that by a decree of the senate they had been removed from the administration of affairs, and when they refused to resign their office they had been forced into it by their colleagues; and that the Roman people had elected tribunes, who were to enter on their office not on the ides of December, the usual day, but instantly on the calends of October, because the republic could no longer subsist, these persons remaining in office. And yet these individuals, overwhelmed and already condemned by so many decisions against them, presented themselves for trial before the people; and thought that they were done with the matter, and had suffered sufficient punishment, because they were reduced to the state of private citizens two months sooner [than ordinary]: and did not consider that the power of doing mischief any longer was then taken from them, that punishment was not inflicted; for that the official power of their colleagues also had been taken from them who certainly had committed no fault. That the Roman citizens should resume those sentiments which they had when the recent disaster was sustained, when they beheld the army flying in consternation, covered with wounds, and in dismay pouring into the gates, accusing not fortune nor any of the gods, but these their commanders. They were certain, that there was not a man present in the assembly who did not execrate and detest the persons, families, and fortunes of Lucius Virginius and Manius Sergius. That it was by no means consistent that now, when it was lawful and their duty, they should not exert their power against persons, on whom they had severally imprecated the vengeance of the gods. That the gods themselves never laid hands on the guilty; it was enough if they armed the injured with the means of taking revenge."

## 12

Urged on by these discourses the commons condemn the accused [in a fine] of ten thousand *asses* in weight, Sergius in vain throwing the blame on fortune and the common chance of war, Virginius entreating that he might not be more unfortunate at home than he had been in the field. The resentment of the people being turned against them, obliterated the remembrance of the assumption of the tribunes and of the fraud committed against the Trebonian law. The victorious tribunes, in order that the people might reap an immediate benefit from the trial, publish a form of an agrarian law, and prevent the tax from being contributed, since there was need of pay for so great a number of troops, and the enterprises of the service were conducted with success in such a manner, that in none of the wars did they reach the consummation of their hope. At Veii the camp which had been lost was recovered and strengthened with forts and a garrison. Here M. Æmilius and Kæso Fabius, military tribunes, commanded. None of the enemy were found outside the walls by Marcus Furius in the Falisean territory, and Cneius Cornelius in the Capenatian district: spoil was driven off, and the country laid waste by burning of the houses and the fruits of the earth: the towns were neither assaulted nor besieged. But among the Volscians, their territory being depopulated, Anxur, which was situate on an eminence, was assaulted, but to no purpose; and when force was ineffectual, they commenced to surround it with a rampart and a trench. The province of the Volscians had fallen [to the lot of] Valerius Potitus. In this state of military affairs an intestine disturbance broke out with greater violence than the wars were proceeded with. And when it was rendered impossible by the tribunes to have the tax paid, and the payment [of the army] was not remitted to the generals, and the

soldiers became importunate for their pay, the camp also was well nigh being involved in the contagion of the sedition in the city. Amid this resentment of the commons against the patricians, though the tribunes asserted that now was the time for establishing liberty, and transferring the sovereign dignity from the Sergii and Virgini to plebeians, men of fortitude and energy, still they proceeded no further than the election of one of the commons, Publius Licinius Calvus, military tribune with consular power for the purpose of establishing their right by precedent: the others elected were patricians, Publius Mænius, Lucius Titinius, Publius Mælius, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Lucius Publius Volscus. The commons themselves were surprised at having gained so important a point, and not merely he who had been elected, being a person who had filled no post of honour before, being only a senator of long standing, and now weighed down with years. Nor does it sufficiently appear, why he was elected first and in preference to any one else to taste the sweets of the new dignity. Some think that he was raised to so high a dignity through the influence of his brother, Cneius Cornelius, who had been military tribune on the preceding year, and had given triple pay to the cavalry. Others [say] that he had himself delivered a seasonable address equally acceptable to the patricians and commons, concerning the harmony of the several orders [of the state]. The tribunes of the commons, exulting in this victory at the election, relaxed in their opposition regarding the tax, a matter which very much impeded the progress of public business. It was paid in with submission, and sent to the army.

### 13

In the country of the Volscians Anxur was soon retaken, the guarding of the city having been neglected during a festival day. This year was remarkable for a cold and snowy winter, so that the roads were impassable, and the Tiber not navigable. The price of provisions underwent no change, in consequence of the abundance previously laid in. And because Publius Licinius, as he obtained his office without any rioting, to the greater joy of the commons than annoyance of the patricians, so also did he administer it; a rapturous desire of electing plebeians at the next election took possession of them. Of the patricians Marcus Veturius alone obtained a place: almost all the centuries appointed the other plebeian candidates as military tribunes with consular authority. Marcus Pomponius, Caius Duilius, Volero Publilius, Cneius Genucius, Lucius Atilius. The severe winter, whether from the ill temperature of the air [arising] from the abrupt transition to the contrary state, or from whatsoever other cause, was followed by an unhealthy summer, destructive to all species of animals; and when neither the cause nor termination of this intractable pestilence could be discovered, the Sibylline books were consulted according to a decree of the senate. The duumvirs for the direction of religious matters, the lectisternium being then for the first time introduced into the city of Rome, for eight days implored the favour of Apollo and Latona, Diana and Hercules, Mercury and Neptune, three couches being laid out with the greatest magnificence that was then possible. The same solemn rite was observed also by private individuals. The doors lying open throughout the entire city, and the use of every thing lying out in common, they say that all passengers, both those known and those unknown indiscriminately, were invited to lodgings, and that conversation was adopted between persons at variance with complaisance and kindness, and that they refrained from disputes and quarrels; their chains were also taken off those who were in confinement during those days; that afterward a scruple was felt in imprisoning those to whom the gods had brought such aid. In the mean while the alarm was multiplied at Veii, three

wars being concentrated in the one place. For as the Capenatians and Faliscians had suddenly come with succour [to the Veientians], they had to fight against three armies on different sides in the same manner as formerly, through the whole extent of their works. The recollection of the sentence passed on Sergius and Virginius aided them above every thing else. Accordingly some forces being led around in a short time from the principal camp, where some delay had been made on the former occasion, attack the Capenatians on their rear, whilst they were engaged in front against the Roman rampart. The fight commencing in this quarter struck terror into the Faliscians also, and a sally from the camp opportunely made put them to flight, thrown into disorder as they now were. The victors, having then pursued them in their retreat, made great slaughter amongst them. And soon after those who had been devastating the territory of Capena, having met them as it were by chance, entirely cut off the survivors of the fight as they were straggling through the country: and many of the Veientians in their retreat to the city were slain before the gates; whilst, through fear lest the Romans should force in along with them, they excluded the hindmost of their men by closing the gates.

#### 14

These were the transactions of that year. And now the election of military tribunes approached; about which the patricians felt more intense solicitude than about the war, inasmuch as they saw that the supreme authority was not only shared with the commons, but almost lost to themselves. Wherefore the most distinguished individuals being, by concert, prepared to stand candidates, whom they thought [the people] would feel ashamed to pass by, they themselves, nevertheless, as if they were all candidates, trying every expedient, strove to gain over not only men, but the gods also, raising religious scruples about the elections held the two preceding years; that, in the former of those years, a winter set in intolerably severe, and like to a prodigy from the gods; on the next year [they had] not prodigies, but events, a pestilence inflicted on both city and country through the manifest resentment of the gods: whom, as was discovered in the books of the fates, it was necessary to appease, for the purpose of warding off that plague. That it seemed to the gods an affront that honours should be prostituted, and the distinctions of birth confounded, in an election which was held under proper auspices. The people, overawed as well by the dignity of the candidates as by a sense of religion, elected all the military tribunes with consular power from among the patricians, the greater part being men who had been most highly distinguished by honour; Lucius Valerius Potitus a fifth time, Marcus Valerius Maximus, Marcus Furius Camillus a third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a third time, Quintus Servilius Fidenas a second time, Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus a second time. During this tribunate, nothing very memorable was performed at Veii. All their force was employed in depopulating the country. Two consummate commanders, Potitus from Falerii, Camillus from Capena, carried off great booty, nothing being left undestroyed which could be injured by sword or by fire.

#### 15

In the mean time many prodigies were announced; the greater part of which were little credited or even slighted, because individuals were the reporters of them, and also because, the Etrurians being now at war with them, they had no aruspices through whom they might attend to them. The attention of all was turned to a particular one: the lake in the Alban grove swelled to an unusual height without any rain, or any other cause which could account for the matter independently of a miracle. Commissioners

were sent to the Delphic oracle to inquire what the gods portended by this prodigy; but an interpreter of the fates was presented to them nearer home in a certain aged Veientian, who, amid the scoffs thrown out by the Roman and Etrurian soldiers from the out-posts and guards, declared, after the manner of one delivering a prophecy, that until the water should be discharged from the Alban lake, the Romans should never become masters of Veii. This was disregarded at first as having been thrown out at random, afterwards it began to be canvassed in conversation; until one of the Roman soldiers on guard asked one of the townsmen who was nearest him (a conversational intercourse having now taken place in consequence of the long continuance of the war) who he was, who threw out those dark expressions concerning the Alban lake? After he heard that he was an aruspex, being a man whose mind was not without a tincture of religion, pretending that he wished to consult him on the expiation of a private portent, if he could aid him, he enticed the prophet to a conference. And when, being unarmed, they had proceeded a considerable distance from their respective parties without any apprehension, the Roman youth having the advantage in strength, took up the feeble old man in the sight of all, and amid the ineffectual bustle made by the Etrurians, carried him away to his own party. When he was conducted before the general, and sent from thence to Rome to the senate, to those who asked him what that was which he had stated concerning the Alban lake, he replied, "that undoubtedly the gods were angry with the Veientian people on that day, on which they had inspired him with the resolve to disclose the ruin of his country as destined by the fates. Wherefore what he then declared urged by divine inspiration, he neither could recall so that it may be unsaid; and perhaps by concealing what the immortal gods wished to be published, no less guilt was contracted than by openly declaring what ought to be concealed. Thus therefore it was recorded in the books of the fates, thus in the Etrurian doctrine, that whensoever the Alban water should rise to a great height, then, if the Romans should discharge it in a proper manner, victory was granted them over the Veientians: before that occurred, that the gods would not desert the walls of Veii." He then detailed what would be the legitimate method of draining. But the senate deeming his authority as but of little weight, and not to be entirely depended on in so important a matter, determined to wait for the deputies and the responses of the Pythian oracle.

## 16

Before the commissioners returned from Delphos, or an expiation of the Alban prodigy was discovered, the new military tribunes with consular power entered on their office, Lucius Julius Iulus, Lucius Furius Medullinus for the fourth time, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Aulus Postumius Regillensis, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, and Aulus Manlius. This year a new enemy, the Tarquinians, started up. Because they saw the Romans engaged in many wars together, that of the Volscians at Anxur, where the garrison was besieged, that of the Æquans at Lavici, who were attacking the Roman colony there, moreover in the Veientian, Faliscan, and Capenatian war, and that matters were not more tranquil within the walls, by reason of the dissensions between the patricians and commons; considering that amid these [troubles] there was an opportunity for an attack, they send their light-armed cohorts to commit depredations on the Roman territory. For [they concluded] either that the Romans would suffer that injury to pass off unavenged, that they might not encumber themselves with an additional war, or that they would resent it with a scanty army, and one by no means strong. The Romans [felt] greater indignation, than alarm, at the inroads of the Tarquinians. On this account the matter was neither taken up with great preparation, nor was it delayed for any length of time.

Aulus Postumius and Lucius Julius, having raised a body of men, not by a regular levy, (for they were prevented by the tribunes of the commons,) but [a body consisting] mostly of volunteers, whom they had aroused by exhortations, having proceeded by cross marches through the territory of Cære, fell unexpectedly on the Tarquinians, as they were returning from their depredations and laden with booty; they slew great numbers, stripped them all of their baggage, and, having recovered the spoils of their own lands, they return to Rome. Two days were allowed to the owners to reclaim their effects. On the third day, that portion not owned (for most of it belonged to the enemies themselves) was sold by public auction; and what was produced from thence, was distributed among the soldiers. The other wars, and more especially the Veientian, were of doubtful issue. And now the Romans, despairing of human aid, began to look to the fates and the gods, when the deputies returned from Delphos, bringing with them an answer of the oracle, corresponding with the response of the captive prophet: "Roman, beware lest the Alban water be confined in the lake, beware of suffering it to flow into the sea in its own stream. Thou shalt let it out and form a passage for it through the fields, and by dispersing it in channels thou shalt consume it. Then press boldly on the walls of the enemy, mindful that the victory is granted to you by these fates which are now revealed over that city which thou art besieging for so many years. The war being ended, do thou, as victorious, bring ample offerings to my temples, and having renewed the religious institutions of your country, the care of which has been given up, perform them in the usual manner."

## 17

Upon this the captive prophet began to be held in high esteem, and Cornelius and Postumius, the military tribunes, began to employ him for the expiation of the Alban prodigy, and to appease the gods in due form. And it was at length discovered wherein the gods found fault with the neglect of the ceremonies and the omission of the customary rites; that it was undoubtedly nothing else, than that the magistrates, having been appointed under some defect [in their election], had not directed the Latin festival and the solemnities on the Alban mount with due regularity. The only mode of expiation in the case was, that the military tribunes should resign their office, the auspices be taken anew, and an interregnum be adopted. All these things were performed according to a decree of the senate. There were three interreges in succession, Lucius Valerius, Quintus Servilius Fidenas, Marcus Furius Camillus. In the mean time disturbances never ceased to exist, the tribunes of the commons impeding the elections until it was previously stipulated, that the greater number of the military tribunes should be elected out of the commons. Whilst these things are going on, assemblies of Etruria were held at the temple of Voltumna, and the Capenatians and Faliscians demanding that all the states of Etruria should by common consent and resolve aid in raising the siege of Veii, the answer given was: "that on a former occasion they had refused that to the Veientians, because they had no right to demand aid from those from whom they had not solicited advice on so important a matter. That for the present their own condition instead of themselves.<sup>160</sup> denied it to them, more especially in that part of Etruria. That a strange nation, the Gauls, were become new neighbours, with whom they neither had a sufficiently secure peace, nor a certainty of war: to the blood, however, and the name and the present dangers of their kinsmen this [mark of respect] was paid, that if any of their youth were disposed to go to that war, they would not prevent them." Hence there

<sup>160</sup> So I have rendered *pro se*—or it may be rendered, "considering their circumstances," scil. the external circumstances in which they were placed.

was a report at Rome, that a great number of enemies had arrived, and in consequence the intestine dissensions began to subside, as is usual, through alarm for the general safety.

## 18

Without opposition on the part of the patricians, the prerogative tribe elect Publius Licinius Calvus military tribune without his suing for it, a man of tried moderation in his former tribunate, but now of extreme old age; and it was observed that all were re-elected in regular succession out of the college of the same year, Lucius Titinius, Publius Mænius, Publius Mælius, Cneius Genucius, Lucius Atilius: before these were proclaimed, the tribes being summoned in the ordinary course, Publius Licinius Calvus, by permission of the interrex, spoke as follows: "Romans, I perceive that from the recollection of our administration you are seeking an omen of concord, a thing most important at the present time, for the ensuing year. If you re-elect the same colleagues, improved also by experience, in me you no longer behold the same person, but the shadow and name of Publius Licinius now left. The powers of my body are decayed, my senses of sight and hearing are grown dull, my memory falters, the vigour of my mind is blunted. Behold here a youth," says he, holding his son, "the representation and image of him whom ye formerly made a military tribune, the first from among the commons. This youth, formed under my own discipline, I present and dedicate to the commonwealth as a substitute for myself. And I beseech you, Romans, that the honour readily offered by yourselves to me, you would grant to his suit, and to my prayers added in his behalf." The favour was granted to the request of the father, and his son, Publius Licinius, was declared military tribune with consular power along with those whom I have mentioned above. Titinius and Genucius, military tribunes, proceeded against the Faliscians and Capenatians, and whilst they conduct the war with more courage than conduct, they fall into an ambush. Genucius, atoning for his temerity by an honourable death, fell among the foremost in front of the standards. Titinius, having collected his men from the great confusion [into which they were thrown] on a rising ground, restored their order of battle; nor did he, however, venture to engage the enemy on even ground. More of disgrace than of loss was sustained; which was well nigh proving a great calamity; so much alarm was excited not only at Rome, whither an exaggerated account of it had reached, but in the camp also at Veii. There the soldiers were with difficulty restrained from flight, as a report had spread through the camp that, the generals and army having been cut to pieces, the victorious Capenatians and Faliscians and all the youth of Etruria were not far off. At Rome they gave credit to accounts still more alarming than these, that the camp at Veii was now attacked, that a part of the enemy was now advancing to the city prepared for an attack: they crowded to the walls, and supplications of the matrons, which the public panic had called forth from their houses, were offered up in the temples; and the gods were petitioned by prayers, that they would repel destruction from the houses and temples of the city and from the walls of Rome, and that they would avert that terror to Veii, if the sacred rites had been duly renewed, if the prodigies had been expiated.

## 19

The games and the Latin festival had now been performed anew; now the water from the Alban lake had been discharged upon the fields, and the fates were demanding [the ruin of] Veii. Accordingly a general destined for the destruction of that city and the preservation of his country, Marcus Furius Camillus, being nominated dictator,

appointed Publius Cornelius Scipio his master of the horse. The change of the general suddenly produced a change in every thing. Their hopes seemed different, the spirits of the people were different, the fortune also of the city seemed changed. First of all, he punished according to military discipline those who had fled from Veii in that panic, and took measures that the enemy should not be the most formidable object to the soldier. Then a levy being proclaimed for a certain day, he himself in the mean while makes an excursion to Veii to strengthen the spirits of the soldiers: thence he returns to Rome to enlist the new army, not a single man declining the service. Youth from foreign states also, Latins and Hernicians, came, promising their service for the war: after the dictator returned them thanks in the senate, all preparations being now completed for the war, he vowed, according to a decree of the senate, that he would, on the capture of Veii, celebrate the great games, and that he would repair and dedicate the temple of Mother Matuta, which had been formerly consecrated by King Servius Tullius. Having set out from the city with his army amid the high expectation<sup>161</sup> rather than mere hopes of persons, he first encountered the Faliscians and Capenatians in the district of Nepote. Every thing there being managed with consummate prudence and skill, was attended, as is usual, with success. He not only routed the enemy in battle, but he stripped them also of their camp, and obtained a great quantity of spoil, the principal part of which was handed over to the quæstor; not much was given to the soldiers. From thence the army was marched to Veii, and additional forts close to each other were erected; and by a proclamation being issued, that no one should fight without orders, the soldiers were taken off from those skirmishes, which frequently took place at random between the wall and rampart, [so as to apply] to the work. Of all the works, far the greatest and more laborious was a mine which they commenced to carry into the enemies' citadel. And that the work might not be interrupted, and that the continued labour under ground might not exhaust the same individuals, he divided the number of pioneers into six companies; six hours were allotted for the work in rotation; nor by night or day did they give up, until they made a passage into the citadel.

## 20

When the dictator now saw that the victory was in his hands, that a most opulent city was on the point of being taken, and that there would be more spoil than had been obtained in all previous wars taken together, that he might not incur either the resentment of the soldiers from a parsimonious partition of the plunder, or displeasure among the patricians from a prodigal lavishing of it, he sent a letter to the senate, "that by the kindness of the immortal gods, his own measures, and the perseverance of the soldiers, Veii would be soon in the power of the Roman people." What did they think should be done with respect to the spoil? Two opinions divided the senate; the one that of the elder Publius Licinius, who on being first asked by his son, as they say, proposed it as his opinion, that a proclamation should be openly sent forth to the people, that whoever wished to share in the plunder, should proceed to the camp before Veii; the other that of Appius Claudius,<sup>162</sup> who, censuring such profusion as unprecedented,

<sup>161</sup> *Expectatione, &c.* With confident expectations on the part of his countrymen, rather than simple hope.

<sup>162</sup> According to Niebuhr, (vol. ii. p. 233,) this fear put into the mouth of Claudius, is attributable to ignorance or forgetfulness on the part of Livy, of the early usage in the dividing of spoils, which had ceased to be observed in the time of Augustus. According to former Roman usage, half of the conquering army was employed, under the sanction of a solemn oath, to subtract nothing, in collecting the spoil, which was then partly divided by lot, partly sold, and the proceeds, if promised to the soldiers, disbursed to them man by man, if otherwise, it was brought into the treasury. Both schemes mentioned here by Livy, it will be observed, contemplated compensation to the people for the war-tax which they had so long paid; but that of Licinius was more favourable, especially to the poor, as the ordinary citizens would receive equal shares, and the compensation would be direct and immediate.—*Gunne*.

extravagant, partial, and one that was unadvisable, if they should once judge it criminal, that money taken from the enemy should be [deposited] in the treasury when exhausted by wars, advised their pay to be paid to the soldiers out of that money, so that the commons might thereby have to pay less tax. For that "the families of all would feel their share of such a bounty in equal proportion; that the hands of the idlers in the city, ever greedy for plunder, would not then carry off the prizes due to brave warriors, as it generally so happens that according as each individual is wont to seek the principal part of the toil and danger, so is he the least active as a plunderer." Licinius, on the other hand, argued that the money in that case would ever prove the source of jealousy and animosity, and that it would afford grounds for charges before the commons, and thence for seditions and new laws. "That it was more advisable therefore that the feelings of the commons should be conciliated by that bounty; that succour should be afforded them, exhausted and drained by a tax of so many years, and that they should feel the fruits arising from a war, in which they had in a manner grown old. What each took from the enemy with his own hand and brought home with him would be more gratifying and delightful, than if he were to receive a much larger share at the will of another." That the dictator himself wished to shun the odium and recriminations arising from the matter; for that reason he transferred it to the senate. The senate, too, ought to hand the matter thus referred to them over to the commons, and suffer every man to have what the fortune of war gave to him. This proposition appeared to be the safer, as it would make the senate popular. A proclamation was therefore issued, that those who chose should proceed to the camp to the dictator for the plunder of Veii.

## 21

The vast multitude who went filled the camp. Then the dictator, going forth after taking the auspices, having issued orders that the soldiers should take arms, says, "Under thy guidance, O Pythian Apollo, and inspired by thy divinity, I proceed to destroy the city of Veii, and I vow to thee the tenth part of the spoil."<sup>163</sup> Thee also, queen Juno, who inhabitest Veii, I beseech, that thou wilt accompany us, when victors, into our city, soon to be thine, where a temple worthy of thy majesty shall receive thee."<sup>164</sup> Having offered up these prayers, there being more than a sufficient number of men, he assaults the city on every quarter, in order that the perception of the danger threatening them from the mine might be diminished. The Veientians, ignorant that they had already been doomed by their own prophets, already by foreign oracles, that the gods had been already invited to a share in their plunder, that some, called out by vows from their city, were looking towards the temple of the enemy and new habitations, and that they were spending that the last day [of their existence], fearing nothing less than that, their walls being undermined, the citadel was now filled with enemies, briskly run to the walls in arms, wondering what could be the reason that, when no one had stirred from the Roman posts for so many days, then, as if struck with sudden fury, they should run heedlessly to the walls. A fabulous narrative is introduced here, that, when the king of the Veientians was offering sacrifice, the voice of the aruspex, declaring that the victory was given to him who should cut up the entrails of that victim, having been heard in the mine, incited the Roman soldiers to burst open the mine, carry off the entrails, and bring them to the dictator. But in matters of such remote antiquity, I should deem it sufficient,

<sup>163</sup> "This vow frequently occurs in Grecian history, like that made of the Persian booty, but this is the only instance in the history of Rome."—*Niebuhr*, vol. ii. 239.

<sup>164</sup> *Evocatos*. When the Romans besieged a town, and thought themselves sure of taking it, they used solemnly to call out of it the gods in whose protection the place was supposed to be.

if matters bearing a resemblance to truth be admitted as true. Such stories as this, more suited to display on the stage, which delights in the marvellous, than to historic authenticity, it is not worth while either to affirm or refute. The mine, at this time full of chosen men, suddenly discharged the armed troops in the temple of Juno which was in the citadel of Veii.<sup>165</sup> Some of them attack the rear of the enemy on the walls; some tore open the bars of the gates; some set fire to the houses, while stones and tiles were thrown down from the roofs by the women and slaves. Clamour, consisting of the various voices of the assailants and the terrified, mixed with the crying of women and children, fills every place. The soldiers being in an instant beaten off from the walls, and the gates being thrown open, some entering in bodies, others scaling the deserted walls, the city become filled with enemies, fighting takes place in every quarter. Then, much slaughter being now made, the ardour of the fight abates; and the dictator commands the heralds to proclaim that the unarmed should be spared. This put an end to bloodshed. Then laying down their arms, they commenced to surrender; and, by permission of the dictator, the soldiers disperse in quest of plunder. And when this was collected before his eyes, greater in quantity and in the value of the effects than he had hoped or expected, the dictator, raising his hands to heaven, is said to have prayed, "that, if his success and that of the Roman people seemed excessive to any of the gods and men, it might be permitted to the Roman people to appease that jealousy with as little detriment as possible to himself and the Roman people."<sup>166</sup> It is recorded that, when turning about during this prayer, he stumbled and fell; and to persons judging of the matter by subsequent events, that seemed to refer as an omen to Camillus' own condemnation, and the disaster of the city of Rome being akin, which happened a few years after. And that day was consumed in slaughtering the enemy and in the plunder of this most opulent city.

## 22

On the following day the dictator sold the inhabitants of free condition by auction: that was the only money applied to public use, not without resentment on the part of the people: and for the spoil they brought home with them, they felt no obligation either to their commander, who, in his search for abettors of his own parsimony, had referred to the senate a matter within his own jurisdiction, or to the senate, but to the Licinian family, of which the son had laid the matter before the senate, and the father had been the proposer of so popular a resolution. When all human wealth had been carried away from Veii, they then began to remove the offerings to their gods and the gods

<sup>165</sup> The idea of the Romans working a mine, even through the soil of Veii, so as to be sure of reaching not only the town and the citadel, and even the temple, is considered by Niebuhr as extremely ridiculous. He deems the circumstance a clear proof of the fiction that attaches to the entire story of the capture of Veii. The whole seems to be an imitation of the siege of Troy.—*Gunne*.

<sup>166</sup> The passage in the original, in the generality of editions, is read as follows: *ut eam invidium lenire, quàm minimo suo privato incommodo publicoque, populo Romano liceret*: i. e. that both himself and the Roman people may get over the evil consequences of the jealousy of the gods with as little detriment as possible to either: *populi Romani* seems preferable here: i. e. "that it might be allowed to lighten that jealousy, by the least possible injury to his own private interest, and to the public interests of the Roman people." There were certainly two persons concerned in the *invidia* and *incommodum* here, Camillus himself, and the Roman people; to whom respectively the *damnatio*, and *elades captæ urbis*, afterwards mentioned, obviously refer. Some editions read, *invidiam lenire suo privato incommodo, quàm minimo publico populi Romani liceret*. This is the reading adopted by Crevier; i. e. "to appease the jealousy by his own private loss, rather than the least public loss." This is more in accordance with the account given of Camillus by Plutarch, and contains a sentiment certainly more worthy both of Livy and of Camillus. Sentiments ascribed by Plutarch to Camillus, will have *suo privato incommodo, quam minimo publico P. R.*, giving him the patriotic wish to render light the odium by his own private loss, *rather than* the least public loss; or, by his own private loss, but if not, *by* as small a public loss as possible. *Pop-li R-i*, better than *o, o*, as *liceret* would, in the latter case, apply only to one of the parties; in the former both are understood.

themselves, but more after the manner of worshippers than of plunderers. For youths selected from the entire army, to whom the charge of conveying queen Juno to Rome was assigned, after having thoroughly washed their bodies and arrayed themselves in white garments, entered her temple with profound adoration, applying their hands at first with religious awe, because, according to the Etrurian usage, no one but a priest of a certain family had been accustomed to touch that statue. Then when some one, moved either by divine inspiration, or in youthful jocularly, said, "Juno, art thou willing to go to Rome," the rest joined in shouting that the goddess had nodded assent. To the story an addition was afterwards made, that her voice was heard, declaring that "she was willing." Certain it is, we are informed that, having been raised from her place by machines of trifling power, she was light and easily removed, like as if she [willingly] followed; and that she was conveyed safe to the Aventine, her eternal seat, whither the vows of the dictator had invited her; where the same Camillus who had vowed it, afterwards dedicated a temple to her. Such was the fall of Veii, the wealthiest city of the Etrurian nation, which even in its final overthrow demonstrated its greatness; for having been besieged for ten summers and winters without intermission, after it had inflicted considerably greater losses than it had sustained, eventually, fate now at length urging [its destruction], it was carried after all by the contrivances of art, not by force.

### 23

When news was brought to Rome that Veii was taken, although both the prodigies had been expiated, and the answers of the prophets and the Pythian responses were well known, and though they had selected as their commander Marcus Furius, the greatest general of the day, which was doing as much to promote success as could be done by human prudence; yet because the war had been carried on there for so many years with various success, and many losses had been sustained, their joy was unbounded, as if for an event not expected; and before the senate could pass any decree, all the temples were crowded with Roman matrons returning thanks to the gods. The senate decrees supplications for the space of four days, a number of days greater than [was prescribed] in any former war. The dictator's arrival also, all ranks pouring out to meet him, was better attended than that of any general before, and his triumph considerably surpassed all the ordinary style of honouring such a day. The most conspicuous of all was himself, riding through the city in a chariot drawn by white horses; and that appeared unbecoming, not to say a citizen, but even a human being. The people considered it an outrage on religion that the dictator's equipage should emulate that of Jupiter and Apollo; and for that single reason his triumph was rather splendid than pleasing. He then contracted for a temple for queen Juno on Mount Aventine, and consecrated that of Mother Matuta: and, after having performed these services to the gods and to mankind, he laid down his dictatorship. They then began to consider regarding the offering to Apollo; and when Camillus stated that he had vowed the tenth part of the spoil to him, and the pontiff declared that the people ought to discharge their own obligation, a plan was not readily struck out of ordering the people to refund the spoil, so that the due proportion might be set aside out of it for sacred purposes. At length they had recourse to this which seemed the easiest course, that, whoever wished to acquit himself and his family of the religious obligation, after he had made his own estimate of his portion of the plunder, should pay into the treasury the value of the tenth part, so that out of it a golden offering worthy of the grandeur of the temple and the divinity of the god might be made, suitable to the dignity of the Roman people. This contribution also tended to alienate the affections of the commons from Camillus. During these transactions

ambassadors came from the Volscians and Æquans to sue for peace; and peace was obtained, rather that the state wearied by so tedious a war might obtain repose, than that the petitioners were deserving of it.

## 24

After the capture of Veii, the following year had six military tribunes with consular power, the two Publii Cornelii, Cossus and Scipio, Marcus Valerius Maximus a second time, Kæso Fabius Ambustus a third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a fifth time, Quintus Servilius a third time. To the Cornelii the Faliscian war, to Valerius and Servilius the Capenatian war, fell by lot. By them no cities were attempted by storm or by siege, but the country was laid waste, and the plunder of the effects on the lands was driven off; not a single fruit tree, not a vegetable was left on the land. These losses reduced the people of Capena; peace was granted to them on their suing for it. The war among the Faliscians still continued. At Rome in the mean time sedition became multiplied; and for the purpose of assuaging this they resolved that a colony should be sent off to the Volscian country, for which three thousand Roman citizens should be enrolled; and the triumvirs appointed for the purpose, distributed three acres and seven-twelfths to each man. This donation began to be scorned, because they thought that it was offered as a solace for the disappointment of higher hopes. For why were the commons to be sent into exile to the Volscians, when the magnificent city of Veii was still in view, and the Veientian territory, more fertile and extensive than the Roman territor? The city also they extolled as preferable to the city of Rome, both in situation, in the grandeur of its enclosures, and buildings, both public and private. Nay, even that scheme was proposed, which after the taking of Rome by the Gauls was still more strongly urged, of removing to Veii. But they destined Veii to be inhabited by half the commons and half the senate; and that two cities of one common republic might be inhabited by the Roman people.<sup>167</sup> When the nobles strove against these measures so strenuously, as to declare "that they would sooner die in the sight of the Roman people, than that any of these things should be put to the vote; for that now in one city there were so many dissensions; what would there be in two? Would any one prefer a vanquished to a victorious city; and suffer Veii now after being captured to enjoy greater prosperity than it had before its capture? Lastly, that they may be forsaken in their country by their fellow-citizens; that no power should ever oblige them to forsake their country and fellow-citizens, and follow Titus Licinius (for he was the tribune of the commons who proposed the measure) as a founder to Veii, abandoning the divine Romulus, the son of a god, the parent and founder of the city of Rome." When these proceedings were going on with shameful contentions, (for the patricians had drawn over, one half of the tribunes of the commons to their sentiments,) nothing else obliged the commons to refrain from violence, but that whenever a clamour was set up for the purpose of commencing a riot, the principal members of the senate, presenting themselves among the foremost to the crowd, ordered that they themselves should be attacked, struck, and put to death. Whilst they abstained from violating their age, dignity, and honourable station, their respect for them checked their rage even with respect to similar attempts on others.

<sup>167</sup> "A proposal so absurd would have justified the most vehement opposition of the senate. But it is much more probable, that the scope of the proposition was, that on this occasion the whole of the conquered land should be divided, but amongst the whole nation, so that the patricians also and their clients should receive a share as absolute property."—*Neibuhr*, vol. ii. p. 248.

## 25

Camillus, at every opportunity and in all places, stated publicly, "that this was not at all surprising; that the state was gone mad; which, though bound by a vow, yet felt greater concern in all other matters than in acquitting itself of its religious obligations. He would say nothing of the contribution of an alms more strictly speaking than of a tenth; since each man bound himself in his private capacity by it, the public was set free. However, that his conscience would not permit him to pass this over in silence, that out of that spoil only which consisted of movable effects, a tenth was set apart; that no mention was made of the city and captured land, which were also included in the vow." As the discussion of this point seemed difficult to the senate, it was referred to the pontiffs; Camillus being invited [to the council], the college decided, that whatever had belonged to the Veientians before the uttering of the vow, and had come into the power of the Roman people after the vow was made, of that a tenth part was sacred to Apollo. Thus the city and land were brought into the estimate. The money was issued from the treasury, and the consular tribunes of the soldiers were commissioned to purchase gold with it. And when there was not a sufficient quantity of this [metal], the matrons having held meetings to deliberate on the subject, and by a general resolution having promised the military tribunes their gold and all their ornaments, brought them into the treasury. This circumstance was peculiarly grateful to the senate, and they say that in return for this generosity the honour was conferred on the matrons, that they might use covered chariots [when going] to public worship and the games, and open chaises on festival and common days. A certain weight of gold being received from each and valued, in order that the price might be paid for it, it was resolved that a golden bowl should be made of it, which was to be carried to Delphos as an offering to Apollo. As soon as they disengaged their minds from the religious obligation, the tribunes of the commons renew their seditious practices; the populace are excited against all the nobles, but above all against Camillus: that "he by confiscating and consecrating the plunder of Veii had reduced it to nothing." The absent [nobles] they abuse in violent terms: they evince a respect for them in their presence, when they voluntarily presented themselves to their fury. As soon as they perceived that the business would be protracted beyond that year, they re-elect as tribunes of the commons for the following year the same abettors of the law; and the patricians strove to accomplish the same thing with respect to those who were opponents of the law. Thus the same persons in a great measure were re-elected tribunes of the commons.

## 26

At the election of military tribunes the patricians succeeded by their utmost exertions in having Marcus Furius Camillus elected. They pretended that he was wanted as a commander on account of the wars; but he was intended as an opponent to the tribunes in their profusion. The military tribunes with consular authority elected with Camillus were, Lucius Furius Medullinus a sixth time, Caius Æmilius, Lucius Valerius Publicola, Spurius Postumius, Publius Cornelius a second time. At the commencement of the year the tribunes of the commons took not a step until Marcus Furius Camillus should set out to the Faliscians, as that war had been assigned to him. Then by delaying the project cooled; and Camillus, whom they chiefly dreaded as an antagonist, acquired an increase of glory among the Faliscians. For when the enemy at first confined themselves within the walls, considering it the safest plan, by laying waste their lands and burning their houses, he compelled them to come forth from the city; but their fears prevented them from proceeding to any considerable length. At about a mile from the town they pitch

their camp; trusting that it was sufficiently secure from no other cause, than the difficulty of the approaches, the roads around being rough and craggy, in some parts narrow, in others steep. But Camillus having followed the direction of a prisoner belonging to the country as his guide, decamping at an advanced hour of the night, at break of day shows himself on ground considerably higher [than theirs]. The Romans worked at the fortifications in three divisions: the rest of the army stood prepared for battle. There he routs and puts to flight the enemy when they attempted to interrupt his works; and such terror was struck into the Faliscians in consequence, that, in their precipitate flight passing by their own camp which lay in their way, they made for the city. Many were slain and wounded, before that in their panic they could make their way through the gates. Their camp was taken; the spoil was given up to the quæstors, to the great dissatisfaction of the soldiers; but overcome by the strictness of his authority, they both hated and admired the same firmness of conduct. Then a regular siege of the city took place, and the lines of circumvallation were carried on, and sometimes occasional attacks were made by the townsmen on the Roman posts, and slight skirmishes took place: and the time was spent, no hope [of success] inclining to either side, whilst corn and other provisions were possessed in much greater abundance by the besieged than the besiegers from [the store] which had been previously laid in. And their toil appeared likely to prove just as tedious as it had at Veii, had not fortune presented to the Roman general at once both an opportunity for displaying his virtuous firmness of mind already tested in warlike affairs, and a speedy victory.

## 27

It was the custom among the Faliscians to employ the same person as preceptor and private tutor for their children; and, as continues the usage to this day in Greece, several youths were intrusted to the care of one man. The person who appeared to excel in knowledge, instructed, as it is natural to suppose, the children of the leading men. As he had established it as a custom during peace to carry the boys out beyond the city for the sake of play and of exercise; that custom not having been discontinued during the existence of the war; then drawing them away from the gate, sometimes in shorter, sometimes in longer excursions, advancing farther than usual, when an opportunity offered, by varying their play and conversation, he led them on between the enemy's guards, and thence to the Roman camp into his tent to Camillus. There to the atrocious act he added a still more atrocious speech: that "he had delivered Falerii into the hands of the Romans, when he put into their power those children, whose parents are there at the head of affairs." When Camillus heard this, he says, "Wicked as thou art, thou hast come with thy villanous offering neither to a people nor a commander like thyself. Between us and the Faliscians there exists not that form of society which is established by human compact; but between both there does exist, and ever will exist, that which nature has implanted. There are laws of war as well of peace; and we have learned to wage them justly not less than bravely. We carry arms not against that age which is spared even when towns are taken, but against men who are themselves armed, and who, not having been injured or provoked by us, attacked the Roman camp at Veii. Those thou hast surpassed, as far as lay in you, by an unprecedented act of villany: I shall conquer them, as I did Veii, by Roman arts, by bravery, labour, and by arms." Then having stripped him naked, and tied his hands behind his back, he delivered him up to the boys to be brought back to Falerii; and supplied them with rods to scourge the traitor and drive him into the city. At which spectacle, a crowd of people being assembled, afterwards the senate being convened by the magistrates on the

extraordinary circumstance, so great a change was produced in their sentiments, that the entire state earnestly demanded peace at the hands of those, who lately, outrageous by hatred and anger, almost preferred the fate of the Veientians to the peace of the Capenatians. The Roman faith, the justice of the commander, are cried up in the forum and in the senate-house; and by universal consent ambassadors set out to the camp to Camillus, and thence by permission of Camillus to Rome to the senate, in order to deliver up Falerii. When introduced before the senate, they are represented as having spoken thus: "Conscript fathers, overcome by you and your commander by a victory at which neither god nor man can feel displeasure, we surrender ourselves to you, considering that we shall live more happily under your rule than under our own law, than which nothing can be more glorious for a conqueror. In the result of this war, two salutary examples have been exhibited to mankind. You preferred faith in war to present victory: we, challenged by your good faith, have voluntarily given up to you the victory. We are under your sovereignty. Send men to receive our arms, our hostages, our city with its gates thrown open. You shall never have to repent of our fidelity, nor we of your dominion." Thanks were returned to Camillus both by the enemy and by his own countrymen. Money was required of the Faliscians to pay off the soldiers for that year, that the Roman people might be relieved from the tribute. Peace being granted, the army was led back to Rome.

## 28

When Camillus returned home, signalized by much more solid glory than when white horses had drawn him through the city, having vanquished the enemy by justice and good faith, the senate did not conceal their sense of respect for him, but immediately set about acquitting him of his vow; and Lucius Valerius, Lucius Sergius, Aulus Manlius, being sent in a ship of war as ambassadors to carry the golden bowl to Delphos as an offering to Apollo, were intercepted by the pirates of the Liparenses not far from the Sicilian Strait, and carried to Liparæ. It was the custom of the state to make a division of all booty which was acquired, as it were, by public piracy. On that year it so happened that one Timasitheus filled the office of chief magistrate, a man more like the Romans than his own countrymen. Who, himself reverencing the name of ambassadors, and the offering, and the god to whom it was sent, and the cause of the offering, impressed the multitude also, who almost on all occasions resemble their ruler, with [a sense] of religious justice; and after having brought the ambassadors to a public entertainment, escorted them with the protection of some ships to Delphos, and from thence brought them back in safety to Rome. By a decree of the senate a league of hospitality was formed with him, and presents were conferred on him by the state. During the same year the war with the Æquans was conducted with varying success; so that it was a matter of doubt both among the troops themselves and at Rome, whether they had been victorious or were vanquished. The Roman commanders were Caius Æmilius and Spurius Postumius, two of the military tribunes. At first they acted in conjunction; then, after the enemy were routed in the field, it was agreed that Æmilius should take possession of Verrugo with a certain force, and that Postumius should devastate the country. There, as the latter proceeded rather negligently, and with his troops irregularly drawn up, he was attacked by the Æquans, and an alarm being occasioned, he was driven to the nearest hill; and the panic spread from thence to Verrugo to the other detachment of the army. When Postumius, having withdrawn his men to a place of safety, summoned an assembly and upbraided them with their fright and flight; with having been beaten by a most cowardly and dastardly enemy; the entire army shout

aloud that they deserved to hear all this, and admitted the disgrace they had incurred; but [they promised] that they would make amends, and that the enemy's joy should not be of long duration. Demanding that he would instantly lead them from thence to the camp of the enemy, (this lay in the plain within their view,) they submitted to any punishment, if they did not take it before night. Having praised them, he orders them to take refreshment, and to be in readiness at the fourth watch. And the enemy, in order to prevent the flight of the Romans from the hill through the road which led to Verrugo, were posted to meet them; and the battle commenced before daylight, (but the moon was up all the night,) and was not more confused than a battle fought by day. But the shout having reached Verrugo, when they thought that the Roman camp was attacked, occasioned such a panic, that in spite of the entreaties of Æmilius and his efforts to stop them, they fled to Tusculum in great disorder. From thence a report was carried to Rome that "Postumius and his army were cut to pieces." When the dawn of day had removed all apprehension of an ambuscade in case of a hasty pursuit, after riding through the ranks, by demanding [the performance of] their promises he infused such ardour into them, that the Æquans could no longer withstand their impetuosity. Then the slaughter of them in their flight, such as takes place when matters are conducted more under the influence of anger than of courage, was continued even to the total destruction of the enemy, and the melancholy news from Tusculum, the state having been alarmed without cause, was followed by a letter from Postumius decked with laurel, (announcing) that "the victory belonged to the Roman people; that the army of the Æquans was destroyed."

## 29

As the proceedings of the plebeian tribunes had not yet attained a termination, both the commons exerted themselves to continue their office for the promoters of the law, and the patricians to re-elect the opponents of the law; but the commons were more successful in the election of their own magistrates. Which annoyance the patricians avenged by passing a decree of the senate that consuls should be elected, magistrates detested by the commons. After an interval of fifteen years, Lucius Lucretius Flavius and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus were appointed consuls. In the beginning of this year, whilst the tribunes of the commons united their efforts to pass the law, because none of their college were likely to oppose them, and the consuls resisted them with no less energy, the Æquans storm Vitellia, a Roman colony in their territory. The chief part of the colonists made their way in safety to Rome, because the town, having been taken by treachery in the night, afforded an unimpeded mode of escape by the remote side of the city. That province fell to the lot of Lucius Lucretius the consul. He having set out with his army, vanquished the enemy in the field; and returned victorious to Rome to a much more serious contest. A day of trial had been appointed for Aulus Virginius and Quintus Pomponius, plebeian tribunes of the two preceding years, in whose defence by the combined power of the patricians, the honour of the senate was involved. For no one laid against them any other impeachment, either of their mode of life or of their conduct in office, save that, to gratify the patricians, they had protested against the tribunitian law. The resentment of the commons, however, prevailed over the influence of the senate; and by a most pernicious precedent these men, though innocent, were condemned [to pay a fine of] ten thousand *asses* in weight. At this the patricians were very much incensed. Camillus openly charged the commons with gross violation of duty, "who, now turning their venom against their own body, did not feel that by their iniquitous sentence on the tribune they abolished the right of protesting; that abolishing

this right of protesting, they had upset the tribunitian authority. For they were mistaken in expecting that the patricians would tolerate the unbridled licentiousness of that office. If tribunitian violence could not be repelled by tribunitian aid, that the patricians would find out some other weapon." The consuls he also blamed, because they had in silence suffered those tribunes who had followed the authority of the senate to be deceived by [their reliance] on the public faith. By openly expressing these sentiments, he every day still further exasperated the angry feelings of the people.

### 30

But he ceased not to urge the senate to oppose the law; "that when the day for proposing the law had arrived they should go down to the forum with no other feeling than as men who remembered that they had to contend for their altars and homes, and the temples of the gods, and the soil in which they had been born. For that as far as he himself individually was concerned, if during this contest [to be sustained] by his country it were allowable for him to think of his own glory, it would even reflect honour on himself, that a city captured by him should be densely inhabited, that he would daily enjoy the monument of his glory, and that he would have before his eyes a city borne by him in his triumph, that all would tread in the footsteps of his renown. But that he deemed it an impiety that a city deserted and forsaken by the immortal gods should be inhabited; that the Roman people should reside in a captive soil, and that a vanquished should be taken in exchange for a victorious country." Stimulated by these exhortations of their leader, the patricians, both young and old, entered the forum in a body, when the law was about to be proposed: and dispersing themselves through the tribes, each earnestly appealing to the members of their own tribe, began to entreat them with tears "not to desert that country for which they themselves and their fathers had fought most valiantly and successfully," pointing to the Capitol, the temple of Vesta, and the other temples of the gods around; "not to drive the Roman people, exiles and outcasts, from their native soil and household gods into the city of the enemy; and not to bring matters to such a state, that it was better that Veii were not taken, lest Rome should be deserted." Because they proceeded not by violence, but by entreaties, and in the midst of these entreaties frequent mention was [made] of the gods, the greatest part [of the people] were influenced by religious scruples: and more tribes by one rejected the law than voted for it. And so gratifying was this victory to the patricians, that on the following day, on a motion made by the consuls, a decree of the senate was passed, that seven acres a man of Veientian territory should be distributed to the commons; and not only to the fathers of families, but so that all persons in their house in a state of freedom should be considered, and that they might be willing to rear up their children with that prospect.

### 31

The commons being won over by such a boon, no opposition was made to holding the elections for consuls. Lucius Valerius Potitus, and Marcus Manlius, who afterwards obtained the surname of Capitolinus, were elected consuls. These consuls celebrated the great games which Marcus Furius, when dictator, had vowed in the Veientian war. In the same year the temple of imperial Juno, vowed by the same dictator and during the same war, is dedicated; and they state that the dedication was attended with great zeal by the matrons. A war scarcely worth mentioning was waged with the Æquans at Algidum, the enemies taking to flight almost before they commenced the fight. To Valerius, because he was more persevering in slaughtering them in their flight, a triumph was granted; it

was decreed that Manlius should enter the city with an ovation. The same year a new war broke out with the Volsinians; whither an army could not be led, on account of a famine and pestilence in the Roman territories, which arose from drought and excessive heat; on account of which the Volsinians forming a junction with the Salpinians, being elated with pride, made an unprovoked incursion into the Roman territories. War was then proclaimed against the two states. Caius Julius died during his censorship; Marcus Cornelius was substituted in his room; a proceeding which was afterwards considered as offensive to religion; because during that lustrum Rome was taken. Nor since that time has a censor ever been substituted in the room of one deceased. And the consuls being seized by the distemper, it was determined that the auspices should be taken anew during an interregnum.

### 32

Therefore when in pursuance of a decree of the senate the consuls resigned their office, Marcus Furius Camillus is created interrex, who appointed Publius Cornelius Scipio interrex, and he afterwards Lucius Valerius Potitus. By him were appointed six military tribunes with consular power; so that, though any one of them should be incommoded by bad health, the state might have a sufficient number of magistrates. On the calends of July, the following entered on their office, Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Marcus Æmilius, Lucius Furius Medullinus a seventh time, Agrippa Furius, Caius Æmilius a second time. Of these, Lucius Lucretius and Caius Æmilius got the Volsinians as their province; the Salpinians fell to the lot of Agrippa Furius and Servius Sulpicius. The first engagement was with the Volsinians. The war, important from the number of the enemy, was without difficulty brought to a close. At the first onset, their army was put to flight. Eight thousand soldiers, hemmed in by the cavalry, laid down their arms and surrendered. The account received of that war had the effect of preventing the Salpinians from hazarding an engagement; the troops secured themselves within their towns. The Romans drove spoil in every direction, both from the Salpinian and Volsinian territory, there being no one to repel that aggression; until a truce for twenty years was granted to the Volsinians, exhausted by the war, on this condition, that they should make restitution to the Roman people, and furnish the pay of the army for that year. During the same year, Marcus Cædicius, a plebeian, announced to the tribunes that in the New Street, where the chapel now stands, above the temple of Vesta, he had heard in the silence of the night a voice louder than that of a human being, which ordered the magistrates to be told, that the Gauls were approaching. This, as is usual, was disregarded, on account of the humble station of the author, and also because the nation was a remote one, and therefore the less known. And not only were the warnings of the gods disregarded, fate now impending; but further, the only human aid which was left them, Marcus Furius, they drove away from the city; who, on a day [of trial] being appointed for him by Lucius Appuleius, a tribune of the people, in reference to the Veientian spoil, he having also lost his son, a young man, about the same time, when he summoned to his house the members of his tribe and his dependents, (they constituted a considerable portion of the commons,) and having sounded their sentiments, he received for answer, "that they would contribute whatever fine he should be condemned to pay; that to acquit him they were unable,"<sup>168</sup> retired into exile; after

<sup>168</sup> Niebuhr and Arnold understand these words to signify, that these persons had already made up their minds not to acquit him, or assist him by voting in favour of him—in fact, that they could not conscientiously do so. It may, however, signify simply, that the people were so incensed against him, that there existed not a rational prospect of acquittal for him.

praying to the immortal gods, "that if that outrage was done to him without his deserving it, they would at the earliest opportunity give cause to his ungrateful country to regret his absence." In his absence he was fined fifteen thousand *asses* in weight.

### 33

That citizen being driven away, who being present, Rome could not be captured, if any thing is certain regarding human affairs; the destined ruin now approaching the city, ambassadors came from the Clusinians, soliciting aid against the Gauls. A report is current that that nation, allured by the delightfulness of the crops, and more especially of the wine, an enjoyment then new to them, crossed the Alps, and took possession of the lands formerly cultivated by the Etrurians; and that Aruns, a native of Clusium, introduced wine into Gaul for the purpose of enticing the nation, through resentment for his wife's having been debauched by Lucumo, whose guardian he himself had been, a very influential young man, and on whom vengeance could not be taken, unless foreign aid were resorted to; that this person served as a guide to them when crossing the Alps, and advised them to lay siege to Clusium. I would not indeed deny that the Gauls were brought to Clusium by Aruns or any other native of Clusium; but that those persons who laid siege to Clusium were not they who first crossed the Alps, is sufficiently certain. For two hundred years before they laid siege to Clusium and captured the city of Rome, the Gauls passed over into Italy. Nor were these the first of the Etrurians with whom the Gauls fought, but long before that they frequently fought with those who dwelt between the Apennines and the Alps. Before the Roman empire the sway of the Tuscans was much extended by land and by sea; how very powerful they were in the upper and lower seas, by which Italy is encompassed like an island, the names [of these seas] is a proof; the one of which the Italian nations have called the Tuscan sea, the general appellation of the people; the other the Hadriatic, from Hadria, a colony of Tuscans. The Greeks call these same seas the Tyrrhenian and Hadriatic. This people inhabited the country extending to both seas in twelve cities, colonies equal in number to the mother cities having been sent, first on this side the Apennines towards the lower sea, afterwards to the other side of the Apennines; who obtained possession of all the district beyond the Po, even as far as the Alps, except the corner of the Venetians, who dwell round the extreme point of the [Hadriatic] sea. The Alpine nations also have this origin, more especially the Rhætians; whom their very situation has rendered savage, so as to retain nothing of their original, except the accent of their language, and not even that without corruption.

### 34

Concerning the passage of the Gauls into Italy we have heard as follows. In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus at Rome, the supreme government of the Celts, who compose the third part of Gaul, was in the hands of the Biturigians: they gave a king to the Celtic nation. This was Ambigatus, one very much distinguished by his merit, and both his great prosperity in his own concerns and in those of the public; for under his administration Gaul was so fruitful and so well peopled, that so very great a population appeared scarcely capable of being restrained by any government. He being now advanced in years, and anxious to relieve his kingdom of so oppressive a crowd, declares his intention to send his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, two enterprising youths, into whatever settlements the gods should grant them by augury: that they should take out with them as great a number of men as they pleased, so that no nation might be able to obstruct them in their progress. Then to Sigovesus the

Hercynian forest was assigned by the oracle: to Bellovesus the gods marked out a much more cheering route into Italy. He carried out with him from the Biturigians, the Arvernians, the Senonians, the Æduans, the Ambarrians, the Carnutians, and the Aulercians, all that was superfluous in their population. Having set out with an immense force of horse and foot, he arrived in the country of the Tricastinians. Next the Alps were opposed [to their progress], and I am not surprised that they should seem impassable, as they had never been climbed over through any path as yet, as far at least as tradition can extend, unless we are disposed to believe the stories regarding Hercules. When the height of the mountains kept the Gauls there penned up as it were, and they were looking around [to discover] by what path they might pass into another world between the summits, which joined the sky, a religious scruple detained them, it having been announced to them that strangers in search of lands were attacked by the nation of the Salyans. These were the Massilians, who had come by sea from Phocæa. The Gauls considering this an omen of their own fortune, assisted them in fortifying the ground which they had taken possession of on their first landing, covered with spacious woods. They themselves crossed the Alps through the Taurinian and pathless forests; and having defeated the Etrurians not far from the Ticinus, on hearing that the land in which they had posted themselves was called Insubria, the same name as the Insubres, a canton of the Ædúi: embracing the omen of the place, they built a city there, and called it Mediolanum.

### 35

Some time after another body, consisting of Cenomanians, having followed the tracks of the former under the conduct of Elitovius, crossed the Alps through the same forest, with the aid of Bellovesus, and settle themselves where the cities of Brixia and Verona now stand (the Libuans then possessed these places). After these came the Salluvians, who fix themselves near the ancient canton of the Ligurians called Lævi, inhabiting the banks of the Ticinus. Next the Boians and Lingonians, having made their way over through the Penine pass, all the tract between the Po and the Alps being occupied, crossed the Po on rafts, and drove out of the country not only the Etrurians, but the Umbrians also: they confined themselves however within the Apennines. Then the Senonians, the latest of these emigrants, took possession of the track [extending] from the Utens to the Æsis. I find that it was this nation that came to Clusium, and thence to Rome; whether alone, or aided by all the nations of the Cisalpine Gauls, is not duly ascertained. The Clusians, terrified at their strange enemy, on beholding their great numbers, the forms of the men such as they had never seen, and the kind of arms [they carried], and on hearing that the troops of the Etrurians had been frequently defeated by them on both sides of the Po, sent ambassadors to Rome to solicit aid from the senate, though they had no claim on the Roman people, in respect either of alliance or friendship, except that they had not defended their relations the Veientians against the Roman people. No aid was obtained: three ambassadors were sent, sons of Marcus Fabius Ambustus, to treat with the Gauls in the name of the senate and Roman people; that they should not attack the allies and friends of the Roman people from whom they had received no wrong. That they should be supported by the Romans even by force of arms, if circumstances obliged them; but it seemed better that war itself should be kept aloof, if possible; and that the Gauls, a nation strangers to them, should be known by peace, rather than by arms.

### 36

The embassy was a mild one, had it not been consigned to ambassadors too hot in temper, and who resembled Gauls more than Romans. To whom, after they delivered their commission in the assembly of the Gauls, the following answer is returned: Though the name of the Romans was new to their ears, yet they believed them to be brave men, whose aid was implored by the Clusians in their perilous conjuncture. And since they chose to defend their allies against them by negotiation rather than by arms, that they on their part would not reject the pacific terms which they propose, if the Clusians would give up to the Gauls in want of land, a portion of their territories which they possessed to a greater extent than they could cultivate; otherwise peace could not be obtained: that they wished to receive an answer in presence of the Romans; and if the land were refused them, that they would decide the matter with the sword in presence of the same Romans; that they might have an opportunity of carrying home an account how much the Gauls excelled all other mortals in bravery. On the Romans asking what right they had to demand land from the possessors, or to threaten war [in case of refusal], and what business the Gauls had in Etruria, and on their fiercely replying, that they carried their right in their swords, that all things were the property of the brave, with minds inflamed on both sides they severally have recourse to arms, and the battle is commenced. Here, fate now pressing hard on the Roman city, the ambassadors, contrary to the law of nations, take up arms; nor could this be done in secret, as three of the noblest and bravest of the Roman youth fought in the van of the Etrurians; so conspicuous was the valour of the foreigners. Moreover Quintus Fabius, riding out beyond the line, slew a general of the Gauls who was furiously charging the very standards of the Etrurians, having run him through the side with his spear: and the Gauls recognised him when stripping him of his spoils; and a signal was given throughout the entire line that he was a Roman ambassador. Giving up therefore their resentment against the Clusians, they sound a retreat, threatening the Romans. Some gave it as their opinion that they should proceed forthwith to Rome. The seniors prevailed, that ambassadors should be sent to complain of the injuries done them, and to demand that the Fabii should be given up to them in satisfaction for having violated the law of nations. When the ambassadors had stated matters, according to the instructions given to them, the conduct of the Fabii was neither approved by the senate, and the barbarians seemed to them to demand what was just: but in the case of men of such station party favour prevented them from decreeing that which they felt to be right. Wherefore lest the blame of any misfortune, which might happen to be received in a war with the Gauls, should lie with them, they refer the consideration of the demands of the Gauls to the people, where influence and wealth were so predominant, that those persons, whose punishment was under consideration, were elected military tribunes with consular power for the ensuing year. At which proceeding the Gauls being enraged, as was very natural, openly menacing war, return to their own party. With the three Fabii the military tribunes elected were Quintus Sulpicius Longus, Quintus Servilius a fourth time, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.

### 37

Though danger of such magnitude was impending (so completely does Fortune blind the minds of men when she wishes not her threatening stroke to be foiled) a state, which against the Fidenatian and Veientian enemies, and other neighbouring states, had recourse to aid even from the most extreme quarters, and had appointed a dictator on many trying occasions, that same state now, when an enemy, never before seen or heard of, from the ocean and remotest regions of the earth, was advancing in arms against

them, looked not for any extraordinary command or aid. Tribunes, by whose temerity the war had been brought on them, were appointed to the chief direction of affairs, and even making less of the war than fame had represented it, held the levy with no greater diligence than used to be exercised for ordinary wars. In the mean while the Gauls, on hearing that honour was even conferred on the violators of human law, and that their embassy was slighted, inflamed with resentment, over which that nation has no control, immediately snatched up their standards, and enter on their march with the utmost expedition. When the cities, alarmed at the tumult occasioned by them as they passed precipitately along, began to run to arms, and the peasants took to flight, they indicated by a loud shout that they were proceeding to Rome, taking up an immense space of ground, wherever they passed, with their horses and men, their troops spreading widely in every direction. But fame and the messengers of the Clusians, and then of the other states one after another, preceding them, the rapid advance of the enemy brought the greatest consternation to Rome; for, with their tumultuary troops hastily led on, they met them within the distance of the eleventh mile-stone, where the river Allia, descending from the Crustumian mountains in a very deep channel, joins the river Tiber not far below the road. Already all places in front and on each side were crowded with the enemy, and this nation, which has a natural turn for causeless confusion, by their harsh music and discordant clamours, filled all places with a horrible din.

### 38

There the military tribunes, without having previously selected a place for their camp, without having previously raised a rampart to which they might have a retreat, unmindful of their duty to the gods, to say nothing of that to man, without taking auspices or offering sacrifices, draw up their line, which was extended towards the flanks, lest they should be surrounded by the great numbers of the enemy. Still their front could not be made equal to that of the enemy, though by thinning their line they rendered their centre weak and scarcely connected. There was on the right a small eminence, which it was determined to fill with bodies of reserve; and that circumstance, as it was the first cause of their dismay and flight, so it proved their only means of safety in their flight. For Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls, being chiefly apprehensive of some design<sup>169</sup> being intended in the small number of the enemy, thinking that the high ground had been seized for this purpose, that, when the Gauls had been engaged in front with the line of the legions, the reserve was to make an attack on their rear and flank, directed his troops against the reserve; certain, that if he had dislodged them from their ground, the victory would be easy in the plain for a force which had so much the advantage in point of numbers: thus not only fortune, but judgment also stood on the side of the barbarians. In the opposite army there appeared nothing like Romans, either in the commanders, or in the soldiers. Terror and dismay had taken possession of their minds, and such a forgetfulness of every thing, that a far greater number of them fled to Veii, a city of their enemy, though the Tiber stood in their way, than by the direct road to Rome, to their wives and children. Their situation defended the reserve for some time; throughout the remainder of the line as soon as the shout was heard, by those who stood nearest on their flank, and by those at a distance on their rear, almost before they could look at the enemy as yet untried, not only without attempting to fight, but without even returning the shout, fresh and unhurt they took to flight. Nor was there any

<sup>169</sup> In my translation of this passage I have differed from Baker, who thus renders: "thinking, that as his enemies were few in number, their skill was what he had chiefly to guard against." Dureau De Lamalle thus translates: "supposant de la ruse aux ennemis, a raison de leur petit nombre." This is obviously the correct version.

slaughter of them in the act of fighting; but their rear was cut to pieces, whilst they obstructed their flight by their struggling one with another. Great slaughter was made on the bank of the Tiber, whither the entire left wing, having thrown down their arms, directed their flight; and many who did not know how to swim, or were exhausted, being weighed down by their coats of mail and other defensive armour, were swallowed up in the current. The greatest part however escaped safe to Veii; whence not only no reinforcement, but not even an account of their defeat, was forwarded to Rome. Those on the right wing which had been posted at a distance from the river, and rather near the foot of the mountain, all made for Rome, and, without even shutting the gates, fled into the citadel.

### 39

The miraculous attainment of so sudden a victory held even the Gauls in a state of stupefaction. And at first they stood motionless with panic, as if not knowing what had happened; then they apprehended a stratagem; at length they began to collect the spoils of the slain, and to pile up the arms in heaps, as is their custom. Then, at length, when no appearance of any thing hostile was any where observed, having proceeded on their journey, they reach the city of Rome not long before sun-set: where when some horsemen, who had advanced before, brought back word that the gates were not shut, that no guard was posted before the gates, no armed troops on the walls, another cause of amazement similar to the former made them halt; and dreading the night and ignorance of the situation of the city, they posted themselves between Rome and the Anio, after sending scouts about the walls and the several gates to ascertain what plans the enemy would adopt in their desperate circumstances. With respect to the Romans, as the greater part had gone to Veii from the field of battle, and no one supposed that any survived except those who had fled back to Rome, being all lamented as lost, both those living and those dead, they caused the entire city to be filled with wailings. The alarm for the public interest stifled private sorrow, as soon as it was announced that the enemy were at hand. Presently the barbarians patrolling around the walls in troops, they heard their yells and the dissonant clangour of their arms. All the interval up to the next day kept their minds in such a state of suspense, that an assault seemed every moment about to be made on the city: on their first approach, when they arrived at the city, [it was expected;] for if this were not their design, that they would have remained at the Allia; then towards sunset, because there was not much of the day remaining, they imagined that they would attack them before night; then that the design was deferred until night, in order to strike the greater terror. At length the approach of light struck them with dismay; and the calamity itself followed closely upon their continued apprehension of it, when the troops entered the gates in hostile array. During that night, however, and the following day, the state by no means bore any resemblance to that which which had fled in so dastardly a manner at the Allia. For as there was not a hope that the city could be defended, so small a number of troops now remaining, it was determined that the youth fit for military service, and the abler part of the senate with their wives and children, should retire into the citadel and Capitol; and having collected stores of arms and corn, and thence from a fortified post, that they should defend the deities, and the inhabitants, and the Roman name: that the flamen [Quirinalis] and the vestal priestesses should carry away far from slaughter and conflagration the objects appertaining to the religion of the state: and that their worship should not be intermitted, until there remained no one who should continue it. If the citadel and

Capitol, the mansion of the gods, if the senate, the source of public counsel, if the youth of military age, should survive the impending ruin of the city, the loss would be light of the aged, the crowd left behind in the city, and who were sure to perish.<sup>170</sup> under any circumstances. And in order that the plebeian portion of the multitude might bear the thing with greater resignation, the aged men, who had enjoyed triumphs and consulships, openly declared that they would die along with them, and that they would not burden the scanty stores of the armed men with those bodies, with which they were now unable to bear arms, or to defend their country. Such was the consolation addressed to each other by the aged now destined to death.

#### 40

Their exhortations were then turned to the band of young men, whom they escorted to the Capitol and citadel, commending to their valour and youth whatever might be the remaining fortune of a city, which for three hundred and sixty years had been victorious in all its wars. When those who carried with them all their hope and resources, parted with the others, who had determined not to survive the ruin of their captured city; both the circumstance itself and the appearance [it exhibited] was really distressing, and also the weeping of the women, and their undecided running together, following now these, now those, and asking their husbands and children what was to become of them, [all together] left nothing that could be added to human misery. A great many of them, however, escorted their friends into the citadel, no one either preventing or inviting them; because the measure which was advantageous to the besieged, that of reducing the number of useless persons, was but little in accordance with humanity. The rest of the crowd, chiefly plebeians, whom so small a hill could not contain, nor could they be supported amid such a scarcity of corn, pouring out of the city as if in one continued train, repaired to the Janiculum. From thence some were dispersed through the country, some made for the neighbouring cities, without any leader or concert, following each his own hopes, his own plans, those of the public being given up as lost. In the mean time the Flamen Quirinalis and the vestal virgins, laying aside all concern for their own affairs, consulting which of the sacred deposits should be carried with them, which should be left behind, for they had not strength to carry them all, or what place would best preserve them in safe custody, consider it best to put them into casks and to bury them in the chapel adjoining to the residence of the Flamen Quirinalis, where now it is profane to spit out. The rest they carry away with them, after dividing the burden among themselves, by the road which leads by the Sublician bridge to the Janiculum. When Lucius Albinus, a Roman plebeian, who was conveying his wife and children in a waggon, beheld them on that ascent among the rest of the crowd which was leaving the city as unfit to carry arms; even then the distinction of things divine and human being preserved, considering it an outrage on religion, that the public priests and sacred utensils of the Roman people should go on foot and be carried, that he and his family should be seen in a carriage, he commanded his wife and children to alight, placed the virgins and sacred utensils in the vehicle, and carried them on to Cære, whither the priests had intended to go.

#### 41

Meanwhile at Rome all arrangements being now made, as far as was possible in such an emergency, for the defence of the citadel, the crowd of aged persons having returned to

<sup>170</sup> The aged were doomed to perish under any circumstances, (*utique*,) from scarcity of provisions, whether they retired into the Capitol with the military youth, or were left behind in the city.

their houses, awaited the enemy's coming with minds firmly prepared for death. Such of them as had borne curule offices, in order that they may die in the insignia of their former station, honours, and merit, arraying themselves in the most magnificent garments worn by those drawing the chariots of the gods in procession, or by persons riding in triumph, seated themselves in their ivory chairs, in the middle of their halls. Some say that they devoted themselves for their country and the citizens of Rome, Marcus Fabius, the chief pontiff, dictating the form of words. The Gauls, both because by the intervention of the night they had abated all angry feelings arising from the irritation of battle, and because they had on no occasion fought a well-disputed fight, and were then not taking the city by storm or violence, entering the city the next day, free from resentment or heat of passion, through the Colline gate which lay open, advance into the forum, casting their eyes around on the temples of the gods, and on the citadel, which alone exhibited any appearance of war. From thence, after leaving a small guard, lest any attack should be made on them whilst scattered, from the citadel or Capitol, they dispersed in quest of plunder; the streets being entirely desolate, rush some of them in a body into the houses that were nearest; some repair to those which were most distant, considering these to be untouched and abounding with spoil. Afterwards being terrified by the very solitude, lest any stratagem of the enemy should surprise them whilst being dispersed, they returned in bodies into the forum and the parts adjoining to the forum, where the houses of the commons being shut, and the halls of the leading men lying open, almost greater backwardness was felt to attack the open than the shut houses; so completely did they behold with a sort of veneration men sitting in the porches of the palaces, who besides their ornaments and apparel more august than human, bore a striking resemblance to gods, in the majesty which their looks and the gravity of their countenance displayed. Whilst they stood gazing on these as on statues, it is said that Marcus Papirius, one of them, roused the anger of a Gaul by striking him on the head with his ivory, while he was stroking his beard, which was then universally worn long; and that the commencement of the bloodshed began with him, that the rest were slain in their seats. After the slaughter of the nobles, no person whatever was spared; the houses were plundered, and when emptied were set on fire.

#### 42

But whether it was that all were not possessed with a desire of destroying the city, or it had been so determined by the leading men of the Gauls, both that some fires should be presented to their view, [to see] if the besieged could be forced into a surrender through affection for their dwellings, and that all the houses should not be burned down, so that whatever portion should remain of the city, they might hold as a pledge to work upon the minds of the enemy; the fire by no means spread either indiscriminately or extensively on the first day, as is usual in a captured city. The Romans beholding from the citadel the city filled with the enemy, and their running to and fro through all the streets, some new calamity presenting itself in every different quarter, were neither able to preserve their presence of mind, nor even to have perfect command of their ears and eyes. To whatever direction the shouts of the enemy, the cries of women and children, the crackling of the flames, and the crash of falling houses, had called their attention, thither, terrified at every incident, they turned their thoughts, faces, and eyes, as if placed by fortune to be spectators of their falling country, and as if left as protectors of no other of their effects, except their own persons: so much more to be commiserated than any others who were ever besieged, because, shut out from their country, they were besieged, beholding all their effects in the power of the enemy. Nor

was the night, which succeeded so shockingly spent a day, more tranquil; daylight then followed a restless night; nor was there any time which failed to produce the sight of some new disaster. Loaded and overwhelmed by so many evils, they did not at all abate their determination, [resolved,] though they should see every thing in flames and levelled to the dust, to defend by their bravery the hill which they occupied, small and ill provided as it was, being left [as a refuge] for liberty. And now, as the same events recurred every day, as if habituated to misfortunes, they abstracted their thoughts from all feeling of their circumstances, regarding their arms only, and the swords in their right hands, as the sole remnants of their hopes.

#### 43

The Gauls also, after having for several days waged an ineffectual war against the buildings of the city, when they saw that among the fires and ruins of the captured city nothing now remained except armed enemies, neither terrified by so many disasters, nor likely to turn their thoughts to a surrender, unless force were employed, determine to have recourse to extremities, and to make an attack on the citadel. A signal being given at break of day, their entire multitude is marshalled in the forum; thence, after raising the shout and forming a testudo, they advance to the attack. Against whom the Romans, acting neither rashly nor precipitately, having strengthened the guards at every approach, and opposing the main strength of their men in that quarter where they saw the battalions advancing, suffer the enemy to ascend, judging that the higher they ascended, the more easily would they be driven back down the steep. About the middle of the ascent they met them: and making a charge thence from the higher ground, which of itself bore them against the enemy, they routed the Gauls with slaughter and destruction, so that never after, either in parties or with their whole force, did they try that kind of fighting. Laying aside all hope of succeeding by force of arms, they prepare for a blockade; of which having had no idea up to that time, they had, whilst burning the city, destroyed whatever corn had been therein, and during those very days all the provisions had been carried off from the land to Veii. Accordingly, dividing their army, they resolved that one part should plunder through the neighbouring states, that the other part should carry on the siege of the citadel, so that the ravagers of the country might supply the besiegers with corn.

#### 44

The Gauls, who marched from the city, were led by fortune herself, to make trial of Roman valour, to Ardea, where Camillus was in exile: who, more distressed by the fortune of the public than his own, whilst he now pined away arraigning gods and men, fired with indignation, and wondering where were now those men who with him had taken Veii and Falerii, who had conducted other wars rather by their own valour than by the favour of fortune, hears on a sudden that the army of the Gauls was approaching, and that the people of Ardea in consternation were met in council on the subject. And as if moved by divine inspiration, after he advanced into the midst of the assembly, having hitherto been accustomed to absent himself from such meetings, he says, "People of Ardea, my friends of old, of late my fellow-citizens also, since your kindness so ordered it, and my good fortune achieved it, let no one of you suppose that I have come forward here forgetful of my condition; but the [present] case and the common danger obliges every one to contribute to the common good whatever service he can in our present alarming situation. And when shall I repay you for your so very important services to me, if I now be remiss? or where will you derive benefit from me, if not in war? By this

accomplishment I maintained my rank in my native country: and, unconquered in war, I was banished during peace by my ungrateful fellow-citizens. To you, men of Ardea, a favourable opportunity has been presented of making a return for all the former favours conferred by the Roman people, such as you yourselves remember, (for which reason, as being mindful of them, you are not to be upbraided with them,) and of obtaining great military renown for this your city over the common enemy. The nation, which now approaches in disorderly march, is one to which nature has given great spirits and bodies rather huge than firm. Let the disaster of Rome serve as a proof. They captured the city when lying open to them; a small handful of men from the citadel and Capitol withstand them. Already tired out by the slow process of a siege, they retire and spread themselves through the country. Gorged with food and wine hastily swallowed, when night comes on they stretch themselves indiscriminately, like brutes, near streams of water, without entrenchment, without guards or advanced posts; more incautious even now than usual in consequence of success. If you then are disposed to defend your own walls, and not to suffer all these places to become Gaul, take up arms in a full body at the first watch: follow me to slaughter, not to battle. If I do not deliver them up to you fettered by sleep, to be butchered like cattle, I decline not the same issue of my affairs at Ardea as I had at Rome."

#### 45

Both friends and enemies were satisfied that there existed no where at that time a man of equal military talent. The assembly being dismissed, they refresh themselves, carefully watching the moment the signal should be given; which being given, during the silence of the beginning of the night they attended Camillus at the gates. Having gone forth to no great distance from the city, they found the camp of the Gauls, as had been foretold, unprotected and neglected on every side, and attack it with a shout. No fight any where, but slaughter every where; their bodies, naked and relaxed with sleep, are cut to pieces. Those most remote, however, being roused from their beds, not knowing what the tumult was, or whence it came, were directed to flight, and some of them, without perceiving it, into the midst of the enemy. A great number flying into the territory of Antium, an attack being made on them in their straggling march by the townspeople, were surrounded and cut off. A like carnage was made of the Tuscans in the Veientian territory; who were so far from compassionating the city which had now been its neighbour for nearly four hundred years, overpowered as it now was by a strange and unheard-of enemy, that at that very time they made incursions on the Roman territory; and laden with plunder, had it in contemplation to lay siege to Veii, the bulwark and last hope of the Roman race. The Roman soldiers had seen them straggling over the country, and collected in a body, driving the spoil before them, and they perceived their camp pitched at no great distance from Veii. Upon this, first self-commiseration, then indignation, and after that resentment, took possession of their minds: "Were their calamities to be a subject of mockery to the Etrurians, from whom they had turned off the Gallic war on themselves?" Scarce could they curb their passions, so as to refrain from attacking them at the moment; and being restrained by Quintus Cædicius, the centurion, whom they had appointed their commander, they deferred the matter until night. A leader equal to Camillus was all that was wanted; in other respects matters were conducted in the same order and with the same fortunate result. And further, under the guidance of some prisoners, who had survived the nightly slaughter, they set out to Salinæ against another body of Tuscans, they suddenly made

on the following night still greater havoc, and returned to Veii exulting in their double victory.

#### 46

Meanwhile, at Rome, the siege, in general, was slow, and there was quiet on both sides, the Gauls being intent only on this, that none of the enemy should escape from between their posts; when, on a sudden, a Roman youth drew on himself the admiration both of his countrymen and the enemy. There was a sacrifice solemnized at stated times by the Fabian family on the Quirinal hill. To perform this Caius Fabius Dorso having descended from the Capitol, in the Sabine cincture, carrying in his hands the sacred utensils, passed out through the midst of the enemy's post, without being at all moved by the calls or threats of any of them, and reached the Quirinal hill; and after duly performing there the solemn rites, coming back by the same way with the same firm countenance and gait, confident that the gods were propitious, whose worship he had not even neglected when prohibited by the fear of death, he returned to the Capitol to his friends, the Gauls being either astounded at such an extraordinary manifestation of boldness, or moved even by religious considerations, of which the nation is by no means regardless. In the mean time, not only the courage, but the strength of those at Veii increased daily, not only those Romans repairing thither from the country who had strayed away after the unsuccessful battle, or the disaster of the city being taken, but volunteers also flowing in from Latium, to come in for share of the spoil. It now seemed high time that their country should be recovered and rescued from the hands of the enemy. But a head was wanting to this strong body. The very spot put them in mind of Camillus, and a considerable part consisted of soldiers who had fought successfully under his guidance and auspices: and Cædicius declared that he would not give occasion that any one, whether god or man, should terminate his command rather than that, mindful of his own rank, he would himself call (for the appointment of) a general. With universal consent it was resolved that Camillus should be sent for from Ardea, but not until the senate at Rome were first consulted: so far did a sense of propriety regulate every proceeding, and so carefully did they observe the distinctions of things in their almost desperate circumstances. They had to pass at great risk through the enemy's guards. For this purpose a spirited youth, Pontius Cominius, offered his services, and supporting himself on cork was carried down the Tiber to the city. From thence, where the distance from the bank was shortest, he makes his way into the Capitol over a portion of the rock that was craggy, and therefore neglected by the enemy's guard: and being conducted to the magistrates, he delivers the instructions received from the army. Then having received a decree of the senate, both that Camillus should be recalled from exile at the comitia curiata, and be forthwith appointed dictator by order of the people, and that the soldiers should have the general whom they wished, he passed out the same way and proceeded with his despatches to Veii; and deputies being sent to Camillus to Ardea, conducted him to Veii: or else the law was passed by the curiæ, and he was nominated dictator in his absence; for I am more inclined to believe that he did not set out from Ardea until he found that the law was passed; because he could neither change his residence without an order of the people, nor hold the privilege of the auspices in the army until he was nominated dictator.

#### 47

Whilst these things were going on at Veii, in the mean while the citadel and Capitol of Rome were in great danger. For the Gauls either having perceived the track of a human

foot where the messenger from Veii had passed, or having of themselves remarked the easy ascent by the rock at the temple of Carmentis, on a moonlight night, after they had at first sent forward an unarmed person, to make trial of the way, delivering their arms, whenever any difficulty occurred, alternately supported and supporting each other, and drawing each other up, according as the ground required, they reached the summit in such silence, that they not only escaped the notice of the sentinels, but of the dogs also, an animal extremely wakeful with respect to noises by night. The notice of the geese they did not escape, which, as being sacred to Juno, were spared though they were in the greatest scarcity of food. Which circumstance was the cause of their preservation. For Marcus Manlius, who three years before had been consul, a man distinguished in war, being aroused from sleep by their cackling and the clapping of their wings, snatched up his arms, and at the same time calling the others to do the same, proceeds to the spot; and whilst the others are thrown into confusion, he struck with the boss of his shield and tumbles down a Gaul, who had already got footing on the summit; and when the fall of this man as he tumbled threw down those who were next him, he slew others, who in their consternation had thrown away their arms, and caught hold of the rocks to which they clung. And now the others also having assembled beat down the enemy by javelins and stones, and the entire band, having lost their footing, were hurled down the precipice in promiscuous ruin. The alarm then subsiding, the remainder of the night was given up to repose, (as far as could be done considering the disturbed state of their minds,) when the danger, even though past, still kept them in a state of anxiety. Day having appeared, the soldiers were summoned by sound of trumpet to attend the tribunes in assembly, when recompence was to be made both to merit and to demerit; Manlius was first of all commended for his bravery and presented with gifts, not only by the military tribunes, but with the consent of the soldiers, for they all carried to his house, which was in the citadel, a contribution of half a pound of corn and half a pint of wine: a matter trifling in the relation, but the [prevailing] scarcity had rendered it a strong proof of esteem, when each man, depriving himself of his own food, contributed in honour of one man a portion subtracted from his body and from his necessary requirements. Then the guards of that place where the enemy had climbed up unobserved, were summoned; and when Quintus Sulpicius declared openly that he would punish all according to the usage of military discipline, being deterred by the consentient shout of the soldiers who threw the blame on one sentinel, he spared the rest. The man, who was manifestly guilty of the crime, he threw down from the rock, with the approbation of all. From this time forth the guards on both sides became more vigilant; on the part of the Gauls, because a rumour spread that messengers passed between Veii and Rome, and on that of the Romans, from the recollection of the danger which occurred during the night.

#### 48

But beyond all the evils of siege and war, famine distressed both armies; pestilence, moreover, [oppressed] the Gauls, both as being encamped in a place lying between hills, as well as heated by the burning of the houses, and full of exhalations, and sending up not only ashes but embers also, whenever the wind rose to any degree; and as the nation, accustomed to moisture and cold, is most intolerant of these annoyances, and, suffering severely from the heat and suffocation, they were dying, the diseases spreading as among cattle, now becoming weary of burying separately, they heaped up the bodies promiscuously and burned them; and rendered the place remarkable by the name of Gallic piles. A truce was now made with the Romans, and conferences were

held with the permission of the commanders; in which when the Gauls frequently alluded to the famine, and referred to the urgency of that as a further motive for their surrendering, for the purpose of removing that opinion, bread is said to have been thrown in many places from the Capitol, into the advanced posts of the enemy. But the famine could neither be dissembled nor endured any longer. Accordingly, whilst the dictator is engaged in person in holding a levy, in ordering his master of the horse, Lucius Valerius, to bring up the troops from Veii, in making preparations and arrangements, so that he may attack the enemy on equal terms, in the mean time the army of the Capitol, wearied out with keeping guard and with watches, having surmounted all human sufferings, whilst nature would not suffer famine alone to be overcome, looking forward from day to day, to see whether any succour would come from the dictator, at length not only food but hope also failing, and their arms weighing down their debilitated bodies, whilst the guards were being relieved, insisted that there should be either a surrender, or that they should be bought off, on whatever terms were possible, the Gauls intimating in rather plain terms, that they could be induced for no very great compensation to relinquish the siege. Then the senate was held and instructions were given to the military tribunes to capitulate. Upon this the matter was settled between Quintus Sulpicius, a military tribune, and Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls, and one thousand pounds' weight of gold was agreed on as the ransom of a people, who were soon after to be the rulers of the world. To a transaction very humiliating in itself, insult was added. False weights were brought by the Gauls, and on the tribune objecting, his sword was thrown in in addition to the weight by the insolent Gaul, and an expression was heard intolerable to the Romans, "Woe to the vanquished!"

#### 49

But both gods and men interfered to prevent the Romans from living on the condition of being ransomed; for by some chance, before the execrable price was completed, all the gold being not yet weighed in consequence of the altercation, the dictator comes up, and orders the gold to be removed, and the Gauls to clear away. When they, holding out against him, affirmed that they had concluded a bargain, he denied that the agreement was a valid one, which had been entered into with a magistrate of inferior authority without his orders, after he had been nominated dictator; and he gives notice to the Gauls to get ready for battle. He orders his men to throw their baggage in a heap, and to get ready their arms, and to recover their country with steel, not with gold, having before their eyes the temples of the gods, and their wives and children, and the soil of their country disfigured by the calamities of war, and all those objects which they were solemnly bound to defend, to recover, and to revenge. He then draws up his army, as the nature of the place admitted, on the site of the half-demolished city, and which was uneven by nature, and he secured all those advantages for his own men, which could be prepared or selected by military skill. The Gauls, thrown into confusion by the unexpected event, take up arms, and with rage, rather than good judgment, rushed upon the Romans. Fortune had now changed; now the aid of the gods and human prudence assisted the Roman cause. At the first encounter, therefore, the Gauls were routed with no greater difficulty than they had found in gaining the victory at Allia. They were afterwards beaten under the conduct and auspices of the same Camillus, in a more regular engagement, at the eighth stone on the Sabine road, whither they had betaken themselves after their defeat. There the slaughter was universal: their camp was taken, and not even one person was left to carry news of the defeat. The dictator, after having recovered his country from the enemy, returns into the city in triumph; and among the

rough military jests which they throw out [on such occasions] he is styled, with praises by no means undeserved, Romulus, and parent of his country, and a second founder of the city. His country, thus preserved by arms, he unquestionably saved a second time in peace, when he hindered the people from removing to Veii, both the tribunes pressing the matter with greater earnestness after the burning of the city, and the commons of themselves being more inclined to that measure; and that was the cause of his not resigning his dictatorship after the triumph, the senate entreating him not to leave the commonwealth in so unsettled a state.

## 50

First of all, he proposed matters appertaining to the immortal gods; for he was a most scrupulous observer of religious duties; and he procures a decree of the senate, "that all the temples, as the enemy had possessed them, should be restored, their bounds traced, and expiations made for them, and that the form of expiation should be sought in the books by the decemvirs; that a league of hospitality should be entered into by public authority with the people of Cære, because they had afforded a reception to the sacred utensils of the Roman people and to their priests; and because, by the kindness of that people, the worship of the immortal gods had not been intermitted; that Capitoline games should be exhibited, for that Jupiter, supremely good and great, had protected his own mansion and the citadel of the Roman people when in danger; and that Marcus Furius, the dictator, should establish a college for that purpose, out of those who should inhabit the Capitol and citadel." Mention was also introduced of expiating the voice heard by night, which had been heard announcing the calamity before the Gallic war, and neglected, and a temple was ordered in the New Street to Aius Locutius. The gold, which had been rescued from the Gauls, and that also which during the alarm had been collected from the other temples into the recess of Jupiter's temple, the recollection being confused as to the temples to which it should be carried back, was all judged to be sacred, and ordered to be placed under the throne of Jupiter. Already the religious scruples of the state had appeared in this, that when gold was wanting for public uses, to make up for the Gauls the amount of the ransom agreed upon, they had accepted that which was contributed by the matrons, so that they might not touch the sacred gold. Thanks were returned to the matrons, and to this was added the honour of their having funeral orations pronounced on them after death, in the same manner as the men. Those things being finished which appertained to the gods, and such measures as could be transacted through the senate, then, at length, as the tribunes were teasing the commons by their unceasing harangues, to leave the ruins, to remove to Veii, a city ready prepared for them, being escorted by the entire senate, he ascends the tribunal, and spoke as follows:

## 51

"Romans, so disagreeable to me are contentions with the tribunes of the people, that in my most melancholy exile, whilst I resided at Ardea, I had no other consolation than that I was removed from these contests; and for this same reason I would never have returned, even though you recalled me by a decree of the senate, and by order of the people. Nor has it been any change in my own sentiments, but in your fortune, that has persuaded me to return now. For the question was that my country should remain in its own established seat, not that I should reside in my country. And on the present occasion I would gladly remain quiet and silent, were not the present struggle also appertaining to my country's interests, to be wanting to which, as long as life lasts,

were base in others, in Camillus impious. For why have we recovered it? Why have we rescued it when besieged out of the hands of the enemy, if we ourselves desert it when recovered? And when, the Gauls being victorious, the entire city captured, both the gods and the natives of Rome still retained and inhabited the Capitol and citadel, shall even the citadel and the Capitol be deserted, now when the Romans are victorious and the city has been recovered? And shall our prosperous fortune cause more desolation to this city than our adverse caused? Truly if we had no religious institutions established together with the city, and regularly transmitted down to us, still the divine power has so manifestly interested itself in behalf of the Roman state on the present trying occasion, that I should think that all neglect of the divine worship was removed from the minds of men. For consider the events of these latter years one after the other, whether prosperous or adverse; you will find that all things succeeded favourably with us whilst we followed the gods, and unfavourably when we neglected them. Now, first of all the Veientian war—of how many years' duration, with what immense labour waged!—was not brought to a termination, until the water was discharged from the Alban lake by the admonition of the gods. What, in the name of heaven, regarding this recent calamity of our city? did it arise, until the voice sent from heaven concerning the approach of the Gauls was treated with slight? until the law of nations was violated by our ambassadors, and until such violation was passed over by us with the same indifference towards the gods, when it should have been punished by us? Accordingly vanquished, made captives and ransomed, we have suffered such punishments at the hands of gods and men, as that we are now a warning to the whole world. Afterwards our misfortunes reminded us of our religious duties. We fled for refuge to the gods, to the seat of Jupiter supremely good and great; amid the ruin of all our effects our sacred utensils we partly concealed in the earth; part of them we carried away to the neighbouring cities and removed from the eyes of the enemy. Though deserted by gods and men, still we intermitted not the worship of the gods. Accordingly they have restored to us our country, and victory, our ancient renown in war which had been lost, and on our enemies, who, blinded by avarice, have violated the faith of a treaty with respect to the weight of gold, they have turned dismay, and flight, and slaughter.

## 52

"When you behold such striking instances of the effects of honouring or neglecting the deity, do you perceive what an act of impiety we are about to perpetrate, scarcely emerging from the wreck of our former misconduct and calamity? We possess a city founded under auspices and auguries; not a spot is there in it that is not full of religious rites and of the gods: the days for the anniversary sacrifices are not more definitely stated, than are the places in which they are to be performed. All these gods, both public and private, do ye, Romans, pretend to forsake. What similarity does your conduct bear [to that] which lately during the siege was beheld with no less admiration by the enemy than by yourselves in that excellent Caius Fabius, when he descended from the citadel amid the Gallic weapons, and performed on the Quirinal hill the solemn rites of the Fabian family? Is it your wish that the family religious rites should not be intermitted even during war, but that the public rites and the Roman gods should be deserted even in time of peace, and that the pontiffs and flamens should be more negligent of public religious ceremonies, than a private individual in the anniversary rite of a particular family? Perhaps some one may say, that we will either perform these duties at Veii, or that we will send our priests hither from thence in order to perform them; neither of which can be done, without infringing on the established forms. For not to enumerate

all the sacred rites severally and all the gods, whether in the banquet of Jupiter can the lectisternium be performed in any other place, save in the Capitol? What shall I say of the eternal fire of Vesta, and of the statue, which, as the pledge of empire, is kept under the safeguard of her temple? What, O Mars Gradivus, and you, father Quirinus, of your Ancilia? Is it right that these sacred things, coeval with the city, some of them more ancient than the origin of the city, should be abandoned to profanation? And, observe the difference existing between us and our ancestors. They handed down to us certain sacred rites to be performed by us on the Alban and on the Lavinian mounts. Was it in conformity with religion that these sacred rites were transferred to us to Rome from the cities of our enemies? shall we transfer them hence to Veii, an enemy's city, without impiety? Come, recollect how often sacred rites are performed anew, because some ceremony of our country had been omitted through negligence or accident. On a late occasion, what circumstance, after the prodigy of the Alban lake, proved a remedy to the state distressed by the Veientian war, but the repetition of the sacred rites and the renewal of the auspices? But further, as if duly mindful of ancient religious usages, we have both transferred foreign deities to Rome, and have established new ones. Very recently, imperial Juno was transferred from Veii, and had her dedication performed on a day how distinguished for the extraordinary zeal of the matrons, and with what a full attendance! We have directed a temple to be erected to Aius Locutius, in consequence of the heavenly voice heard in the New Street. To our other solemnities we have added the Capitoline games, and, by direction of the senate, we have founded a new college for that purpose. Which of these things need we have done, if we were to leave the Roman city together with the Gauls? if it was not voluntarily we remained in the Capitol for so many months of siege; if we were retained by the enemy through motives of fear? We are speaking of the sacred rites and of the temples; what, pray, of the priests? Does it not occur to you, what a degree of profaneness would be committed in respect of them. The Vestals, forsooth, have but that one settlement, from which nothing ever disturbed them, except the capture of the city. It is an act of impiety for the flamen Dialis to remain for a single night without the city. Do ye mean to make them Veientian instead of Roman priests? And shall the virgins forsake thee, O Vesta? And shall the flamen by living abroad draw on himself and on his country such a weight of guilt every night? What of the other things, all of which we transact under auspices within the Pomærium, to what oblivion, to what neglect do we consign them? The assemblies of the Curias, which comprise military affairs; the assemblies of the Centuries, at which you elect consuls and military tribunes, when can they be held under auspices, unless where they are wont [to be held]? Shall we transfer them to Veii? or whether for the purpose of holding their elections shall the people assemble at so great inconvenience into a city deserted by gods and men?

### 53

"But the case itself forces us to leave a city desolated by fire and ruin, and remove to Veii, where all things are entire, and not to distress the needy commons by building here. But that this is only held out as a pretext, rather than that it is the real motive, I think is evident to you, though I should say nothing on the subject; for you remember that before the arrival of the Gauls, when the buildings, both public and private, were still unhurt, and the city still stood in safety, this same question was agitated, that we should remove to Veii. Observe then, tribunes, what a difference there is between my way of thinking and yours. Ye think that though it may not have been advisable to do it then, still that now it ought certainly to be done; I, on the contrary, (and be not

surprised until you shall have heard the state of the case,) admitting it were advisable to remove when the entire city was safe, would not vote for relinquishing these ruins now. For then victory would be the cause of our removing into a captured city, one that would be glorious to ourselves and our posterity; whilst now this same removal would be wretched and disgraceful to us, and glorious to the Gauls. For we shall appear not to have left our country as conquerors, but to have lost it from having been vanquished; the flight at Allia, the capture of the city, the blockading of the Capitol, [will seem] to have imposed this necessity on us of forsaking our household gods, of having recourse to exile and flight from that place which we were unable to defend. And have the Gauls been able to demolish Rome, which the Romans shall be deemed to have been unable to restore? What remains, but that if they should now come with new forces, (for it is evident that their number is scarcely credible,) and should they feel disposed to dwell in this city, captured by them, and deserted by you, would you suffer them? What, if not the Gauls, but your old enemies, the Æquans and Volscians, should form the design of removing to Rome; would you be willing that they should become Romans, you Veientians? Would ye prefer that this should be a desert in your possession, or a city of the enemy? For my part I can see nothing more impious. Is it because ye are averse to building, ye are prepared to incur this guilt, this disgrace? Even though no better, no more ample structure could be erected throughout the entire city than that cottage of our founder, is it not better to dwell in cottages, like shepherds and rustics, amid your sacred places and your household gods, than to go publicly into exile? Our forefathers, strangers and shepherds, when there was nothing in these places but woods and marshes, erected a new city in a very short time; do we, with a Capitol and citadel safe, and the temples of the gods still standing, feel it irksome to build up what has been burnt? and what we individually would have done, if our private residence had been burned down, shall we as a body refuse to do in the case of a public conflagration?

#### 54

"What, if by some evil design of accident a fire should break out at Veii, and the flames spread by the wind, as may happen, should consume a considerable portion of the city; are we then to seek Fidenæ, or Gabii, or any other city to remove to? Has our native soil so slight a hold on us, or this earth which we call mother; or does our love of country lie merely in the surface and in the timber of the houses? For my part, I will acknowledge to you, whilst I was absent, though I am less disposed to remember this as the effect of your injustice than of my own misfortune, as often as my country came into my mind, all these circumstances occurred to me, the hills, the plains, the Tiber, the face of the country familiar to my eyes, and this sky, beneath which I had been born and educated; may these now induce you, by their endearing hold on you, to remain in your present settlement, rather than they should cause you to pine away through regret, after having left them. Not without good reason did gods and men select this place for founding a city: these most healthful hills; a commodious river, by means of which the produce of the soil may be conveyed from the inland countries, by which maritime supplies may be obtained; close enough to the sea for all purposes of convenience, and not exposed by too much proximity to the dangers of foreign fleets; a situation in the centre of the regions of Italy, singularly adapted by nature for the increase of a city. The very size of so new a city is a proof. Romans, the present year is the three hundred and sixty-fifth year of the city; for so long a time are you waging war amid nations of such long standing; yet not to mention single cities, neither the Volscians combined with the Æquans, so many and such strong towns, nor all Etruria, so potent by land and sea,

occupying the breadth of Italy between the two seas, can cope with you in war. And as the case is so, where, in the name of goodness, is the wisdom in you who have tried [this situation] to make trial now of some other, when, though your own valour may be removed elsewhere, the fortune of this place certainly cannot be transferred? Here is the Capitol, where, a human head being found, it was foretold that in that place would be the head of the world, and the chief seat of empire. Here, when the Capitol was to be freed by the rites of augury, Juventas and Terminus, to the very great joy of our fathers, suffered not themselves to be moved. Here is the fire of Vesta, here the Ancilia sent down from heaven, here are all the gods propitious to you if you stay."

## 55

Camillus is said to have moved them as well by other parts of his speech, but chiefly by that which related to religious matters. But an expression seasonably uttered determined the matter whilst still undecided; for when a meeting of the senate, a little after this, was being held in the Curia Hostilia regarding these questions, and some troops returning from relieving guard passed through the forum in their march, a centurion in the comitium cried out, "Standard-bearer, fix your standard! it is best for us to remain here." Which expression being heard, both the senate came out from the senate-house, and all cried out that "they embraced the omen," and the commons, who were collected around, joined their approbation. The law [under discussion] being rejected, the building of the city commenced in several parts at once. Tiles were supplied at the public expense. The privilege of hewing stone and felling timber wherever each person wished was granted, security being taken that they would finish the buildings on that year. Their haste took away all attention to the regulating the course of the streets, whilst, setting aside all distinction of property, they build on any part that was vacant. That is the reason why the ancient sewers, at first conducted through the public streets, now in many places pass under private houses, and why the form of the city appears more like one taken up by individuals, than regularly portioned out [by commissioners].

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## Book VI

*Successful operations against the Volscians, and Æquans, and Prænestines. Four tribes were added. Marcus Manlius, who had defended the Capitol from the Gauls, being condemned for aspiring to regal power, is thrown from the Tarpeian rock; in commemoration of which circumstance a decree of the senate was passed, that none of the Manlian family should henceforward bear the cognomen of Marcus. Caius Licinius and Lucius Sextius, tribunes of the people, proposed a law that consuls might be chosen from among the commons; and after a violent contest, succeeded in passing that law, notwithstanding the opposition of the patricians, the same tribunes of the commons being for five years the only magistrates in the state; and Lucius Sextius was the first consul elected from the commons.*

### 1

The transactions of the Romans, from the building of the city of Rome to the capture of the same city, first under kings, then under consuls, and dictators, and decemvirs, and consular tribunes, their wars abroad, their dissensions at home, I have exhibited in five books: matters obscure, as well by reason of their very great antiquity, like objects which from their great distance are scarcely perceptible, as also because in those times the use of letters, the only faithful guardian of the memory of events, was inconsiderable and rare: and, moreover, whatever was contained in the commentaries of the pontiffs, and other public and private records, were lost for the most part in the burning of the city. Henceforwards, from the second origin of the city, which sprung up again more healthfully and vigorously, as if from its root, its achievements at home and abroad, shall be narrated with more clearness and authenticity. But it now stood erect, leaning chiefly on the same support, Marcus Furius, by which it had been first raised; nor did they suffer him to lay down the dictatorship until the end of the year. It was not agreeable to them, that the tribunes during whose time of office the city had been taken, should preside at the elections for the following year: the administration came to an interregnum. Whilst the state was kept occupied in the employment and constant labour of repairing the city, in the mean time a day of trial was named by Caius Marcius, tribune of the people, for Quintus Fabius, as soon as he went out of office, because whilst an ambassador he had, contrary to the law of nations, appeared in arms against the Gauls, to whom he had been sent as a negotiator; from which trial death removed him so opportunely that most people thought it voluntary. The interregnum commenced. Publius Cornelius Scipio was interrex, and after him Marcus Furius Camillus. He nominates as military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Valerius Publicola a second time, Lucius Virginus, Publius Cornelius, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Æmilius, Lucius Postumius. These having entered on their office immediately after the interregnum, consulted the senate on no other business previous to that which related to religion. In the first place they ordered that the treaties and laws which could be found, should be collected; (these consisted of the twelve tables, and some laws made under the kings.) Some of them were publicly promulgated; but such as appertained to religious matters were kept secret chiefly by the pontiffs, that they might hold the minds of the people fettered by them. Then they began to turn their attention to the subject of desecrated days; and the day before the fifteenth day of the calends of August, remarkable for a double disaster, (as being the day on which the Fabii were slain at

Cremera, and afterwards the disgraceful battle attended with the ruin of the city had been fought at Allia,) they called the Allian day from the latter disaster, and they rendered it remarkable for transacting no business whether public or private. Some persons think, that because Sulpicius, the military tribune, had not duly offered sacrifice on the day after the ides of July, and because, without having obtained the favour of the gods, the Roman army had been exposed to the enemy on the third day after, an order was also made to abstain from all religious undertakings on the day following the ides: thence the same religious observance was derived with respect to the days following the calends and the nones.

## 2

But it was not long allowed them to consult in quiet regarding the means of raising the city, after so grievous a fall. On the one side their old enemies, the Volscians, had taken arms, to extinguish the Roman name: on the other, some traders brought [intelligence] that a conspiracy of the leading men of Etruria from all the states had been formed at the temple of Voltumna. A new cause of terror also had been added by the defection of the Latins and Hernicians, who, since the battle fought at the lake Regillus, had remained in friendship with the Roman people with fidelity not to be questioned. Accordingly, when such great alarms surrounded them on every side, and it became apparent to all that the Roman name laboured not only under hatred with their enemies, but under contempt also with their allies; it was resolved that the state should be defended under the same auspices, as those under which it had been recovered, and that Marcus Furius should be nominated dictator. He, when dictator, nominated Caius Servilius Ahala master of the horse; and a suspension of all public business being proclaimed, he held a levy of the juniors, in such a manner as to divide them into centuries after they had sworn allegiance to him. The army, when raised and equipped with arms, he divided into three parts. One part he opposed to Etruria in the Veientian territory; another he ordered to pitch their camp before the city. A military tribune, Aulus Manlius, commanded the latter; those who were sent against the Etrurians, Lucius Æmilius commanded. The third part he led in person against the Volscians; and not far from Lanuvium, (the place is called ad Mæcium,) he set about storming their camp. Into these, who set out to the war from motives of contempt, because they thought that all the Roman youth were cut off by the Gauls, the fact of having heard that Camillus was appointed to the command struck such terror, that they fenced themselves with a rampart, and the rampart itself with trees piled up together, lest the enemy might by any means reach to the works. When Camillus observed this, he ordered fire to be thrown into the fence opposed to him; and it so happened that a very strong wind was turned towards the enemy. He therefore not only opened a passage by the fire, but the flames being directed against the camp, by the vapour also and the smoke, and by the crackling of the green timber as it burned, he so confounded the enemy that the Romans had less difficulty in passing the rampart into the camp of the Volscians, than they had experienced in climbing over the fence which had been consumed by the fire. The enemy being routed and cut down, after the dictator had taken the camp by assault, he gave up the booty to the soldiers, which was so much the more agreeable, as it was less expected, the commander being by no means profusely generous. Then having pursued them in their flight, after he had depopulated the entire Volscian land, he at length in the seventieth year forced the Volscians to a surrender. After his victory he passed from the Volscians to the Æquans, who were also preparing for hostilities: he surprised their

army at Bolæ, and having attacked not only their camp, but their city also, he took them at the first onset.

### 3

When such fortune manifested itself on that side where Camillus, the life and soul of the Roman interest, was, a great alarm had fallen on another quarter. For almost all Etruria, taking up arms, were besieging Sutrium, allies of the Roman people, whose ambassadors having applied to the senate, imploring aid in their distress, obtained a decree, that the dictator should at the earliest opportunity bear aid to the Sutrians. And when the circumstances of the besieged would not suffer them to brook the delay of this hope, and the small number of the townsmen were spent with labour, watching, and wounds, all which fell heavily on the same individuals, and when, the city being delivered up to the enemy by a capitulation, they were leaving their habitations in a miserable train, being discharged without their arms with only a single garment; at that juncture Camillus happened to come up at the head of the Roman army. And when the mournful crowd prostrated themselves at his feet, and the address of the leading men, wrung from them by extreme necessity, was followed by the weeping of women and boys, who were dragged along by the companions of their exile, he bade the Sutrians to give over their lamentations: that he brought with him grief and tears to the Etrurians. He then orders the baggage to be deposited, and the Sutrians to remain there with a small guard left with them, and the soldiers to follow him in arms. Having thus proceeded to Sutrium with his army disencumbered, he found, as he expected, every thing in disorder, as usually happens in success; no advanced guard before the walls, the gates lying open, and the conquerors dispersed, carrying out the booty from the houses of the enemy. Sutrium is therefore taken a second time on the same day; the Etrurians, lately victorious, are cut down in every quarter by their new enemy, nor is time afforded them to collect and form one body, or even to take up arms. When each pushed eagerly towards the gates, to try if by any chance they could throw themselves into the fields, they found the gates shut; for the dictator had given those orders in the first instance. Upon this some took up arms, others, who happened to be armed before the tumult came on them, called their friends together in order to make battle; which would have been kindled by the despair of the enemy, had not criers, sent in every direction through the city, issued orders that their arms should be laid down, that the unarmed should be spared, and that no one should be injured except those who were armed. Then even those whose minds had been, in their last hope, obstinately bent on fighting, when hopes of life were offered, threw down their arms in every direction, and surrendered themselves unarmed to the enemy, which fortune had rendered the safer method. Their number being considerable, they were distributed among several guards; the town was before night restored to the Sutrians uninjured and free from all the calamities of war, because it had not been taken by force but delivered up on terms.

### 4

Camillus returned to the city in triumph, being victorious in three wars at the same time. By far the greatest number of the prisoners whom he led before his chariot were from among the Etrurians. And these being sold by auction, such a sum of money was raised, that after paying the matrons the price of their gold, out of that which was over and above, three golden bowls were made; which, inscribed with the name of Camillus, it is certain, lay, before the burning of the Capitol, in the recess of Jupiter's temple at the feet of Juno. On that year such of the Veientians, Capenatians, and Faliscians as had

come over to the Romans during the wars with those nations, were admitted into the state, and land was assigned to these new citizens. Those also were recalled by a decree of the senate from Veii, who, from a dislike to building at Rome, had betaken themselves to Veii, and had seized on the vacant houses there. And at first there was a murmuring on their part disregarding the order; then a day having been appointed, and capital punishment [denounced against any one] who did not return to Rome, from being refractory as they were collectively, rendered them when taken singly obedient, each through fear for himself. And Rome both now increased in numbers, and rose throughout its entire extent by its buildings, the state assisting in the expenses, and the ædiles urging on the work as if public, and private persons (for the want felt of accommodation stimulated them) hastening to complete the work; and within a year a new city was erected. At the termination of the year an election was held of military tribunes with consular power. Those elected were, Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, Quintus Servilius Fidenas a fifth time, Lucius Julius Iulus, Lucius Aquillius Corvus, Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus, Servius Sulpicius Rufus. They led one army against the Æquans, not to war, (for they owned themselves conquered,) but from motives of animosity, to lay waste their territories, lest they should leave them any strength for new designs; the other into the territory of Tarquinii. Here Cortuosa and Contenebra, towns belonging to the Etrurians, were taken by storm and demolished. At Cortuosa there was no contest; having attacked it by surprise, they took it at the first shout and onset; the town was plundered and burned. Contenebra sustained a siege for a few days; and it was continual labour, abated neither by night nor by day, that reduced them. When the Roman army, having been divided into six parts, each [division] relieved the other in the battle one hour in six in rotation, and the paucity of numbers exposed the same individual townsmen, wearied as they were, to a contest ever new, they at length yielded, and an opportunity was afforded to the Romans of entering the city. It was the wish of the tribunes that the spoil should be made public property; but the order [that such should be so] was too late for their determination. Whilst they hesitate, the spoil already became the property of the soldiers; nor could it be taken from them, except by means calculated to excite dissatisfaction. On the same year, that the city should not increase by private buildings only, the lower parts of the Capitol also were built of hewn stone; a work deserving of admiration even amid the present magnificence of the city.

## 5

Now, whilst the state was busily occupied in building, the tribunes of the commons endeavoured to draw crowds to their harangues by [proposing] the agrarian laws. The Pomptine territory was then, for the first time since the power of the Volscians had been reduced by Camillus, held out to them as their indisputable right. They alleged it as a charge, that "that district was much more harassed on the part of the nobility than it had been on that of the Volscians, for that incursions were made by the one party on it, only as long as they had strength and arms; that persons belonging to the nobility encroached on the possession of land that was public, nor would there be any room in it for the commons, unless a division were now made, before they seized on all." They made not much impression on the commons, who through their anxiety for building attended the forum only in small numbers, and were drained by their expenses on the same object, and were therefore careless about land for the improvement of which means were wanting. The state being full of religious impressions, and then even the leading men having become superstitious by reason of their recent misfortunes, in order that the auspices might be taken anew, the government had once more recourse

to an interregnum. The successive interreges were, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus. The last at length held an election of military tribunes with consular power. He nominates Lucius Papirius, Caius Cornelius, Caius Sergius, Lucius Æmilius a second time, Lucius Menenius, and Lucius Valerius Publicola a third time. These entered on their office after the interregnum. This year the temple of Mars, vowed in the Gallic war, was dedicated by Titus Quinctius, duumvir for performing religious rites. Four tribes were added from the new citizens, the Stellatine, the Tormentine, the Sabatine, and the Arnian, and they made up the number of twenty-five tribes.

## 6

Regarding the Pomptine land the matter was pressed by Lucius Sicinius, plebeian tribune, on the people, who now attended in greater numbers, and more readily aroused to the desire of land than they had been. And mention having been introduced in the senate regarding war against the Latins and Hernicians, the matter was deferred in consequence of their attending to a more important war, because Etruria was up in arms. Matters reverted to their electing Camillus military tribune with consular power. Five colleagues were added, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis, Quintus Servilius Fidenas a sixth time, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Lucius Horatius Pulvillus, and Publius Valerius. At the commencement of the year the attention of the people was drawn away from the Etrurian war, because a body of fugitives from the Pomptine district, suddenly entering the city, brought word that the Antians were up in arms; and that the states of the Latins privately sent their youth to that war, denying that there was any public concert in it, they alleging that volunteers were only not prevented from serving in whatever quarter they pleased. They had now ceased to despise any wars. Accordingly the senate returned thanks to the gods, because Camillus was in office; for (they knew) that it would have been necessary to nominate him dictator, if he were in a private station. And his colleagues agreed that when any terror with respect to war threatened, the supreme direction of every thing should be vested in one man, and that they had determined to consign their authority into the hands of Camillus; and that they did not consider, that any concession they should make to the dignity of that man, derogated in any way from their own. The tribunes having been highly commended by the senate, Camillus himself also, covered with confusion, returned thanks. He then said that "a heavy burden was laid on him by the Roman people, by their having now nominated him dictator for the fourth time; a great one by the senate, by reason of such flattering judgments of that house concerning him; the greatest of all, however, by the condescension of such distinguished colleagues. Where if any addition could be made to his diligence and vigilance, that, vying with himself, he would strive to render the opinion of the state, [expressed] with such unanimity regarding him, as permanent as it was most honourable." In reference to the war and to the people of Antium, that there was more of threats there than of danger; that he, however, would advise that, as they should fear nothing, so should they despise nothing. That the city of Rome was beset by the ill-will and hatred of its neighbours: therefore that the commonwealth should be maintained by a plurality, both of generals and of armies. "It is my wish," said he, "that you, Publius Valerius, as my associate in command and counsel, should lead the troops with me against the enemy at Antium; that you, Quintus Servilius, after raising and equipping another army, shall encamp in the city, ready to act, whether Etruria, as lately, or these new causes of anxiety, the Latins and Hernicians, should bestir themselves. I deem it as certain that you will conduct matters, as is worthy of your father and grandfather, and

of yourself and six tribuneships. Let a third army be raised by Lucius Quinctius, out of those excused from service and the seniors, [those past the military age,] who may protect the city and the walls. Let Lucius Horatius provide arms, weapons, corn, and whatever the other exigencies of the war shall demand. You, Servius Cornelius, we your colleagues appoint the president of this council of the state, the guardian of religion, of the assemblies, of the laws, and of all matters pertaining to the city." All cheerfully promising their utmost endeavours in the discharge of their apportioned offices, Valerius, chosen as his associate in command, added, "that Marcus Furius should be considered by him as dictator, and that he would act as master of the horse to him. Wherefore, that they should entertain hopes regarding the war, proportioned to the opinion they formed of their sole commander." The senate, elated with joy, cry out, that "they entertained good hopes, both regarding war, and peace, and the republic in general; and that the republic would never have need of a dictator, if it were to have such men in office, united together in such harmony of sentiments, prepared alike to obey and to command, and who were laying up praise as common stock, rather than taking it from the common fund to themselves individually."

## 7

A suspension of civil business being proclaimed, and a levy being held, Furius and Valerius set out to Satricum; to which place the Antians had drawn together not only the youth of the Volscians, selected out of the new generation, but immense numbers of the Latins and Hernicians, out of states which by a long [enjoyment of] peace were in the most unimpaired condition. The new enemy then added to the old shook the spirits of the Roman soldiers. When the centurions reported this to Camillus, whilst forming his line of battle, that "the minds of the soldiers were disturbed, that arms were taken up by them with backwardness, and that they left the camp with hesitation and reluctance; nay, that some expressions were heard, that they should each have to fight with one hundred enemies, and that such numbers, even if unarmed, much less when furnished with arms, could with difficulty be withstood," he leaped on his horse, and in front of the troops, turning to the line, and riding between the ranks, "What dejection of mind is this, soldiers, what backwardness? Is it with the enemy, or me, or yourselves you are unacquainted? What else are the enemy, but the constant subject of your bravery and your glory? on the other hand, with me as your general, to say nothing of the taking of Falerii and Veii, you have lately celebrated a triple triumph for a three-fold victory over these self-same Volscians and Æquans, and Etruria. Do you not recognise me as your general, because I gave you the signal, not as dictator, but as tribune? I neither feel the want of the highest authority over you, and you should look to nothing in me but myself; for the dictatorship neither added to my courage, any more than exile took it from me. We are all therefore the same individuals; and as we bring to this war the same requisites as we brought to former wars, let us look for the same result of the war. As soon as you commence the fight, each will do that which he has learned and been accustomed to do. You will conquer, they will run."

## 8

Then having given the signal, he leaps from his horse, and seizing the standard-bearer who was next him by the hand, he hurries him on with him against the enemy, calling aloud, "Soldiers, advance the standard." And when they saw Camillus himself, now disabled through age for bodily exertion, advancing against the enemy, they all rush forwards together, having raised a shout, each eagerly crying out, "Follow the general."

They say further that the standard was thrown into the enemy's line by order of Camillus, and that the van was then exerted to recover it. That there first the Antians were forced to give way, and that the panic spread not only to the first line, but to the reserve troops also. Nor was it merely the ardour of the soldiers animated by the presence of their general that made this impression, but because nothing was more terrible to the minds of the Volscians, than the sight of Camillus which happened to present itself. Thus, in whatever direction he went, he carried certain victory with him. This was particularly evident, when, hastily mounting his horse, he rode with a footman's shield to the left wing, which was almost giving way, by the fact of showing himself he restored the battle, pointing out the rest of the line gaining the victory. Now the result was decided, but the flight of the enemy was impeded by their great numbers, and the wearied soldiers would have had tedious work in putting so great a number to the sword, when rain suddenly falling with a violent storm, put an end to the pursuit of the victory which was now decided, rather than to the battle. Then the signal for retreat being given, the fall of night put an end to the war, without further trouble to the Romans. For the Latins and Hernicians, having abandoned the Volscians, marched to their homes, having attained results corresponding to their wicked measures. The Volscians, when they saw themselves deserted by those through reliance on whom they had resumed hostilities, abandoned their camp, and shut themselves up within the walls of Satricum. Camillus at first prepared to surround them by lines of circumvallation, and to prosecute the siege by a mound and other works. But seeing that this was obstructed by no sally from the town, and considering that the enemy possessed too little spirit for him to wait in tedious expectation of victory under the circumstances, after exhorting his soldiers not to waste themselves by tedious labours, as [they had done] when besieging Veii, that the victory was in their hands, he attacked the walls on every side, amid the great alacrity of the soldiers, and took the town by scalade. The Volscians, having thrown down their arms, surrendered themselves.

## 9

But the general's thoughts were fixed on a higher object, on Antium: [he knew] that that was the great aim of the Volscians, and main source of the late war. But because so strong a city could not be taken without great preparations, engines and machines, leaving his colleague with the army, he set out for Rome, in order to advise the senate to have Antium destroyed. In the middle of his discourse, (I suppose that it was the wish of the gods that the state of Antium should last a longer time,) ambassadors came from Nepete and Sutrium, soliciting aid against the Etrurians, urging that the time for giving them aid would soon pass by. Thither did fortune avert the force of Camillus from Antium; for as those places were situate opposite Etruria, and were barriers or gates as it were on that side, both they had a wish to get possession of them, whenever they meditated any new enterprise, and the Romans to recover and secure them. Wherefore the senate resolved to treat with Camillus, that he would relinquish Antium and undertake the Etrurian war. The city troops, which Quinctius had commanded, are decreed to him. Though he would have preferred the army which was in the Volscian territory, as being tried and accustomed to him, he made no objection: he only demanded Valerius as his associate in command. Quinctius and Horatius were sent against the Volscians, as successors to Valerius. Furius and Valerius, having set out from the city to Sutrium, found one part of the town already taken by the Etrurians, and on the other part, the approaches to which were barricaded, the townsmen with difficulty repelling the assault of the enemy. Both the approach of aid from Rome, as also the

name of Camillus, universally respected both with the enemy and the allies, sustained their tottering state for the present, and afforded time for bringing them relief. Accordingly Camillus, having divided his army, orders his colleague to lead round his troops to that side which the enemy already possessed, and to assault the walls; not so much from any hope that the city could be taken by scalade, as that, by turning away the enemy's attention to that quarter, both the townsmen who were wearied with fighting might have some relaxation of their toil, and that he himself might have an opportunity of entering the city without a contest. This having been done on both sides, and the double terror now surrounding the Etrurians, when they saw that the walls were assailed with the utmost fury, and that the enemy were within the walls, they threw themselves out in consternation, in one body, by a gate which alone happened not to be guarded. Great slaughter was made on them as they fled, both in the city and through the fields. The greater number were slain within the walls by Furius' soldiers: those of Valerius were more alert for the pursuit; nor did they put an end to the slaughter until night, which prevented them from seeing. Sutrium being recovered and restored to the allies, the army was led to Nepete, which having been received by capitulation, was now entirely in the possession of the Etrurians.

## 10

It appeared probable, that there would be more of labour in recovering the city, not only for this reason, because it was all in possession of the enemy, but also because the surrender had been made in consequence of a party of the Nepesinians having betrayed the state. It was determined, however, that a message should be sent to their leading men, to separate themselves from the Etrurians, and that they themselves should evince that strict fidelity, which they had implored from the Romans. Whence as soon as an answer was brought that there was nothing in their power, that the Etrurians occupied the walls and the guards of the gates, first, terror was struck into the townsmen by laying waste their land; then, when the faith of the capitulation was more religiously observed than that of the alliance, the army was led up to the walls with fascines of bushes collected from the fields, and the ditches being filled, the scaling ladders were raised, and the town was taken at the first shout and attack. Proclamation was then made to the Nepesinians, that they should lay down their arms, and orders were given that the unarmed should be spared. The Etrurians, armed and unarmed, were put to the sword without distinction: of the Nepesinians also the authors of the surrender were beheaded. To the unoffending multitude their property was restored, and the town was left with a garrison. Thus having recovered two allied cities from the enemy, the tribunes marched back their victorious army to Rome. During the same year restitution was demanded from the Latins and Hernicians, and the cause was asked why they had not during some years supplied soldiers according to stipulation. An answer was given in a full assembly of both nations, "that neither the blame was public, nor was there any design in the circumstance of some of their youth having served among the Volscians. That these individuals, however, suffered the penalty of their improper conduct, and that none of them had returned. But that the cause of their not supplying the soldiers had been their continual terror from the Volscians, which pest adhering to their side, had not been capable of being destroyed by so many successive wars." Which answer being reported to the senate, they decided that there was wanting rather a seasonable time for declaring war than sufficient grounds for it.

## 11

In the following year, Aulus Manlius, Publius Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quintii Capitolini, Lucius Papirius Cursor a second time, Caius Sergius a second time, being military tribunes with consular power, a grievous war broke out abroad, a still more grievous disturbance at home; the war originated on the part of the Volscians, to which was added a revolt of the Latins and Hernicians; the sedition from one from whom it could be least of all apprehended, a man of patrician birth and distinguished character, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus; who being too aspiring in mind, whilst he despised the other leading men, envied one, who was peculiarly distinguished both by honours and by merit, Marcus Furius: he became indignant that he should be the only man among the magistrates; the only man at the head of the armies; that he now attained such eminence that he treated not as colleagues but as mere tools the persons elected under the same auspices; though, in the mean time, if any one would form a just estimate, his country could not have been recovered by Marcus Furius from the siege of the enemy, had not the Capitol and citadel been first preserved by him; and the other attacked the Gauls, whilst their attention was distracted between receiving the gold and the hope of peace, when he himself drove them off when armed and taking the citadel; of the other's glory, a man's share appertained to all the soldiers who conquered along with him; that in his victory no man living was a sharer. His mind puffed by these notions, and moreover, from a viciousness of disposition being vehement and headstrong, when he perceived that his influence among the patricians did not stand forth as prominent as he thought it should, he, the first of all the patricians, became a plebeian partisan, and formed plans in conjunction with the plebeian magistrates; and by criminating the fathers, and alluring the commons to his side, he now came to be carried along by the tide of popular applause, not by prudence, and preferred to be of a great, rather than of a good character: and not content with agrarian laws, which had ever served the tribunes of the commons as material for disturbances, he now began to undermine public credit; for [he well knew] "that the incentives of debt were sharper, as not only threatening poverty and ignominy, but intimidated personal liberty with stocks and chains." And the amount of the debt was immense, contracted by building, a circumstance most destructive even to the rich. The Volscian war therefore, heavy in itself, charged with additional weight by the defection of the Latins and Hernicians, was held out as a colourable pretext, for having a higher authority resorted to. But it was rather the reforming plans that drove the senate to create a dictator. Aulus Cornelius Cossus having been elected dictator, nominated Titus Quinctius Capitolinus his master of the horse.

## 12

The dictator, though he perceived that a greater struggle was reserved for him at home than abroad; still, either because there was need of despatch for the war, or supposing that by a victory and a triumph he should add to the powers of the dictatorship itself, held a levee and proceeds into the Pomptine territory, where he had heard that the Volscians had appointed their army to assemble. I doubt not but that, in addition to satiety, to persons reading of so many wars waged with the Volscians, this same circumstance will suggest itself, which often served as an occasion of surprise to me when perusing the writers who lived nearer to the times of these occurrences, from what source the Volscians and Æquans, so often vanquished, could have procured supplies of soldiers. And as this has been unnoticed and passed over in silence by ancient writers; on which matter what can I state, except mere opinion, which every one may from his own conjecture form for himself? It seems probable, either that they

employed, as is now practised in the Roman levies, successive generations of their young men one after the other, during the intervals between the wars; or that the armies were not always recruited out of the same states, though the same nation may have made war; or that there was an innumerable multitude of free-men in those places, which, at the present day, Roman slaves save from being a desert, a scanty seminary of soldiers being scarcely left. Certain it is, (as is agreed upon among all authors,) although their power was very much impaired under the guidance and auspices of Camillus, the forces of the Volscians were strong: besides, the Latins and Hernicians had been added, and some of the Circeians, and some Roman colonists also from Velitræ. The dictator, having pitched his camp on that day, and on coming forth on the day following after taking the auspices, and having, by sacrificing a victim, implored the favour of the gods, with joyful countenance presented himself to the soldiers, who were now taking arms at day-break, according to orders, on the signal for battle being displayed. "Soldiers," says he, "the victory is ours, if the gods and their prophets see aught into futurity. Accordingly, as it becomes men full of well-grounded hope, and who are about to engage with their inferiors, let us place our spears at our feet, and arm our right hands only with our swords. I would not even wish that any should push forward beyond the line; but that, standing firm, you receive the enemy's charge in a steady posture. When they shall have discharged their ineffective missives, and, breaking their ranks, they shall rush on you as you stand firm, then let your swords glitter, and let each man recollect, that there are gods who aid the Roman; those gods, who have sent us into battle with favourable omens. Do you, Titus Quinctius, keep back the cavalry, attentively observing the very commencement of the contest; as soon as you observe the armies closed foot to foot, then, whilst they are taken up with another panic, strike terror into them with your cavalry, and by making a charge on them, disperse the ranks of those engaged in the fight." The cavalry, the infantry conduct the fight, just as he had ordered them. Nor did either the general disappoint the legions, nor fortune the general.

### 13

The army of the enemy, relying on nothing but on their number, and measuring both armies merely by the eye, entered on the battle inconsiderately, and inconsiderately gave it over: fierce only in their shout and with their missive weapons, and at the first onset of the fight, they were unable to withstand the swords, and the close engagement foot to foot, and the looks of the enemy, darting fire through their ardour for the fight. Their front line was driven in, and confusion spread to the reserve troops, and the cavalry occasioned alarm on their part: the ranks were then broken in many places, every thing was set in motion, and the line seemed as it were fluctuating. Then when, the foremost having fallen, each saw that death was about to reach himself, they turn their backs. The Roman followed close on them; and as long as they went off armed and in bodies, the labour in the pursuit fell to the infantry; when it was observed that their arms were thrown away in every direction, and that the enemy's line was scattered in flight through the country; then squadrons of horse were sent out, intimation being given that they should not, by losing time with the massacre of individuals, afford an opportunity in the mean time to the multitude to escape: it would be sufficient that their speed should be retarded by missive weapons and by terror, and that the progress of their forces should be detained by skirmishing, until the infantry should be able to overtake and despatch the enemy by regular slaughter. There was no end of the flight and slaughter before night; on the same day the camp of the Volscians was taken also and pillaged, and all the plunder, save the persons of free condition, was given up to the

soldiers. The greatest part of the prisoners consisted of Latins and Hernicians, and these not men of plebeian rank, so that it could be supposed that they had served for hire, but some young men of rank were found among them: an evident proof that the Volscian enemies had been aided by public authority. Some of the Circeians also were recognised, and colonists from Velitræ; and being all sent to Rome, on being interrogated by the leading senators, plainly revealed the same circumstances as they had done to the dictator, the defection each of his respective state.

#### 14

The dictator kept his army in the standing camp, not at all doubting that the senate would order war with these states; when a more momentous difficulty having occurred at home, rendered it necessary that he should be sent for to Rome, the sedition gaining strength every day, which the fomentor was now rendering more than ordinarily formidable. For now it was easy to see from what motives proceeded not only the discourses of Manlius, but his actions also, apparently suggested by popular zeal, but at the same time tending to create disturbance. When he saw a centurion, illustrious for his military exploits, leading off to prison by reason of a judgment for debt, he ran up with his attendants in the middle of the forum and laid hands on him; and exclaiming aloud against the insolence of the patricians, the cruelty of the usurers, and the grievances of the commons, and the deserts and misfortunes of the man. "Then indeed," said he, "in vain have I preserved the Capitol and citadel by this right hand, if I am to see my fellow-citizen and fellow-soldier, as if captured by the victorious Gauls, dragged into slavery and chains." He then paid the debt to the creditor openly before the people, and having purchased his freedom with the scales and brass, he sets the man at liberty, whilst the latter implored both gods and men, that they would grant a recompence to Marcus Manlius, his liberator, the parent of the Roman commons; and being immediately received into the tumultuous crowd, he himself also increased the tumult, displaying the scars received in the Veientian, Gallic, and other succeeding wars: "that he, whilst serving in the field, and rebuilding his dwelling which had been demolished, though he had paid off the principal many times over, the interest always keeping down the principal, had been overwhelmed with interest: that through the kind interference of Marcus Manlius, he now beheld the light, the forum, and the faces of his fellow-citizens: that he received from him all the kind services usually conferred by parents; that to him therefore he devoted whatever remained of his person, of his life, and of his blood; whatever ties subsisted between him and his country, public and private guardian deities, were all centred in that one man." When the commons, worked upon by these expressions, were now wholly in the interest of the one individual, another circumstance was added, emanating from a scheme still more effectually calculated to create general confusion. A farm in the Veientian territory, the principal part of his estate, he subjected to public sale: "that I may not," says he, "suffer any of you, Romans, as long as any of my property shall remain, to be dragged off to prison, after judgment has been given against him, and he has been consigned to a creditor." That circumstance, indeed, so inflamed their minds, that they seemed determined on following the assertor of their freedom through every thing, right and wrong. Besides this, speeches [were made] at his house, as if he were delivering an harangue, full of imputations against the patricians; among which he threw out, waving all distinction whether he said what was true or false, that treasures of the Gallic gold were concealed by the patricians; that "they were now no longer content with possessing the public lands, unless they appropriated the public money also; if that were made public, that the

commons might be freed from their debt." When this hope was presented to them, then indeed it seemed a scandalous proceeding, that when gold was to be contributed to ransom the state from the Gauls, the collection was made by a public tribute; that the same gold, when taken from the Gauls, had become the plunder of a few. Accordingly they followed up the inquiry, where the furtive possession of so enormous a treasure could be kept; and when he deferred, and told them that he would inform them at the proper time, all other objects being given up, the attention of all was directed to this point; and it became evident that neither their gratitude, if the information were true, nor their displeasure if it proved false, would know any bounds.

## 15

Matters being in this state, the dictator, being summoned home from the army, came into the city. A meeting of the senate being held on the following day, when, having sufficiently sounded the inclinations of the people, he forbade the senate to leave him, attended by that body, he placed his throne in the comitium, and sent his sergeant to Marcus Manlius; who on being summoned by the dictator's order, after he had given intimation to his party that a contest was at hand, came to the tribunal, attended by a numerous party. On the one side stood the senate, on the other the people as if in battle-array, attentively observing, each party, their respective leader. Then silence being made, the dictator said, "I wish that I and the Roman patricians may agree with the commons on all other matters, as I am confident we shall agree on the business which regards you, and on that about which I am about to interrogate you. I perceive that hopes have been raised by you in the minds of the citizens, that, with safety to the public credit, their debts may be paid off out of the Gallic treasures, which it is alleged the leading patricians are secreting. To which proceeding so far am I from being any obstruction, that on the contrary, Marcus Manlius, I exhort you to free the Roman commons from the weight of interest; and to tumble from their secreted spoil, those who lie now brooding on those public treasures. If you refuse to do this, whether because you yourself desire to be a sharer in the spoil, or because the information is unfounded, I shall order you to be carried off to prison, nor will I any longer suffer the multitude to be disquieted by you with delusive hopes." To this Manlius replied, "That it had not escaped him, that it was not against the Volscians, who were enemies as often as it suited the interests of the patricians, nor against the Latins and Hernicians, whom they were driving into hostilities by false charges, but against him and the Roman commons, that he was appointed dictator. Now the war being dropped, which was only feigned, that an attack was being made against himself; that the dictator now professed to defend the usurers against the commons; that now a charge and destruction was sought for him out of the favour of the multitude. Does the crowd that surrounds my person offend you," said he, "Aulus Cornelius, and you, conscript fathers? Why then do you not draw it away from me, each of you by your own acts of kindness? by becoming surety, by delivering your fellow-citizens from the stocks, by preventing those cast in law-suits, and assigned over to their creditors, from being dragged away to prison, by sustaining the necessities of others out of your own superfluities? But why do I exhort you to expend out of your own property? Fix some capital; deduct from the principal what has been paid in interest; soon will my crowd not be a whit more remarkable than that of any other person. But [I may be asked] why do I alone thus interest myself in behalf of my fellow-citizens? I have no other answer to give, than if you were to ask me, why in the same way did I alone preserve the Capitol and the citadel. Both then I afforded the aid which I could to all collectively, and now I will afford it to each

individually. Now with respect to the Gallic treasures, the mode of interrogation renders difficult a matter which in itself is easy. For why do you ask that which you know? why do you order that which is in your own laps to be shaken out of them rather than resign it, unless some fraud lurks beneath? The more you require your own impositions to be examined into, the more do I dread lest you should blind the eyes of those narrowly watching you. Wherefore, it is not I that am to be compelled to discover your hoard, but you must be forced to produce it to the public."

## 16

When the dictator ordered him to lay aside evasion, and urged him to prove the truth of his information, or to own the guilt of having advanced a false accusation against the senate, and of having exposed them to the odium of a lying charge of concealment; when he refused to speak, to meet the wishes of his enemies, he ordered him to be carried off to prison. When arrested by the sergeant, he said, "O Jupiter, supremely great and good, imperial Juno, and Minerva, and ye other gods and goddesses, who inhabit the Capitol and citadel, do ye suffer your soldier and defender to be thus harassed by his enemies? Shall this right hand, by which I beat off the Gauls from your temples, be now in bonds and chains?" Neither the eyes nor ears of any one could well endure the indignity [thus offered him], but the state, most patient of legitimate authority, had rendered certain offices absolute to themselves; nor did either the tribunes of the commons, nor the commons themselves, dare to raise their eyes or utter a sentence in opposition to the dictatorial power. On Manlius being thrown into prison, it appears that a great part of the commons put on mourning, that a great many persons had let their hair and beard grow, and that a dejected crowd presented itself at the entrance of the prison. The dictator triumphed over the Volscians; and that triumph was the occasion rather of ill-will than of glory. For they murmured that "it had been acquired at home, not abroad, and that it was celebrated over a citizen, not over an enemy; that only one thing was wanting to his arrogance, that Manlius was not led before his car." And now the affair fell little short of sedition, for the purpose of appeasing which, the senate, without the solicitation of any one, suddenly becoming bountiful of their own free-will, decreed that a colony of two thousand Roman citizens should be conducted to Satricum; two acres and half of land were assigned to each. And when they considered this, both as scanty in itself, conferred on a few, and as a bribe for betraying Marcus Manlius, the sedition was irritated by the remedy. And now the crowd of Manlius' partisans was become more remarkable, both by their squalid attire and by the appearance of persons under prosecutions, and terror being removed by the resignation of the dictatorship, after the triumph had set both the tongues and thoughts of men at liberty.

## 17

Expressions were therefore heard freely uttered of persons upbraiding the multitude, that "by their favour they always raised their defenders to a precipice, then at the very critical moment of danger they forsook them. That in this way Spurius Cassius, when inviting the commons to a share in the lands, in this way Spurius Mælius, when warding off famine from the mouths of his fellow-citizens at his own expense, had been undone; thus Marcus Manlius was betrayed to his enemies, whilst drawing forth to liberty and light one half of the state, when sunk and overwhelmed with usury. That the commons fattened their favourites that they might be slaughtered. Was this punishment to be suffered, if a man of consular rank did not answer at the nod of a dictator? Suppose that he had lied before, and that on that account he had had no answer to make; what slave

was ever imprisoned in punishment of a lie? Did not the memory of that night present itself, which was well nigh the last and an eternal one to the Roman name? nor any idea of the band of Gauls climbing up the Tarpeian rock? nor that of Marcus Manlius himself, such as they had seen him in arms, covered with sweat and blood, after having in a manner rescued Jupiter himself from the hands of the enemy? Was a recompence made to the preserver of their country with their half pounds of corn? and would they suffer a person, whom they almost deified, whom they had set on a footing with Jupiter, at least with respect to the surname of Capitolinus, to drag out an existence subject to the will of an executioner, chained in a prison and in darkness? Was there thus sufficient aid in one person for all; and no relief for one in so many?" The crowd did not disperse from that place even during the night, and they threatened that they would break open the prison; when that being conceded which they were about to take by force, Manlius was discharged from prison by a decree of the senate; by which proceeding the sedition was not terminated, but a leader was supplied to the sedition. About the same time the Latins and Hernicians, as also the colonists of Circeii and Velitræ, when striving to clear themselves of the charge [of being concerned] in the Volscian war, and demanding back the prisoners, that they may punish them according to their own laws, received a harsh answer; the colonists the severer, because being Roman citizens they had formed the abominable design of attacking their own country. They were therefore not only refused with respect to the prisoners, but notice was given them in the name of the senate, who however forbore from such a proceeding in the case of the allies, instantly to depart from the city, from the presence and sight of the Roman people; lest the law of embassy, provided for the foreigner, not for the citizen, should afford them no protection.

## 18

The sedition excited by Manlius reassuming its former violence, on the expiration of the year the election was held, and military tribunes with consular power were elected from among the patricians; they were Servius Cornelius Maluginensis a third time, Publius Valerius Potitus a second time, Marcus Furius Camillus, Servius Sulpicius Rufus a second time, Caius Papirius Crassus, Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus a second time. At the commencement of which year peace with foreign countries afforded every opportunity both to the patricians and plebeians: to the plebeians, because not being called away by any levy, they conceived hopes of destroying usury, whilst they had so influential a leader; to the patricians, because their minds were not called away by any external terror from relieving the evils existing at home. Accordingly, as both sides arose much more strenuous than ever, Manlius also was present for the approaching contest. Having summoned the commons to his house, he holds consultations both by night and day with the leading men amongst them with respect to effecting a revolution of affairs, being filled with a much higher degree both of spirit and of resentment than he had been before. The recent ignominy had lighted up resentment in a mind unused to affront; it gave him additional courage, that the dictator had not ventured to the same extent against him, as Quinctius Cincinnatus had done in the case of Spurius Mælius, and because the dictator had not only endeavoured to avoid the unpopularity of his imprisonment by abdicating the dictatorship, but not even the senate could bear up against it. Elated by these considerations, and at the same time exasperated, he set about inflaming the minds of the commons, already sufficiently heated of themselves: "How long," says he, "will you be ignorant of your own strength, which nature has not wished even the brutes to be ignorant of? At least count how many you are, and how many enemies you have. Even if each of you were to attack an individual antagonist, still

I should suppose that you would strive more vigorously in defence of liberty, than they in defence of tyranny. For as many of you as have been clients around each single patron, in the same number will ye be against a single enemy. Only make a show of war; ye shall have peace. Let them see you prepared for open force; they themselves will relax their pretensions. Collectively you must attempt something, or individually submit to every thing. How long will you look to me? I for my part will not be wanting to any of you: do you see that my fortune fail not. I, your avenger, when my enemies thought well of it, was suddenly reduced to nothing; and you all in a body beheld that person thrown into chains, who had warded off chains from each one of you. What am I to hope, if my enemies attempt more against me? Am I to expect the fate of Cassius and Mælius? You acted kindly in appearing shocked at it: the gods will avert it: but never will they come down from heaven on my account: they must inspire you with a determination to avert it; as they inspired me, in arms and in peace, to defend you from barbarous foes and tyrannical fellow-citizens. Is the spirit of so great a people so mean, that aid against your adversaries always satisfies you? And are you not to know any contest against the patricians, except how you may suffer them to domineer over you? Nor is this implanted in you by nature; but you are theirs by possession. For why is it you bear such spirit with respect to foreigners, as to think it meet that you should rule over them? because you have been accustomed to vie with them for empire, against these to essay liberty rather than to maintain it. Nevertheless, whatsoever sort of leaders you have, whatever has been your own conduct, ye have up to this carried every thing which ye have demanded, either by force, or your own good fortune. It is now time to aim at still higher objects. Only make trial both of your own good fortune, and of me, who have been, as I hope, already tried to your advantage. Ye will with less difficulty set up some one to rule the patricians, than ye have set up persons to resist their rule. Dictatorships and consulships must be levelled to the ground, that the Roman commons may be able to raise their heads. Wherefore stand by me, prevent judicial proceedings from going on regarding money. I profess myself the patron of the commons—a title with which my solicitude and zeal invests me. If you will dignify your leader by any more distinguishing title of honour or command, ye will render him still more powerful to obtain what ye desire." From this his first attempt is said to have arisen with respect to the obtaining of regal power; but no sufficiently clear account is handed down, either with whom [he acted], or how far his designs extended.

## 19

But, on the other side, the senate began to deliberate regarding the secession of the commons into a private house, and that, as it so happened, situate in the citadel, and regarding the great danger that was threatening liberty. Great numbers cry out, that a Servilius Ahala was wanted, who would not irritate a public enemy by ordering him to be led to prison, but would finish an intestine war with the loss of one citizen. They came to a resolution milder in terms, but possessing the same force, that the magistrates should see that "the commonwealth received no detriment from the designs of Marcus Manlius." Then the consular tribunes, and the tribunes of the commons, (for these also had submitted to the authority of the senate, because they saw that the termination of their own power and of the liberty of all would be the same,) all these then consult together as to what was necessary to be done. When nothing suggested itself to the mind of any, except violence and bloodshed, and it was evident that that would be attended with great risk; then Marcus Mænius, and Quintus Publilius, tribunes of the commons, say, "Why do we make that a contest between the patricians and

commons, which ought to be between the state and one pestilent citizen? Why do we attack, together with the commons, a man whom it is safer to attack through the commons themselves, that he may fall overpowered by his own strength? We have it in contemplation to appoint a day of trial for him. Nothing is less popular than regal power; as soon as the multitude shall perceive that the contest is not with them, and that from advocates they are to be made judges, and shall behold the prosecutors from among the commons, the accused a patrician, and that the charge between both parties is that of aiming at regal power, they will favour no object more than their own liberty."

## 20

With the approbation of all, they appoint a day of trial for Manlius. When this took place, the commons were at first excited, especially when they saw the accused in a mourning habit, and with him not only none of the patricians, but not even any of his kinsmen or relatives, nay, not even his brothers Aulus and Titus Manlius; a circumstance which had never occurred before, that at so critical a juncture a man's nearest friends did not put on mourning. When Appius Claudius was thrown into prison [they remarked], that Caius Claudius, who was at enmity with him and the entire Claudian family, appeared in mourning; that this favourite of the people was about to be destroyed by a conspiracy, because he was the first who had come over from the patricians to the commons. When the day arrived, I find in no author, what acts were alleged by the prosecutors against the accused bearing properly on the charge of aspiring to kingly power, except his assembling the multitude, and his seditious expressions and his largesses, and pretended discovery; nor have I any doubt that they were by no means unimportant, as the people's delay in condemning him was occasioned not by the merits of the cause, but by the place of trial. This seems deserving of notice, that men may know what great and glorious achievements his depraved ambition of regal power rendered not only bereft of all merit, but absolutely hateful. He is said to have brought forward near four hundred persons to whom he had lent money without interest, whose goods he had prevented from being sold, whom he had prevented from being carried off to prison after being adjudged to their creditors. Besides this, that he not only enumerated also his military rewards, but also produced them to view; spoils of enemies slain up to thirty; presents from generals to the number of forty; in which the most remarkable were two mural crowns and eight civic. In addition to this, that he brought forward citizens saved from the enemy, amongst whom was mentioned Caius Servilius, when master of the horse, now absent. Then after he had recounted his exploits in war, in pompous language suitable to the dignity of the subject, equalling his actions by his eloquence, he bared his breast marked with scars received in battle: and now and then, directing his eyes to the Capitol, he called down Jupiter and the other gods to aid him in his present lot; and he prayed, that the same sentiments with which they had inspired him when protecting the fortress of the Capitol, for the preservation of the Roman people, they would now inspire the Roman people with in his critical situation: and he entreated them singly and collectively, that they would form their judgment of him with their eyes fixed on the Capitol and citadel and their faces turned to the immortal gods. As the people were summoned by centuries in the field of Mars, and as the accused, extending his hands towards the Capitol, directed his prayers from men to the gods; it became evident to the tribunes, that unless they removed the eyes of men also from the memory of so great an exploit, the best founded charge would find no place in minds prejudiced by services. Thus the day of trial being adjourned, a meeting of the people was summoned in the Pœteline grove outside the Nomentan gate, from whence there

was no view of the Capitol; there the charge was made good, and their minds being now unmoved [by adventitious circumstances], a fatal sentence, and one which excited horror even in his judges, was passed on him. There are some who state that he was condemned by duumvirs appointed to inquire concerning cases of treason. The tribunes cast him down from the Tarpeian rock: and the same place in the case of one man became a monument of distinguished glory and of extreme punishment. Marks of infamy were offered to him when dead: one, a public one; that, when his house had been that where the temple of Moneta and the mint-office now stand, it was proposed to the people, that no patrician should dwell in the citadel and Capitol: the other appertaining to his family; it being commanded by a decree that no one of the Manlian family should ever after bear the name of Marcus Manlius. Such was the fate of a man, who, had he not been born in a free state, would have been celebrated with posterity. In a short time, when there was no longer any danger from him, the people, recollecting only his virtues, were seized with regret for him. A pestilence too which soon followed, no causes of so great a calamity presenting themselves, seemed to a great many to have arisen from the punishment inflicted on Manlius: "The Capitol" [they said] "had been polluted with the blood of its preserver; nor was it agreeable to the gods that the punishment of him by whom their temples had been rescued from the hands of the enemy, had been brought in a manner before their eyes."

## 21

The pestilence was succeeded by a scarcity of the fruits of the earth, and the report of both calamities by spreading [was followed] by a variety of wars in the following year, Lucius Valerius a fourth time, Aulus Manlius a third time, Servius Sulpicius a third time, Lucius Lucretius, Lucius Æmilius a third time, Marcus Trebonius, being military tribunes with consular power. Besides the Volscians, assigned by some fatality to give eternal employment to the Roman soldiery, and the colonies of Circeii and Velitræ, long meditating a revolt, and Latium which had been suspected, new enemies suddenly sprung up in the people of Lanuvium, which had been a most faithful city. The fathers, considering that this arose from contempt, because the revolt of their own citizens, the people of Velitræ, had been so long unpunished, decreed that a proposition should be submitted to the people at the earliest opportunity on the subject of declaring war against them: and in order that the commons might be the more disposed for that service, they appointed five commissioners for distributing the Pomptine land, and three for conducting a colony to Nepete. Then it was proposed to the people that they should order a declaration of war; and the plebeian tribunes in vain endeavouring to dissuade them, all the tribes declared for war. That year preparations were made for war; the army was not led out into the field on account of the pestilence. And that delay afforded full time to the colonists to deprecate the anger of the senate; and a great number of the people were disposed that a suppliant embassy should be sent to Rome, had not the public been involved, as is usual, with the private danger, and the abettors of the revolt from the Romans, through fear, lest they, being alone answerable for the guilt, might be given up as victims to the resentment of the Romans, dissuaded the colonies from counsels of peace. And not only was the embassy obstructed by them in the senate, but a great part of the commons were excited to make predatory excursions into the Roman territory. This new injury broke off all hope of peace. This year a report first originated regarding a revolt of the Prænestines; and the people of Tusculum, Gabii and Lavici, into whose territories the incursions had been made, accusing them of the

fact, the senate returned so placid an answer, that it became evident that less credit was given to the charges, because they wished them not to be true.

## 22

In the following year the Papirii, Spurius and Lucius, new military tribunes, led the legions to Velitræ; their four colleagues in the tribuneship, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis a fourth time, Quintus Servilius, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius Æmilius a fourth time, being left behind to protect the city, and in case any new commotion should be announced from Etruria; for every thing was apprehended from that quarter. At Velitræ they fought a successful battle against the auxiliaries of the Prænestines, who were almost greater than the number of colonists themselves; so that the proximity of the city was both the cause of an earlier flight to the enemy, and was their only refuge after the flight. The tribunes refrained from besieging the town, both because [the result] was uncertain, and they considered that the war should not be pushed to the total destruction of the colony. Letters were sent to Rome to the senate with news of the victory, expressive of more animosity against the Prænestine enemy than against those of Velitræ. In consequence, by a decree of the senate and an order of the people, war was declared against the Prænestines: who, in conjunction with the Volscians, took, on the following year, Satricum, a colony of the Roman people, by storm, after an obstinate defence by the colonists, and made, with respect to the prisoners, a disgraceful use of their victory. Incensed at this, the Romans elected Marcus Furius Camillus a seventh time military tribune. The colleagues conjoined with him were the two Postumii Regillenses, Aulus and Lucius, and Lucius Furius, with Lucius Lucretius and Marcus Fabius Ambustus. The Volscian war was decreed to Marcus Furius out of the ordinary course, Lucius Furius is assigned by lot from among the tribunes his assistant; [which proved] not so advantageous to the public as a source of all manner of praise to his colleague: both on public grounds, because he restored the [Roman] interest which had been prostrated by his rash conduct; and on private grounds, because from his error he sought to obtain his gratitude rather than his own glory. Camillus was now in the decline of life, and when prepared at the election to take the usual oath for the purpose of excusing himself on the plea of his health, he was opposed by the consent of the people: but his active mind was still vigorous within his ardent breast, and he enjoyed all his faculties entire, and now that he concerned himself but little in civil affairs, war still aroused him. Having enlisted four legions of four thousand men each, and having ordered the troops to assemble the next day at the Esquiline gate, he set out to Satricum. There the conquerors of the colony, nowise dismayed, confiding in their number of men, in which they had considerably the advantage, awaited him. When they perceived that the Romans were approaching, they marched out immediately to the field, determined to make no delay to put all to the risk of an engagement, that by proceeding thus they should derive no advantage from the judgment of their distinguished commander, on which alone they confided.

## 23

The same ardour existed also in the Roman army; nor did any thing, but the wisdom and authority of one man, delay the fortune of the present engagement, who sought, by protracting the war, an opportunity of aiding their strength by skill. The enemy urged them the more on that account, and now not only did they draw out their troops in order of battle before their camp, but advanced into the middle of the plain, and by throwing up trenches near the battalions of the enemy, made a show of their insolent

confidence in their strength. The Roman soldier was indignant at this; the other military tribune, Lucius Furius, still more so, who, encouraged both by his youth and his natural disposition, was still further elated by the hopes entertained by the multitude, who assumed great spirits on grounds the most uncertain. The soldiers, already excited of themselves, he still further instigated by disparaging the authority of his colleague by reference to his age, the only point on which he could do so: saying constantly, "that wars were the province of young men, and that with the body the mind also flourishes and withers; that from having been a most vigorous warrior he was become a drone; and that he who, on coming up, had been wont to carry off camps and cities at the first onset, now consumed the time inactive within the trenches. What accession to his own strength, or diminution of that of the enemy, did he hope for? What opportunity, what season, what place for practising stratagem? that the old man's plans were frigid and languid. Camillus had both sufficient share of life as well as of glory. What use was it to suffer the strength of a state which ought to be immortal, to sink into old age along with one mortal body." By such observations, he had attracted to himself the attention of the entire camp; and when in every quarter battle was called for, "We cannot," he says, "Marcus Furius, withstand the violence of the soldiers; and the enemy, whose spirits we have increased by delaying, insults us by insolence by no means to be borne. Do you, who are but one man, yield to all, and suffer yourself to be overcome in counsel, that you may the sooner overcome in battle." To this Camillus replies, that "whatever wars had been waged up to that day under his single auspices, in these that neither himself nor the Roman people had been dissatisfied either with his judgment or with his fortune; now he knew that he had a colleague, his equal in command and in authority, in vigour of age superior; with respect to the army, that he had been accustomed to rule, not to be ruled; with his colleague's authority he could not interfere. That he might do, with the favour of the gods, whatever he might deem to be to the interest of the state. That he would even solicit for his years the indulgence, that he might not be placed in the front line; that whatever duties in war an old man could discharge, in these he would not be deficient; that he prayed to the immortal gods, that no mischance might prove his plan to be the more advisable." Neither his salutary advice was listened to by men, nor such pious prayers by the gods. The adviser of the battle draws up the front line; Camillus forms the reserve, and posts a strong guard before the camp; he himself took his station on an elevated place as a spectator, anxiously watching the result of the other's plan.

## 24

As soon as the arms clashed at the first encounter, the enemy, from stratagem, not from fear, retreated. There was a gentle acclivity in their rear, between the army and their camp; and because they had sufficient numbers, they had left in the camp several strong cohorts, armed and ready for action, which were to rush forth, when the battle was now commenced, and when the enemy had approached the rampart. The Roman being drawn into disadvantageous ground by following the retreating enemy in disorder, became exposed to this sally. Terror therefore being turned on the victor, by reason of this new force, and the declivity of the valley, caused the Roman line to give way. The Volscians, who made the attack from the camp, being fresh, press on them; those also who had given way by a pretended flight, renew the fight. The Roman soldiers no longer recovered themselves; but unmindful of their recent presumption and former glory, were turning their backs in every direction, and with disorderly speed were making for their camp, when Camillus, being mounted on his horse by those around him, and

hastily opposing the reserved troops to them, "Is this," says he, "soldiers, the battle which ye called for? What man, what god is there, whom ye can blame? That was your rashness, this your cowardice. Having followed another leader, now follow Camillus; and as ye are accustomed to do under my leadership, conquer. Why do ye look to the rampart and camp? Not a man of you shall that camp receive, except as victor." Shame at first stopped their disorderly flight; then when they saw the standards wheel about, and a line formed to meet the enemy, and the general, besides being distinguished by so many triumphs, venerable also by his age, presented himself in front of the battalions, where the greatest toil and danger was, every one began to upbraid both himself and others, and mutual exhortation with a brisk shout pervaded the entire line. Nor was the other tribune deficient on the occasion. Being despatched to the cavalry by his colleague, who was restoring the line of the infantry, not by rebuking them, (for which task his share in their fault had rendered him an authority of little weight,) but from command turning entirely to entreaties, he besought them individually and collectively, "to redeem him from blame, who was answerable for the events of that day.

Notwithstanding the repugnance and dissuasion of my colleague, I gave myself a partner in the rashness of all rather than in the prudence of one. Camillus sees his own glory in your fortune, whatever it be; for my part, unless the battle is restored, I shall feel the result with you all, the infamy alone (which is most distressing)." It was deemed best that the horse should be transferred into the line whilst still unsteady, and that they should attack the enemy by fighting on foot. Distinguished by their arms and courage, they proceed in whatever direction they perceive the line of the infantry most pressed; nor among either the officers or soldiers is there any abatement observed from the utmost effort of courage. The result therefore felt the aid of the bravery exerted; and the Volscians being put to real flight in that direction in which they had lately retreated under pretended fear, great numbers were slain both in the battle itself, and afterwards in flight; the others in the camp, which was taken in the same onset: more, however, were captured than slain.

## 25

Where when, on taking an account of the prisoners, several Tusculans were recognised, being separated from the rest, they are brought to the tribunes; and they confessed to those who interrogated them, that they had taken up arms by the authority of the state. By the fear of which war so near home Camillus being alarmed, says that he would immediately carry the prisoners to Rome, that the senate might not be ignorant, that the Tusculans had revolted from the alliance; meanwhile his colleague, if he thought proper, should command the camp and army. One day had been a lesson to him not to prefer his own counsels to better. However neither himself, nor any person in the army, supposed that Camillus would pass over his misconduct without some angry feelings, by which the commonwealth had been brought into so perilous a situation; and both in the army and at Rome, the uniform account of all was, that, as matters had been conducted with varying success among the Volscians, the blame of the unsuccessful battle and of the flight lay with Lucius Furius, all the glory of the successful one was to be attributed to Camillus. The prisoners being brought into the senate, when the senate decreed that the Tusculans should be punished with war, and they intrusted the management of that war to Camillus, he requests one assistant for himself in that business, and being allowed to select which ever of his colleagues he pleased, contrary to the expectation of every one, he solicited Lucius Furius. By which moderation of feeling he both alleviated the disgrace of his colleague, and acquired great glory to himself. There was no war,

however, with the Tusculans. By firm adherence to peace they warded off the Roman violence, which they could not have done by arms. When the Romans entered their territories, no removals were made from the places adjoining to the road, the cultivation of the lands was not interrupted: the gates of the city lying open, they came forth in crowds clad in their gowns to meet the generals; provision for the army was brought with alacrity from the city and the lands. Camillus having pitched his camp before the gates, wishing to know whether the same appearance of peace, which was displayed in the country, prevailed also within the walls, entered the city, where he beheld the gates lying open, and every thing exposed to sale in the open shops, and the workmen engaged each on their respective employments, and the schools of learning buzzing with the voices of the scholars, and the streets filled amid the different kinds of people, with boys and women going different ways, whithersoever the occasions of their respective callings carried them; nothing in any quarter that bore any appearance of panic or even of surprise; he looked around at every object, attentively inquiring where the war had been. No trace was there of any thing having been removed, or brought forward for the occasion; so completely was every thing in a state of steady tranquil peace, so that it scarcely seemed that even the rumour of war could have reached them.

## 26

Overcome therefore by the submissive demeanour of the enemy, he ordered their senate to be called. "Tusculans," he says, "ye are the only persons who have yet found the true arms and the true strength, by which to protect your possessions from the resentment of the Romans. Proceed to Rome to the senate. The fathers will consider, whether you have merited more punishment for your former conduct, or forgiveness for your present. I shall not anticipate your gratitude for a favour to be conferred by the state. From me ye shall have the power of seeking pardon. The senate will grant to your entreaties such a result, as they shall consider meet." When the Tusculans came to Rome, and the senate [of a people], who were till a little before faithful allies, were seen with sorrowful countenances in the porch of the senate-house, the fathers, immediately moved [at the sight,] even then ordered them to be called in rather in a friendly than a hostile manner. The Tusculan dictator spoke as follows: "Conscript fathers, we against whom ye proclaimed and made war, just as you see us now standing in the porch of your house, so armed and so attired did we go forth to meet your generals and your legions. This was our habit, this the habit of our commons; and ever shall be, unless whenever we shall receive arms from you and defence of you. We return thanks to your generals and your troops for having trusted their eyes more than their ears; and for having committed nothing hostile, where none subsisted. The peace, which we observed, the same we solicit at your hands: we pray you, avert war to that quarter where, if any where, it subsists. What your arms may be able to effect on us, if after our submission we are to experience it, we will experience unarmed. This is our determination. May the immortal gods grant that it be as successful as it is dutiful! With respect to the charges, by which you were induced to declare war against us, though it is needless to refute by words what has been contradicted by facts; yet, admitting they were true, we think it safe for us to confess them, after having shown such evident marks of repentance. Admit then that we have offended against you, since ye deserve that such satisfaction be made to you." These were nearly the words used by the Tusculans. They obtained peace at the present, and not long after the freedom of the state also. The legions were withdrawn from Tusculum.

## 27

Camillus, distinguished by his prudence and bravery in the Volscian war, by his success in the Tusculan expedition, in both by his extraordinary moderation and forbearance towards his colleague, went out of office; the military tribunes for the following year being Lucius and Publius Valerius, Lucius a fifth, Publius a third time, and Caius Sergius a third time, Lucius Menenius a second time, Spurius Papirius, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis. The year required censors also, chiefly on account of the uncertain representations regarding the debt; the tribunes of the commons exaggerating the amount of it on account of the odium of the thing, whilst it was underrated by those whose interest it was that the difficulty of procuring payment should appear to depend rather on [the want of] integrity, than of ability in the debtors. The censors appointed were Caius Sulpicius Camerinus, Spurius Postumius Regillensis; and the matter having been commenced was interrupted by the death of Postumius, because it was not conformable to religion that a substitute should be colleague to a censor. Accordingly after Sulpicius had resigned his office, other censors having been appointed under some defect, they did not discharge the office; that a third set should be appointed was not allowed, as though the gods did not admit a censorship for that year. The tribunes denied that such mockery of the commons was to be tolerated; "that the senate were averse to the public tablets, the witnesses of each man's property, because they were unwilling that the amount of the debt should be seen, which would clearly show that one part of the state was depressed by the other; whilst in the mean time the commons, oppressed with debt, were exposed to one enemy after another. Wars were now sought out in every direction without distinction. Troops were marched from Antium to Satricum, from Satricum to Velitræ, and thence to Tusculum. The Latins, Hernicians, and the Prænestines were now threatened with hostilities, more through a hatred of their fellow-citizens than of the enemy, in order to wear out the commons under arms, and not suffer them to breathe in the city, or to reflect on their liberty at their leisure, or to stand in an assembly where they may hear a tribune's voice discussing concerning the reduction of interest and the termination of other grievances. But if the commons had a spirit mindful of the liberty of their fathers, that they would neither suffer any Roman citizen to be assigned to a creditor on account of debt, nor a levy to be held; until the debts being examined, and some method adopted for lessening them, each man should know what was his own, and what another's; whether his person was still free to him, or that also was due to the stocks." The price held out for sedition soon raised it: for both several were made over to creditors, and on account of the rumour of the Prænestine war, the senate decreed that new legions should be levied; both which measures began to be obstructed by tribunitian interposition and the combined efforts of the commons. For neither the tribunes suffered those consigned to their creditors to be thrown into prison, nor did the young men give in their names. While the senate felt less pressing anxiety about enforcing the laws regarding the lending of money than about the levy; for now it was announced that the enemy, having marched from Præneste, had encamped in the Gabinian territory; meanwhile this very report rather aroused the tribunes of the commons to the struggle commenced than deterred them; nor did any thing else suffice to allay the discontent in the city, but the approach of hostilities to the very walls.

## 28

For when the Prænestines had been informed that no army was levied at Rome, no general fixed on, that the senate and people were turned the one against the other; their leaders thinking that an opportunity presented itself, making a hasty march, and laying

waste the country as they went along, they advanced their standards as far as the Colline gate. The panic in the city was great. The alarm was given to take up arms; persons ran together to the walls and gates, and at length turning from sedition to war, they created Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator. He appointed Aulus Sempronius Atratinus his master of the horse. When this was heard, (such was the terror of that office,) the enemy retired from the walls, and the young Romans assembled to the edict without refusal. Whilst the army is being levied at Rome, in the mean time the enemy's camp is pitched not far from the river Allia: thence laying waste the land far and wide, they boasted one to the other that they had chosen a place fatal to the Roman city; that there would be a similar consternation and flight from thence as occurred in the Gallic war. For "if the Romans dread a day deemed inauspicious, and marked with the name of that place, how much more than the Allian day would they dread the Allia itself, the monument of so great a disaster. No doubt the fierce looks of the Gauls and the sound of their voices would recur to their eyes and ears." Turning over in mind those groundless notions of circumstances as groundless, they rested their hopes on the fortune of the place. On the other hand, the Romans [considered] that, "in whatever place a Latin enemy stood, they knew full well that they were the same whom, after having utterly defeated at the lake Regillus, they kept in peaceable subjection for one hundred years; that the place being distinguished by the memory of their defeat, would rather stimulate them to blot out the remembrance of their disgrace, than raise a fear that any land should be unfavourable to their success. Were even the Gauls themselves presented to them in that place, that they would fight just as they fought at Rome in recovering their country, as the day after at Gabii; then, when they took care, that no enemy, who had entered the walls of Rome, should carry home an account of their success or defeat."

## 29

With these feelings on either side they came to the Allia. The Roman dictator, when the enemy were in view drawn up and ready for action, says, "Aulus Sempronius, do you see that these men have taken their stand at the Allia, relying on the fortune of the place? nor have the immortal gods granted them any thing of surer confidence, or any more effectual support. But do you, relying on arms and on courage, make a brisk charge on the middle of their line; I will bear down on them when thrown into disorder and consternation with the legions. Ye gods, witnesses of the treaty, assist us, and exact the penalty, due for yourselves having been violated, and for us who have been deceived through the appeal made to your divinity." The Prænestines sustained not the attack of cavalry, or infantry; their ranks were broken at the first charge and shout. Then when their line maintained its ground in no quarter, they turn their backs; and being thrown into consternation and carried beyond their own camp by their panic, they stop not from their precipitate speed, until Præneste came in view. There, having been dispersed in consequence of their flight, they select a post for the purpose of fortifying it in a hasty manner; lest, if they betook themselves within the walls, the country should be burned forthwith, and when all places should be desolated, siege should be laid to the city. But when the victorious Romans approached, the camp at the Allia having been plundered, that fortress also was abandoned, and considering the walls scarcely secure, they shut themselves up within the town of Præneste. There were eight towns besides under the sway of the Prænestines. Hostilities were carried round to these also; and these being taken one after the other without much difficulty, the army was led to Velitræ. This also was taken by storm. They then came to Præneste, the main source of the war. That town was obtained, not by force, but by capitulation. Titus Quinctius, being once victorious in

a pitched battle, having taken also two camps belonging to the enemy, and nine towns by storm, and Præneste being obtained by surrender, returned to Rome: and in his triumph brought into the Capitol the statue of Jupiter Imperator, which he had conveyed from Præneste. It was dedicated between the recesses of Jupiter and Minerva, and a tablet fixed under it, as a monument of his exploits, was engraved with nearly these words: "Jupiter and all the gods granted, that Titus Quinctius, dictator, should take nine towns." On the twentieth day after the appointment he abdicated the dictatorship.

### 30

An election was then held of military tribunes with consular power; in which the number of patricians and plebeians was equal. From the patricians were elected Publius and Caius Manlius, with Lucius Julius; the commons gave Caius Sextilius, Marcus Albinus, and Lucius Antistius. To the Manlii, because they had the advantage of the plebeians in family station, and of Julius in interest, the province of the Volscians was assigned out of the ordinary course, without lots, or mutual arrangement; of which circumstance both themselves and the patricians who conferred it afterwards repented. Without any previous reconnoitre they sent out some cohorts to forage. It having been falsely reported to them that these were ensnared, whilst they march in great haste, in order to support them, without even retaining the author [of the report] who had deceived them, he being a Latin enemy instead of a Roman soldier, they themselves fell into an ambuscade. There, whilst they suffer and commit great havoc, making resistance on disadvantageous ground solely by the valour of the soldiers, the enemy in the mean time in another quarter attacked the Roman camp which was situate on a plain. By their temerity and want of skill, matters were brought into jeopardy in both places by the generals. Whatever portion [of the army] was saved, the good fortune of the Roman people, and the steady valour of the soldiers, even without a director, protected. When an account of these events was brought to Rome, it was at first agreeable to them that a dictator should be appointed; then when intelligence was received from the Volscian country that matters were quiet, and it appeared manifest that they knew not how to take advantage of victory and of opportunity, the army and generals were recalled from thence also; and there was quiet from that quarter, as far as regarded the Volscians. The only disturbance there was towards the end of the year was, that the Prænestines, having stirred up some of the states of the Latins, renewed hostilities. During the same year new colonists were enrolled for Setia, the colony itself complaining of the paucity of men. Domestic tranquillity, which the influence of the plebeian military tribunes and the respect shown to them among their own party procured, was a consolation for the want of success in war.

### 31

The commencement of the following year blazed forth with violent sedition, the military tribunes with consular power being Spurius Furius, Quintus Servilius a second time, Caius Licinius, Publius Clœlius, Marcus Horatius, Lucius Geganius. The debt was both the ground-work and cause of the disturbance: for the purpose of ascertaining which Spurius Servilius Priscus and Quintus Clœlius Siculus, being appointed censors, were prevented by war from proceeding in the business. For alarming news at first, then the flight [of the country people] from the lands, brought intelligence that the legions of the Volscians had entered the borders, and were laying waste the Roman land in every direction. In which alarm, so far was the fear of the foreign enemy from putting a check to the domestic feuds, that on the contrary the tribunitian power became even more

vehement in obstructing the levy; until these conditions were imposed on the patricians, that no one was to pay tribute as long as the war lasted, nor issue any judicial process respecting money due. This relaxation being obtained for the commons, there was no delay with respect to the levy. New legions being enlisted, it was resolved that two armies should be led into the Volscian territory, the legions being divided. Spurius Furius and Marcus Horatius proceed to the right, towards the sea-coast and Antium; Quintus Servilius and Lucius Geganius to the left, to Ecetra towards the mountains. On neither side did the enemy meet them. Devastation was therefore committed, not similar to that straggling kind which the Volscian had practised by snatches under the influence of trepidation after the manner of a banditti, relying on the dissensions among the enemy and dreading their valour; but committed with the full meed of their resentment by a regular army, more severe also by reason of their continuance. For the incursions had been made by the Volscians on the skirts of the borders, as they were afraid lest an army might in the mean time come forth from Rome: the Romans, on the contrary, had a motive for tarrying in the enemy's country, in order to entice them to an engagement. All the houses therefore on the lands, and some villages also, being burnt down, not a fruit-tree nor the seed being left for the hope of a harvest, all the booty both of men and cattle, which was outside the walls, being driven off, the troops were led back from both quarters to Rome.

### 32

A short interval having been granted to the debtors to recover breath, when matters became perfectly quiet with respect to the enemy, legal proceedings began to be instituted anew; and so remote was all hope of relieving the former debt, that a new one was now contracted by a tax for building a wall of hewn stone bargained for by the censors: to which burden the commons were obliged to submit, because the tribunes of the commons had no levy which they could obstruct. Forced by the influence of the nobles, they elected all the military tribunes from among the patricians, Lucius Æmilius, Publius Valerius a fourth time, Caius Veturius, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius and Caius Quinctius Cincinnatus. By the same influence they succeeded in raising three armies against the Latins and Volscians, who with combined forces were encamped at Satricum, all the juniors being bound by the military oath without any opposition; one army for the protection of the city; the other to be sent for the sudden emergencies of war, if any disturbance should arise elsewhere. The third, and by far the most powerful, Publius Valerius and Lucius Æmilius led to Satricum. Where when they found the enemy's line of battle drawn up on level ground, they immediately engaged; and before the victory was sufficiently declared, the battle, which held out fair hopes of success, was put a stop to by rain accompanied by a violent storm of wind. On the following day the battle was renewed; and for a considerable time the Latin troops particularly, who had learned the Roman discipline during the long confederacy, stood their ground with equal bravery and success. A charge of cavalry broke their ranks; when thus confused, the infantry advanced upon them; and as much as the Roman line advanced, so much were the enemy dislodged from their ground; and when once the battle gave way, the Roman prowess became irresistible. When the enemy being routed made for Satricum, which was two miles distant, not for their camp, they were cut down chiefly by the cavalry; their camp was taken and plundered. The night succeeding the battle, they betake themselves to Antium in a march resembling a flight; and though the Roman army followed them almost in their steps, fear however possessed more swiftness than anger. Wherefore the enemy entered the walls before the Roman could annoy or impede

their rear. After that several days were spent in laying waste the country, as the Romans were neither supplied with military engines to attack walls, nor the others to hazard the chance of a battle.

### 33

At this time a dissension arose between the Antians and the Latins; when the Antians, overcome by misfortunes and reduced by a war, in which they had both been born and had grown old, began to think of a surrender; whilst their recent revolt after a long peace, their spirits being still fresh, rendered the Latins more determined to persevere in the war. There was an end to the contest, when it became evident to both parties that neither would stand in the way of the other so as to prevent them from following out their own views. The Latins by departing redeemed themselves from a share in what they deemed a dishonourable peace. The Antians, on the removal of those who by their presence impeded their salutary counsels, surrender their city and lands to the Romans. The resentment and rage of the Latins, because they were neither able to damage the Romans in war, nor to retain the Volscians in arms, vented itself in setting fire to the city of Satricum, which had been their first place of retreat after their defeat; nor did any other building in that city remain, since they cast firebrands indiscriminately into those sacred and profane, except the temple of Mother Matuta. From that neither the sanctity of the building itself, nor respect for the gods, is said to have restrained them, but an awful voice, emitted from the temple with threats of dismal vengeance, unless they removed their abominable fires to a distance from the temples. Fired with this rage, their impetuosity carried them on to Tusculum, under the influence of resentment, because, having abandoned the general association of the Latins, they joined themselves not only in alliance with the Romans, but also as members of their state. As they unexpectedly rushed in at the gates, which were lying open, the town, except the citadel, was taken at the first shout. The townsmen with their wives and children took refuge in the citadel, and sent messengers to Rome, to inform the senate of their situation. An army was led to Tusculum with no less expedition than was worthy of the honour of the Roman people. Lucius Quinctius and Servius Sulpicius, military tribunes, commanded it. They beheld the gates of Tusculum shut, and the Latins, with the feelings of besiegers and besieged, on the one side defending the walls of Tusculum, on the other hand attacking the citadel; they struck terror and felt it at the same time. The arrival of the Romans produced a change in the minds of both parties: it turned the Tusculans from great alarm into the utmost alacrity, and the Latins from almost assured confidence of soon taking the citadel, as they were masters of the town, to very slender hope of even their own safety. A shout is raised by the Tusculans from the citadel; it is answered by a much louder one from the Roman army. The Latins are hard pressed on both sides: they neither withstand the force of the Tusculans pouring down on them from the higher ground; nor are they able to repel the Romans advancing up to the walls, and forcing the bars of the gates. The walls were first taken by scalade; the gates were then broken open; and when the two enemies pressed them both in front and in the rear, nor did there remain any strength for fight, nor any room for running away, between both they were all cut to pieces to a man. Tusculum being recovered from the enemy, the army was led back to Rome.

### 34

In proportion as all matters were more tranquil abroad in consequence of their successes in war this year, so much did the violence of the patricians and the distresses

of the commons in the city increase every day; as the ability to pay was prevented by the very fact that it was necessary to pay. Accordingly, when nothing could now be paid out of their property, being cast in suits and assigned over to custody, they satisfied their creditors by their character and persons, and punishment was substituted for payment. Wherefore not only the lowest, but even the leading men in the commons had sunk so low in spirit, that no enterprising and adventurous man had courage, not only to stand for the military tribuneship among the patricians, (for which privilege they had strained all their energies,) but not even to take on them and sue for plebeian magistracies: and the patricians seemed to have for ever recovered the possession of an honour that had been only usurped by the commons for a few years. A trifling cause, as generally happens, which had the effect of producing a mighty result, intervened to prevent the other party from exulting too much in that. Two daughters of Marcus Fabius Ambustus, an influential man, both among persons of his own station, and also with the commons, because he was by no means considered a despiser of persons of that order, had been married, the elder to Servius Sulpicius, the younger to Caius Licinius Stolo, a distinguished person, but still a plebeian; and the fact of such an alliance not having been scorned, had gained influence for Fabius with the people. It so happened, that when the two sisters, the Fabiæ, were passing away the time in conversation in the house of Servius Sulpicius, military tribune, a lictor of Sulpicius, when he returned home from the forum, rapped at the door, as is usual, with the rod. When the younger Fabia, a stranger to this custom, was frightened at it, she was laughed at by her sister, who was surprised at her sister not knowing the matter. That laugh, however, gave a sting to the female mind, sensitive as it is to mere trifles. From the number of persons attending on her, and asking her commands, her sister's match, I suppose, appeared to her to be a fortunate one, and she repined at her own, according to that erroneous feeling, by which every one is most annoyed at being outstripped by those nearest to him. When her father happened to see her disappointed after the recent mortification, by kindly inquiring he prevailed on her, who was dissembling the cause of her annoyance, (as being neither affectionate with respect to her sister, nor respectful towards her husband,) to confess, that the cause of her chagrin was, that she had been united to an inferior, and married into a house which neither honour nor influence could enter. Ambustus then, consoling his daughter, bid her keep up good spirits; that she should soon see the same honours at her own house, which she now sees at her sister's. Upon this he began to draw up his plans with his son-in-law, having attached to himself Lucius Sextius, an enterprising young man, and one to whose hope nothing was wanting but patrician descent.

### 35

There appeared a favourable opportunity for making innovations on account of the immense load of debt, no alleviation of which evil the commons could hope for unless their own party were placed in the highest authority. To [bring about] that object [they saw] that they should exert themselves. That the plebeians, by endeavouring and persevering, had already gained a step towards it, whence, if they struggled forward, they might reach the summit, and be on a level with the patricians, in honour as well as in merit. For the present it was resolved that plebeian tribunes should be created, in which office they might open for themselves a way to other honours. And Caius Licinius and Lucius Sextius, being elected tribunes, proposed laws all against the power of the patricians, and for the interests of the commons: one regarding the debt, that, whatever had been paid in interest being deducted from the principal, the remainder should be

paid off in three years by equal instalments; the other concerning the limitation of land, that no one should possess more than five hundred acres of land; a third, that there should be no election of military tribunes, and that one at least of the consuls should be elected from the commons; all matters of great importance, and such as could not be attained without the greatest struggles. A contest therefore for all those objects, of which there is ever an inordinate desire among men, viz. land, money, and honours, being now proposed, the patricians became terrified and dismayed, and finding no other remedy in their public and private consultations except the protest, which had been tried in many previous contests, they gained over their colleagues to oppose the bills of the tribunes. When they saw the tribes summoned by Licinius and Sextius to announce their votes, surrounded by bands of patricians, they neither suffered the bills to be read, nor any other usual form for taking the votes of the commons to be gone through. And now assemblies being frequently convened to no purpose, when the propositions were now considered as rejected; "It is very well," says Sextius; "since it is determined that a protest should possess so much power, by that same weapon will we protect the people. Come, patricians, proclaim an assembly for the election of military tribunes; I will take care that that word, I forbid it, which you listen to our colleagues chaunting with so much pleasure, shall not be very delightful to you." Nor did the threats fall ineffectual: no elections were held, except those of ædiles and plebeian tribunes. Licinius and Sextius, being re-elected plebeian tribunes, suffered not any curule magistrates to be appointed, and this total absence of magistrates continued in the city for the space of five years, the people re-electing the two tribunes, and these preventing the election of military tribunes.

### 36

There was an opportune cessation of other wars: the colonists of Velitræ, becoming wanton through ease, because there was no Roman army, made repeated incursions on the Roman territory, and set about laying siege to Tusculum. This circumstance, the Tusculans, old allies, new fellow-citizens, imploring aid, moved not only the patricians, but the commons also, chiefly with a sense of honour. The tribunes of the commons relaxing their opposition, the elections were held by the interrex; and Lucius Furius, Aulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, Servius Cornelius, Publius and Caius Valerius, found the commons by no means so complying in the levy as in the elections; and an army having been raised amid great contention, they set out, and not only dislodged the enemy from Tusculum, but shut them up even within their own walls. Velitræ began to be besieged by a much greater force than that with which Tusculum had been besieged; nor still could it be taken by those by whom the siege had been commenced. The new military tribunes were elected first: Quintus Servilius, Caius Veturius, Aulus and Marcus Cornelius, Quintus Quinctius, Marcus Fabius. Nothing worthy of mention was performed even by these at Velitræ. Matters were involved in greater peril at home: for besides Sextius and Licinius, the proposers of the laws, re-elected tribunes of the commons now for the eighth time, Fabius also, military tribune, father-in-law of Stolo, avowed himself the unhesitating supporter of those laws of which he had been the adviser. And whereas, there had been at first eight of the college of the plebeian tribunes protesters against the laws, there were now only five: and (as is usual with men who leave their own party) dismayed and astounded, they in words borrowed from others, urged as a reason for their protest, that which had been taught them at home; "that a great number of the commons were absent with the army at Velitræ; that the assembly ought to be deferred till the coming of the soldiers, that the entire body of the commons might give

their vote concerning their own interests." Sextius and Licinius with some of their colleagues, and Fabius one of the military tribunes, well-versed now by an experience of many years in managing the minds of the commons, having brought forward the leading men of the patricians, teased them by interrogating them on each of the subjects which were about to be brought before the people: "would they dare to demand, that when two acres of land a head were distributed among the plebeians, they themselves should be allowed to have more than five hundred acres? that a single man should possess the share of nearly three hundred citizens; whilst his portion of land scarcely extended for the plebeian to a stinted habitation and a place of burial? Was it their wish that the commons, surrounded with usury, should surrender their persons to the stocks and to punishment, rather than pay off their debt by [discharging] the principal; and that persons should be daily led off from the forum in flocks, after being assigned to their creditors, and that the houses of the nobility should be filled with prisoners? and that wherever a patrician dwelt, there should be a private prison?"

### 37

When they had uttered these statements, exasperating and pitiable in the recital, before persons alarmed for themselves, exciting greater indignation in the hearers than was felt by themselves, they affirmed "that there never would be any other limit to their occupying the lands, or to their butchering the commons by usury, unless the commons were to elect one consul from among the plebeians, as a guardian of their liberty. That the tribunes of the commons were now despised, as being an office which breaks down its own power by the privilege of protest. That there could be no equality of right, where the dominion was in the hands of the one party, assistance only in that of the other. Unless the authority were shared, the commons would never enjoy an equal share in the commonwealth; nor was there any reason why any one should think it enough that plebeians were taken into account at the consular elections; unless it were made indispensable that one consul at least should be from the commons, no one would be elected. Or had they already forgotten, that when it had been determined that military tribunes should be elected rather than consuls, for this reason, that the highest honours should be opened to plebeians also, no one out of the commons was elected military tribune for forty-four years? How could they suppose, that they would voluntarily confer, when there are but two places, a share of the honour on the commons, who at the election of military tribunes used to monopolize the eight places? and that they would suffer a way to be opened to the consulship, who kept the tribuneship so long a time fenced up? That they must obtain by a law, what could not be obtained by influence at elections; and that one consulate must be set apart out of the way of contest, to which the commons may have access; since when left open to dispute it is sure ever to become the prize of the more powerful. Nor can that now be alleged, which they used formerly to boast of, that there were not among the plebeians qualified persons for curule magistracies. For, was the government conducted with less activity and less vigour, since the tribunate of Publius Licinius Calvus, who was the first plebeian elected to that office, than it was conducted during those years when no one but patricians was a military tribune? Nay, on the contrary, several patricians had been condemned after their tribuneship, no plebeian. Quæstors also, as military tribunes, began to be elected from the commons a few years before; nor had the Roman people been dissatisfied with any one of them. The consulate still remained for the attainment of the plebeians; that it was the bulwark, the prop of their liberty. If they should attain that, then that the Roman people would consider that kings were really expelled from the city, and their

liberty firmly established. For from that day that every thing in which the patricians surpassed them, would flow in on the commons, power and honour, military glory, birth, nobility, valuable at present for their own enjoyment, sure to be left still more valuable to their children." When they saw such discourses favourably listened to, they publish a new proposition; that instead of two commissioners for performing religious rites, ten should be appointed; so that one half should be elected out of the commons, the other half from the patricians; and they deferred the meeting [for the discussion] of all those propositions, till the coming of that army which was besieging Velitræ.

### 38

The year was completed before the legions were brought back from Velitræ. Thus the question regarding the laws was suspended and deferred for the new military tribunes; for the commons re-elected the same two plebeian tribunes, because they were the proposers of the laws. Titus Quinctius, Servius Cornelius, Servius Sulpicius, Spurius Servilius, Lucius Papirius, Lucius Valerius, were elected military tribunes. Immediately at the commencement of the year the question about the laws was pushed to the extreme of contention; and when the tribes were called, nor did the protest of their colleagues prevent the proposers of the laws, the patricians being alarmed have recourse to their two last aids, to the highest authority and the highest citizen. It is resolved that a dictator be appointed: Marcus Furius Camillus is appointed, who nominates Lucius Æmilius his master of the horse. To meet so powerful a measure of their opponents, the proposers of the laws also set forth the people's cause with great determination of mind, and having convened an assembly of the people, they summon the tribes to vote. When the dictator took his seat, accompanied by a band of patricians, full of anger and of threats, and the business was going on at first with the usual contention of the plebeian tribunes, some proposing the law and others protesting against it, and though the protest was more powerful by right, still it was overpowered by the popularity of the laws themselves and of their proposers, and when the first tribes pronounced, "Be it as you propose," then Camillus says, "Since, Romans, tribunitian extravagance, not authority, sways you now, and ye are rendering the right of protest, acquired formerly by a secession of the commons, totally unavailing by the same violent conduct by which you acquired it, I, as dictator, will support the right of protest, not more for the interest of the whole commonwealth than for your sake; and by my authority I will defend your rights of protection, which have been overturned. Wherefore if Caius Licinius and Lucius Sextius give way to the protest of their colleagues, I shall not introduce a patrician magistrate into an assembly of the commons. If, in opposition to the right of protest, they will strive to saddle laws on the state as though captive, I will not suffer the tribunitian power to be destroyed by itself." When the plebeian tribunes still persisted in the matter with unabated energy and contemptuously, Camillus, being highly provoked, sent his lictors to disperse the commons; and added threats, that if they persisted he would bind down the younger men by the military oath, and would forthwith lead an army out of the city. He struck great terror into the people; by the opposition he rather inflamed than lessened the spirits of their leaders. But the matter inclining neither way, he abdicated his dictatorship, either because he had been appointed with some informality, as some have stated; or because the tribunes of the people proposed to the commons, and the commons passed it, that if Marcus Furius did any thing as dictator, he should be fined five hundred thousand asses. But both the disposition of the man himself, and the fact that Publius Manlius was immediately substituted as dictator for him, incline me to

believe, that he was deterred rather by some defect in the auspices than by this unprecedented order. What could be the use of appointing him (Manlius) to manage a contest in which Camillus had been defeated? and because the following year had the same Marcus Furius dictator, who certainly would not without shame have resumed an authority which but the year before had been worsted in his hands; at the same time, because at the time when the motion about fining him is said to have been published, he could either resist this order, by which he saw himself degraded, or he could not have obstructed those others on account of which this was introduced, and throughout the whole series of disputes regarding the tribunitian and consular authority, even down to our own memory, the pre-eminence of the dictatorship was always decided.

### 39

Between the abdication of the former dictatorship and the new one entered on by Manlius, an assembly of the commons being held by the tribunes, as if it were an interregnum, it became evident which of the laws proposed were more grateful to the commons, which to the proposers. For they passed the bills regarding the interest and the land, rejected the one regarding the plebeian consulate. And both decisions would have been carried into effect, had not the tribunes declared that they consulted the people on all the laws collectively. Publius Manlius, dictator, then inclined the advantage to the side of the people, by naming Caius Licinius from the commons, who had been military tribune, as master of the horse. The patricians, I understand, were much displeased at this nomination, but the dictator used to excuse himself to the senate, alleging the near relationship between him and Licinius; at the same time denying that the authority of master of the horse was higher than that of consular tribune. When the elections for the appointment of plebeian tribunes were declared, Licinius and Sextius so conducted themselves, that by denying that they any longer desired a continuation of the honour, they most powerfully stimulated the commons to effectuate that which they were anxious for notwithstanding their dissimulation. "That they were now standing the ninth year as it were in battle-array against the patricians, with the greatest danger to their private interests, without any benefit to the public. That the measures published, and the entire strength of the tribunitian authority, had grown old with them; the attack was made on their propositions, first by the protest of their colleagues, then by banishing their youth to the war at Velitræ; at length the dictatorial thunder was levelled against them. That now neither colleagues, nor war, nor dictator stood in their way; as being a man, who by nominating a plebeian as master of the horse, has even given an omen for a plebeian consul. That the commons retarded themselves and their interests. They could, if they liked, have the city and forum free from creditors, their lands immediately free from unjust possessors. Which kindnesses, when would they ever estimate them with sufficiently grateful feelings, if, whilst receiving the measures respecting their own interests, they cut away from the authors of them all hopes of distinction? That it was not becoming the modesty of the Roman people to require that they themselves be eased from usury, and be put in possession of the land unjustly occupied by the great, whilst they leave those persons through whom they attained these advantages, become old tribunitians, not only without honour, but even without the hope of honour. Wherefore they should first determine in their minds what choice they would make, then declare that choice at the tribunitian elections. If they wished that the measures published by them should be passed collectively, there was some reason for re-electing the same tribunes; for they would carry into effect what they published. But if they wished that only to be entertained which may be necessary

for each in private, there was no occasion for the invidious continuation of honour; that they would neither have the tribuneship, nor the people those matters which were proposed."

#### 40

In reply to such peremptory language of the tribunes, when amazement at the insolence of their conduct and silence struck all the rest of the patricians motionless, Appius Claudius Crassus, the grandson of the decemvir, is said to have stepped forward to refute their arguments, [urged on] more by hatred and anger than by hope [of succeeding], and to have spoken nearly to this effect: "Romans, to me it would be neither new nor surprising, if I too on the present occasion were to hear that one charge, which has ever been advanced against our family by turbulent tribunes, that even from the beginning nothing in the state has been of more importance to the Claudian family than the dignity of the patricians; that they have ever resisted the interests of the commons. Of which charges I neither deny nor object to the one, that we, since we have been admitted into the state and the patricians, have strenuously done our utmost, that the dignity of those families, among which ye were pleased that we should be, might be truly said rather to have been increased than diminished. With respect to the other, in my own defence and that of my ancestors, I would venture to maintain, Romans, (unless any one may consider those things, which may be done for the general good of the state, were injurious to the commons as if inhabitants of another city,) that we, neither in our private nor in our official capacity, ever knowingly did any thing which was intended to be detrimental to the commons; and that no act nor word of ours can be mentioned with truth contrary to your interest (though some may have been contrary to your inclinations). Even though I were not of the Claudian family, nor descended from patrician blood, but an ordinary individual of the Roman citizens, who merely felt that I was descended from free-born parents, and that I lived in a free state, could I be silent on this matter: that Lucius Sextius and Caius Licinius, perpetual tribunes, forsooth, have assumed such a stock of arrogance during the nine years in which they have reigned, as to refuse to allow you the free exercise of your suffrage either at the elections or in enacting laws. On a certain condition, one of them says, ye shall re-elect us tribunes for the tenth time. What else is it, but saying, what others sue for, we disdain so thoroughly, that without some consideration we will not accept it? But in the name of goodness, what is that consideration, for which we may always have you tribunes of the commons? that ye admit collectively all our measures, whether they please or displease, are profitable or unprofitable. I beg you, Tarquinius, tribunes of the commons, suppose that I, an individual citizen, should call out in reply from the middle of the assembly, With your good leave be it permitted us to select out of these measures those which we deem to be beneficial to us; to reject the others. It will not be permitted, he says. Must you enact concerning the interest of money and the lands, that which tends to the interest of you all; and must not this prodigy take place in the city of Rome, that of seeing Lucius Sextius and this Caius Licinius consuls, a thing which you loathe and abominate? Either admit all; or I propose none. Just as if any one were to place poison and food together before any one who was oppressed with famine, and order him either to abstain from that which would sustain life, or to mix with it that which would cause death. Wherefore, if this state were free, would they not all in full assembly have replied to you, Begone hence with your tribuneships and your propositions? What? if you will not propose that which it is the interest of the people to accept, will there be no one who will propose it? If any patrician, if (what they desire to be still more

invidious) any Claudius should say, Either accept all, or I propose nothing; which of you, Romans, would bear it? Will ye never look at facts rather than persons? but always listen with partial ears to every thing which that officer will say, and with prejudiced ears to what may be said by any of us? But, by Jove, their language is by no means becoming members of a republic. What! what sort is the measure, which they are indignant at its having been rejected by you? very like their language, Romans. I ask, he says, that it may not be lawful for you to elect, as consuls, such persons as ye may wish. Does he require any thing else, who orders that one consul at least be elected from the commons; nor does he grant you the power of electing two patricians? If there were wars at the present day, such as the Etrurian for instance, when Porsenna took the Janiculum, such as the Gallic war lately, when, except the Capitol and citadel, all these places were in possession of the enemy; and should Lucius Sextius stand candidate for the consulate with Marcus Furius or any other of the patricians: could ye endure that Sextius should be consul without any risk; that Camillus should run the risk of a repulse? Is this allowing a community of honours, that it should be lawful that two plebeians, and not lawful that two patricians, be made consuls, and that it should be necessary that one be elected from among the commons, and lawful to pass by both of the patricians? what fellowship, what confederacy is that? Is it not sufficient, if you come in for a share of that in which you had no share hitherto, unless whilst suing for a part you seize on the whole? I fear, he says, lest, if it be lawful that two patricians are to be elected, ye will elect no plebeian. What else is this but saying, Because ye will not of your own choice elect unworthy persons, I will impose on you the necessity of electing persons whom you do not wish? What follows, but that if one plebeian stand candidate with two patricians, he owes no obligation to the people, and may say that he was appointed by the law, not by suffrages?

#### 41

"How they may extort, not how they may sue for honours, is what they seek: and they are anxious to attain the highest honour, so that they may not owe the obligations incurred even for the lowest; and they prefer to sue for honours rather through favourable conjunctures than by merit. Is there any one who can feel it an affront to have himself inspected and estimated; who thinks it reasonable that to himself alone, amidst struggling competitors, honours should be certain? who would withdraw himself from your judgment? who would make your suffrages necessary instead of voluntary; servile instead of free? I omit mention of Licinius and Sextius, whose years of perpetuated power ye number, as that of the kings in the Capitol; who is there this day in the state so mean, to whom the road to the consulate is not rendered easier through the advantages of that law, than to us and to our children? inasmuch as you will sometimes not be able to elect us even though you may wish it; those persons you must elect, even though you were unwilling. Of the insult offered to merit enough has been said (for merit appertains to human beings); what shall I say respecting religion and the auspices, which is contempt and injustice relating exclusively to the immortal gods? Who is there who does not know that this city was built by auspices, that all things are conducted by auspices during war and peace, at home and abroad? In whom therefore are the auspices vested according to the usage of our forefathers? In the patricians, no doubt; for no plebeian magistrate is ever elected by auspices. So peculiar to us are the auspices, that not only do the people elect in no other manner, save by auspices, the patrician magistrates whom they do elect, but even we ourselves, without the suffrages of the people, appoint the interrex by auspices, and in our private station we hold those

auspices, which they do not hold even in office. What else then does he do, than abolish auspices out of the state, who, by creating plebeian consuls, takes them away from the patricians who alone can hold them? They may now mock at religion. For what else is it, if the chickens do not feed? if they come out too slowly from the coop? if a bird chaunt an unfavourable note? These are trifling: but by not despising these trifling matters, our ancestors have raised this state to the highest eminence. Now, as if we had no need of the favour of the gods, we violate all religious ceremonies. Wherefore let pontiffs, augurs, kings of the sacrifices be appointed at random. Let us place the tiara of Jupiter's flamen on any person, provided he be a man. Let us hand over the ancilia, the shrines, the gods, and the charge of the worship of the gods, to those to whom it is impious to commit them. Let not laws be enacted, nor magistrates elected under auspices. Let not the senate give their approbation, either to the assemblies of the centuries or of the Curiaë. Let Sextius and Licinius, like Romulus and Tattius, reign in the city of Rome, because they give away as donations other persons' money and lands. So great is the charm of plundering the possessions of other persons: nor does it occur to you that by the one law vast wilds are produced throughout the lands by expelling the proprietors from their territories; by the other credit is destroyed, along with which all human society ceases to exist. For every reason, I consider that those propositions ought to be rejected by you. Whatever ye may do, I pray the gods to render it successful."

#### 42

The speech of Appius merely had this effect, that the time for passing the propositions was deferred. The same tribunes, Sextius and Licinius, being re-elected for the tenth time, succeeded in passing a law, that of the decemvirs for religious matters, one half should be elected from the commons. Five patricians were elected, and five out of the plebeians; and by that step the way appeared opened to the consulship. The commons, content with this victory, yielded to the patricians, that, all mention of consuls being omitted for the present, military tribunes should be elected. Those elected were, Aulus and Marcus Cornelius a second time, Marcus Geganius, Publius Manlius, Lucius Veturius, and Publius Valerius a sixth time. When, except the siege of Velitræ, a matter rather of a slow than dubious result, there was no disquiet from foreign concerns among the Romans; the sudden rumour of a Gallic war being brought, influenced the state to appoint Marcus Furius dictator for the fifth time. He named Titus Quinctius Pennus master of the horse. Claudius asserts that a battle was fought that year with the Gauls, on the banks of the Anio; and that then the famous battle was fought on the bridge, in which Titus Manlius, engaging with a Gaul by whom he had been challenged, slew him in the sight of the two armies and despoiled him of his chain. But I am induced by the authority of several writers to believe that those things happened not less than ten years later; but that in this year a pitched battle was fought with the Gauls by the dictator, Marcus Furius, in the territory of Alba. The victory was neither doubtful nor difficult to the Romans, though from the recollection of the former defeat the Gauls had diffused great terror. Many thousands of the barbarians were slain in the field, and great numbers in the storming of the camp. The rest dispersing, making chiefly for Apulia, saved themselves from the enemy, both by continuing their flight to a great distance, as also because panic and terror had scattered them very widely. A triumph was decreed to the dictator with the concurrence of the senate and commons. Scarcely had he as yet finished the war, when a more violent disturbance awaited him at home; and by great struggles the dictator and the senate were overpowered, so that the measures of the tribunes were admitted; and the elections of the consuls were held in spite of the

resistance of the nobility, at which Lucius Sextius was made consul, the first of plebeian rank. And not even was that an end of the contests. Because the patricians refused to give their approbation, the affair came very near a secession of the people, and other terrible threats of civil contests: when, however, the dissensions were accommodated on certain terms through the interference of the dictator; and concessions to the commons were made by the nobility regarding the plebeian consul; by the commons to the nobility, with respect to one prætor to be elected out of the patricians, to administer justice in the city. The different orders being at length restored to concord after their long-continued animosity, when the senate were of opinion that for the sake of the immortal gods they would readily do a thing deserving, and that justly, if ever on any occasion before, that the most magnificent games should be performed, and that one day should be added to the three; the plebeian ædiles refusing the office, the young patricians cried out with one accord, that they, for the purpose of paying honour to the immortal gods, would readily undertake the task, so that they were appointed ædiles. And when thanks were returned to them by all, a decree of the senate passed, that the dictator should ask of the people two persons as ædiles from among the patricians; that the senate should give their approbation to all the elections of that year.

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## Book VII

*Two magistrates were added, the prætorship and curule ædileship. A pestilence rages in the city, which carries off the celebrated Furius Camillus. Scenic representations first introduced. Curtius leaps on horseback completely armed into a gulf in the forum. Titus Manlius, having slain a Gaul in single combat, who challenged any of the Roman soldiers, takes from him a golden chain, and hence gets the name of Torquatus. Two new tribes are added, called the Pomptine and Publilian. Licinius Stolo is condemned on a law which he himself had carried, for possessing more than five hundred acres of land. Marcus Valerius, surnamed Corvinus, from having with the aid of a crow killed a Gaul, who challenged him, is on the following year elected consul, though but twenty-three years old. A treaty of friendship made with the Carthaginians. The Campanians, overpowered by the Samnites, surrender themselves to the Roman people, who declare war against the Samnites. P. Decius Mus saves the Roman army, when brought into very great danger by the consul A. Cornelius. Conspiracy and revolt of the Roman soldiers in the garrison of Capua. They are brought to a sense of duty, and restored to their country, by Marcus Valerius Corvus, dictator. Successful operations against the Hernicians, Gauls, Tiburtians, Privernians, Tarquinians, Samnites, and Volscians.*

### 1

This year will be remarkable for the consulship of a man of mean birth, remarkable for two new magistracies, the prætorship and curule ædileship. These honours the patricians claimed to themselves, in consideration of one consulship having been conceded to the plebeians. The commons gave the consulship to Lucius Sextius, by whose law it had been obtained. The patricians by their popular influence obtained the prætorship for Spurius Furius Camillus, the son of Marcus, the ædileship for Cneius Quinctius Capitolinus and Publius Cornelius Scipio, men of their own rank. To Lucius Sextius, the patrician colleague assigned was Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus. In the beginning of the year mention was made both of the Gauls, who, after having strayed about through Apulia, it was now rumoured were forming into a body; and also concerning a revolt of the Hernicians. When all business was purposely deferred, so that nothing should be transacted through means of the plebeian consul, silence was observed on all matters, and a state of inaction like to a justitium; except that, the tribunes not suffering it to pass unnoticed that the nobility had arrogated to themselves three patrician magistracies as a compensation for one plebeian consul, sitting in curule chairs, clad in the prætexta like consuls; the prætor, too, administering justice, and as if colleague to the consuls, and elected under the same auspices, the senate were in consequence made ashamed to order the curule ædiles to be elected from among the patricians. It was at first agreed, that they should be elected from the commons every second year: afterwards the matter was left open. Then, in the consulate of Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius, affairs being tranquil both at home and abroad, that they might at no period be exempt from fear and danger, a great pestilence arose. They say that a prætor, a curule ædile, and three plebeian tribunes died of it, and that several other deaths took place in proportion among the populace; and that pestilence was made memorable chiefly by the death of Marcus Furius, which, though occurring at an advanced age, was still much lamented. For he was a truly extraordinary man under every change of fortune; the first man in the state in peace and war, before he went into

exile; still more illustrious in exile, whether by the regret felt for him by the state, which, when in captivity, implored his aid when absent; or by the success with which, when restored to his country, he restored that country along with himself. For five and twenty years afterwards (for so many years afterwards did he live) he uniformly preserved his claims to such great glory, and was deemed deserving of their considering him, next after Romulus, a second founder of the city of Rome.

## 2

The pestilence continued both for this and the following year, Caius Sulpicius Peticus and Caius Licinius Stolo being consuls. During that year nothing worth recording took place, except that for the purpose of imploring the favour of the gods, there was a Lectisternium, the third time since the building of the city. And when the violence of the disease was alleviated neither by human measures nor by divine interference, their minds being broken down by superstition, among other means of appeasing the wrath of heaven, scenic plays also are said to have been instituted, a new thing to a warlike people (for hitherto there had been only the shows of the circus). But the matter was trivial, (as all beginnings generally are,) and even that itself from a foreign source. Without any poetry, or gesticulating in imitation of such poetry, actors were sent for from Etruria, dancing to the measures of a musician, and exhibited, according to the Tuscan fashion, movements by no means ungraceful. The young men afterwards began to imitate these, throwing out at the same time among each other jocular expressions in uncouth verses; nor were their gestures irrelevant to their language. Wherefore the matter was received with approbation, and by frequent use was much improved. To the native performers the name of *histriones* was given, because *hister*, in the Tuscan vocabulary, was the name of an actor, who did not, as formerly, throw out alternately artless and unpolished verses like the Fescennine at random, but represented medleys complete with metre, the music being regularly adjusted for the musician, and with appropriate gesticulation. Livius, who several years after, giving up medleys, was the first who ventured to digest a story with a regular plot, (the same being, forsooth, as all were at that time, the actor of his own pieces,) after having broken his voice from having been too repeatedly called on, and after having sought permission, is said to have placed a boy before the musician to chaunt, and to have performed the gesticulations with considerably freer movement, because the employment of his voice was no impediment to him. Thence commenced the practice of chaunting to the actors according to their manual gesticulations, and the dialogues only were left to their voice. When by this arrangement the business of the scenic performances was called away from laughter and intemperate mirth, and the amusement became gradually converted into an art, the young men, leaving to regular actors the performance of plays, began themselves, according to the ancient usage, to throw out ludicrous jests comprised in verses, which from that time were called *exodia*, and were collected chiefly from the Atellan farces. Which kind of amusement, received from the Osci, the young kept to themselves, nor did they suffer it to be debased by regular players. Hence it remains an established usage that the actors of the Atellan farces are neither degraded from their tribe, and may serve in the army, as if having no connexion with the profession of the stage. Among the trifling beginnings of other matters, it seemed to me that the first origin of plays also should be noticed; that it might appear how from a moderate commencement it has reached its present extravagance, scarcely to be supported by opulent kingdoms.

## 3

However, the first introduction of plays, intended as a religious expiation, neither relieved their minds from religious awe, nor their bodies from disease. Nay more, when the circus being inundated by the overflowing of the Tiber happened to interrupt the middle of the performance, that indeed, as if the gods were now turned from them, and despised their efforts to soothe their wrath, excited great terror. Accordingly, Cneius Genucius and Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus being a second time consuls, when the searching for expiations harassed their minds, more than the diseases did their bodies, it is said to have been collected from the memory of the more aged, that a pestilence had formerly been relieved, on the nail being driven by a dictator. Induced by this superstitious circumstance, the senate ordered a dictator to be appointed for the purpose of driving the nail. Lucius Manlius Imperiosus being appointed, named Lucius Pinarius master of the horse. There is an ancient law written in antique letters and words, that whoever is supreme officer should drive a nail on the ides of September. It was driven into the right side of the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great, on that part where the temple of Minerva is. They say that the nail was a mark of the number of years elapsed, because letters were rare in those times, and that the law was referred to the temple of Minerva, because number is the invention of that goddess. Cincius, a careful writer on such monuments, asserts that there were seen at Volsinii also nails fixed in the temple of Nortia, a Tuscan goddess, as indices of the number of years. Marcus Horatius, being consul, according to law dedicated the temple of Jupiter the best and greatest the year after the expulsion of kings; the solemnity of fixing the nail was afterwards transferred from the consuls to the dictators, because theirs was a superior office. The custom being afterwards dropped, it seemed a matter of sufficient importance in itself, on account of which a dictator should be appointed. For which reason Lucius Manlius being appointed, just as if he had been appointed for the purpose of managing the business of the state in general, and not to acquit it of a religious obligation, being ambitious to manage the Hernician war, harassed the youth by a severe levy, and at length, all the plebeian tribunes having risen up against him, whether overcome by force or shame, he resigned the dictatorship.

#### 4

Notwithstanding this, in the commencement of the ensuing year, Quintus Servilius Ahala, Lucius Genucius being consuls, a day of trial is appointed for Manlius, by Marcus Pomponius, tribune of the commons. His severity in the levies, carried not only to the fining of the citizens, but even to the laceration of their bodies, those who had not answered to their names being some beaten with rods, others thrown into prison, was hateful; and more hateful than all was his violent temper, and the surname of Imperiosus, offensive to a free state, adopted by him from an ostentation of severity, which he exercised not more against strangers than his nearest friends, and even those of his own blood. And among other things, the tribune alleged as a charge against him that "he had banished his son, a youth convicted of no improper conduct, from the city, home, household gods, forum, light, from the society of his equals, and consigned him in a manner to a prison or workhouse; where a youth of dictatorial rank, born of a very high family, should learn by his daily suffering that he was descended of a truly imperious father. And for what offence? because he was not eloquent, nor ready in discourse. Which defect of nature, whether ought it to be treated with leniency if there were a particle of humanity in him, or ought it to be punished, and rendered more remarkable by harsh treatment? The dumb beasts even, if any of their offspring happen to be badly formed, are not the less careful in nourishing and cherishing them. But

Lucius Manlius aggravated the misfortune of his son by severity, and further clogged the slowness of his intellects; and if there were in him even the least spark of natural ability he extinguished it by a rustic life and a clownish education, and keeping him among cattle."

## 5

By these charges the minds of all were exasperated against him more than that of the young man himself: nay, on the contrary, being grieved that he was even the cause of public odium and accusations to his father, that all the gods and men might know that he would rather afford aid to his father than to his enemies, he forms the design, characteristic of a rude and rustic mind no doubt, and though of a precedent not conformable to the rules of civil life, yet commendable for its filial piety. Having furnished himself with a knife, without the knowledge of any one he proceeds early in the morning into the city, and from the gate straightway to the house of Marcus Pomponius the tribune: he tells the porter, that he wanted to see his master immediately, and bid him to announce that he was Titus Manlius, son of Lucius. Being introduced immediately, (for he had hopes that the youth, incensed against his father, brought either some new charge, or some advice to accomplish the project,) after mutual greeting, he says that there were some matters which he wished to transact with him in private. Then, all persons being ordered to withdraw to a distance, he draws his dagger; and standing over the couch with his dagger ready to strike, he threatens that he would immediately stab him, unless he would swear in the words which he would dictate, that "he never would hold a meeting of the commons for the purpose of prosecuting his father." The tribune alarmed, (for he saw the steel glittering before his eyes, himself alone and unarmed; the other a young man, and very powerful, and what was no less terrifying, savagely ferocious in his bodily strength,) swears in the terms in which he was obliged; and afterwards acknowledged that forced by this proceeding he gave up his undertaking. Nor though the commons would have preferred that an opportunity was afforded them of passing sentence on so cruel and tyrannical a culprit, they were not much displeased that the son had dared to act so in behalf of his father; and that was the more commendable in this, that such great severity on the part of the father had not weaned his mind from his filial affection. Wherefore the pleading of his cause was not only dispensed with for the father, but the matter even became a source of honour to the young man; and when it had been determined on that year for the first time that tribunes of the soldiers for the legions should be appointed by suffrage, (for before that the commanders themselves used to appoint them, as they now do those whom they call *Rufuli*,) he obtained the second place among six, without any merit of a civil or military nature to conciliate public favour; as he had spent his youth in the country and at a distance from all intercourse with the world.

## 6

On the same year the middle of the forum is said to have fallen in to an immense depth, forming a sort of vast cave, either by reason of an earthquake, or some other violent cause; nor could that gulf be filled up by throwing earth into it, every one exerting himself to the utmost, until by the admonition of the gods an inquiry began to be instituted, as to what constituted the chief strength of the Roman people? for the soothsayers declare that must be devoted to that place, if they desired the Roman state to be perpetual. Then they tell us that Marcus Curtius, a youth distinguished in war, reproved them for hesitating, whether there was any greater Roman good than arms

and valour. Silence being made, looking to the temples of the immortal gods, which command a view of the forum, and towards the Capitol, and extending his hands at one time towards heaven, at another towards the infernal gods, through the gaping aperture of the earth, he devoted himself: then, mounted on a horse accoutred in the most gorgeous style possible, he plunged in full armour into the opening, and offerings and the fruits of the earth were thrown in over him by the multitude of men and women, and the lake was called Curtian not from Curtius Mettus, the ancient soldier of Titus Tatius, but from this circumstance. If any way would lead one's inquiry to the truth, industry would not be wanting: now, when length of time precludes all certainty of evidence, we must stand by the rumour of tradition; and the name of the lake must be accounted for from this more recent story. After due attention being paid to so great a prodigy, the senate, during the same year, being consulted regarding the Hernicians, (after having sent heralds to demand restitution in vain,) voted, that a motion be submitted on the earliest day to the people on the subject of declaring war against the Hernicians, and the people, in full assembly, ordered it. That province fell by lot to the consul Lucius Genucius. The state was in anxious suspense, because he was the first plebeian consul that was about to conduct a war under his own auspices, being sure to judge of the good or bad policy of establishing a community of honours, according as the matter should turn out. Chance so arranged it that Genucius, marching against the enemy with a considerable force, fell into an ambush; the legions being routed by reason of a sudden panic, the consul was slain after being surrounded by persons who knew not whom they had slain. When this news was brought to Rome, the patricians, by no means so grieved for the public disaster, as elated at the unsuccessful guidance of the plebeian consul, every where exclaim, "They might now go, and elect consuls from the commons, they might transfer the auspices where it was impious to do so. The patricians might by a vote of the people be driven from their own exclusive honour: whether had this inauspicious law availed also against the immortal gods? They had vindicated their authority, their auspices; which as soon as ever they were defiled by one by whom it was contrary to human and divine law that they should have been, the destruction of the army with its leader was a warning, that elections should hereafter be conducted in utter violation of the rights of birth." The senate-house and the forum resound with expressions such as these. Appius Claudius, because he had dissuaded the law, and now with greater authority blamed the issue of a measure which had been found fault with by himself, the consul Servilius appoints dictator by the general wish of the patricians, and a levy and cessation of business are proclaimed.

## 7

Before the dictator and the new legions could arrive among the Hernicians, matters were conducted with great success under the direction of Caius Sulpicius the lieutenant-general, making use of a favourable opportunity. On the Hernicians, who after the death of the consul came up contemptuously to the Roman camp with the certainty of taking it, a sally was made by the exhortations of the consul, the minds of the soldiers also being full of rage and indignation. The Hernicians were much disappointed in their hopes of approaching the rampart; in such complete confusion did they retire from thence. Then on the arrival of the dictator the new army is joined to the old, the forces are doubled; and the dictator in a public assembly, by bestowing praises on the lieutenant-general and the soldiers by whose valour the camp had been defended, at the same time raises the spirits of those who heard their own deserved praises, and at the same time stimulates the others to rival such valour. With no less vigour are the military

preparations made on the part of the enemy, who, mindful of the honour previously acquired, and not ignorant that the enemy had increased their strength, augment their forces also. The entire Hernician race, all of military age, are called out. Eight cohorts, each consisting of four hundred men, the chosen strength of their people, are levied. This, the select flower of their youth, they filled with hope and courage by their having decreed that they should receive double pay. They were exempt also from military work, that, being reserved for the single labour of fighting, they might feel that they should make exertions more than are made by ordinary men. They are placed in an extraordinary position in the field, that their valour might be the more conspicuous. A plain two miles in breadth separated the Roman camp from the Hernicians; in the middle of this, the spaces being about equal on both sides, they came to an engagement. At first the fight was kept up with doubtful hope; the Roman cavalry having repeatedly essayed to no purpose to break the enemy's line by their charge. When their fighting as cavalry was less marked by success than by great efforts, the cavalry, having first consulted the dictator, and then obtained his permission, leaving their horses behind, rush forward in front of the line, with a loud shout, and recommence the battle after a new style; nor could they be resisted, had not the extraordinary cohorts, possessing equal vigour both of body and spirit, thrown themselves in their way.

## 8

Then the contest is carried on between the leading men of the two states. Whatever the common fortune of war carried off from either side, the loss was many times greater than can be estimated by the numbers: the rest, an armed populace, as if they had delegated the fight to the leading men, rest the issue of their own success on the bravery of others. Many fall on both sides; more are wounded. At length the horsemen, chiding each other, asking, "what now remained," if neither when mounted they had made an impression on the enemy, nor as infantry did they achieve any thing of moment; what third mode of fighting did they wait for? Why had they so fiercely rushed forward before the line, and fought in a post not belonging to them? Aroused by these mutual chidings, they raise the shout anew, and press forward; and first they made the enemy shrink, then made them give way, and at length fairly made them turn their backs. Nor is it easy to say what circumstance obtained the advantage against strength so well matched; except that the constant fortune of both people might have raised or depressed their spirits. The Romans pursued the Hernicians in their flight to their camp; they refrained from attacking the camp, because it was late. The fact of not having finished the sacrifices with success detained the dictator, so that he could not give the signal before noon, and hence the contest was protracted till night. Next day the camp of the Hernicians was deserted, and some wounded men were found left behind, and the main body of the fugitives was routed by the Signians, as their standards were seen passing by their walls but thinly attended, and dispersed over the country in precipitate flight. Nor was the victory an unbloody one to the Romans; a fourth part of the soldiers perished; and, where there was no less of loss, several Roman horsemen fell.

## 9

On the following year, when the consuls Caius Sulpicius and Caius Licinius Calvus led an army against the Hernicians, and finding no enemy in the country took their city Ferentinum by storm, as they were returning thence, the Tiburtians shut their gates against them. Though many complaints had been made on both sides before this, this was the determining cause why war was declared against the Tiburtian people,

restitution having been demanded through heralds. It is sufficiently ascertained that Titus Quinctius Pennus was dictator that year, and that Servius Cornelius Maluginensis was his master of the horse. Macer Licinius writes, that he was named by the consul for the purpose of holding the elections, because his colleague hastening to have the elections over before undertaking the war, that he might continue the consulship, he thought it right to thwart his ambitious designs. This being designed as a compliment to his own family, renders the authority of Licinius of the less weight. As I find no mention of that circumstance in the more ancient annals, my mind inclines me to consider that the dictator was appointed on account of the Gallic war. On that year, certainly, the Gauls pitched their camp at the third stone on the Salarian road, at the further side of the bridge of the Anio. The dictator, after he had proclaimed a cessation of civil business on account of the Gallic tumult, bound all the younger citizens by the military oath; and having set forth from the city with a great army, pitched his camp on the hither bank of the Anio. The bridge lay between both armies, neither side attempting to break it down, lest it should be an indication of fear. There were frequent skirmishes for the possession of the bridge; nor could it be clearly determined who were masters of it, the superiority being so indecisive. A Gaul of very large stature advanced on the bridge, then unoccupied, and says with as loud a voice as he could exert, "Let the bravest man that Rome now possesses come forward here to battle, that the event of an engagement between us both may show which nation is superior in war."

## 10

There was for a long time silence among the young Roman nobility, as they were both ashamed to decline the contest, and unwilling to claim the principal post of danger. Then Titus Manlius, son of Lucius, the same who had freed his father from the vexatious persecution of the tribune, proceeds from his station to the dictator: "Without your commands, general, I would never fight out of the ordinary course, not though I should see certain victory before me. If you permit me, I wish to show that brute, who insolently makes such a parade before the enemy's line, that I am sprung from that family which dislodged a body of Gauls from the Tarpeian rock." Then the dictator says, "Titus Manlius, may you prosper for your valour and dutiful affection to your father and your country. Go on, and make good the invincibility of the Roman name with the aid of the gods." His companions then arm the youth; he takes a footman's shield, girds himself with a Spanish sword, fit for a close fight. When armed and equipped, they lead him out against the Gaul, who exhibited stolid exultation, and (for the ancients thought that also worthy of mention) thrust out his tongue in derision. They then retire to their station; and the two being armed, are left in the middle space, more after the manner of a spectacle, than according to the law of combat, by no means well matched, according to those who judged by sight and appearance. The one had a body enormous in size, glittering in a vest of various colours, and in armour painted and inlaid with gold; the other had a middle stature, as is seen among soldiers, and a mien unostentatious, in arms fit for ready use rather than adapted for show. He had no song, no capering, nor idle flourishing of arms, but his breast, teeming with courage and silent rage, had reserved all its ferocity for the decision of the contest. When they took their stand between the two armies, the minds of so many individuals around them suspended between hope and fear, the Gaul, like a huge mass threatening to fall on that which was beneath it, stretching forward his shield with his left hand, discharged an ineffectual cut of his sword with a great noise on the armour of his foe as he advanced towards him. The Roman, raising the point of his sword, after he had pushed aside the lower part of

the enemy's shield with his own, and closing on him so as to be exempt from the danger of a wound, insinuated himself with his entire body between the body and arms of the foe, with one and immediately with another thrust pierced his belly and groin, and stretched his enemy now prostrate over a vast extent of ground. Without offering the body of the prostrate foe any other indignity, he despoiled it of one chain; which, though smeared with blood, he threw around his neck. Dismay with astonishment now held the Gauls motionless. The Romans, elated with joy, advancing from their post to meet their champion, with congratulations and praises conduct him to the dictator. Among them uttering some uncouth jests in military fashion somewhat resembling verses, the name of Torquatus was heard: this name, being kept up, became afterwards an honour to the descendants even of the family. The dictator added a present of a golden crown, and before a public assembly extolled that action with the highest praises.

## 11

And, indeed, of so great moment was the contest with respect to the issue of the war in general, that on the night following the army of the Gauls, having abandoned their camp in confusion, passed over into the territory of Tibur, and from thence soon after into Campania, having concluded an alliance for the purpose of war, and being abundantly supplied with provision by the Tiburtians. That was the reason why, on the next year, Caius Pætelius Balbus, consul, though the province of the Hernicians had fallen to the lot of his colleague, Marcus Fabius Ambustus, led an army, by order of the people, against the Tiburtians. To whose assistance when the Gauls came back from Campania, dreadful devastations were committed in the Lavican, Tusculan, and Alban territories. And though the state was satisfied with a consul as leader against the Tiburtian enemy, the alarm created by the Gauls rendered it necessary that a dictator should be appointed. Quintus Servilius Ahala having been appointed, named Titus Quinctius master of the horse; and with the sanction of the senate, vowed the great games, should that war turn out successfully. The dictator then, having ordered the consular army to remain to confine the Tiburtians to their own war, bound all the younger citizens by the military oath, none declining the service. A battle was fought not far from the Colline gate with the strength of the entire city, in the sight of their parents, wives, and children: which being great incitements to courage, even when these relatives are absent, being now placed before their eyes, fired the soldiers at once with feelings of shame and compassion. Great havoc being made on both sides, the Gallic army is at length worsted. In their flight they make for Tibur, as being the main stay of the war; and being intercepted whilst straggling by the consul Pætelius not far from Tibur, and the Tiburtians having come out to bring them aid, they are with the latter driven within the gates. Matters were managed with distinguished success both by the dictator and the consul. And the other consul, Fabius, at first in slight skirmishes, and at length in one single battle, defeated the Hernicians, when they attacked him with all their forces. The dictator, after passing the highest encomiums on the consuls in the senate and before the people, and yielding up the honour of his own exploits to them, resigned his dictatorship. Pætelius enjoyed a double triumph, over the Gauls and the Tiburtians. Fabius was satisfied with entering the city in ovation. The Tiburtians derided the triumph of Pætelius; "for where," they said, "had he encountered them in the field? that a few of their people having gone outside the gates to witness the flight and confusion of the Gauls, on seeing an attack made on themselves, and that those who came in the way were slaughtered without distinction, had retired within the city. Did that seem to the Romans worthy of a triumph? They should not consider it an extraordinary and

wondrous feat to raise a tumult at the enemy's gates, as they should soon see greater confusion before their own walls."

## 12

Accordingly in the year following, Marcus Popilius Lænas and Cneius Manlius being consuls, during the first silence of the night having set out from Tibur with an army prepared for action, they came to the city of Rome. The suddenness of the thing, and the panic occurring at night, occasioned some terror among them on being suddenly aroused from sleep; further, the ignorance of many as to who the enemy were or whence they had come. However they quickly ran to arms, and guards were posted at the gates, and the walls were secured with troops; and when daylight showed but an inconsiderable force before the walls, and that the enemy were none other than the Tiburtines, the consuls, having gone forth from the two gates, attack on either side the army of these now advancing up to the walls; and it became obvious that they had come relying rather on the opportunity than on their valour, for they hardly sustained the first charge of the Romans. Nay more, it was evident that their coming proved an advantage to the Romans, and that a disturbance just arising between the patricians and commons was checked by the dread of a war so near them. In the next war there was another irruption of the enemy, more terrible to the country than to the city. The Tarquinians overran the Roman frontiers, committing depredations on that side more especially where they are contiguous to Etruria; and restitution being demanded in vain, the new consuls, Cneius Fabius and Caius Plautius, proclaimed war on them by order of the people; and that province fell to the lot of Fabius, the Hernicians to Plautius. A rumour of a Gallic war also was gaining ground. But amid their many terrors, they had some consolation from a peace granted to the Latins at their own request, as also from a considerable reinforcement of soldiers received from them in conformity with an old treaty, which, they had for several years ceased to observe. When the Roman cause was supported by this aid, the tidings that the Gauls had come to Præneste and were encamped near to Pedom, were less heeded. It was determined that Caius Sulpicius should be appointed dictator. Caius Plautius the consul, being sent for for the purpose, nominated him; Marcus Valerius was assigned as master of the horse to the dictator. These having selected the best of the soldiers out of the two consular armies, led them against the Gauls. This war was more tedious than was satisfactory to either party. When at first the Gauls only were desirous of fighting, afterwards the Roman soldiers considerably surpassed the ferocity of the Gauls in their ardour for arms and battle; it by no means met the approbation of the dictator when no urgent necessity existed to run any hazard against an enemy, whose strength time and inconvenient situation would daily impair, in total inactivity, without provisions previously laid up or any fortified situation; besides, being persons of such minds and bodies, that all their force lay in brisk exertion, whilst the same flagged by short delay. On these considerations the dictator protracted the war, and denounced a severe penalty against any one who should fight against the enemy without orders. The soldiers, being much dissatisfied with this, first censured the dictator, in their conversation, when on guard and on the watches; sometimes they found fault with the patricians in general, for not having commanded the war to be conducted by the consuls. "That an excellent general, an extraordinary commander, had been selected, who thinks that whilst he does nothing victory will fly down from heaven into his lap." Afterwards they gave expression to these same sentiments openly during the day, and to others still more outrageous; that "they would either fight without the general's orders, or would proceed in a body to

Rome." The centurions, too, began to mix with the soldiers; and they murmured not only in their own quarters, but now their observations began to be confounded together at head-quarters and at the general's tent, and the crowd increased to the magnitude of an assembly, and they now shouted from all quarters that "they should go forthwith to the dictator; that Sextus Tullius should speak in behalf of the army, so as became his courage."

### 13

Tullius was now for the seventh time first centurion of a legion, nor was there in the army, at least among those who served in the infantry, a man more distinguished by his conduct. He, at the head of a body of the soldiers, proceeds to the tribunal, and to Sulpicius, not more surprised at the crowd than at Tullius, the leader of the crowd, a soldier most obedient to command, he says: "Dictator, the whole army, conceiving that they have been condemned by you of cowardice, and kept without their arms by way of disgrace, has entreated me to plead their cause before you. In truth, if having deserted our post any where, if turning our backs to the enemy, if the disgraceful loss of our standards could be laid to our charge, I would still think it but just that we should obtain this from you, that you would suffer us to redeem our fault by our bravery, and to blot out the memory of our disgrace by newly acquired glory. Even the legions defeated at the Allia, when they afterwards set out from Veii, recovered by their valour the same country which they had lost through a panic. We, by the bounty of the gods, your good fortune, and that of the Roman people, have both our cause and our glory uninjured. Though of glory I would scarcely venture to say any thing; since both the enemy scoff at us with every kind of insult, as women hiding ourselves behind a rampart; and you, our general, what we grieve at still more, judge your army to be without spirit, without arms, without hands; and before you had made trial of us, you have so despaired of us, as to consider yourself to be the leader of a set of maimed and disabled men. For what else shall we believe to be the reason why you, a veteran general, most valiant in war, sit down with hands folded, as they say. But however it may be, it is fitter that you should seem to doubt of our courage than we of yours. If however this plan of proceeding be not your own, but a public one, if some concerted scheme of the patricians, and not the Gallic war, keeps us exiled from the city, from our homes, I beg that you consider what I may say here, as addressed not by soldiers to their general, but to the patricians by the commons, who tell you that as ye have your separate plans, so will they have theirs. Who in the name of goodness can be angry that we (consider ourselves) your soldiers, not your slaves? as men who have been sent to war, not into exile? as men who, if any one give the signal, and lead them out into the field, will fight as becomes men and Romans? as men who, if there be no need of arms, would spend their idle time in Rome rather than in a camp? Consider these observations as addressed to the patricians. As your soldiers, we entreat you, general, to afford us an opportunity of fighting. We both desire to conquer, and also to conquer with you for our leader; to confer on you the distinguished laurel, with you to enter the city in triumph; following your car with congratulations and rejoicings, to approach the temple of Jupiter supremely great and good." The entreaties of the multitude followed the speech of Tullius; and from every side they cried out, that he would give the signal, that he would order them to take arms.

### 14

The dictator, though he saw that a good result was brought about by a precedent not to be approved of, yet took on himself to do what the soldiers wished, and inquires of Tullius privately, what the nature of this transaction was, or on what precedent it was done? Tullius earnestly entreated the dictator "not to believe him forgetful of military discipline, of himself, nor of the respect due to his general; that he had not declined to put himself at the head of the excited multitude, who generally were like to their instigators, lest any other person might step forward, such an excited multitude were wont to elect. That for his own part he would do nothing without the orders of his general; that he also however must carefully see, that he keep the army in obedience. That minds so excited could not be put off: that they would choose for themselves time and place, if they were not granted by the general." While they are conversing in this way, it so happened, that as a Gaul was driving away some cattle feeding on the outside of the rampart two Roman soldiers took them from him. Stones were thrown at them by the Gauls, then a shout was raised at the next Roman post, and several ran forward on both sides. And now matters were not far from a regular engagement, had not the contest been quickly stopped by the centurions. By this event the testimony of Tullius was certainly confirmed with the dictator; and the matter not admitting of further delay, a proclamation is issued that they were to fight on the day following. The dictator however, as one who went into the field relying more on the courage of his men than on their numerical strength, began to look about and consider how he might by some artifice strike terror into the enemy. With a sagacious mind he devises a new project, which many generals both of our own and of foreign countries have since adopted, some indeed in our own times. He orders the panniers to be taken from the mules, and two side-cloths only being left, he mounts the muleteers on them, equipped with arms partly belonging to the prisoners, and some to the sick. About a thousand of these being equipped, he mixes with them one hundred horsemen, and orders them to go up during the night into the mountains over the camp and to conceal themselves in the woods, and not to stir from thence, till they should receive a signal from him. As soon as day dawned, he himself began to extend his line along the bottom of the mountain, for the express purpose that the enemy should face the mountains. The measures for infusing groundless terror being now completed, which terror indeed proved almost more serviceable than real strength, the leaders of the Gauls first believed that the Romans would not come down to the plain: then when they saw them begin on a sudden to descend, they also, on their part eager for the fight, rush forward to the encounter; and the battle commenced before the signal could be given by the leaders.

## 15

The Gauls attacked the right wing with greater fierceness, nor could they have been withstood, had not the dictator happened to be on the spot, rebuking Sextus Tullius by name, and asking him, "Was it in this way he had engaged that the soldiers would fight? Where now were the shouts of those demanding their arms? where the threats that they would commence the fight without the orders of their general? Behold the general himself calling them with a loud voice to battle, and advancing in arms before the front of the line. Would any of those now follow him, who were just now to have led the way; fierce in the camp, but cowards in the field?" What they heard was all true; wherefore shame applied such strong incentives, that they rushed upon the weapons of the enemy, their attention being turned away from the thought of danger. This onset, which was almost frantic at first, threw the enemy into disorder; then the cavalry charging them whilst thus disordered, made them turn their backs. The dictator himself, when he saw

their line wavering in one direction, carries round some troops to the left wing, where he saw a crowd of the enemy collected, and gave to those who were on the mountain the signal which had been agreed on. When a new shout arose from that quarter also, and they seemed to make their way in an oblique direction, down the mountain to the camp of the Gauls; then through fear lest they should be cut off from it, the fight was given up, and they were carried towards the camp with precipitate speed. Where when Marcus Valerius, master of the horse, who, after having routed their left wing, was riding towards the enemies' entrenchment, met them, they turn their flight to the mountains and woods: and the greater part of them were there intercepted by the fallacious show of horsemen, and the muleteers, and of those whom panic had carried into the woods, a dreadful slaughter took place after the battle was ended. Nor did any one since Camillus obtain a more complete triumph over the Gauls than Caius Sulpicius. A considerable weight of gold taken from the Gallic spoils, which he enclosed in hewn stone, he consecrated in the Capitol. The same year the consuls also were engaged in fighting with various success. For the Hernicians were vanquished and subdued by Cneius Plautius. His colleague Fabius fought against the Tarquinians without caution or prudence; nor was the loss sustained in the field so much [a subject of regret] as that the Tarquinians put to death three hundred and seven Roman soldiers, their prisoners, by which barbarous mode of punishment the disgrace of the Roman people was rendered considerably more remarkable. To this disaster moreover was added, the laying waste of the Roman territory, which the Privernatians, and afterwards the people of Velitræ, committed by a sudden incursion. The same year two tribes, the Pomptine and Publilian, were added. The votive games, which Marcus Furius in his dictatorship had vowed, were performed; and a proposition was then for the first time made to the people regarding bribery at elections by Caius Pætilius, tribune of the commons, with the approbation of the senate; and by that bill they thought that the ambition of new men in particular, who had been accustomed to go around the markets and places of meeting, was checked.

## 16

Not equally pleasing to the patricians on the following year was a law passed in the consulship of Caius Marcius and Cneius Manlius, by Marcus Duilius and Lucius Mænius, tribunes of the commons, regarding the interest of money at twelve per cent., and the people received and passed it with much more eagerness. In addition to the new wars determined on the preceding year, a new enemy arose in the Faliscians, in consequence of a double charge; both that their youth had taken up arms in conjunction with the Tarquinians, and because they had refused to restore to the demand of the Roman heralds those who had fled to Falerii, after the unsuccessful battle. That province fell to the lot of Cneius Manlius, Marcius led the army into the Privernatian territory, which, from the long continuance of peace, was in a flourishing condition; and he enriched the soldiers with abundance of spoil. To the great quantity of effects he added an act of munificence; for, by setting aside nothing for public use, he favoured the soldier in his endeavours to accumulate private property. When the Privernatians had taken their post in a well-fortified camp under their own walls, having summoned the soldiers to an assembly, he says to them, "I now give to you the camp and city of the enemy for plunder, if you promise me that you will exert yourselves bravely in the field, and that you are not better prepared for plunder than for fighting." With loud shouts they call for the signal, and elated and buoyed up with certain confidence, they proceed to the battle. Then, in front of the line, Sextus Tullius, whom we have already mentioned, exclaims,

"Behold, general," says he, "how your army are performing their promises to you;" and laying aside his javelin, he attacks the enemy sword in hand. The whole van follow Tullius, and at the first onset put the enemy to flight; then pursuing them, when routed, to the town, when they were just applying the scaling ladders to the walls, they received the city on a surrender. A triumph was had over the Privernatians. Nothing worth mentioning was achieved by the other consul, except that he, by an unusual precedent, holding an assembly of the tribes in the camp at Sutrium, he passed a law regarding the twentieth part of the value of those set free by manumission. As by this law no small revenue was added to the treasury, now low, the senate gave it their sanction. But the tribunes of the commons, influenced not so much by the law as by the precedent, passed a law, making it a capital offence for any one in future to summon an assembly of the people at a distance from the city; for if that were allowed, there was nothing, no matter how destructive to the people, that might not be done by soldiers, who had sworn allegiance to their consul. The same year Caius Licinius Stolo was condemned in a fine of ten thousand *asses*, on his own law, by Marcus Popillius Lænas, because he possessed in conjunction with his son a thousand acres of land, and because he had attempted to evade the law by emancipating his son.

## 17

The next two consuls, Marcus Fabius Ambustus a second time, and Marcus Popillius Lænas a second time, had two wars on their hands. The one with the Tiburtians was easy, which Licinius managed, who drove the enemy into their city, and laid waste their lands. The Faliscians and Tarquinians routed the other consul in the commencement of the fight. From these parties the utmost terror was raised, in consequence of their priests, who, by carrying before them lighted torches and the figures of serpents, and advancing with the gait of furies, disconcerted the Roman soldiers by their extraordinary appearance; and then indeed they ran back to their entrenchments, in all the hurry of trepidation, as if frenzied or thunderstruck; and then when the consul, and lieutenant-generals, and tribunes began to ridicule and chide them for being frightened like children at mere sights, shame suddenly changed their minds; and they rushed, as if blindfold, on those very objects from which they had fled. Having, therefore, dissipated the idle contrivance of the enemy, having attacked those who were in arms, they drove their whole line before them, and having got possession of the camp also on that day, and obtained great booty, they returned victorious, uttering military jests, both on the stratagem of the enemy as also on their own panic. Then the whole Etruscan nation is aroused, and under the conduct of the Tarquinians and Faliscians, they come to Salinæ. To meet this alarm, Caius Marcius Rutilus, being appointed dictator, the first plebeian who was so, named Caius Plautius, also a plebeian, master of the horse. This was deemed an indignity by the patricians, that the dictatorship also was now become common, and with all their exertions they prevented any thing from either being decreed or prepared for the dictator, for the prosecution of that war. With the more promptitude, on that account, did the people order things, as proposed by the dictator. Having set out from the city, along both sides of the Tiber, and transporting his army on rafts whithersoever his intelligence of the enemy led him, he surprised many of them straggling about in scattered parties, laying waste the lands. Moreover, he suddenly attacked their camp and took it; and eight thousand of the enemy being made prisoners, all the rest being either slain or driven out of the Roman territory, he triumphed by order of the people, without the sanction of the senate. Because they neither wished that the consular elections should be held by a plebeian dictator or consul, and the other

consul, Fabius, was detained by the war, matters came to an interregnum. There were then interreges in succession, Quintus Servilius Ahala, Marcus Fabius, Cneius Manlius, Caius Fabius, Caius Sulpicius, Lucius Æmilius, Quintus Servilius, Marcus Fabius Ambustas. In the second interregnum a dispute arose, because two patrician consuls were elected: and the tribunes protesting, Fabius the interrex said, that "it was a law in the twelve tables, that whatever the people ordered last should be law and in force; that the suffrages of the people were their orders." When the tribunes by their protest had been able to effect nothing else than to put off the elections, two patricians were chosen consuls, Caius Sulpicius Peticus a third time, Marcus Valerius Publicola; and on the same day they entered into office.

## 18

On the four hundredth year after the building of the city of Rome, and the thirty-fifth after its recovery from the Gauls, the consulship being taken away from the commons after eleven years, consuls, both patricians, entered into office after the interregnum, Caius Sulpicius Peticus a third time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola. During this year Empulum was taken from the Tiburtians with a struggle not worth mentioning; whether the war was waged there under the auspices of the two consuls, as some have stated; or whether the lands of the Tarquinians were laid waste by the consul Sulpicius about the same time that Valerius led the troops against the Tiburtians. The consuls had a more arduous contest at home with the commons and tribunes. As two patricians had received the consulship, they considered that not only their resolution, but their honour also, was involved in their consigning it to two patricians. For if the consulship were made a plebeian magistracy, they must either yield it up entirely, or possess it entire, which possession they had received from their fathers unimpaired. The commons on the other hand loudly remonstrate; "Why did they live; why were they reckoned in the number of citizens; if they collectively cannot maintain that which was acquired by the firmness of two men, Lucius Sextius and Caius Licinius? That either kings, or decemvirs, or, if there be any denomination of power more offensive, would be submitted to rather than see both the consuls patricians, or rather than not obey and rule in turn; but the one half, located in perpetual power, thinks the commons born for no other purpose than to be subservient." The tribunes are not remiss in encouraging the disturbances; but amid the excited state of all scarcely any are distinguished as leaders. When they had several times gone down to the Campus Martius to no purpose, and when many days of meeting had been spent in seditious movements; at length the resentment of the commons, overcome by the perseverance of the consuls, broke out to such a degree, that the commons followed in sorrow the tribunes, exclaiming, that there was an end of liberty; that not only the Campus should be relinquished, but the city also as being held captive and oppressed by the tyranny of the patricians. The consuls, deserted by a part of the people, finish the election nevertheless with the small number [who attended]. Both the consuls elected were patricians, Marcus Fabius Ambustus a third time, Titus Quinctius. In some annals I find Marcus Popilius mentioned as consul instead of Titus Quinctius.

## 19

Two wars were conducted with success on that year: and they forced the Tiburtians by force of arms to a surrender. The city of Sassula was taken from them; and the other towns would have shared the same fate, had not the entire nation laid down their arms, and put themselves under the protection of the consul. A triumph was obtained by him

over the Tiburtians: in other respects the victory was a mild one. Rigorous severity was practised against the Tarquinians. A great many being slaughtered in the field, out of a great number of prisoners three hundred and fifty-eight were selected, all of the highest rank, to be sent to Rome; the rest of the multitude were put to the sword. Nor were the people more merciful towards those who had been sent to Rome. They were all beaten with rods and beheaded in the middle of the forum. That was the punishment retaliated on the enemy for their butchering the Romans in the forum of Tarquinii. The successes in war induced the Samnites to seek their friendship. A courteous answer was returned to their ambassadors by the senate: they were received into an alliance by a treaty. The Roman commons had not the same success at home as in war. For though the burden of interest money had been relieved by fixing the rate at one to the hundred, the poor were overwhelmed by the principal alone, and submitted to confinement. On this account, the commons took little heed either of the two consuls being patricians, or the management of the elections, by reason of their private distresses. Both consulships therefore remained with the patricians. The consuls appointed were Caius Sulpicius Pæticus a fourth time, Marcus Valerius Publicola a second time. Whilst the state was occupied with the Etrurian war, [entered into] because a report prevailed that the people of Cære had joined the Tarquinians through compassion for them from their relationship, ambassadors from the Latins drew their attention to the Volscians, bringing tidings that an army enlisted and fully armed was now on the point of attacking their frontiers; from thence that they were to enter the Roman territory in order to commit depredations. The senate therefore determined that neither affair should be neglected; they ordered that troops should be raised for both purposes, and that the consuls should cast lots for the provinces. The greater share of their anxiety afterwards inclined to the Etrurian war; after it was ascertained, from a letter of the consul Sulpicius, to whom the province of Tarquinii had fallen, that the land around the Roman Salinæ had been depopulated, and that part of the plunder had been carried away into the country of the people of Cære, and that the young men of that people were certainly among the depredators. The senate therefore, having recalled the consul Valerius, who was opposed to the Volscians, and who had his camp on the frontiers of Tusculum, ordered him to nominate a dictator. He nominated Titus Manlius, son of Lucius. He, after he had appointed Aulus Cornelius Cossus his master of the horse, content with the consular army, declared war against the Cæritians by order of the people, with the sanction of the senate.

## 20

Then for the first time were the Cæritians seized with a real dread of war, as if there was greater power in the words of the enemy to indicate war than in their own acts, who had provoked the Romans by devastation; and they perceived how ill suited the contest was to their strength. They repented of their depredations, and cursed the Tarquinians as the instigators of the revolt. Nor did any one think of preparing arms and hostilities; but each strenuously urged the necessity of sending ambassadors to sue for pardon for their error. When their ambassadors applied to the senate, being referred by the senate to the people, they implored the gods, whose sacred utensils they had received in the Gallic war and treated with all due ceremony, that the same compassion for them might influence the Romans now in a flourishing condition, which had formerly influenced themselves when the state of the Roman people was distressed; and turning to the temple of Vesta, they invoked the bonds of hospitality subsisting [between themselves] and the flamens and vestals entered into by them with holy and religious zeal: "Would any one believe that persons, who possessed such merits, had suddenly become

enemies without cause? or if they had committed any act in a hostile manner, that they had, through design rather than under the influence of error from frenzy, so acted, as to cancel their former acts of kindness by recent injuries, more especially when conferred on persons so grateful, and that they would choose to themselves as enemies the Roman people, now in the most flourishing state and most successful in war, whose friendship they had cultivated when they were distressed? That they should not call it design, which should rather be called force and necessity. That the Tarquinians, passing through their territory with a hostile army, after they had asked for nothing but a passage, forced with them some of their peasants, to accompany them in that depredation, which was charged on them as a crime. That they were prepared to deliver them up, if it pleased them that they should be delivered up; or that they should be subjected to punishment, if [they desired] that they should be punished. That Cære, the sanctuary of the Roman people, the harbourer of its priests, the receptacle of the sacred utensils of Rome, they should suffer to escape, in regard to the ties of hospitality contracted with the vestals, and in regard to the religious devotion paid to their gods, intact and unstained with the charge of hostilities committed." The people were influenced not so much by [the merits of] the present case, as by their former deserts, so as to be unmindful rather of the injury than of the kindness. Peace was therefore granted to the people of Cære, and it was resolved that the making of a truce for one hundred years should be referred to a decree of the senate. Against the Faliscians, implicated in the same charge, the force of the war was turned; but the enemy was nowhere found. Though their territories were visited in all directions with devastation, they refrained from besieging the towns; and the legions being brought back to Rome, the remainder of the year was spent in repairing the walls and the towers, and the temple of Apollo was dedicated.

## 21

At the close of the year a dispute between the patricians and commons suspended the consular elections, the tribunes refusing to allow the elections to be held, unless they were held conformably to the Licinian law; the dictator being determined to do away with the consulate altogether from the state, rather than to make it common to the patricians and the commons. Accordingly when, the elections being repeatedly adjourned, the dictator resigned his office, matters came to an interregnum. Upon this, when the interreges found the commons incensed against the fathers, the contest was carried on by various disturbances to the eleventh interrex. The tribunes held out as their plea, the protection of the Licinian law. The people had the painful sense of the increasing weight of interest nearer to their hearts; and their private troubles became predominant amid the public contests. Through the wearisome effects of which the patricians ordered Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the interrex, for peace' sake to observe the Licinian law in the election of consuls. To Publius Valerius Publicola, Caius Marcius Rutilus, a plebeian, was assigned as a colleague. Once their minds were disposed to concord, the new consuls, setting about to relieve the affair of the interest money also, which seemed to prevent perfect unanimity, made the payment of the debts a matter of public concern, five commissioners having been appointed, whom from their management of the money they called bankers. By their justice and diligence they deserved to have their names signalized by the records of every history. They were Caius Duilius, Publius Decius Mus, Marcus Papirius, Quintus Publilius, and Titus Æmilius; who underwent a task most difficult to be managed, and dissatisfactory in general to both parties, certainly always so to one, both with moderation in other

respects, as well as at the public expense, rather than with any loss [to the creditors]. For the tardy debts and those which were more troublesome, rather by the inertness of the debtors than by want of means, either the treasury paid off, tables with money being placed in the forum, in such a manner that the public was first secured; or a valuation, at equitable prices, of their property freed them; so that not only without injury, but even without complaints on either side, an immense amount of debt was cleared off. After this a groundless alarm of an Etrurian war, as there was a report that the twelve states had conspired, rendered it necessary that a dictator should be appointed. Caius Julius was nominated in the camp, (for the decree of the senate was sent thither to the consuls,) to whom Lucius Æmilius was attached as master of the horse. But all things were quiet abroad.

## 22

An attempt made at home by the dictator, to have the election of two patrician consuls, brought the government to an interregnum. The two interreges, Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Fabius, succeeded in that which the dictator had in vain attempted, scil. in having both the consuls elected from the patricians, the people being rather more appeased in consequence of the service done them in lightening their debts. The persons elected were, Caius Sulpicius Peticus himself, who first resigned the office of interrex, and Titus Quinctius Pennus. Some attach the name of Kæso, others that of Caius to Quinctius. They both set out to the war, Quinctius to the Faliscian, Sulpicius to the Tarquinian; and the enemy no where meeting them in the field, they waged war more against the lands than the men, by burning and laying waste every thing, by the debilitating effects of which, as of a slow consumption, the pertinacity of both states was so broken, that they solicited a truce, first from the consuls, then through their permission from the senate. They obtained a truce for forty years. Thus the concern regarding the two wars which were hanging over them being laid aside, whilst there was some repose from arms, it was determined that a census should be instituted, because the payment of the debt had changed the owners of much property. But when the assembly was proclaimed for the appointment of censors, Caius Marcius Rutilus, who had been the first plebeian dictator, having declared himself a candidate for the censorship, disturbed the harmony of the different orders. This step he seemed to have taken at an unseasonable time; because both the consuls then happened to be patricians, who declared that they would take no account of him. But he both succeeded in his undertaking by his own perseverance, and the tribunes aided him by recovering a right lost in the election of the consuls; and both the worth of the man brought him to the level of the highest honour, and also the commons were anxious that the censorship also should be brought within their participation through the medium of the same person who had opened a way to the dictatorship. Nor was any dissent [from this feeling] evinced at the election, so that Marcius was elected censor along with Cneius Manlius. This year also had Marcus Fabius as dictator, not by reason of any terror of war, but in order that the Licinian law should not be observed at the consular elections. Quintus Servilius was attached to the dictator as master of the horse. Nor yet did the dictatorship render that combination of the senators more effectual at the consular elections, than it had proved at that of the censors.

## 23

Marcus Popillius Lænas was chosen consul on the part of the commons, Lucius Cornelius Scipio on that of the patricians. Fortune even rendered the plebeian consul

more distinguished; for when news was brought that a vast army of the Gauls had pitched their camp in the Latin territory, Scipio being attacked with a serious fit of illness, the Gallic war was intrusted out of course to Popillius. He having raised an army with great energy, after he had ordered the younger citizens to assemble in arms outside the Capuan gate, and the quæstors to carry the standards from the treasury to the same place, having completed four legions, he gave the surplus of the men to the prætor Publius Valerius Publicola, recommending to the senate to raise another army, which might be a reserve to the state against the sudden contingencies of war. He himself, after sufficiently preparing and arranging every thing, proceeds towards the enemy; and in order to ascertain their strength before he should hazard a decisive action, he commenced drawing an intrenchment on a hill, the nearest he could select to the camp of the Gauls. They being a fierce race and of an eager turn for fighting, when, on descrying the standards of the Romans at a distance, they drew out their forces, as expecting to commence the battle forthwith, when they perceived that neither the opposite army descended into the plain, and that the Romans were protected both by the height of the ground and also by the entrenchments, supposing that they were dismayed with fear, and also more exposed to attack, because they were intent on the work, they advance with a furious shout. On the side of the Romans neither the works were interrupted, (it was the triarii who were employed at them,) but the battle was commenced by the hastati and the principes, who stood in front of the workmen armed and prepared for the fight. Besides their own valour, the higher ground aided them, so that all the spears and javelins did not fall ineffectual, as when thrown on the same level, (as is generally the case,) but being steadied by their own weight they took effect; and the Gauls weighed down by the weapons, with which they had their bodies transfixed, or their shields rendered too cumbrous by those sticking in them. When they advanced almost up the steep at a run, becoming irresolute, they at first halted; then when the very delay shook the courage of the one party, and raised that of the enemy, being then pushed backwards they fell one upon the other, and produced a carnage among themselves more shocking than the carnage [caused by the enemy]. For more were crushed by the precipitate rout, than there were slain by the sword.

## 24

Nor as yet was the victory decided in favour of the Romans; another difficulty still was remaining for them after they had descended into the plain; for the great numbers of the Gauls being such as to prevent all feeling of such a disaster, raised up fresh troops against the victorious enemy, as if a new army rose up once more. And the Romans stood still, suppressing their ardour; both because the struggle had to be undergone a second time by them wearied as they were, and the consul, having his left arm well nigh transfixed with a javelin, whilst he exposed himself incautiously in the van, had retired for a short time from the field. And now, by the delay, the victory was on the point of being relinquished, when the consul, having had his wound tied up, riding back to the van, cries out, "Soldiers, why do you stand? You have not to do with a Latin or Sabine enemy, whom, when you have vanquished by your arms, from an enemy you may make an ally; against brutes we have drawn our swords. Their blood must be drawn or ours given to them. You have repulsed them from your camp, you have driven them headlong down the valley, you stand on the prostrated bodies of your foes. Fill the plains with the same carnage as you have filled the mountains; do not wait till they fly, you standing still; your standards must be advanced, you must proceed against the enemy." Roused again by these exhortations, they drive back from their ground the foremost companies

of the Gauls, and by forming wedges, they break through the centre of their body. By these means, the enemy being disunited, as being now without regular command, or subordination of officers, they turn their violence against their own; and being dispersed through the plains, and carried beyond their own camp in their precipitate flight, they make for the citadel of Alba, which met their eyes as the most elevated among hills of equal altitude. The consul, not pursuing them beyond the camp, because the wound weakened him, and he was unwilling to expose his wearied army to hills occupied by the enemy, bestowed the entire plunder of the camp on the soldiers, and led back his army, victorious and enriched with the Gallic spoils, to Rome. The consul's wound occasioned a delay of the triumph, and the same cause made the senate wish for a dictator, that there might be some one who, the consuls being both sick, should hold the elections. Lucius Furius Camillus being nominated dictator, Publius Cornelius Scipio being attached as master of the horse, restored to the patricians their former possession of the consulship. He himself being, for that service, elected consul, had Appius Claudius Crassus named as his colleague.

## 25

Before the new consuls entered on their office, a triumph was celebrated by Popillius over the Gauls amid the great applause of the commons; and they, in a low voice, frequently asked one another, whether any one was dissatisfied with a plebeian consul. At the same time they found fault with the dictator, who had obtained the consulship as a bribe for having infringed the Licinian law, more dishonourable for the private ambition [evinced] thereby than for the injury inflicted on the public, so that, when dictator, he might have himself appointed consul. The year was remarkable for many and various commotions. The Gauls [descending] from the Alban mountains, because they were unable to endure the severity of the winter, straggling through the plains and the parts adjoining the sea, committed devastations. The sea was infested by fleets of the Greeks; and the borders of the Antian shore, and the mouth of the Tiber; so that the maritime plunderers, encountering those on land, fought on one occasion an obstinate fight, and separated, the Gauls to their camp, the Greeks back to their ships, doubting whether they should consider themselves as vanquished or victors. Among these the greatest alarm arose at the circumstance, that assemblies of the Latin states were held at the grove of Ferentina; and an unequivocal answer was given to the Romans on their ordering soldiers from them, "that they should cease to issue their orders to those of whose assistance they stood in need: that the Latins would take up arms in defence of their own liberty, rather than for the dominion of others." The senate becoming uneasy at the defection of their allies, whilst two foreign wars existed at the same time, when they perceived that those whom fidelity had not restrained, should be restrained by fear, ordered the consuls to exert to the utmost the energies of their authority in holding a levy. For that they should depend on an army of their countrymen, since their allies were deserting them. Ten legions are said to have been levied, consisting each of four thousand two hundred infantry and three hundred horse. Such a newly-raised army, if any foreign force should assail, the present power of the Roman people, which is scarcely confined within the whole world, could not easily raise now, if concentrated upon one point: so true it is, we have improved in those particulars only about which we are solicitous, riches and luxury. Among the other distressing events of this year, Appius Claudius, one of the consuls, dies in the midst of the preparations for the war; and the whole direction of affairs devolved on Camillus; over whom, the only consul, it did not appear seemly that a dictator should be appointed, either in consideration of his high

character, which should not be made subordinate to the dictatorship, or on account of the auspicious omen of his surname with respect to a Gallic war. The consul, then, having stationed two legions to protect the city, and divided the remaining eight with the prætor Lucius Pinarius, mindful of his father's valour, selects the Gallic war for himself without any appeal to lots: the prætor he commanded to protect the sea-coast, and to drive the Greeks from the shore. And after he had marched down into the Pomptine territory, because he neither wished to engage on the level ground, no circumstance rendering it necessary, and he considered that the enemy were sufficiently subdued, by preventing from plunder persons whom necessity obliged to live on what was so obtained, he selected a suitable place for a fixed encampment.

## 26

Where when they were spending the time in quiet in their quarters, a Gaul, remarkable for his size and the appearance of his arms, came forward; and striking his shield with his spear, after he had procured silence, through an interpreter he challenged any one of the Romans to contend with him with the sword. There was a tribune of the soldiers, a young man, Marcus Valerius, who considering himself not less worthy of that distinction than Titus Manlius, having first ascertained the consul's pleasure, advanced fully armed into the middle space. The human contest was rendered less remarkable by reason of the interposition of the divine power. For just as the Roman was commencing the encounter, a crow settled suddenly on his helmet, facing the enemy, which, as an augury sent from heaven, the tribune at first received with pleasure. Then he prayed that whatever god or goddess had sent him the auspicious bird, would willingly and kindly aid him. Wondrous to relate, the bird not only kept the place it had once taken, but as often as the encounter was renewed, raising itself on its wings, it attacked the face and eyes of the foe with its beak and talons, until Valerius slays him, terrified at the sight of such a prodigy, and confounded both in his vision and understanding. The crow soaring out of sight makes towards the east. Hitherto the advanced guards on both sides remained quiet. When the tribune began to strip the body of the slain enemy, neither the Gauls any longer confined themselves to their post, and the Romans began to run to their successful champion with still greater speed. There a scuffle taking place around the body of the prostrate Gaul, a desperate fight is stirred up. And now the contest is carried on not by the companies of the nearest posts, but by the legions pouring out from both sides. The soldiers exulting in the victory of the tribune, and also at such favour and attention from the gods, are commanded by Camillus to advance against the enemy: and he, pointing to the tribune distinguished by the spoils, "Soldiers," said he, "imitate this man; and around their fallen leader strew heaps of Gauls." Gods and men assisted at that fight; and the struggle was carried on against the Gauls with a fury by no means equivocal in its result, so thoroughly were both armies impressed with the respective success of the two soldiers, between whom the single combat had taken place. Among the first party, whose encounter had called out the others, there was a desperate encounter: the rest of the soldiery, before they came within throw of a weapon, turned their backs. At first they were dispersed through the Volscians and the Falernian territory; thence they made for Apulia and the upper sea. The consul, calling an assembly, after heaping praises on the tribune, bestows on him ten oxen and a golden crown. He himself, being commanded by the senate to take charge of the maritime war, joined his camp to that of the prætor. There because matters seemed to be delayed by the dastardly conduct of the Greeks, who did not venture into the field, with the approbation of the senate, he nominated Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator. The

dictator, after appointing Aulus Cornelius Cossus his master of the horse, held the consular elections, and with the greatest applause of the people he returned Marcus Valerius Corvus (for that was his surname from thenceforth) as consul, though absent, the rival of his own glory, then three and twenty years of age. As colleague to Corvus, Marcus Popillius Lænas, a plebeian, was assigned to be consul for the fourth time. Nothing memorable occurred between Camillus and the Greeks; neither the one were warriors by land, nor the Romans by sea. At length, when they were repelled from the shore, among other things necessary for use, water also failing, they abandoned Italy. To what state or what nation that fleet belonged, there is nothing certain. I would be most inclined to think that they belonged to the tyrants of Sicily; for the farther Greece, being at that time wearied by intestine war, was now in dread of the power of the Macedonians.

## 27

The armies being disbanded, whilst there was both peace abroad, and tranquillity at home by reason of the concord of the different orders, lest matters might be too happy, a pestilence having attacked the state, compelled the senate to order the decemvirs to inspect the Sibylline books, and by their suggestion a lectisternium took place. The same year a colony was led to Satricum by the Antians, and the city, which the Latins had demolished, was rebuilt. And a treaty was concluded at Rome with the Carthaginian ambassadors, they having come to request friendship and an alliance. The same tranquillity continued at home and abroad, during the consulate of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Caius Plautius. Only the interest of money from twelve was reduced to six per cent; and the payment of the debts was adjusted into equal portions of three years, on condition that the fourth payment should be made at the present time. And then also, though a portion of the commons were distressed, still public credit engrossed the attention of the senate in preference to the difficulties of private individuals. Their circumstances were relieved most effectually, because a cessation was introduced of the taxes and levy. On the third year after Satricum was rebuilt by the Volscians, Marcus Valerius Corvus having been elected consul for the second time with Caius Poetelius, when news had been brought from Latium, that ambassadors from Antium were going round the states of the Latins to excite a war, being ordered to attack the Volscians, before greater numbers of the enemy should be assembled, proceeds to Satricum with his army ready for action. And when the Antians and other Volscians met him, their forces being previously prepared, in case any movement should be made on the part of Rome, no delay of engaging took place between the two parties incensed with long pent-up hate. The Volscians, a nation more spirited to renew hostilities than to carry on war, being defeated in the fight, make for the walls of Satricum in a precipitate flight; and their reliance in their walls not being sufficiently strong, when the city, encompassed by a continuous line of troops, was now on the point of being taken by scalade, they surrendered to the number of four thousand soldiers, besides the unarmed multitude. The town was demolished and burnt; only they kept the fire from the temple of Mother Matuta. The entire plunder was given up to the soldiers. The four thousand who had surrendered were considered exclusive of the spoil; these the consul when triumphing drove before his chariot in chains; afterwards by selling them he brought a great sum of money into the treasury. There are some who state that this body of captives consisted of slaves; and this is more probable than that persons who had surrendered were exposed to sale.

## 28

Marcus Fabius Dorso and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus succeeded these consuls. After this the Auruncan war commenced in consequence of a sudden attempt at depredation: and through fear lest this act of one state might be the concerted scheme of the whole Latin nation, Lucius Furius being created dictator, as if against all Latium already in arms, nominated Cneius Manlius Capitolinus his master of the horse. And when, a suspension of public business being proclaimed, (a measure usually adopted during great alarms,) the levy was held without exemptions, the legions were led against the Auruncans with all possible expedition. The spirit of freebooters rather than of enemies was found there. They were vanquished therefore in the first encounter. However the dictator, both because they had commenced hostilities without provocation, and presented themselves to the contest without reluctance, considering that the aid of the gods should also be engaged, vowed a temple to Juno Moneta in the heat of the battle, and when he returned victorious to Rome, obliged by his vow, he resigned his dictatorship. The senate ordered duumvirs to be appointed to have the temple built suitably to the grandeur of the Roman people; the site destined for it was in the citadel, where the ground was on which the house of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus had stood. The consuls, having employed the dictator's army for the Volscian war, took Sora from the enemy, having attacked them by surprise. The temple of Moneta is dedicated the year after it had been vowed, Caius Marcius Rutilus being consul for the third time, and Titus Manlius Torquatus for the second time. A prodigy immediately followed the dedication, similar to the ancient one of the Alban mount. For it both rained stones, and during the day night seemed to be spread [over the sky]; and on the books being inspected, the state being filled with religious scruples, it was resolved by the senate that a dictator should be nominated for the purpose of regulating the ceremonies. Publius Valerius Publicola was nominated; Quintus Fabius Ambustus was assigned to him as master of the horse. It was determined that not only the tribes, but the neighbouring states also should offer supplications: and a certain order was appointed for them on what day each should offer supplication. Severe sentences of the people are said to have been passed on that year against usurers, for whom a day of trial had been appointed by the ædiles. Matters came to an interregnum, there being no particular reason on record. After the interregnum, both the consuls were elected from the patricians, Marcus Valerius Corvus a third time, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus, so that it would seem that such was the end aimed at.

## 29

Henceforward shall be recorded wars of greater importance, both by the strength of the belligerent powers, by the distance of the countries, or the length of time during which they were carried on. For in that year arms were taken up against the Samnites, a nation powerful both in wealth and in arms. Pyrrhus followed as an enemy the war of the Samnites carried on with various success, the Carthaginians followed Pyrrhus. How great a mass of events! How often have extreme dangers been encountered, that the empire might be raised to its present magnitude, which is now scarcely sustained! But the cause of the war between the Samnites and Romans, as they had been joined in alliance and friendship, came from without; it originated not among themselves. After the Samnites had unjustly taken up arms, because they had the advantage in strength, against the Sidicinians, the weaker party being obliged to have recourse to the aid of the more powerful, unite themselves to the Campanians. As the Campanians brought to the relief of their allies rather a name than strength, enervated as they were by luxury, they were beaten in the Sidicinian territory by men who were inured to the use of arms, and

then brought on themselves the entire burthen of the war. For the Samnites, taking no further notice of the Sidicinians, having attacked the Campanians as being the chief of the neighbouring states, from whom the victory might be equally easy, and a greater share of spoil and glory, after they had secured Tifata, a ridge of hills hanging over Capua, with a strong garrison, they march down from thence with their army formed in a square into the plain which lies between Capua and Tifata. There a second battle was fought; and the Campanians, after an unsuccessful fight, being driven within their walls, when the flower of their youth being cut down, no hope was nigh at hand, they were obliged to sue for aid from the Romans.

### 30

Their ambassadors, being introduced into the senate, spoke as near as possible to this purport: "Conscript fathers, the Campanian state has sent us to you, to solicit from you friendship for ever, and present aid, which if we had solicited whilst our affairs were prosperous, as it would have commenced more readily, so would it have been bound by a weaker tie. For then, as we should have recollected that we entered into friendship on equal terms, we might be equally friendly as now, but less submissive and compliant with your wishes. Now, won over by your compassion for us, and defended by your aid in our critical circumstances, it is incumbent on us that we show our sense also of the kindness received; lest we should seem ungrateful, and undeserving of aid from either god or man. Nor, indeed, do I think that because the Samnites first became your allies and friends, such a circumstance is sufficient to prevent our being admitted into friendship; but merely shows that they excel us in priority and in the degree of honour; for no provision has been made in your treaty with the Samnites that you should not form any new treaties. It has ever been with you a sufficient title to your friendship, that he who sought it desired to be a friend of yours. We, Campanians, though our present state forbids us to speak in high terms, not yielding to any state save you in the extent of our city, or in the fertility of our land, come into friendship with you, no inconsiderable accession in my opinion to your flourishing condition. We shall be in the rear of the Æquans and Volscians, the eternal enemies of this city, whenever they may stir; and whatever ye shall be the first to perform in defence of our safety, the same shall we ever do in defence of your empire and glory. Those nations which lie between us and you being reduced, which both your bravery and good fortune makes it certain will soon be the case, you will then have an uninterrupted empire extending even to us. It is distressing and painful, what our condition obliges us to confess. Conscript fathers, matters are come to this, that we Campanians must be the property either of friends or enemies. If you defend us, yours; if you desert us, we shall be the property of the Samnites. Consider, then, whether you would rather that Capua and all Campania should be added to your power or to that of the Samnites. Romans, it is surely but just, that your compassion and your aid should lie open to all men; to those, however, chiefly, who, whilst they afford it beyond their means to others imploring aid, have themselves been involved in this distress. Although we fought nominally for the Sidicinians, in reality for ourselves, when we saw a neighbouring state assailed by the nefarious plunder of the Samnites; and after the Sidicinians had been consumed, we saw that the conflagration would pass over to ourselves. For the Samnites do not come to attack us, because they resent an injury received, but because they are glad that a pretext has been presented to them. If this were the gratification of their resentment, and not an occasion for satiating their ambition, was it not sufficient that they cut down our legions once in the Sidicinian territory, a second time in Campania itself? What sort of

resentment must that be, which the blood shed in two pitched battles cannot satiate? To this add the laying waste of our lands; the spoil of men and cattle driven away, the burning and ruin of our country-houses, every thing destroyed by fire and sword. Could not resentment be satisfied with this? But ambition must be satiated. That hurries them on to besiege Capua. They either wish to destroy that most beautiful city, or to possess it themselves. But, Romans, do you take possession of it in your kindness, rather than suffer them to hold it by injustice. I am not addressing a people who decline just wars; but still, if you make but a show of your aid, I do not think that you will have occasion for war. The contempt of the Samnites has just reached to us; it soars not higher. Accordingly, Romans, we may be protected even by the shadow of your aid: whatever after this we shall possess, whatever we ourselves shall be, determined to consider all that as yours. For you the Campanian field shall be ploughed; for you the city of Capua shall be made populous; you shall be to us in the light of founders, parents, ay, even immortal gods. There shall be no colony of your own which shall surpass us in attachment and loyalty to you. Grant to the Campanians, conscript fathers, your nod, and your irresistible favour, and bid us hope that Capua will be safe. With what crowds of persons of all classes attending us do you suppose that we set out from thence—how, think you, did we leave every place full of vows and tears? In what a state of expectation do you suppose that the senate are, the Campanian nation, our wives and our children? I am certain that the entire multitude are standing at the gates, looking forward to the road that leads from hence, anxious as to what answer you may order us, conscript fathers, to bring back to them, in their solicitude and suspense of mind. One kind of answer may bring them safety, victory, light, and liberty—what the other may, I feel horror to think. Determine therefore about us, as about persons who will be your future friends and allies, or as persons who are to have no existence any where."

### 31

The ambassadors then withdrawing, after the senate had been consulted, though to a great many, their city the greatest and wealthiest in Italy, their land the most fertile, and situated near the sea, seemed likely to prove a granary to the Roman people for all varieties of provision; still the faith of their engagements was more regarded than such great advantages, and the consul, by the direction of the senate, answered as follows: "Campanians, the senate considers you deserving of aid. But it is meet that friendship be so established with you, that no prior friendship and alliance be violated. The Samnites are united in a treaty with us. Therefore we refuse you arms against the Samnites, which would be a violation of duty to the gods first, and then to men. We will, as divine and human law requires, send ambassadors to our allies and friends to entreat that no violence be committed against you?" To this the chief of the embassy replied, (for such were the instructions they had brought from home,) "Since you are not willing to defend by just force our possessions against violence and injustice, at least you will defend your own. Wherefore, conscript fathers, we surrender the Campanian people, and the city of Capua, their lands, the temples of the gods, all things divine and human, into your jurisdiction and that of the Roman people; whatever we shall suffer henceforth, being determined to suffer as men who have surrendered to you." On these words, all extending their hands towards the consuls, bathed in tears they fell prostrate in the porch of the senate-house. The fathers, affected at the vicissitude of human greatness, seeing that a nation abounding in wealth, noted for luxury and pride, from which a little time since their neighbours had solicited assistance, was now so broken in spirit, as to give up themselves and all they possessed into the power of others; moreover, their

honour also seemed to be involved in not betraying those who had surrendered, nor did they consider that the people of the Samnites would act fairly, if they should attack a territory and a city which had become the property of the Roman people by a surrender. It was resolved therefore, that ambassadors should be sent forthwith to the Samnites; instructions were given "that they should lay before the Samnites the entreaties of the Campanians, the answer of the senate duly mindful of the friendship of the Samnites, and finally the surrender that had been concluded. That they requested, in consideration of the friendship and alliance subsisting between them, that they would spare their subjects; and that they would not carry hostilities into that territory which had become the property of the Roman people. If by gentle measures they did not succeed, that they should denounce to the Samnites in the name of the senate and Roman people, to withhold their arms from the city of Capua and the Campanian territory." When the ambassadors urged these matters in the assembly of the Samnites, so fierce an answer was returned, that they not only said that they would prosecute that war, but their magistrates, having gone out of the senate-house, in the very presence of the ambassadors, summoned the prefects of the cohorts; and with a distinct voice commanded them, to proceed forthwith into the Campanian territory, in order to plunder it.

### 32

The result of this embassy being reported at Rome, the care of all other concerns being laid aside, the senate, having despatched heralds to demand satisfaction, and, because this was not complied with, war being proclaimed in the usual way, they decreed that the matter should be submitted to the people at the very earliest opportunity; and both the consuls having set out from the city by order of the people with two armies, Valerius into Campania, Cornelius into Samnium, the former pitches his camp at Mount Gaurus, the latter at Saticula. The legions of the Samnites met with Valerius first; for they thought that the whole weight of the war would incline to that side. At the same time resentment stimulated them against the Campanians, that they should be so ready at one time to lend aid, at another to call in aid against them. But as soon as they beheld the Roman camp, they fiercely demanded the signal each from his leader; they maintained that the Roman would bring aid to the Campanian with the same fate with which the Campanian had done to the Sidicinian. Valerius, having delayed for a few days in slight skirmishes for the purpose of making trial of the enemy, displayed the signal for battle, exhorting his men in few words "not to let the new war or the new enemy terrify them. In proportion as they should carry their arms to a greater distance from the city, the more and more unwarlike should the nation prove to be against whom they should proceed. That they should not estimate the valour of the Samnites by the defeats of the Sidicinians and Campanians. Let the combatants be of what kind they may be, that it was necessary that one side should be vanquished. That as for the Campanians indeed, they were undoubtedly vanquished more by circumstances flowing from excessive luxury and by their own want of energy than by the bravery of the enemy. What were the two successful wars of the Samnites, during so many ages, against so many glorious exploits of the Roman people, who counted almost more triumphs than years since the building of their city? who held subdued by their arms all the states around them, the Sabines, Etruria, the Latins, Hernicians, Æquans, Volscians, Auruncans? who eventually drove by flight into the sea, and into their ships, the Gauls, after slaughtering them in so many engagements? That soldiers ought both to enter the field relying on their national military renown, and on their own valour, and also to

consider under whose command and auspices the battle is to be fought; whether he be one which is to be listened to as a pompous exhorter, bold merely in words, unacquainted with military labours, or one who knows how to wield arms himself also, to advance before the standards, and to show himself in the midst of the danger. My acts, not my words merely, I wish you to follow; and to seek from me not military orders only, but example also. It was not by intrigues merely, nor by cabals usual among the nobles, but by this right hand, I procured for myself three consulships, and the highest eulogies. There was a time when this could be said; [no wonder,] for you were a patrician, and sprung from the liberators of your country; and that family of yours had the consulship the same year that the city had consuls. Now the consulship lies open in common to us patricians and to you plebeians; nor is it, as formerly, the prize of birth, but of valour. Look forward, therefore, soldiers, to even the highest honour. Though you, as men, have, with the approbation of the gods, given me this new surname of Corvus, the ancient surname of our family, Publicolæ, has not been erased from my memory. I ever do and ever have cultivated the good will of the Roman commons abroad and at home, as a private man and in public offices, high and low, as tribune equally as when consul, with the same undeviating line of conduct through all my successive consulships. Now, with respect to that which is at hand, with the aid of the gods, join with me in seeking a new and complete triumph over the Samnites."

### 33

Never was a general on a more familiar footing with his soldiers, by his performing all the duties among the lowest of the soldiers without reluctance. Moreover in the military sports, wherein equals vie with their equals in contests of swiftness and strength, affable and condescending, he conquered and was conquered with the same countenance; nor did he spurn any competitor who should offer; in his acts kind according to the occasion; in his conversation no less mindful of the ease of others than of his own dignity; and, a thing than which nothing is more agreeable to the people, he administered his offices by the same line of conduct by which he had gained them. The whole army therefore, cheering the exhortation of their leader with the utmost alacrity, march forth from the camp. The battle commenced with equal hopes and equal strength on both sides, as much as any battle ever did, with confidence in themselves, and without contempt of their enemies. Their recent exploits and their double victory a few days before, increased the spirits of the Samnites on the other side; the glories of four hundred years and victory coeval with the building of their city [had the same effect] on the Romans; to both sides, however, the circumstance of the enemy being a new one gave additional anxiety. The battle was a proof what spirits they possessed; for they maintained the conflict in such a manner, that, for a considerable time, the armies inclined to neither side. Then the consul, thinking that some confusion should be caused among them, since they could not be overpowered by force, endeavours to disorder their foremost battalions by a charge of cavalry. And when he saw them wheel their troops within a narrow compass in fruitless disorder, and that they could not open a passage to the enemy, riding back to the van of the legions, after leaping from his horse, he says, "Soldiers, this is the task for us infantry; come on, as ye shall see me making way with my sword, in whatever direction I shall advance into the enemy's line, so let each man, with all his might, beat down those who oppose him. All those places, where their erected spears now glitter, you shall see cleared by widely-extended slaughter." He had uttered these words, when the cavalry by order of the consul turn to the wings, and open a passage for the legions to the centre of the line. First of all, the consul attacks the

enemy, and slays him whom he happened to engage. Those on the right and left, fired at this sight, commence a dreadful fight, each with the foe opposite him. The Samnites obstinately stand their ground, though they receive more wounds than they inflict. The battle had now lasted for a considerable time, great slaughter occurred around the standards of the Samnites; in no part was there a flight, so firmly had they made up their minds to be vanquished by death alone. Wherefore the Romans, when they perceived their strength to relax by fatigue, and but a small part of the day still remained, fired with fury, rush upon the enemy. Then for the first time it appeared that they were giving ground, and that the matter was inclining to a flight; then the Samnites were taken, some slain; nor would many have survived, had not night terminated the victory rather than the battle. Both the Romans confessed, that they had never fought with a more determined enemy; and the Samnites, on being asked what cause first drove them to fly after being so determined, said, that it was the eyes of the Romans which seemed to them to flash fire, and their distracted looks, and furious aspect; that more of terror arose from thence, than from any thing else. Which terror they confessed not only in the issue of the battle, but in their departure by night. Next day the Romans take possession of the deserted camp of the enemy, whither all the Campanians flocked to congratulate them.

### 34

But this joy was well nigh alloyed by a great loss sustained in Samnium. For the consul Cornelius, having set out from Saticula, incautiously led his army into a mountainous tract, passable through a deep defile, and beset on all sides by the enemy; nor did he perceive the enemy stationed over his head, until a retreat could no longer be made with safety. Whilst the Samnites delayed only till he should bring down his entire army into the valley; Publius Decius, a tribune of the soldiers, espies in the tract a hill higher than the rest, hanging over the enemies' camp, rather steep to be ascended by an encumbered army, not difficult for such as were lightly armed. He says therefore to the consul, greatly alarmed in mind, "Aulus Cornelius, do you perceive that elevated point above the enemy? That is the bulwark of our hope and safety, if we briskly gain possession of it, which the Samnites in their blindness have given up. Only give me the first rank and spearmen of one legion; when with these I shall have gained the summit, do you proceed hence free from all apprehension, and save yourself and the army. For the enemy, lying beneath us and [exposed thereby] to all our weapons, will not be able to stir without destruction to themselves. After that either the good fortune of the Roman people or our own bravery will extricate us." Being commanded by the consul, he received the body of men [required] and proceeds by secret paths through the mountain, nor was he observed by the enemy until he approached the place which he was making for. Then, whilst all were struck with astonishment, after he had attracted the eyes of all to himself, he both afforded the consul time to draw off his army to more advantageous ground, and he himself was posted on the top of the hill. The Samnites, whilst they march their forces now in this direction, now in that, having lost the opportunity of effecting either object, can neither pursue the consul, unless through the same defile in which they had him a little before exposed to their weapons, nor march up the rising ground over themselves, which had been seized on by Decius. But both their resentment stimulated them more against the latter, who had taken from them the favourable opportunity of achieving their object, and also the proximity of the place, and the paucity of the enemy; and one time they would fain surround the hill on all sides with armed men, so as to cut off Decius from the consul; at another time they wished to

open a passage, so that they may fall on them when they had descended into the defile. Before they had determined on what they should do, night came on them. Decius at first entertained a hope, that he would have to engage them from the higher ground, as they ascended against the steep; then surprise took possession of him, that they neither commenced the fight, nor if they were deterred from that by the unevenness of the ground, that they did not surround him with works and a circumvallation. Then summoning the centurions to him, he said, "What ignorance of war and indolence is that? or how did such men obtain a victory over the Sidicinians and Campanians? You see that their battalions move to and fro, that sometimes they are collected to one spot, at other times they are drawn out. As for work, no one attempts it, when we might by this time have been surrounded with a rampart. Then indeed should we be like to them, if we delay longer here than is expedient. Come on, accompany me; that whilst some day light remains, we may ascertain in what places they put their guards, in what direction an escape may lie open from hence." All these points he carefully observed, clad in a soldier's vest, the centurions whom he took with him being also in the attire of common soldiers, lest the enemy might notice the general going the round.

### 35

Then having placed watch-guards, he commands the ticket to be issued to all the rest, that when the signal had been given by the trumpet of the second watch, they should assemble to him in silence fully armed. Whither when they had assembled in silence according to the orders issued, "Soldiers," says he, "this silence is to be observed in listening to me, waving the military mode of expressing assent. When I shall have thoroughly explained my sentiments to you, then such of you as shall approve the same, will pass over; we will follow that line of conduct which shall meet the judgment of the majority. Now hear what I meditate in mind. The enemy have surrounded you, not brought hither in flight, nor left behind through cowardice. By valour you seized this ground; by valour you must make your way from it. By coming hither you have saved a valuable army of the Roman people; by forcing your way hence, save yourselves. You have proved yourselves worthy, though few in number, of affording aid to multitudes, whilst you yourselves stand in need of aid from no one. You have to do with that enemy, who on yesterday, through their supineness, availed themselves not of the fortunate opportunity of destroying our whole army, who did not see this hill so advantageously situate hanging over their heads, until it was seized on by us; who with so many thousand men did not prevent us so few from the ascent, and did not surround us with a rampart when in possession of the ground, though so much of the day still remained. That enemy which with their eyes open and awake you so baffled, it is incumbent on you now to beguile, buried, as they are, in sleep; nay, it is absolutely necessary. For our affairs are in that situation, that I am rather to point out to you your necessity than to propose advice. For whether you are to remain or to depart hence, can no longer be matter of deliberation, since, with the exception of your arms, and courage mindful of those arms, fortune has left you nothing, and we must die of famine and thirst, if we are more afraid of the sword than becomes men and Romans. Therefore our only safety is to sally forth from this and to depart. That we must do either by day or by night. But lo! another point which admits of less doubt; for if daylight be waited for, what hope is there, that the enemy, who have now encompassed the hill on every side, as you perceive, with their bodies exposed at disadvantage, will not hem us in with a continued rampart and ditch? If night then be favourable for a sally, as it is, this is undoubtedly the most suitable hour of night. You assembled here on the signal of the second watch, a

time which buries mortals in the profoundest sleep. You will pass through their bodies lulled to sleep, either in silence unnoticed by them, or ready to strike terror into them, should they perceive you, by a sudden shout. Only follow me, whom you have followed. The same fortune which conducted us hither, will I follow. Those of you to whom these measures seem salutary, come on, pass over to the right."

### 36

They all passed over, and followed Decius as he proceeded through the intervals which lay between the guards. They had now passed the middle of the camp, when a soldier, striding over the bodies of the watchmen as they lay asleep, occasioned a noise by striking one of their shields. When the watchman, being aroused by this, stirred the next one to him, and those who were awake stirred up others, not knowing whether they were friends or foes, whether it was the garrison that sallied forth or the consul had taken their camp; Decius, having ordered the soldiers to raise a shout, as they were no longer unobserved, disheartens them by panic whilst still heavy from sleep, by which being perplexed, they were neither able to take arms briskly, nor make resistance, nor to pursue them. During the trepidation and confusion of the Samnites, the Roman guard, slaying such of the guards as came in their way, reached the consul's camp. A considerable portion of night still remained, and things now appeared to be in safety; when Decius says, "Roman soldiers, be honoured for your bravery. Your journey and return ages shall extol. But to behold such bravery light and day are necessary; nor do you deserve that silence and night should cover you, whilst you return to the camp with such distinguished glory. Here let us wait in quiet for the daylight." His words they obeyed. And as soon as it was day, a messenger being despatched to the camp to the consul, they were aroused from sleep with great joy; and the signal being given by ticket, that those persons returned safe who had exposed their persons to evident danger for the preservation of all, rushing out each most anxiously to meet them, they applaud them, congratulate them, they call them singly and collectively their preservers, they give praises and thanks to the gods, they raise Decius to heaven. This was a sort of camp triumph for Decius, who proceeded through the middle of the camp, with his guard fully armed, the eyes of all being fixed on him, and all giving him equal honour with the consul. When they came to the general's tent, the consul summons them by sound of trumpet to an assembly; and commencing with the well-earned praises of Decius, he adjourned the assembly on the interposition of Decius himself, who advising the postponement of every thing else, whilst the occasion was still present, persuaded the consul to attack the enemy, whilst still in consternation from the panic of the night, and dispersing in separate detachments around the hill, [adding] that he believed that some who had been sent out in pursuit of him were straggling through the forest. The legions were ordered to take arms; and having departed from the camp, as the forest was now better known by means of scouts, they are led onwards to the enemy through a more open tract. Having unexpectedly attacked the enemy when off their guard, since the soldiers of the Samnites straggling in every direction, most of them unarmed, were not able either to rally, nor to take arms, nor to betake themselves within the rampart, they first drive them in a panic into the camp: then they take the camp itself, having dislodged the guards. The shout spread around the hill; and puts each to flight from their respective posts. Thus a great part yielded to an enemy they had not seen. Those whom the panic had driven within the rampart (they amounted to thirty thousand) were all slain; the camp was plundered.

### 37

Matters being thus conducted, the consul, having summoned an assembly, pronounces a panegyric on Decius, not only that which had been commenced on a previous occasion, but as now completed by his recent deserts; and besides other military gifts, he presents him with a golden crown and one hundred oxen, and with one white one of distinguished beauty, richly decorated with gilded horns. The soldiers who had been in the guard with him, were presented with a double allowance of corn for ever; for the present, with an ox and two vests each. Immediately after the consuls' donation, the legions place on the head of Decius a crown of grass, indicative of their deliverance from a blockade, expressing their approbation of the present with a shout. Decorated with these emblems, he sacrificed the beautiful ox to Mars; the hundred oxen he bestowed on the soldiers, who had been with him in the expedition. On the same soldiers the legions conferred, each a pound of corn and a pint of wine; and all these things were performed with great alacrity, with a military shout, a token of the approbation of all. The third battle was fought near Suessula, in which the army of the Samnites, having been routed by Marcus Valerius, having summoned from home the flower of their youth, determined on trying their strength by a final contest. From Suessula messengers came in great haste to Capua, and from thence horsemen in full speed to the consul Valerius, to implore aid. The troops were immediately put in motion; and the baggage in the camp being left with a strong guard, the army moves on with rapidity; and they select at no great distance from the enemy a very narrow spot (as, with the exception of their horses, they were unaccompanied by a crowd of cattle and servants). The army of the Samnites, as if there was to be no delay in coming to an engagement, draw up in order of battle; then, when no one came to meet them, they advance to the enemy's camp in readiness for action. There when they saw the soldiers on the rampart, and persons sent out to reconnoitre in every direction, brought back word into how narrow a compass the camp had been contracted, inferring thence the scanty number of the enemy. The whole army began to exclaim, that the trenches ought to be filled up, the rampart to be torn down, and that they should force their way into the camp; and by that temerity the war would have been soon over, had not the generals restrained the impetuosity of the soldiers. However, as their own numbers bore heavily on their supplies, and in consequence, first of their sitting down so long at Suessula, and then by the delay of the contest, they were not far from a want of provisions, it was determined, whilst the enemy remained shut up as if through fear, that the soldiers should be led through the country to forage; [supposing] in the mean time, that all supplies would fail the Romans also, who having marched in haste, had brought with him only as much corn as could be carried on his shoulders amid his arms. The consul, after he had observed the enemy scattered through the country, that the posts were left but insufficiently attended, having in a few words encouraged his men, leads them on to besiege the camp. After he had taken this on the first shout and contest, more of the enemy being slain in their tents than at the gates and rampart, he ordered the captive standards to be collected into one place, and having left behind two legions as a guard and protection, after giving them strict order that they should abstain from the booty, until he himself should return; having set out with his troops in regular order, the cavalry who had been sent on driving the dispersed Samnites as it were by hunting toils, he committed great slaughter among them. For in their terror they could neither determine by what signal they should collect themselves into a body, whether they should make for the camp, or continue their flight to a greater distance. And so great was their terror, and so precipitate their flight, that to the number of forty thousand shields, though by no means were so many slain, and one hundred and seventy standards, with those which

had been taken in the camp, were brought to the consul. Then they returned to the enemy's camp; and there all the plunder was given up to the soldiers.

### 38

The result of this contest obliged the Faliscians, who were on terms of a truce, to petition for a treaty of alliance from the senate; and diverted the Latins, who had their armies already prepared, from the Roman to a Pelignian war. Nor did the fame of such success confine itself within the limits of Italy; but the Carthaginians also sent ambassadors to Rome to congratulate them, with an offering of a golden crown, to be placed in Jupiter's shrine in the Capitol. Its weight was twenty-five pounds. Both consuls triumphed over the Samnites, whilst Decius followed distinguished with praises and presents, when amid the rough jesting of the soldiers the name of the tribune was no less celebrated than that of the consuls. The embassies of the Campanians and Suessulans were then heard; and to their entreaties it was granted that a garrison should be sent thither, in order that the incursions of the Samnites might be repelled. Capua, even then by no means favourable to military discipline, alienated from the memory of their country the affections of the soldiers, which were debauched by the supply of pleasures of all kinds; and schemes were being formed in winter-quarters for taking away Capua from the Campanians by the same kind of wickedness as that by which they had taken it from its original possessors: "and not undeservedly would they turn their own example against themselves. For why should the Campanians, who were neither able to defend themselves nor their possessions, occupy the most fertile land of Italy, and a city worthy of that land, rather than the victorious army, who had driven the Samnites from thence by their sweat and blood? Was it reasonable that men who had surrendered to them should have the full enjoyment of that fertile and delightful country; that they, wearied by military toil, had to struggle in an insalubrious and arid soil around their city, or within the city to suffer the oppressive and exhausting weight of interest-money daily increasing?" These schemes agitated in secret cabals, and as yet communicated only to a few, were encountered by the new consul Caius Marcius Rutilus, to whom the province of Campania had fallen by lot, Quintus Servilius, his colleague, being left behind in the city. Accordingly when he was in possession of all these circumstances just as they had occurred, having ascertained them through the tribunes, matured by years and experience, (for he was consul now for the fourth time, and had been dictator and censor,) thinking it the wisest proceeding to frustrate the violence of the soldiers, by prolonging their hope of executing their project whenever they might wish, he spreads the rumour, that the troops were to winter in the same towns on the year after also. For they had been cantoned throughout the cities of Campania, and their plots had spread from Capua to the entire army. This abatement being given to the eagerness of their projects, the mutiny was set at rest for the present.

### 39

The consul, having led out his army to the summer campaign, determined, whilst he had the Samnites quiet, to purge the army by sending away the turbulent men; by telling some that their regular time had been served; that others were weighed down by years and debilitated in bodily vigour. Some were sent away on furloughs, at first individuals, then some cohorts also, on the plea that they had wintered far from their home and domestic affairs. When different individuals were sent to different places under pretence of the business of the service, a considerable number were put out of the way; which multitude the other consul detained in Rome under different pretences. And first

indeed, not suspecting the artifice, they returned to their homes by no means with reluctance. After they saw that neither those first sent returned to their standards, and that scarcely any others, except those who had wintered in Campania, and chiefly the fomenters of the mutiny, were sent away; at first wonder, and then certain fear entered their minds, that their schemes had been divulged; "that now they would have to suffer trials, discoveries, the secret punishments of individuals, and the tyrannical and cruel despotism of the consuls and the senate. Those who were in the camp, discuss these things in secret conferences, seeing that the sinews of the conspiracy had been got rid of by the artifice of the consul." One cohort, when they were at no great distance from Anxur, posted itself at Lautulæ, in a narrow woody pass between the sea and the mountains, to intercept those whom the consul was dismissing under various pretences (as has been already mentioned). Their body was now becoming strong in numbers; nor was any thing wanting to complete the form of a regular army, except a leader. Without order, therefore, they come into the Alban territory committing depredations, and under the hill of Alba Longa, they encompass their camp with a rampart. The work here being completed, during the remainder of the day they discuss their different opinions regarding the choice of a commander, not having sufficient confidence in any of those present. Whom could they invite out from Rome? What individuals of the patricians or of the commons was there, who would either knowingly expose himself to such imminent danger, or to whom could the cause of the army, set mad by ill-treatment, be safely committed? On the following day, when the same subject of deliberation detained them, some of the straggling marauders ascertained and brought an account, that Titus Quinctius cultivated a farm in the Tusculan territory, forgetful of the city and its honours. This was a man of patrician family, whose military career, which was passed with great glory, having been relinquished in consequence of one of his feet being lamed by a wound, he determined on spending his life in the country far from ambition and the forum. His name once heard, they immediately recognised the man; and with wishes for success, ordered him to be sent for. There was, however, but little hope that he would do any thing voluntarily; they resolved on employing force and intimidation. Accordingly those who had been sent for the purpose, having entered the house in the silence of the night, and surprising Quinctius overcome in sleep, threatening that there was no alternative, either authority and honour, or death, in case he resisted, unless he followed, they force him to the camp. Immediately on his arrival he was styled general, and whilst he was startled at the strange nature of the sudden occurrence, they convey to him the ensigns of honour, and bid him lead them to the city. Then having torn up their standard, more under the influence of their own impetuosity than by the command of their general, they arrive in hostile array at the eighth stone on the road, which is now the Appian; and would have proceeded immediately to the city, had they not heard that an army was coming to meet them, and that Marcus Valerius Corvus was nominated dictator against them, and Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus master of the horse.

#### 40

As soon as they came in sight and recognised the arms and standards, instantly the recollection of their country softened the resentment of all. Not yet were they so hardy as to shed the blood of their countrymen, nor had they known any but foreign wars, and secession from their own was deemed the extreme of rage. Accordingly now the generals, now the soldiers sought a meeting for a negotiation. Quinctius, who was satiated with arms [taken up] even in defence of his country, much more so against it;

Corvus, who entertained a warm affection for all his countrymen, chiefly the soldiers, and above others, for his own army, advanced to a conference. To him, being immediately recognised, silence was granted with no less respect by his adversaries, than by his own party: he says, "Soldiers, at my departure from the city, I prayed to the immortal gods, your public deities as well as mine, and earnestly implored their goodness so, that they would grant me the glory of establishing concord among you, not victory over you. There have been and there will be sufficient opportunities, whence military fame may be obtained: on this occasion peace should be the object of our wishes. What I earnestly called for from the immortal gods when offering up my prayers, you have it in your power to grant to me, if you will remember, that you have your camp not in Samnium, nor among the Volscians, but on Roman ground; that those hills which you behold are those of your country, that this is the army of your countrymen; that I am your own consul, under whose guidance and auspices ye last year twice defeated the legions of the Samnites, twice took their camp by storm. Soldiers, I am Marcus Valerius Corvus, whose nobility ye have felt by acts of kindness towards you, not by ill-treatment; the proposer of no tyrannical law against you, of no harsh decree of the senate; in every post of command more strict on myself than on you. And if birth, if personal merit, if high dignity, if public honours could suggest arrogance to any one, from such ancestors have I been descended, such a specimen had I given of myself, at such an age did I attain the consulship, that when but twenty-three years old I might have been a proud consul, even to the patricians, not to the commons only. What act or saying of mine, when consul, have ye heard of more severe than when only tribune? With the same tenor did I administer two successive consulships; with the same shall this uncontrollable office, the dictatorship, be administered. So that I shall be found not more indulgent to these my own soldiers and the soldiers of my country, than to you, I shudder to call you so, its enemies. Ye shall therefore draw the sword against me, before I draw it against you. On that side the signal shall be sounded, on that the shout and onset shall begin, if a battle must take place. Determine in your minds, on that which neither your fathers nor grandfathers could; neither those who seceded to the Sacred Mount, nor yet those who afterwards posted themselves on the Aventine. Wait till your mothers and wives come out to meet you from the city with dishevelled hair, as they did formerly to Coriolanus. At that time the legions of the Volscians, because they had a Roman for their leader, ceased from hostilities; will not ye, a Roman army, desist from an unnatural war? Titus Quinctius, under whatever circumstances you stand on that side, whether voluntarily or reluctantly, if there must be fighting, do you then retire to the rear. With more honour even will you fly, and turn your back to your countryman, than fight against your country. Now you will stand with propriety and honour among the foremost to promote peace; and may you be a salutary agent in this conference. Require and offer that which is just; though we should admit even unjust terms, rather than engage in an impious combat with each other." Titus Quinctius, turning to his party with his eyes full of tears, said, "In me too, soldiers, if there is any use of me, ye have a better leader for peace than for war. For that speech just now delivered, not a Volscian, nor a Samnite expressed, but a Roman: your own consul, your own general, soldiers: whose auspices having already experienced for you, do not wish to experience them against you. The senate had other generals also, who would engage you with more animosity; they have selected the one who would be most indulgent to you, his own soldiers, in whom as your general you would have most confidence. Even those who can conquer, desire peace: what ought we to desire? Why do we not, renouncing resentment

and hope, those fallacious advisers, resign ourselves and all our interests to his tried honour?"

#### 41

All approving with a shout, Titus Quinctius, advancing before the standards, declared that "the soldiers would be obedient to the dictator; he entreated that he would espouse the cause of his unfortunate countrymen, and having espoused it, he would maintain it with the same fidelity with which he had wont to administer public affairs. That for himself individually he made no terms: that he would found his hope in nothing else but in his innocence. That provision should be made for the soldiers, as provision had been made by the senate, once for the commons, a second time for the legions, so that the secession should not be visited with punishment." The dictator, having lauded Quinctius, and having bid the others to hope for the best, returned back to the city with all speed, and, with the approbation of the senate, proposed to the people in the Peteline grove, that the secession should not be visited with chastisement on any of the soldiers. He also entreated, with their permission, that no one should either in jest or earnest upbraid any one with that proceeding. A military devoting law was also passed, that the name of any soldier once enrolled, should not be erased unless with his own consent; and to the law [a clause] was added that no one, after he had been a tribune of the soldiers, should afterwards be a centurion. That demand was made by the conspirators on account of Publius Salonius; who in alternate years was both tribune of the soldiers and first centurion, which they now call *primi pili*. The soldiers were incensed against him, because he had always been opposed to their recent measures, and had fled from Lantulæ, that he might have no share in them. Accordingly when this alone was not obtained from the senate through their regard for Salonius, then Salonius, conjuring the conscript fathers, that they would not value his promotion more highly than the concord of the state, prevailed in having that also carried. Equally ineffectual was the demand, that some deductions should be made from the pay of the cavalry, (they then received triple,) because they had opposed the conspiracy.

#### 42

Besides these, I find in some writers that Lucius Genucius, tribune of the commons, proposed to the people, that no one should be allowed to practise usury; likewise provision was made by other enactments, that no one should fill the same office within ten years; nor hold two offices on the same year; and that it should be allowed that both the consuls should be plebeians. If all these concessions were made to the people, it is evident that the revolt possessed no little strength. In other annals it is recorded, that Valerius was not appointed dictator, but that the entire business was managed by the consuls; and also that that band of conspirators were driven to arms not before they came to Rome, but at Rome; and that it was not on the country-house of Titus Quinctius, but on the residence of Caius Manlius the assault was made by night, and that he was seized by the conspirators to become their leader: that having proceeded thence to the fourth mile-stone, they posted themselves in a well-defended place; and that it was not with the leaders mention of a reconciliation originated; but that suddenly, when the armies marched out to battle fully armed, a mutual salutation took place; that mixing together the soldiers began to join hands, and to embrace each other with tears; and that the consuls, on seeing the minds of the soldiers averse from fighting, made a proposition to the senate concerning the re-establishment of concord. So that among ancient writers nothing is agreed on, except that there was a mutiny, and that it was

composed. Both the report of this disturbance, and the heavy war entered into with the Samnites, alienated some states from the Roman alliance: and besides the treaty of the Latins, which now for a long time was not to be depended on, the Privernians also by a sudden incursion laid waste Norba and Setia, Roman colonies in their neighbourhood.

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## Book VIII

*The Latins with the Campanians revolt; and ambassadors having been sent to the senate, they propose that, if they wished for peace, they should elect one of the consuls from among the Latins. Titus Manlius, the consul, put his son to death, because he had fought, though successfully, against the Latins, contrary to orders. The Romans being hard pressed in the battle, Publius Decius, then consul with Manlius, devoted himself for the army. The Latins surrender. None of the young men came out to meet Manlius on his return to the city. Minucia, a vestal virgin, was condemned for incest. Several matrons convicted of poisoning. Laws then first made against that crime. The Ausonians, Privernians, and Palæopolitans subdued. Quintus Publilius the first instance of a person continuing in command after the expiration of his office, and of a triumph decreed to any person not a consul. Law against confinement for debt. Quintus Fabius, master of the horse, fights the Samnites with success, contrary to the orders of Lucius Papirius, dictator; and, with difficulty, obtains pardon, through the intercession of the people. Successful expedition against the Samnites.*

### 1

The consuls now were Caius Plautius a second time, and Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus; when the people of Setia and Norba came to Rome to announce the revolt of the Privernians, with complaints of the damages received by them. News were brought that the army of the Volscians, under the guidance of the people of Antium, had taken post at Satricum. Both wars fell by lot to Plautius. He, marching first to Privernum, immediately came to an engagement. The enemy were defeated after a slight resistance: the town was taken, and given back to the Privernians, a strong garrison being placed in it: two thirds of their land were taken from them. The victorious army was marched thence to Satricum against the Antians; there a desperate battle was fought with great slaughter on both sides; and when a storm separated the combatants, hope inclining to neither side, the Romans, nowise disheartened by this so indecisive an engagement, prepare for battle against the following day. The Volscians, reckoning up what men they had lost in battle, had by no means the same spirits to repeat the risk. They went off in the night to Antium as a vanquished army in the utmost confusion, leaving behind their wounded and a part of their baggage. A vast quantity of arms was found, both among the dead bodies of the enemy, and also in the camp. These, the consul declared, that he offered up to Mother Lua; and he laid waste the enemy's country as far as the sea-coast. The other consul, Æmilius, on entering the Sabellan territory, found neither a camp of the Samnites nor legions opposed to him. Whilst he laid waste their territories with fire and sword, the ambassadors of the Samnites came to him, suing for peace; by whom being referred to the senate, after leave to address them was granted, laying aside their ferocious spirits, they sued for peace for themselves from the Romans, and the right of waging war against the Sidicinians. Which requests, [they alleged,] that "they were the more justified in making, because they had both united in friendship with the Roman people, when their affairs were flourishing, not under circumstances of distress, as the Campanians had done, and they were taking up arms against the Sidicinians, ever their enemies, never the friends of the Roman people; who had neither, as the Samnites, sought their friendship in time of peace, nor, as the Campanians, their assistance in time of war, and were neither in alliance with, nor under subjection to the Roman people."

## 2

After the prætor Tiberius Æmilius had consulted the senate respecting the demands of the Samnites, and the senate voted that the treaty should be renewed with them, the prætor returned this answer to the Samnites: "That it neither had been the fault of the Roman people that their friendship with them was not perpetual; nor was any objection made to that friendship being once more re-established, since they themselves were now become tired of a war entered into through their own fault. With respect to what regarded the Sidicinians, they did not interfere with the Samnite nation having the free decision of peace and war." The treaty being concluded, on their return home, the Roman army was immediately withdrawn after they had received a year's pay, and corn for three months: for which the consul had stipulated, to grant time for a truce, until the ambassadors should return. The Samnites having marched against the Sidicinians with the same forces which they had employed in their war against the Romans, entertained rather sanguine hopes of becoming masters of the enemies' citadel. Then the Sidicinians first began to surrender to the Romans. Afterwards, when the senate rejected that offer as too late, and as being wrung from them by extreme necessity, it was made to the Latins, who were already taking up arms on their own account. Nor did even the Campanians (so much stronger was their recollection of the injuries done them by the Samnites than of the kindness of the Romans) keep themselves from this quarrel. Out of these so many states, one vast army, entering the territories of the Samnites under the direction of the Latins, committed more damage by depredations than by battles; and though the Latins had the advantage in the field, they retired out of the enemies' territory without reluctance, that they might not be obliged to fight too frequently. This opportunity was afforded to the Samnites to send ambassadors to Rome. When they appeared before the senate, having complained that they, though now confederates, were subjected to the same hardships as those they had suffered as enemies, solicited, with the humblest entreaties, that "the Romans would think it enough the victory, of which they had deprived the Samnites, over their Campanian and Sidicinian enemy; that they would not besides suffer them to be vanquished by these most dastardly states. That they could by their sovereign authority keep the Latins and the Campanians out of the Samnite territory, if they really were under the dominion of the Roman people; but if they rejected their authority, that they might compel them by arms." To this an equivocal answer was returned, because it was mortifying to acknowledge, that the Latins were not now in their power, and they were afraid lest by finding fault they might estrange them from their side: that the case of the Campanians was different, they having come under their protection, not by treaty but by surrender: accordingly, that the Campanians, whether they wished or not, should remain quiet: that in the Latin treaty there was no clause by which they were prevented from going to war with whomsoever they pleased.

## 3

Which answer, whilst it sent away the Samnites uncertain as to what conduct they were to think that the Romans would pursue, it further estranged the Campanians through fear; it rendered the Samnites more presuming, they considering that there was nothing which the Romans would now refuse them. Wherefore, proclaiming frequent meetings under the pretext of preparing for war against the Samnites, their leading men, in their several deliberations among themselves, secretly fomented the plan of a war with Rome. In this war the Campanians too joined against their preservers. But though all their schemes were carefully concealed, and they were anxious that their Samnite

enemy should be got rid of in their rear before the Romans should be aroused, yet through the agency of some who were attached [to the latter] by private friendships and other ties, information of their conspiracy made its way to Rome, and the consuls being ordered to resign their office before the usual time, in order that the new consuls might be elected the sooner to meet so important a war, a religious scruple entered their minds at the idea of the elections being held by persons whose time of office had been cut short. Accordingly an interregnum took place. There were two interreges, Marcus Valerius and Marcus Fabius. The consuls elected were Titus Manlius Torquatus a third time, and Publius Decius Mus. It is agreed on that, in this year, Alexander, king of Epirus, made a descent on Italy with a fleet. Which war, if the first commencement had been sufficiently successful, would unquestionably have extended to the Romans. The same was the era of the exploits of Alexander the Great, whom, being son to the other's sister, in another region of the world, having shown himself invincible in war, fortune cut short in his youth by disease. But the Romans, although the revolt of their allies and of the Latin nation was now no matter of doubt, yet as if they felt solicitude regarding the Samnites, not for themselves, summoned ten of the leading men of the Latins to Rome, to whom they wished to issue such orders as they might wish. Latium had at that time two prætors, Lucius Annius, a native of Setia, and Lucius Numisius of Circeii, both from the Roman colonists; through whose means, besides Signia and Velitræ, also Roman colonies, the Volscians too had been stirred up to arms. It was determined that these two should be summoned specially; it was a matter of doubt to no one, on what matter they were sent for. Accordingly the prætors, having held an assembly, before they set out for Rome, inform them, that they were summoned by the Roman senate, and consult them as to what answer it was their wish should be given on those subjects which they thought would be discussed with them.

#### 4

When different persons advanced different opinions, then Annius says: "Though I myself put the question, as to what answer it might be your pleasure should be given, yet I think it more concerns our general interest how we should act than how we should speak. Your plans being once unfolded, it will be easy to suit words to the subject; for if even now we are capable of submitting to slavery under the shadow of a confederacy on equal terms, what is wanting but to betray the Sidicinians, be obedient to the orders not only of the Romans, but of the Samnites, and tell the Romans, that we will lay down our arms whenever they intimate it to be their wish? But if at length a desire of liberty stimulates your minds, if a confederacy does subsist, if alliance be equalization of rights, if there be reason now to boast that we are of the same blood as the Romans, of which they were formerly ashamed, if they have such an army of allies, by the junction of which they may double their strength, such a one as their consuls would be unwilling to separate from themselves either in concluding or commencing their own wars; why are not all things equalized? why is not one of the consuls chosen from the Latins? Where there is an equal share of strength, is there also an equal share in the government? This indeed in itself reflects no extraordinary degree of honour on us, as still acknowledging Rome to be the metropolis of Latium; but that it may possibly appear to do so, has been effected by our long-continued forbearance. But if ye ever wished for an opportunity of sharing in the government, and enjoying freedom, lo! this opportunity is now at hand, presented both by your own valour and the bounty of the gods. Ye have tried their patience by refusing them soldiers. Who doubts that they were fired with rage, when we broke through a custom of more than two hundred years? Still they submitted to this

feeling of resentment. We waged war with the Pelignians in our own name. They who formerly did not even concede to us the right of defending our own territories through ourselves, interfered not. They heard that the Sidicinians were received under our protection, that the Campanians had revolted from themselves to us, that we were preparing armies against their confederates, the Samnites; yet they stirred not from the city. Whence this so great forbearance on their part, except from a knowledge of our strength and their own? I have it from competent authority, that when the Samnites complained of us, such an answer was given them by the Roman senate, as plainly showed that not even themselves insisted that Latium was under the Roman jurisdiction. Only assume your rights in demanding that which they tacitly concede to you. If fear prevents any one from saying this, lo! I pledge myself that I will say it, in the hearing not only of the Roman people and senate, but of Jupiter himself, who inhabits the Capitol; that if they wish us to be in confederacy and alliance with them, they are to receive one consul from us, and one half of the senate." When he not only recommended these measures boldly, but promised also his aid, they all, with acclamations of assent, permitted him to do and say whatever might appear to him conducive to the republic of the Latin nation and his own honour.

## 5

When they arrived in Rome, an audience of the senate was granted them in the Capitol. There, when Titus Manlius the consul, by direction of the senate, required of them not to make war on their confederates the Samnites, Annius, as if he had taken the Capitol by arms as a victor, and were not addressing them as an ambassador protected by the law of nations, says: "It were time, Titus Manlius, and you, conscript fathers, to cease at length treating with us on a footing of superiority, when you see Latium in a most flourishing state by the bounty of the gods in arms and men, the Samnites being vanquished in war, the Sidicinians and Campanians our allies, the Volscians now united to us in alliance, and that your own colonies even prefer the government of Latium to that of Rome. But since ye do not bring your minds to put an end to your arbitrary despotism, we, though able by force of arms to vindicate the independence of Latium, yet will make this concession to the ties of blood between us, as to offer terms of peace on terms of equality for both, since it has pleased the immortal gods that the strength of both is equalized. One of the consuls must be selected out of Rome, the other out of Latium; an equal portion of the senate must be from both nations; we must be one people, one republic; and that the seat of government may be the same, and we all may have the same name, since the concession must be made by the one party or other, let this, and may it be auspicious to both, have the advantage of being the mother country, and let us all be called Romans." It so happened that the Romans also had a consul, a match for this man's high spirit; who, so far from restraining his angry feelings, openly declared, that if such infatuation took possession of the conscript fathers, that they would receive laws from a man of Setia, he would himself come into the senate armed with a sword, and would slay with his hand any Latin whom he should see in the senate-house. And turning to the statue of Jupiter, "Hear thou, Jupiter," says he, "hear these impious proposals; hear ye them, Justice and Equity. Jupiter, art thou to behold foreign consuls and a foreign senate in thy consecrated temple, as if thou wert a captive and overpowered? Were these the treaties which Tullus, a Roman king, concluded with the Albans, your forefathers, Latins, and which Lucius Tarquinius subsequently concluded with you? Does not the battle at the Lake Regillus occur to your thoughts? Have you so forgotten your own calamities and our kindnesses towards you?"

## 6

When the indignation of the senate followed these words of the consul, it is recorded that, in reply to the frequent appeals to the gods, whom the consuls frequently invoked as witnesses to the treaties, an expression of Annius was heard in contempt of the divinity of the Roman Jupiter. Certainly, when aroused with wrath he was proceeding with rapid steps from the porch of the temple, having fallen down the stairs, his head being severely struck, he was dashed against a stone at the bottom with such force, as to be deprived of sense. As all writers do not say that he was killed, I too shall leave it in doubt; as also the circumstance, that a storm, with a dreadful noise in the heavens, took place during the appeal made in reference to the violated treaties; for they may both be true, and also invented aptly to express in a striking manner the resentment of heaven. Torquatus, being despatched by the senate to dismiss the ambassadors, on seeing Annius lying prostrate, exclaimed, so as that his voice was heard both by the people and the senate, "It is well. The gods have excited a just war. There is a deity in heaven. Thou dost exist, great Jove; not without reason have we consecrated thee the father of gods and men in this mansion. Why do ye hesitate, Romans, and you, conscript fathers, to take up arms under the direction of the gods? Thus will I lay low the legions of the Latins, as you now see this man lying prostrate." The words of the consul, received with the approbation of the people, filled their breasts with such ardour, that the ambassadors on their departure were protected from the anger and violence of the people more by the care of the magistrates, who escorted them by order of the consul, than by the law of nations. The senate also voted for the war; and the consuls, after raising two armies, marched into the territories of the Marsians and Pelignians, the army of the Samnites having joined them, and pitched their camp near Capua, where the Latins and their allies had now assembled. There it is said there appeared to both the consuls, during sleep, the same form of a man larger and more majestic than human, who said, "Of the one side a general, of the other an army was due to the dii Manes and to Mother Earth; from whichever army a general should devote the legions of the enemy and himself, in addition, that the victory would belong to that nation and that party." When the consuls compared together these visions of the night, it was resolved that victims should be slain for the purpose of averting the anger of the gods; at the same time, that if the same portents were exhibited in the entrails as those which had been seen during sleep, either of the consuls should fulfil the fates. When the answers of the haruspices coincided with the secret religious impression already implanted in their minds; then, having brought together the lieutenant-generals and tribunes, and having openly expounded to them the commands of the gods, they settle among themselves, lest the consul's voluntary death should intimidate the army in the field, that on which side soever the Roman army should commence to give way, the consul in that quarter should devote himself for the Roman people and the Quirites. In this consultation it was also suggested, that if ever on any occasion any war had been conducted with strict discipline, then indeed military discipline should be reduced to the ancient standard. What excited their attention particularly was, that they had to contend against Latins, who coincided with themselves in language, manners, in the same kind of arms, and more especially in military institutions; soldiers had been mixed with soldiers, centurions with centurions, tribunes with tribunes, as comrades and colleagues, in the same armies, and often in the same companies. Lest in consequence of this the soldiers should be involved in any mistake, the consuls issue orders that no one should fight against an enemy out of his post.

## 7

It happened that among the other prefects of the troops, who had been sent out in all directions to reconnoitre, Titus Manlius, the consul's son, came with his troop to the back of the enemy's camp, so near that he was scarcely distant a dart's throw from the next post. In that place were some Tusculan cavalry; they were commanded by Geminus Metius, a man distinguished among his countrymen both by birth and exploits. When he recognised the Roman cavalry, and conspicuous among them the consul's son marching at their head, (for they were all known to each other, especially the men of note,) "Romans, are ye going to wage war with the Latins and allies with a single troop. What in the interim will the consuls, what will the two consular armies be doing?" "They will be here in good time," says Manlius, "and with them will be Jupiter himself, as a witness of the treaties violated by you, who is stronger and more powerful. If we fought at the lake Regillus until you had quite enough, here also we shall so act, that a line of battle and an encounter with us may afford you no very great gratification." In reply to this, Geminus, advancing some distance from his own party, says, "Do you choose then, until that day arrives on which you are to put your armies in motion with such mighty labour, to enter the lists with me, that from the result of a contest between us both, it may be seen how much a Latin excels a Roman horseman?" Either resentment, or shame at declining the contest, or the invincible power of fate, arouses the determined spirit of the youth. Forgetful therefore of his father's command, and the consul's edict, he is driven headlong to that contest, in which it made not much difference whether he conquered or was conquered. The other horsemen being removed to a distance as if to witness the sight, in the space of clear ground which lay between them they spurred on their horses against each other; and when they were together in fierce encounter, the spear of Manlius passed over the helmet of his antagonist, that of Metius across the neck of the other's horse. Then wheeling round their horses, when Manlius arose to repeat the blow, he fixed his javelin between the ears of his opponent's horse. When, by the pain of this wound, the horse, having raised his fore-feet on high, tossed his head with great violence, he shook off his rider, whom, when he was raising himself from the severe fall, by leaning on his spear and buckler, Manlius pierced through the throat, so that the steel passed out through the ribs, and pinned him to the earth; and having collected the spoils, he returned to his own party, and with his troop, who were exulting with joy, he proceeds to the camp, and thence to the general's tent to his father, ignorant of what awaited him, whether praise or punishment had been merited. "Father," says he, "that all may truly represent me as sprung from your blood; when challenged, I slew my adversary, and have taken from him these equestrian spoils." When the consul heard this, immediately turning away from his son, he ordered an assembly to be summoned by sound of trumpet. When these assembled in great numbers, "Since you, Titus Manlius," says he, "revering neither the consular power nor a father's majesty, have fought against the enemy out of your post contrary to our orders, and, as far as in you lay, have subverted military discipline, by which the Roman power has stood to this day, and have brought me to this necessity, that I must either forget the republic, or myself and mine; we shall expiate our own transgressions rather than the republic should sustain so serious a loss for our misdeeds. We shall be a melancholy example, but a profitable one, to the youth of future ages. As for me, both the natural affection for my children, as well as that instance of bravery which has led you astray by the false notion of honour, affects me for you. But since either the authority of consuls is to be established by your death, or by your forgiveness to be for ever annulled; I do not think that even you, if you have any of our blood in you, will refuse to restore, by your

punishment, the military discipline which has been subverted by your misconduct. Go, lictor, bind him to the stake." All became motionless, more through fear than discipline, astounded by so cruel an order, each looking on the axe as if drawn against himself. Therefore when they stood in profound silence, suddenly, when the blood spouted from his severed neck, their minds recovering, as it were, from a state of stupefaction, then their voices arose together in free expressions of complaint, so that they spared neither lamentations nor execrations: and the body of the youth, being covered with the spoils, was burned on a pile erected outside the rampart, with all the military zeal with which any funeral could be celebrated: and Manlian orders were considered with horror, not only for the present, but of the most austere severity for future times.

## 8

The severity of the punishment however rendered the soldiers more obedient to the general; and besides that the guards and watches and the regulation of the posts were every where more strictly attended to, such severity was also profitable in the final struggle when they came into the field of battle. But the battle was very like to a civil war; so very similar was every thing among the Romans and Latins, except with respect to courage. The Romans formerly used targets; afterwards, when they began to receive pay, they made shields instead of targets; and what before constituted phalanxes similar to the Macedonian, afterwards became a line drawn up in distinct companies. At length they were divided into several centuries. A century contained sixty soldiers, two centurions, and one standard-bearer. The spearmen (*hastati*) formed the first line in fifteen companies, with small intervals between them: a company had twenty light-armed soldiers, the rest wearing shields; those were called light who carried only a spear and short iron javelins. This, which constituted the van in the field of battle, contained the youth in early bloom advancing towards the age of service. Next followed men of more robust age, in the same number of companies, who were called principes, all wearing shields, and distinguished by the completest armour. This band of thirty companies they called *antepilani*, because there were fifteen others placed behind them with the standards; of which each company consisted of three divisions, and the first division of each they called a *pilus*. Each company consisted of three ensigns, and contained one hundred and eighty-six men. The first ensign was at the head of the *Triarii*, veteran soldiers of tried bravery; the second, at the head of the *Rorarii*, men whose ability was less by reason of their age and course of service; the third, at the head of the *Accensi*, a body in whom very little confidence was reposed. For this reason also they were thrown back to the rear. When the army was marshalled according to this arrangement, the spearmen first commenced the fight. If the spearmen were unable to repulse the enemy, they retreated leisurely, and were received by the principes into the intervals of the ranks. The fight then devolved on the principes; the spearmen followed. The *Triarii* continued kneeling behind the ensigns, their left leg extended forward, holding their shields resting on their shoulders, and their spears fixed in the ground, with the points erect, so that their line bristled as if enclosed by a rampart. If the principes also did not make sufficient impression in the fight, they retreated slowly from the front to the *Triarii*. Hence, when a difficulty is felt, "Matters have come to the *Triarii*," became a usual proverb. The *Triarii* rising up, after receiving the principes and spearmen into the intervals between their ranks, immediately closing their files, shut up as it were the openings; and in one compact body fell upon the enemy, no other hope being now left: that was the most formidable circumstance to the enemy, when having pursued them as vanquished, they beheld a new line suddenly starting up, increased

also in strength. In general about four legions were raised, each consisting of five thousand infantry and three hundred horse. As many more were added from the Latin levy, who were at that time enemies to the Romans, and drew up their line after the same manner; and they knew that unless the ranks were disturbed they would have to engage not only standard with standard, spearmen with spearmen, principes with principes, but centurion also with centurion. There were among the veterans two first centurions in either army, the Roman by no means possessing bodily strength, but a brave man, and experienced in the service; the Latin powerful in bodily strength, and a first-rate warrior; they were very well known to each other, because they had always held equal rank. The Roman, somewhat diffident of his strength, had at Rome obtained permission from the consuls, to select any one whom he wished, his own subcenturion, to protect him from the one destined to be his adversary; and this youth being opposed to him in the battle, obtained the victory over the Latin centurion. They came to an engagement not far from the foot of Mount Vesuvius, where the road led to the Veseris.

## 9

The Roman consuls, before they marched out their armies to the field, offered sacrifices. The aruspex is said to have shown to Decius the head of the liver wounded on the side relating to himself, in other respects the victim was acceptable to the gods; whilst Manlius obtained highly favourable omens from his sacrifice. "But all is well," says Decius, "if my colleague has offered an acceptable sacrifice." The ranks being drawn up in the order already described, they marched forth to battle. Manlius commanded the right, Decius the left wing. At first the action was conducted with equal strength on both sides, and with the same ardent courage. Afterwards the Roman spearmen on the left wing, not sustaining the violent assault of the Latins, betook themselves to the principes. In this state of trepidation the consul Decius cries out with a loud voice to Marcus Valerius, "Valerius, we have need of the aid of the gods. Come, as public pontiff of the Roman people, dictate to me the words in which I may devote myself for the legions." The pontiff directed him to take the gown called *prætecta*, and with his head covered and his hand thrust out under the gown to the chin, standing upon a spear placed under his feet, to say these words: "Janus, Jupiter, father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, ye Lares, ye gods Novensiles,<sup>171</sup> ye gods Indigetes, ye divinities, under whose power we and our enemies are, and ye dii Manes, I pray you, I adore you, I ask your favour, that you would prosperously grant strength and victory to the Roman people, the Quirites; and that ye may affect the enemies of the Roman people, the Quirites, with terror, dismay, and death. In such manner as I have expressed in words, so do I devote the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy, together with myself, to the dii Manes and to Earth for the republic of the Quirites, for the army, legions, auxiliaries of the Roman people, the Quirites." Having uttered this prayer, he orders the lictors to go to Titus Manlius, and without delay to announce to his colleague that he had devoted himself for the army. He, girding himself in a Gabine cincture, and fully armed, mounted his horse, and rushed into the midst of the enemy. He was observed by both armies to present a more majestic appearance than human, as one sent from heaven as an expiation of all the wrath of the gods, to transfer to the enemy destruction turned away from his own side: accordingly, all the terror and panic being carried along with him, at first disturbed the battalions of the Latins, then completely pervaded their entire line. This was most evident, because, in whatever direction he was carried with his horse, there they

<sup>171</sup> The Novensiles were nine deities brought to Rome by the Sabines: Lara, Vesta, Minerva, Feronia, Concord, Faith, Fortune, Chance, Health. See Niebuhr III. ii. 249.

became panic-stricken, as if struck by some pestilential constellation; but when he fell overwhelmed with darts, instantly the cohorts of the Latins, thrown into manifest consternation, took to flight, leaving a void to a considerable extent. At the same time also the Romans, their minds being freed from religious dread, exerting themselves as if the signal was then given for the first time, commenced to fight with renewed ardour. For the Rorarii also pushed forward among the antepilani, and added strength to the spearmen and principes, and the Triarii resting on the right knee awaited the consul's nod to rise up.

## 10

Afterwards, as the contest proceeded, when the superior numbers of the Latins had the advantage in some places, the consul, Manlius, on hearing the circumstance of his colleague's death, after he had, as was right and just, honoured his so glorious a death with tears, as well as with praises so well merited, hesitated, for a little time, whether it was yet time for the Triarii to rise; then judging it better that they should be kept fresh for the decisive blow, he ordered the Accensi to advance from the rear before the standards. When they moved forward, the Latins immediately called up their Triarii, as if their opponents had done the same thing: who, when they had by desperate fighting for a considerable time both fatigued themselves, and had either broken or blunted their spears, and were, however, beating back their adversaries, thinking that the battle was now nearly decided, and that they had come to the last line; then the consul calls to the Triarii, "Arise now, fresh as ye are, against men now wearied, mindful of your country and parents, your wives and children; mindful of your consul who has submitted to death to insure your victory." When the Triarii arose, fresh as they were, with their arms glittering, a new line which appeared unexpectedly, receiving the antepilani into the intervals between the ranks, raised a shout, and broke through the first line of the Latins; and goading their faces, after cutting down those who constituted their principal strength, they passed almost intact through the other companies, with such slaughter that they scarcely left one fourth of the enemy. The Samnites also, drawn up at a distance at the foot of the mountain, struck terror into the Latins. But of all, whether citizens or allies, the principal praise for that action was due to the consuls; the one of whom turned on himself alone all the threats and dangers (denounced) by the divinities of heaven and hell; the other evinced such valour and such judgment in the battle, that it was universally agreed among both the Romans and Latins who have transmitted to posterity an account of the battle, that, on whichever side Titus Manlius held the command, the victory must belong to that. The Latins in their flight betook themselves to Minturnæ. Immediately after the battle the camp was taken, and great numbers still alive were surprised therein, chiefly Campanians. Night surprised them in their search, and prevented the body of Decius from being discovered on that day. On the day after it was found amid vast heaps of slaughtered enemies, pierced with a great number of darts, and his funeral was solemnized under the direction of his colleague, in a manner suited to his death. It seems right to add here, that it is lawful for a consul, a dictator, and a prætor, when he devotes the legions of the enemy, to devote not himself particularly, but whatever citizen he may choose out of a Roman legion regularly enrolled: if the person who has been devoted die, the matter is duly performed; if he do not perish, then an image, seven feet high or more, must be buried in the ground, and a victim slain, as an expiation. Where that image shall be buried, there it is not lawful that a Roman magistrate should pass. But if he wish to devote himself, as Decius did, unless he who has devoted himself die, he shall not with propriety perform any act of religion

regarding either himself or the public. Should he wish to devote his arms to Vulcan or to any other god, he has a right, whether he shall please, by a victim, or in any other manner. It is not proper that the enemy should get possession of the weapon, on which the consul, standing, pronounced the imprecation: if they should get possession of it, then an expiation must be made to Mars by the sacrifices called the *Suove-aurilia*. Although the memory of every divine and human custom has been obliterated, in consequence of preferring what is modern and foreign to that which is ancient and belonging to our own country, I deemed it not irrelevant to relate the particulars even in the very terms used, as they have been handed down and expressed.

## 11

I find it stated in some writers, that the Samnites, having awaited the issue of the battle, came at length with support to the Romans after the battle was over. Also aid from Lavinium, whilst they wasted time in deliberating, was at length sent to the Latins after they had been vanquished. And when the first standards and part of the army just issued from the gates, news being brought of the defeat of the Latins, they faced about and returned back to the city; on which occasion they say that their prætor, Milonius, observed, that "for so very short a journey a high price must be paid to the Romans." Such of the Latins as survived the battle, after being scattered over many roads, collected themselves into a body, and found refuge in the city of Vescia. There their general, Numisius, insisted in their counsels, that "the truly common fortune of war had prostrated both armies by equal losses, and that only the name of victory rested with the Romans; that in other respects they too shared the lot of defeated persons; the two pavilions of the consuls were polluted; one by the murder committed on a son, the other by the blood of a devoted consul; that their army was cut down in every direction; their spearmen and principes were cut down; great havoc was made before the standards and behind them; the Triarii at length restored their cause. Though the forces of the Latins were cut down in an equal proportion, yet for reinforcements, Latium or the Volscians were nearer than Rome. Wherefore, if they thought well of it, he would speedily call out the youth from the Latin and Volscian states, and would return to Capua with a determined army, and by his unexpected arrival strike dismay among the Romans, who were expecting nothing less than battle." Deceptive letters being sent around Latium and the Volscian nation, a tumultuary army, hastily raised from all quarters, was assembled, for as they had not been present at the battle, they were more disposed to believe on slight grounds. This army the consul Torquatus met at Trisanum, a place between Sinuessa and Minturnæ. Before a place was selected for a camp, the baggage on both sides being piled up in a heap, they fought and terminated the war; for so impaired was their strength, that all the Latins surrendered themselves to the consul, who was leading his victorious army to lay waste their lands, and the Campanians followed the example of this surrender. Latium and Capua were fined some land. The Latin with the addition of the Privernian land; and the Falernian land, which had belonged to the people of Campania, as far as the river Vulturnus, is all distributed to the commons of Rome. In the Latin land two acres a man were assigned, so that they should receive an additional three-fourths of an acre from the Privernian land; in the Falernian land three acres were assigned, one fourth of an acre being further added, in consideration of the distance. Of the Latins the Laurentians were exempted from punishment, as also the horsemen of the Campanians, because they had not revolted. An order was issued that the treaty should be renewed with the Laurentians; and it is renewed every year since, on the tenth day after the Latin festival. The rights of

citizenship were granted to the Campanian horsemen; and that it might serve as a memorial, they hung up a brazen tablet in the temple of Castor at Rome. The Campanian state was also enjoined to pay them a yearly stipend of four hundred and fifty denarii each; their number amounted to one thousand six hundred.

## 12

The war being thus concluded, after rewards and punishment were distributed according to the deserts of each, Titus Manlius returned to Rome: on his approach it appears that the aged only went forth to meet him; and that the young men, both then, and all his life after, detested and cursed him. The Antians made incursions on the territories of Ostia, Ardea, and Solonia. The consul Manlius, because he was unable by reason of his health to conduct that war, nominated as dictator Lucius Papirius Crassus, who then happened to be prætor; by him Lucius Papirius Cursor was appointed master of the horse. Nothing worthy of mention was performed against the Antians by the dictator, although he had kept a standing camp for several months in the Antian territory. To a year signaled by a victory over so many and such powerful states, further by the illustrious death of one of the consuls, as well as by the unrelenting, though memorable, severity of command in the other, there succeeded as consuls Titus Æmilius Mamercinus and Quintus Publilius Philo; neither to a similar opportunity of exploits, and they themselves being mindful rather of their own interests as well as of those of the parties in the state, than of the interests of their country. They routed on the plains of Ferentinum, and stripped of their camp, the Latins, who, in resentment of the land they had lost, took up arms again. Publilius, under whose guidance and auspices the action had been fought, receiving the submission of the Latin states, who had lost a great many of their young men there, Æmilius marched the army to Pedum. The people of Pedum were supported by the states of Tibur, Præneste, and Velitræ; auxiliaries had also come from Lanuvium and Antium. Where, though the Romans had the advantage in several engagements, still the entire labour remained at the city of Pedum itself and at the camp of the allied states, which was adjoining the city: suddenly leaving the war unfinished, because he heard that a triumph was decreed to his colleague, he himself also returned to Rome to demand a triumph before a victory had been obtained. The senate displeased by this ambitious conduct, and refusing a triumph unless Pedum was either taken or should surrender, Æmilius, alienated from the senate in consequence of this act, administered the remainder of the consulship like to a seditious tribuneship. For, as long as he was consul, he neither ceased to criminate the patricians to the people, his colleague by no means interfering, because he himself also was a plebeian; (the scanty distribution of the land among the commons in the Latin and Falernian territory afforded the groundwork of the criminations;) and when the senate, wishing to put an end to the administration of the consuls, ordered a dictator to be nominated against the Latins, who were again in arms, Æmilius, to whom the fasces then belonged, nominated his colleague dictator; by him Junius Brutus was constituted master of the horse. The dictatorship was popular, both in consequence of his discourses containing invectives against the patricians, and because he passed three laws, most advantageous to the commons, and injurious to the nobility; one, that the orders of the commons should be binding on all the Romans; another, that the patricians should, before the suffrages commenced, declare their approbation of the laws which should be passed in the assemblies of the centuries; the third, that one at least of the censors should be elected from the commons, as they had already gone so far as that it was lawful that both the consuls should be plebeians. The patricians

considered that more of detriment had been sustained on that year from the consuls and dictator than was counterbalanced by their success and achievements abroad.

### 13

On the following year, Lucius Furius Camillus and Caius Mænius were consuls, in order that the neglect of his duty by Æmilius, the consul of the preceding year, might be rendered more markedly reproachful, the senate loudly urge that Pedum should be assailed with arms, men, and every kind of force, and be demolished; and the new consuls, being forced to give that matter the precedence of all others, set out on that expedition. The state of affairs was now such in Latium, that they could no longer submit to either war or peace. For war they were deficient in resources; they spurned at peace through resentment for the loss of their land. It seemed necessary therefore to steer a middle course, to keep within their towns, so that the Romans by being provoked might have no pretext for hostilities; and that if the siege of any town should be announced to them, aid should be sent from every quarter from all the states. And still the people of Pedum were aided by only a very few states. The Tiburtians and Prænestines, whose territory lay nearest, came to Pedum. Mænius suddenly making an attack, defeated the Aricinians, and Lanuvians, and Veliternians, at the river Astura, the Volscians of Antium forming a junction with them. The Tiburtian, far the strongest body, Camillus engages at Pedum, encountering much greater difficulty, though with a result equally successful. A sudden sally of the townsmen during the battle chiefly occasioned confusion: Camillus, turning on these with a part of his army, not only drove them within their walls, but on the very same day, after he had discomfited themselves and their auxiliaries, he took the town by scalade. It was then resolved to lead round with greater energy and spirit his victorious army from the storming of a single city to the entire conquest of Latium. Nor did they stop until they reduced all Latium, either by storming, or by becoming masters of the cities one after the other by capitulation. Then, disposing garrisons in the towns which they had taken, they departed to Rome to a triumph universally admitted to be due to them. To the triumph was added the honour of having equestrian statues erected to them in the forum, a compliment very unusual at that period. Before they commenced holding the meeting for the election of the consuls for the ensuing year, Camillus moved the senate concerning the Latin states, and spoke thus: "Conscript fathers, that which was to be done by war and arms in Latium has now been fully accomplished by the bounty of the gods and the valour of the soldiers. The armies of the enemy have been cut down at Pedum and the Astura. All the Latin towns, and Antium belonging to the Volscians, either taken by storm, or received into surrender, are occupied by your garrisons. It now remains to be considered, since they annoy us by their repeated rebellions, how we may keep them in quiet submission and in the observance of perpetual peace. The immortal gods have put the determination of this matter so completely in your power, that they have placed it at your option whether Latium is to exist henceforward or not. Ye can therefore insure to yourselves perpetual peace, as far as regards the Latins, either by adopting severe or lenient measures. Do ye choose to adopt cruel conduct towards people who have surrendered and have been conquered? Ye may destroy all Latium, make a vast desert of a place whence, in many and serious wars, ye have often made use of an excellent army of allies. Do you wish, according to the example of your ancestors, to augment the Roman state by admitting the vanquished among your citizens? Materials for extending your power by the highest glory are at hand. That government is certainly by far the most secure, which the subjects feel a pleasure in obeying. But whatever determination ye wish to come to, it is

necessary that it be speedy. So many states have ye in a state of suspense between hope and fear; and it is necessary that you be discharged as soon as possible of your solicitude about them, and that their minds, whilst they are still in a state of insensibility from uncertainty, be at once impressed either by punishment or clemency. It was our duty to bring matters to such a pass that you may have full power to deliberate on every matter; yours to decide what is most expedient to yourselves and the commonwealth."

#### 14

The principal members of the senate applauded the consul's statement of the business on the whole; but said that "as the states were differently circumstanced, that their plan might be readily adjusted so that it might be determined according to the desert of each, if they should put the question regarding each state specifically." The question was therefore so put regarding each separately and a decree past. To the Lanuvians the right of citizenship was granted, and the exercise of their religious rights was restored to them with this provision, that the temple and grove of Juno Sospita should be common between the Lanuvian burghers and the Roman people. The Aricians, Nomentans, and Pedans were admitted into the number of citizens on the same terms as the Lanuvians. To the Tusculans the rights of citizenship which they already possessed were continued; and the crime of rebellion was turned from disaffection on public grounds against a few instigators. On the Veliternians, Roman citizens of long standing, measures of great severity were inflicted because they had so often rebelled; their walls were razed, and their senate removed from thence, and they were ordered to dwell on the other side of the Tiber, so that the fine of any individual who should be caught on the hither side of that river should amount to one thousand *asses*; and that the person who had apprehended him, should not discharge his prisoner from confinement, until the money was paid down. Into the land of the senators colonists were sent; from the additions of which Velitræ recovered its appearance of former populousness. A new colony was also sent to Antium, with this provision, that if the Antians desired to be enrolled as colonists, permission to that effect should be granted. Their ships of war were removed from thence, and the people of Antium were interdicted the sea, and the rights of citizenship were granted them. The Tiburtians and Prænestines were amerced in some land, not only on account of the recent guilt of the rebellion, which was common to them with the other Latins; but also because, from their dislike to the Roman government, they had formerly associated in arms with the Gauls, a nation of savages. From the other Latin states they took away the privileges of intermarriage, commerce, and of holding meetings. To the Campanians, in compliment to their horsemen, because they had refused to join in rebellion with the Latins, and to the Fundans and Formians, because the passage through their territories had been always secure and peaceful, the freedom of the state was granted with the right of suffrage. It was determined that the people of Cumæ and Suessula should have the same rights and be on the same footing as Capua. Of the ships of the Antians some were drawn up to the docks at Rome, some were burned, and with the prows of these a pulpit built in the forum was ordered to be decorated; and that temple was called Rostra.

#### 15

During the consulship of Caius Sulpicius Longus and Publius Ælius Pætus, when the Roman power not more than the kindly feeling engendered by acts of kindness diffused the blessings of peace among all parties, a war broke out between the Sidicinians and Auruncans. The Auruncans having been admitted into alliance on the occasion of their

surrendering, had since that period made no disturbance; accordingly they had a juster pretext for seeking aid from the Romans. But before the consuls led forth their army from the city, (for the senate had ordered the Auruncans to be defended,) intelligence is brought that the Auruncans deserted their town through fear, and flying with their wives and children, that they fortified Suessa, which is now called Aurunca; that their ancient walls and city were demolished by the Sidicinians. The senate being in consequence incensed against the consuls, by whose delays the allies had been betrayed, ordered a dictator to be created. Caius Claudius Regillensis was appointed, and he nominated Caius Claudius Hortator as master of the horse. A scruple afterwards arose concerning the dictator; and when the augurs declared that he seemed to have been created under an informality, the dictator and the master of the horse laid down their office. This year Minucia, a vestal, at first suspected on account of her dress being more elegant than was becoming, afterwards being arraigned before the pontiffs on the testimony of a slave, after she had been ordered by their decree to abstain from meddling in sacred rites, and to keep her slaves under her own power, when brought to trial, was buried alive at the Colline gate, on the right of the causeway, in the field of wickedness. I suppose that name was given to the place from her crime. On the same year Quintus Publilius Philo was the first of the plebeians elected prætor, being opposed by Sulpicius the consul, who refused to take any notice of him as a candidate; the senate, as they had not succeeded on that ground in the case of the highest offices, being less earnest with respect to the prætorship.

## 16

The following year, Lucius Papirius Crassus and Kæso Duilius being consuls, was distinguished by a war with the Ausonians, as being new rather than important. This people inhabited the city Cales; they had united their arms with their neighbours the Sidicinians; and the army of the two states being defeated in one battle scarcely worthy of record, was induced to take to flight the earlier in consequence of the proximity of the cities, and the more sheltered on their flight. Nor did the senate, however, discontinue their attention to that war, because the Sidicinians had now so often taken up arms either as principals, or had afforded aid to those who did so, or had been the cause of hostilities. Accordingly they exerted themselves with all their might, to raise to the consulship for the fourth time, Marcus Valerius Corvus, the greatest general of that day. To Corvus was added Marcus Atilius Regulus as colleague; and lest any disappointment might by any chance occur, a request was made of the consuls, that, without drawing lots, that province might be assigned to Corvus. Receiving the victorious army from the former consuls, proceeding to Cales, whence the war had originated, after he had, at the first shout and onset, routed the enemy, who were disheartened by the recollection also of the former engagement, he set about attacking the town itself. And such was the ardour of the soldiers, that they wished to advance immediately up to the walls, and strenuously asserted that they would scale them. Corvus, because that was a hazardous undertaking, wished to accomplish his object rather by the labour than the risk of his men. Accordingly he formed a rampart, prepared his vineæ, and advanced towers up to the walls; but an opportunity which accidentally presented itself, prevented the occasion for them. For Marcius Fabius, a Roman prisoner, when, having broken his chains during the inattention of his guards on a festival day, suspending himself by means of a rope which was fastened to a battlement of the wall, he let himself down by the hands, persuaded the general to make an assault on the enemy whilst stupified by wine and feasting; nor were the Ausonians, together with their city, captured with

greater difficulty than they had been routed in the field. A great amount of booty was obtained; and a garrison being stationed at Cales, the legions were marched back to Rome. The consul triumphed in pursuance of a decree of the senate; and that Atilius might not be without a share of glory, both the consuls were ordered to lead the army against the Sidicinians. But first, in conformity with a decree of the senate, they nominated as dictator for the purpose of holding the elections, Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus; he named Quintus Publilius Philo his master of the horse. The dictator presiding at the elections, Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius were elected consuls. Though a part of the war with the Sidicinians still remained; yet that they might anticipate, by an act of kindness, the wishes of the commons, they proposed about sending a colony to Cales; and a decree of the senate being passed that two thousand five hundred men should be enrolled for that purpose, they appointed Kæso Duilius, Titus Quinctius, and Marcus Fabius commissioners for conducting the colony and distributing the land.

## 17

The new consuls then, recovering the army from their predecessors, entered the enemy's territories and carried their depredations up to the walls and the city. There because the Sidicinians, who had raised a numerous army, seemed determined to fight vigorously for their last hope, and a report existed that Samnium also was preparing for hostilities, Publius Cornelius Rufinus was created dictator by the consuls in pursuance of a decree of the senate; Marcus Antonius was nominated master of the horse. A scruple afterwards arose that they were elected under an informality: and they laid down their office; and because a pestilence followed, recourse was had to an interregnum, as if all the auspices had been infected by that irregularity. By Marcus Valerius Corvus, the fifth interrex from the commencement of the interregnum, Aulus Cornelius a second time, and Cneius Domitius were elected consuls. Things being now tranquil, the rumour of a Gallic war had the effect of a real outbreak, so that they were determined that a dictator should be nominated. Marcus Papirius Crassus was nominated, and Publius Valerius Publicola master of the horse. And when the levy was conducted by them with more activity than was deemed necessary in the case of neighbouring wars, scouts were sent out and brought word, that there was perfect quiet with the Gauls in every direction. It was suspected that Samnium also was now for the second year in a state of disturbance in consequence of their entertaining new designs: hence the Roman troops were not withdrawn from the Sidicinian territory. But a hostile attack made by Alexander of Epirus on the Lucanians drew away the attention of the Samnites to another quarter; these two nations fought a pitched battle against the king, as he was making a descent on the district adjoining Pæstum. Alexander, having come off victorious in that contest, concluded a peace with the Romans; with what fidelity he would have kept it, if his other projects had been equally successful, is uncertain. The same year the census was performed, and the new citizens were rated; on their account the Mæscian and Scaptian tribes were added: the censors who added them were Quintus Publilius Philo and Spurius Postumius. The Acerrans were enrolled as Romans, in conformity with a law introduced by the prætor, Lucius Papirius, by which the right of citizenship with the privilege of suffrage was conferred. These were the transactions at home and abroad during that year.

## 18

The following year was disastrous, whether by the intemperature of the air, or by human guilt, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Caius Valerius being consuls. I find in the annals Flaccus and Potitus variously given as the surname of the consul; but in this it is of little consequence which is the true one. I would heartily wish that this other account were a false one, (nor indeed do all writers mention it,) viz. that those persons, whose death rendered the year signal for the pestilence, were carried off by poison. The circumstance however must be stated as it is handed down to us, that I may not detract from the credit of any writer. When the principal persons of the state were dying of similar diseases, and all generally with the same result, a certain maid-servant undertook, before Quintius Fabius Maximus, curule ædile, to discover the cause of the public malady, provided the public faith would be given to her by him, that the discovery should not be made detrimental to her. Fabius immediately lays the matter before the consuls, and the consuls before the senate, and with the concurrence of that order the public faith was pledged to the informer. It was then disclosed that the state was afflicted by the wickedness of certain women, and that certain matrons were preparing those poisonous drugs; and if they wished to follow her forthwith, they might be detected in the very fact. Having followed the informer, they found women preparing certain drugs, and others of the same kind laid up. These being brought into the forum, and several matrons, to the number of twenty, in whose possession they had been detected, being summoned by the beadle, two of them, Cornelia and Sergia, both of patrician rank, maintaining that these drugs were wholesome, were directed by the informer who confronted them to drink some, that they might convict her of having stated what was false; having taken time to confer together, when, the crowd being removed, they referred the matter to the other matrons in the open view of all; they also not refusing to drink, they all drank of the preparation, and perished by their own wicked device. Their attendants being instantly seized, informed against a great number of matrons, of whom to the number of one hundred and seventy were condemned. Nor up to that day was there ever an inquiry made at Rome concerning poisoning. The circumstance was considered a prodigy; and seemed the act rather of insane persons than of persons depraved by guilt. Wherefore mention having been found in the annals, that formerly in the secessions of the commons the nail had been driven by the dictator, and that the minds of the people, distracted by discord, had been restored to a sane state, it was determined that a dictator should be nominated for the purpose of driving the nail. Cneius Quinctilius being nominated, appointed Lucius Valerius master of the horse, who, as soon as the nail was driven, abdicated their offices.

## 19

Lucius Papirius Crassus a second time, and Lucius Plautius Venno were elected consuls; at the commencement of which year ambassadors came to Rome from the Fabraternians, a Volscian people, and from the Lucanians, soliciting to be admitted into alliance: [promising] that if they were defended from the arms of the Samnites, they would continue in fidelity and obedience under the government of the Roman people. Ambassadors were then sent by the senate; and the Samnites were directed to withhold all violence from the territories of those states; and this embassy proved effectual not so much because the Samnites were desirous of peace, as because they were not prepared for war. The same year a war broke out with the people of Privernum; in which the people of Fundi were their supporters, their leader also being a Fundanian, Vitruvius Vaccus; a man of distinction not only at home, but in Rome also. He had a house on the Palatine hill, which, after the building was razed and the ground thrown open, was

called the Vacciprata. Lucius Papirius having set out to oppose him whilst devastating extensively the districts of Setia, Norba, and Cora, posted himself at no great distance from his camp. Vitruvius neither adopted the prudent resolution to enclose himself with his trenches against an enemy his superior in strength, nor had he sufficient courage to engage at any great distance from his camp. When his army had scarcely got out of the gate of the camp, and his soldiers were looking backwards to flight rather than to battle or the enemy, he enters on an engagement without judgment or boldness; and as he was conquered by a very slight effort and unequivocally, so did he by the very shortness of the distance, and by the facility of his retreat into the camp so near at hand, protect his soldiers without difficulty from much loss; and scarcely were any slain in the engagement itself, and but few in the confusion of the flight in the rear, whilst they were making their way into the camp; and as soon as it was dark they repaired to Privernum in trepidation, so that they might protect themselves rather by walls than by a rampart. Plautius, the other consul, after laying waste the lands in every direction and driving off the spoil, leads his army into the Fundanian territory. The senate of the Fundanians met him as he was entering their borders; they declare that "they had not come to intercede in behalf of Vitruvius or those who followed his faction, but in behalf of the people of Fundi, whose exemption from any blame in the war had been proved by Vitruvius himself, when he made Privernum his place of retreat, and not his native country, Fundi. At Privernum, therefore, the enemies of the Roman people were to be looked for, and punished, who revolted at the same time from the Fundanians and the Romans, unmindful of both countries. That the Fundanians were at peace, that they had Roman feelings and a grateful recollection of the political rights received. They entreated the consul to withhold war from an inoffensive people; their lands, city, their own bodies and those of their wives and children, were, and ever should be, at the disposal of the Roman people." The consul, having commended the Fundanians, and despatched letters to Rome that the Fundanians had preserved their allegiance, turned his march to Privernum. Claudius states, that the consul first punished those who were at the head of the conspiracy; that three hundred and fifty of the conspirators were sent in chains to Rome; and that such submission was not received by the senate, because they considered that the people of Fundi wished to come off with impunity by the punishment of needy and humble persons.

## 20

While the siege of Privernum was being conducted by the two consular armies, one of the consuls was recalled to Rome, on account of the elections. This year gaols were first erected in the circus. While the attention of the public was still occupied by the Privernian war, an alarming report of the Gauls being in arms, a matter scarcely ever slighted by the senate, suddenly came on them. The new consuls, therefore, Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus and Caius Plautius, on the calends of July, the very day on which they entered into office, received orders to settle the provinces immediately between themselves; and Mamercinus, to whom the Gallic war fell, was directed to levy troops, without admitting any plea of immunity: nay, it is said, that even the rabble of handicrafts, and those of sedentary trades, of all the worst qualified for military service, were called out; and a vast army was collected at Veii, in readiness to meet the Gauls. It was thought proper not to proceed to a greater distance, lest the enemy might by some other route arrive at the city without being observed. In the course of a few days it being ascertained, on a careful inquiry, that every thing on that side was quiet at the time; the whole force, which was to have opposed the Gauls, was then turned against Privernum.

Of the issue of the business, there are two different accounts: some say, that the city was taken by storm; and that Vitruvius fell alive into the hands [of the conquerors]: others maintain that the townsmen, to avoid the extremities of a storm, presenting the rod of peace, surrendered to the consul; and that Vitruvius was delivered up by his troops. The senate, being consulted with respect to Vitruvius and the Privernians, sent directions, that the consul Plautius should demolish the walls of Privernum, and, leaving a strong garrison there, come home to enjoy the honour of a triumph; at the same time ordering that Vitruvius should be kept in prison, until the return of the consul, and that he should then be beaten with rods, and put to death. His house, which stood on the Palatine hill, they commanded to be razed to the ground, and his effects to be devoted to Semo Sancus. With the money produced by the sale of them, brazen globes were formed, and placed in the chapel of Sancus, opposite to the temple of Quirinus. As to the senate of Privernum, it was decreed, that every person who had continued to act as a senator of Privernum, after the revolt from the Romans, should reside on the farther side of the Tiber, under the same restrictions as those of Velitræ. After the passing of these decrees, there was no further mention of the Privernians, until Plautius had triumphed. After the triumph, Vitruvius, with his accomplices, having been put to death, the consul thought that all being now fully gratified by the sufferings of the guilty, allusion might be safely made to the business of the Privernians, he spoke in the following manner: "Conscript fathers, since the authors of the revolt have received, both from the immortal gods and from you, the punishment so well merited, what do ye judge proper to be done with respect to the guiltless multitude? For my part, although my duty consists rather in collecting the opinions of others than in offering my own, yet, when I reflect that the Privernians are situated in the neighbourhood of the Samnites, our peace with whom is exceedingly uncertain, I should wish, that as little ground of animosity as possible may be left between them and us."

## 21

The affair naturally admitted of a diversity of opinions, each, agreeably to his particular temper, recommending either severity or lenity; matters were still further perplexed by one of the Privernian ambassadors, more mindful of the prospects to which he had been born, than to the exigency of the present juncture: who being asked by one of the advocates for severity, "What punishment he thought the Privernians deserved?" answered, "Such as those deserve who deem themselves worthy of liberty." The consul observing, that, by this stubborn answer, those who were adverse to the cause of the Privernians were the more exasperated against them, and wishing, by a question of favourable import, to draw from him a more conciliating reply, said to him, "What if we remit the punishment, in what manner may we expect that ye will observe the peace which shall be established between us?" He replied, "If the peace which ye grant us be a good one, both inviolable and eternal; if bad, of no long continuance." Then indeed some exclaimed, that the Privernian menaced them, and not in ambiguous terms; and that by such expressions peaceable states were incited to rebellion. But the more reasonable part of the senate interpreted his answers more favourably, and said, that "the words they had heard were those of a man, and of a free-man. Could it be believed that any people, or even any individual, would remain, longer than necessity constrained, in a situation which he felt painful? That peace was faithfully observed, only when those at peace were voluntarily so; but that fidelity was not to be expected where they wished to establish slavery." In this opinion they were led to concur, principally, by the consul himself, who frequently observed to the consulars, who had proposed the different

resolutions, in such a manner as to be heard by several, that "surely those men only who thought of nothing but liberty, were worthy of being made Romans." They consequently both carried their cause in the senate; and, moreover, by direction of that body, a proposal was laid before the people, that the freedom of the state should be granted to the Privernians. The same year a colony of three hundred was sent to Anxur, and received two acres of land each.

## 22

The year following, in which the consuls were Publius Plautius Proculus and Publius Cornelius Scapula, was remarkable for no one transaction, civil or military, except the sending of a colony to Fregellæ, a district which had belonged to the Sidicinians, and afterwards to the Volscians; and a distribution of meat to the people, made by Marcus Flavius, on occasion of the funeral of his mother. There were many who represented, that, under the appearance of doing honour to his parent, a deserved recompence was made to the people, for having acquitted him, when prosecuted by the ædiles on a charge of having debauched a married woman. This distribution of meat intended as a return for favours shown on the trial, proved also the means of procuring him the honour of a public office; for, at the next election, though absent, he was preferred before the candidates who solicited in person the tribuneship of the commons. The city of Palæpolis was situated at no great distance from the spot where Neapolis now stands. The two cities were inhabited by one people: these came from Cumæ, and the Cumans derive their origin from Chalcis in Eubœa. By means of the fleet in which they had been conveyed hither, they possessed great power on the coast of the sea, near which they dwelt. Having first landed on the islands of Ænaria, and the Pithecusæ, they afterwards ventured to transfer their settlement to the continent. This state, relying both on their own strength, as well as on the treacherous nature of the alliance of the Samnites with the Romans; or, encouraged by the report of a pestilence having attacked the city of Rome, committed various acts of hostility against the Romans settled in the Campanian and Falernian territories. Wherefore, in the succeeding consulate of Lucius Cornelius, and Quintus Publilius Philo a second time, heralds being sent to Palæpolis to demand satisfaction, when a haughty answer was returned by these Greeks, a race more magnanimous in words than in action, the people, in pursuance of the direction of the senate, ordered war to be declared against the Palæpolitans. On settling the provinces between the consuls, the war against the Greeks fell to Publilius. Cornelius, with another army, was appointed to watch the Samnites if they should attempt any movement; but a report prevailed that they, anxiously expecting a revolt in Campania, intended to march their troops thither; that was judged by Cornelius the properest station for him.

## 23

The senate received information, from both the consuls, that there was very little hope of peace with the Samnites. Publilius informed them, that two thousand soldiers from Nolæ, and four thousand of the Samnites, had been received into Palæpolis, a measure rather forced on the Greeks by the Nolans than agreeable to their inclination. Cornelius wrote, that a levy of troops had been ordered, that all Samnium was in motion, and that the neighbouring states of Privernum, Fundi, and Formiæ, were openly solicited to join them. When in consequence it was thought proper, that, before hostilities were commenced, ambassadors should be sent to the Samnites, an insolent answer is returned by them; they even went so far as to accuse the Romans of behaving injuriously towards them; but, nevertheless, they took pains to clear themselves of the

charges made against them, asserting, that "the Greeks were not assisted with either counsel or aid by their state, nor were the Fundanians or Formians tampered with by them; for, if they were disposed to war, they had not the least reason to be diffident of their own strength. However, they could not dissemble, that it gave great offence to the state of the Samnites, that Fregellæ, by them taken from the Volscians and demolished, should have been rebuilt by the Romans; and that they should have established a colony within the territory of the Samnites, to which their colonists gave the name of Fregellæ. This injury and affront, if not done away by the authors, they were determined themselves to remove, by every means in their power." When one of the Roman ambassadors proposed to discuss the matter before their common allies and friends, their magistrate said, "Why do we disguise our sentiments? Romans, no conferences of ambassadors, nor arbitration of any person whatever, can terminate our differences; but the plains of Campania, in which we must meet; our arms and the common fortune of war will settle the point. Let our armies, therefore, meet between Capua and Suessula; and there let us decide, whether the Samnite or the Roman shall hold the sovereignty of Italy." To this the ambassadors of the Romans replied, "that they would go, not whither their enemy called, but whither their commanders should lead." In the mean time, Publilius, by seizing an advantageous post between Palæpolis and Neapolis, had cut off that interchange of mutual aid, which they had hitherto afforded each other, according as either place was hard pressed. Accordingly, when both the day of the elections approached, and as it was highly inexpedient for the public interest that Publilius should be called away when on the point of assailing the enemy's walls, and in daily expectation of gaining possession of their city, application was made to the tribunes, to recommend to the people the passing of an order, that Publilius Philo, when his year of office should expire, might continue in command, as pro-consul, until the war with the Greeks should be finished. A letter was despatched to Lucius Cornelius, with orders to name a dictator; for it was not thought proper that the consul should be recalled from the vigorous prosecution of the war now that he had entered into Samnium. He nominated Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who appointed Spurius Postumius master of the horse. The elections, however, were not held by the dictator, because it became a question whether he had been appointed under an irregularity; and the augurs being consulted, pronounced that it appeared that the dictator's appointment was defective. The tribunes inveighed against this proceeding as dangerous and dishonourable; "for it was not probable," they said, "that such defect could have been discovered, as the consul, rising in the night, had nominated the dictator while every thing was still;<sup>172</sup> nor had the said consul in any of his letters, either public or private, made any mention of such a thing to any one; nor did any person whatever come forward who said that he saw or heard any thing which could vitiate the auspices. Neither could the augurs sitting at Rome divine what inauspicious circumstance had occurred to the consul in the camp. Who did not plainly perceive, that the dictator's being a plebeian, was the defect which the augurs had discovered?" These and other arguments were urged in vain by the tribunes: the affair however ended in an interregnum. At last, after the elections had been adjourned repeatedly on one pretext or another, the fourteenth interrex, Lucius Æmilius, elected consuls Caius Pætelius, and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus, or Cursor, as I find him named in some annals.

## 24

<sup>172</sup> Any noise happening during the taking of the auspices was reckoned inauspicious; hence *silentium* signified among the augurs, every circumstance being favourable.

It has been recorded, that in this year Alexandria in Egypt was founded; and that Alexander, king of Epirus, being slain by a Lucanian exile, verified in the circumstances of his death the prediction of Jupiter of Dodona. At the time when he was invited into Italy by the Tarentines, a caution had been given him, "to beware of the Acherusian waters and the city Pandosia, for there were fixed the limits of his destiny." For that reason he made the greater haste to pass over to Italy, in order to be at as great a distance as possible from the city Pandosia in Epirus, and the river Acheron, which, after flowing through Molossis, runs into the lakes called Infernal, and is received into the Thesprotian gulf. But, (as it frequently happens, that men, by endeavouring to shun their fate, run directly upon it,) after having often defeated the armies of Bruttium and Lucania, and taken Heraclea, a colony of the Tarentines, Consentia and Metapontum from the Lucanians, Terina from the Bruttians, and several other cities of the Messapians and Lucanians; and having sent into Epirus three hundred illustrious families, whom he intended to keep as hostages, he posted his troops on three hills, which stood at a small distance from each other, not far from the city Pandosia, and close to the frontiers of the Bruttians and Lucanians, in order that he might thence make incursions into every part of the enemy's country. At that time he kept about his person two hundred Lucanian exiles, as faithful attendants, but whose fidelity, according to the general disposition of people of that description, was ever ready to follow the changes of fortune. When continual rains spread such an inundation over all the plains, as cut off from the three separate divisions of the army all means of mutual aid, the two parties, in neither of which the king was present, were suddenly attacked and overpowered by the enemy, who, after putting them to the sword, employed their whole force in blockading the king himself. From this place the Lucanian exiles sent emissaries to their countrymen, and stipulating a safe return for themselves, promised to deliver the king, either alive or dead, into their power. But he, bravely resolving to make an extraordinary effort, at the head of a chosen band, broke through the midst of their forces; engaged singly, and slew the general of the Lucanians, and collecting together his men, who had been scattered in the retreat, arrived at a river which pointed out his road by the ruins of a bridge which had been recently broken by the violence of the flood. Here, while the party was fording the river on a very uneven bottom, a soldier, almost spent with fatigue and apprehension, cried out as a reflection on the odious name of it,—"You are justly named Acheros (dismal):" which expression reaching the king's ears, and instantly recalling to his mind the fate denounced on him, he halted, hesitating whether he should cross over or not. Then Sotimus, one of the royal band of youths which attended him, asking why he delayed in such a critical moment, showed him that the Lucanians were watching an opportunity to perpetrate some act of treachery: whereupon the king, looking back, and seeing them coming towards him in a body, drew his sword, and pushed on his horse through the middle of the river. When he had now reached the shallow, a Lucanian exile from a distance transfixed him with a javelin: after his fall, the current carried down his lifeless body, with the weapon sticking in it, to the posts of the enemy: there a shocking mangling of it took place; for dividing it in the middle, they sent one half to Consentia, and kept the other, as a subject of mockery, to themselves. While they were throwing darts and stones at it, a woman mixing with the crowd, who were enraged to a degree beyond the credible extent of human resentment, prevailed on them to stop for a moment. She then told them with tears in her eyes that she had a husband and children, prisoners among the enemy; and that she hoped to be able with the king's body, however disfigured, to ransom her friends: this put an end to their outrages. The remnants of his limbs were buried at

Consentia, entirely through the care of the woman; and his bones were sent to Metapontum to the enemy, from whence they were conveyed to Epirus to his wife Cleopatra and his sister Olympias; the latter of whom was the mother, the former the sister, of Alexander the Great. Such was the melancholy end of Alexander of Epirus; of which, although fortune did not allow him to engage in hostilities with the Romans, yet, as he waged war in Italy, I have thought it proper to give this brief account. This year, the fifth time since the building of the city, the lectisternium was performed at Rome for procuring the favour of the same deities to whom it was addressed before.

## 25

When the new consuls had, by order of the people, sent persons to declare war against the Samnites, and they themselves were making all preparations with greater energy than against the Greeks, a new accession of strength also came to them when expecting no such thing. The Lucanians and Apulians, nations who, until that time, had no kind of intercourse with the Roman people, proposed an alliance with them, promising a supply of men and arms for the war: a treaty of friendship was accordingly concluded. At the same time, their affairs went on successfully in Samnium. Three towns fell into their hands, Allifæ, Callifæ, and Ruffrium; and the adjoining country to a great extent was, on the first arrival of the consuls, laid entirely waste. Whilst the war on this side was commenced with so much success, so the war in the other quarter where the Greeks were held besieged, now drew towards a conclusion. For, besides the communication between the two posts of the enemy being cut off, by the besiegers having possession of part of the works through which it had been carried on, they now suffered within the walls hardships far more grievous than those with which the enemy threatened them, and as if made prisoners by their own garrison, they were now subjected to the greatest indignities in the persons of their wives and children, and to such extremities as are generally felt on the sacking of cities. When, therefore, intelligence arrived that reinforcements were to come from Tarentum and from the Samnites, all agreed that there were more of the latter already within the walls than they wished; but the young men of Tarentum, who were Greeks as well as themselves, they earnestly longed for, as they hoped to be enabled by their means to oppose the Samnites and Nolans, no less than to resist their Roman enemies. At last a surrender to the Romans appeared to be the lightest evil. Charilaus and Nymphius, the two principal men in the state, consulting together on the subject, settled the part which each was to act; it was, that one should desert to the Roman general, and the other stay behind to manage affairs in the city, so as to facilitate the execution of their plan. Charilaus was the person who came to Publilius Philo; he told him that "he had taken a resolution, which he hoped would prove advantageous, fortunate, and happy to the Palæopolitans and to the Roman people, of delivering the fortifications into his hands. Whether he should appear by that deed to have betrayed or preserved his country, depended on the honour of the Romans. That for himself in particular, he neither stipulated nor requested any thing; but, in behalf of the state, he requested rather than stipulated, that in case the design should succeed, the Roman people would consider more especially the zeal and hazard with which it sought a renewal of their friendship, than its folly and rashness in deviating from its duty." He was commended by the general, and received a body of three thousand soldiers, with which he was to seize on that part of the city which was possessed by the Samnites; this detachment was commanded by Lucius Quinctius, military tribune.

## 26

At the same time also, Nymphius, on his part, artfully addressing himself to the commander of the Samnites, prevailed upon him, as all the troops of the Romans were employed either about Palæpolis or in Samnium, to allow him to sail round with the fleet to the territory of Rome, where he undertook to ravage, not only the sea-coast, but the country adjoining the very city. But, in order to avoid observation, it was necessary, he told him, to set out by night, and to launch the ships immediately. That this might be effected with the greater despatch, all the young Samnites, except the necessary guards of the city, were sent to the shore. While Nymphius wasted the time there, giving contradictory orders, designedly, to create confusion, which was increased by the darkness, and by the crowd, which was so numerous as to obstruct each other's operations, Charilaus, according to the plan concerted, was admitted by his associates into the city; and have filled the higher parts of it with Roman soldiers, he ordered them to raise a shout; on which the Greeks, who had received previous directions from their leaders, kept themselves quiet. The Nolans fled through the opposite part of the town, by the road leading to Nola. The flight of the Samnites, who were shut out from the city, was easier, but had a more disgraceful appearance; for they returned to their homes without arms, stripped, and destitute of every thing; all, in short, belonging to them being left with their enemies; so that they were objects of ridicule, not only to foreigners, but even to their own countrymen. I know that there is another account of this matter, according to which the town is represented to have been betrayed by the Samnites; but I have this account on the authority most worthy of credit; besides, the treaty of Neapolis, for to that place the seat of government of the Greeks was then transferred, renders it more probable that the renewal of friendship was voluntary on their side. A triumph was decreed to Publilius, because people were well convinced that the enemy, reduced by the siege, had adopted terms of submission. These two extraordinary incidents, which never before occurred in any case, befell this man: a prolongation of command never before granted to any one; and a triumph after the expiration of his office.

## 27

Another war soon after arose with the Greeks of the other coast. For the Tarentines having, for a considerable time, buoyed up the state of Palæpolis with delusive hopes of assistance, when they understood that the Romans had gotten possession of that city, as if they were the persons who had suffered the disappointment, and not the authors of it, they inveighed against the Palæpolitans, and became furious in their anger and malice towards the Romans; on this account also, because information was brought that the Lucanians and Apulians had submitted to the Roman people; for a treaty of alliance had been this year concluded with both these nations. "The business," they observed, "was now brought almost to their doors; and that the matter would soon come to this, that the Romans must either be dealt with as enemies, or received as masters: that, in fact, their interests were involved in the war of the Samnites, and in its issue. That that was the only nation which continued to make opposition; and that with power very inadequate, since the Lucanians left them: these however might yet be brought back, and induced to renounce the Roman alliance, if proper skill were used in sowing dissension between them." These reasonings being readily adopted, by people who wished for a change, some young Lucanians of considerable note among their countrymen, but devoid of honour, were procured for money; these having lacerated each other's persons with stripes, after they had come naked into a public meeting of their countrymen, exclaimed that, because they had ventured to go into the Roman

camp, they had been thus beaten with rods, by order of the consul, and had hardly escaped the loss of their heads. A circumstance, so shocking in its nature, carrying strong proofs of the ill-treatment, none of artifice, the people were so irritated, that, by their clamours, they compelled the magistrates to call together the senate; and some standing round that assembly, insisted on a declaration of war against the Romans, others ran different ways to rouse to arms the multitude residing in the country. Thus the tumult hurrying into imprudence the minds even of rational men, a decree was passed, that the alliance with the Samnites should be renewed, and ambassadors sent for that purpose. Because this so sudden a proceeding was totally devoid of any obvious cause for its adoption, and consequently was little relied on for its sincerity; they were, however, obliged both to give hostages, and also to receive garrisons into their fortified places; and they, blinded by fraud and resentment, refused no terms. In a little time after, on the authors of the false charges removing to Tarentum, the whole imposition came to light. But as they had given all power out of their own hands, nothing was left them but unavailing repentance.

## 28

This year there arose, as it were, a new era of liberty to the Roman commons; in this that a stop was put to the practice of confining debtors. This alteration of the law was effected in consequence of the lust and signal cruelty of one usurer. His name was Lucius Papirius. To him one Caius Publilius having surrendered his person to be confined for a debt due by his father, his youth and beauty, which ought to have excited commiseration, operated on the other's mind as incentives to lust and insult. He first attempted to seduce the young man by impure discourses, considering the bloom of his youth his own adventitious gain; but finding that his ears were shocked at their infamous tendency, he then endeavoured to terrify him by threats, and reminded him frequently of his situation. At last, convinced of his resolution to act conformably to his honourable birth, rather than to his present condition, he ordered him to be stripped and scourged. When with the marks of the rods imprinted in his flesh the youth rushed out into the public street, loudly complaining of the depravedness and inhumanity of the usurer; a vast number of people, moved by compassion for his early age, and indignation at his barbarous treatment, reflecting at the same time on their own lot and that of their children, flocked together into the forum, and from thence in a body to the senate-house. When the consuls were obliged by the sudden tumult to call a meeting of the senate, the people, falling at the feet of each of the senators, as they were going into the senate-house, presented to their view the lacerated back of the youth. On that day, in consequence of the outrageous conduct of an individual, the strongest bonds of credit were broken; and the consuls were commanded to propose to the people, that no person should be held in fetters or stocks, except convicted of a crime, and in order to punishment; but that, for money due, the goods of the debtor, not his person, should be answerable. Thus the confined debtors were released; and provision made, for the time to come, that they should not be liable to confinement.

## 29

In the course of this year, while the war with the Samnites was sufficient in itself to give full employment to the senate, besides the sudden defection of the Lucanians, and the Tarentines, the promoters of the defection, [another source of uneasiness] was added in a union formed by the state of the Vestinians with the Samnites. Which event, though it continued, during the present year, to be the general subject of conversation, without

coming under any public discussion, appeared so important to the consuls of the year following, Lucius Furius Camillus a second time, and Junius Brutus Scæva, that it was the first business which they proposed to the consideration of the state. And though the matter was still recent, still great perplexity seized the senate, as they dreaded equally the consequences, either of passing it over, or of taking it up; lest, on the one hand, impunity might stir up the neighbouring states with wantonness and arrogance; and, on the other, punishment inflicted on them by force of arms, and dread of immediate danger, might produce the same effect by exciting resentment. And the whole body, too, was in every way equal in strength to the Samnites, being composed of the Marsians, the Pelignians, and the Marrusinians; all of whom would have to be encountered as enemies, if the Vestinians were to be interfered with. However, that side prevailed which might, at the time, seem to have more spirit than prudence; but the event proved that fortune assists the brave. The people, in pursuance of the direction of the senate, ordered war against the Vestinians; that province fell by lot to Junius, Samnium to Camillus. Armies were led to both places, and by carefully guarding the frontiers, the enemy were prevented from joining their forces. But the other consul, Lucius Furius, on whom the principal weight of the business rested, was withdrawn by chance from the war, being seized with a severe sickness. Being therefore ordered to nominate a dictator to conduct the business, he nominated Lucius Papirius Cursor, the most celebrated general, by far, of any in that age, who appointed Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus master of the horse: a pair of commanders distinguished for their exploits in war; more so, however, for a quarrel between themselves, and which proceeded almost to violence. The other consul, in the territory of the Vestinians, carried on operations of various kinds; and, in all, was uniformly successful. For he both utterly laid waste their lands, and, by spoiling and burning their houses and corn, compelled them to come to an engagement; and, in one battle, he reduced the strength of the Vestinians to such a degree, though not without loss on his own side, that the enemy not only fled to their camp, but, fearing even to trust to the rampart and trench, dispersed from thence into the several towns, in hopes of finding security in the situation and fortifications of their cities. At last, having undertaken to reduce their towns by force, amid the great ardour of the soldiers, and their resentment for the wounds which they had received, (hardly one of them having come out of the battle unhurt,) he took Cutina by scalade, and afterwards Cingilia. The spoil of both cities he gave to the soldiers, in consideration of their having bravely surmounted the obstruction both of gates and walls.

### 30

The commanders entered Samnium under uncertain auspices; an informality which pointed, not at the event of war, for that was prosperous, but at the furious passions and the quarrels which broke out between the leaders. For Papirius the dictator, returning to Rome in order to take the auspices anew, in consequence of a caution received from the aruspex, left strict orders with the master of the horse to remain in his post, and not to engage in battle during his absence. After the departure of the dictator, Fabius having discovered by his scouts that the enemy were in as unguarded a state as if there was not a single Roman in Samnium, the high-spirited youth, (either conceiving indignation at the sole authority in every point appearing to be lodged in the hands of the dictator, or induced by the opportunity of striking an important blow,) having made the necessary preparations and dispositions, marched to a place called Imbrinium, and there fought a battle with the Samnites. His success in the fight was such, that there was no one circumstance which could have been improved to more advantage, if the dictator had

been present. The leader was not wanting to the soldiers, nor the soldiers to their leader. The cavalry too, (finding, after repeated charges, that they could not break the ranks,) by the advice of Lucius Cominius, a military tribune, pulled off the bridles from their horses and spurred them on so furiously, that no power could withstand them; forcing their way through the thickest of the enemy, they bore down every thing before them; and the infantry seconding the charge, the whole body was thrown into confusion. Twenty thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen on that day. I have authority for saying that there were two battles fought during the dictator's absence, and two victories obtained; but, according to the most ancient writers, only this one is found, and in some histories the whole transaction is omitted. The master of the horse getting possession of abundance of spoils, in consequence of the great numbers slain, collected the arms into a huge heap, and burned them; either in pursuance of a vow to some of the gods, or, if we choose to credit the authority of Fabius, it was done on this account, that the dictator might not reap the fruits of his glory, inscribe his name on them, or carry the spoils in triumph. His letters also, containing an account of the success, being sent to the senate, not to the dictator, showed plainly that he wished not to impart to him any share of the honour; who certainly viewed the proceeding in this light, for while others rejoiced at the victory obtained, he showed only surliness and anger; insomuch that, immediately dismissing the senate, he hastened out of the senate-house, and frequently repeated with warmth, that the legions of the Samnites were not more effectually vanquished and overthrown by the master of the horse, than were the dictatorial dignity and military discipline, if such contempt of orders escaped with impunity. Thus, breathing resentment and menaces, he set out for the camp; but, though he travelled with all possible expedition, he was unable, however, to outstrip the report of his coming. For messengers had started from the city before him, who brought intelligence that the dictator was coming, eager for vengeance, and in almost every second sentence applauding the conduct of Titus Manlius.

### 31

Fabius instantly called an assembly, and entreated the soldiers to "show the same courage in protecting him, under whose conduct and auspices they had conquered, from the outrageous cruelty of the dictator, which they had so lately displayed in defending the commonwealth from its most inveterate enemies. He was now coming," he told them, "frantic with envy; enraged at another's bravery and success, he was mad, because, in his absence, the business of the public had been executed, with remarkable success; and if he could change the fortune of the engagement, would wish the Samnites in possession of victory rather than the Romans. He talked much of contempt of orders; as if his prohibition of fighting were not dictated by the same motive, which caused his vexation at the fight having taken place. He wished to shackle the valour of others through envy, and meant to take away the soldiers' arms when they were most eager for action, and that no use might be made of them in his absence: he was further enraged too, because without Lucius Papirius the soldiers were not without hands or arms, and because Quintus Fabius considered himself as master of the horse, not as a beadle to the dictator. How would he have behaved, had the issue of the fight been unfortunate; which, through the chances of war and the uncertainty of military operations, might have been the case; since now, when the enemy has been vanquished, (as completely, indeed, as if that leader's own singular talents had been employed in the matter,) he yet threatens the master of the horse with punishment? Nor is he more incensed against the master of the horse, than against the military tribunes, the centurions, and the soldiers.

On all, he would vent his rage if he could; and because that is not in his power, he vents it on one. Envy, like flame, soars upwards; aims at the summit; that he makes his attack on the head of the business, on the leader. If he could put him out of the way, together with the glory of the service performed, he would then lord it, like a conqueror over vanquished troops; and, without scruple, practise against the soldiers what he had been allowed to act against their commander. That they should, therefore, in his cause, support the general liberty of all. If the dictator perceived among the troops the same unanimity in justifying their victory that they had displayed in the battle, and that all interested themselves in the safety of one, it would bend his temper to milder counsels. In fine," he told them, "that he committed his life, and all his interests, to their honour and to their courage."

### 32

His speech was received with the loudest acclamations from every part of the assembly, bidding him "have courage; for while the Roman legions were in being, no man should offer him violence." Not long after, the dictator arrived, and instantly summoned an assembly by sound of trumpet. Then silence being made, a crier cited Quintus Fabius, master of the horse, and as soon as, on the lower ground, he had approached the tribunal, the dictator said, "Quintus Fabius, I demand of you, when the authority of dictator is acknowledged to be supreme, and is submitted to by the consuls, officers endowed with regal power; and likewise by the prætors, created under the same auspices with consuls; whether or no you think it reasonable that it should not meet obedience from a master of the horse? I also ask you whether, when I knew that I set out from home under uncertain auspices, the safety of the commonwealth ought to have been endangered by me, whilst the omens were confused, or whether the auspices ought to be newly taken, so that nothing might be done while the will of the gods remained doubtful? And further, when a religious scruple was of such a nature as to hinder the dictator from acting, whether the master of the horse could be exempt from it and at liberty? But why do I ask these questions, when, though I had gone without leaving any orders, your own judgment ought to have been regulated according to what you could discover of my intention? Why do you not answer? Did I not forbid you to act, in any respect, during my absence? Did I not forbid you to engage the enemy? Yet, in contempt of these my orders, while the auspices were uncertain, while the omens were confused, contrary to the practice of war, contrary to the discipline of our ancestors, and contrary to the authority of the gods, you dared to enter on the fight. Answer to these questions proposed to you. On any other matter utter not a word. Lictor, draw near him." To each of these particulars, Fabius, finding it no easy matter to answer, at one time remonstrated against the same person acting as accuser and judge, in a cause which affected his very existence; at another, he asserted that his life should sooner be forced from him, than the glory of his past services; clearing himself and accusing the other by turns; so then Papirius' anger blazing out with fresh fury, he ordered the master of the horse to be stripped, and the rods and axes to be got ready. Fabius, imploring the protection of the soldiers, while the lictors were tearing his garments, betook himself to the quarters of the veterans, who were already raising a commotion in the assembly: from them the uproar spread through the whole body; in one place the voice of supplication was heard; in another, menaces. Those who happened to stand nearest to the tribunal, because, being under the eyes of the general, they could easily be known, entreated him to spare the master of the horse, and not in him to condemn the whole army. The remoter parts of the assembly, and the crowd collected round Fabius,

railed at the unrelenting spirit of the dictator, and were not far from mutiny; nor was even the tribunal perfectly quiet. The lieutenants-general standing round the general's seat besought him to adjourn the business to the next day, and to allow time to his anger, and room for consideration; representing that "the indiscretion of Fabius had been sufficiently rebuked; his victory sufficiently disgraced; and they begged him not to proceed to the extreme of severity; not to brand with ignominy a youth of extraordinary merit, or his father, a man of most illustrious character, together with the whole family of the Fabii." When they made but little impression either by their prayers or arguments, they desired him to observe the violent ferment of the assembly, and told him that "while the soldiers' tempers were heated to such a degree, it became not either his age or his wisdom to kindle them into a flame, and afford matter for a mutiny; that no one would lay the blame of such an event on Quintus Fabius, who only deprecated punishment; but on the dictator, if, blinded by resentment, he should, by an ill-judged contest, draw on himself the fury of the multitude: and lest he should think that they acted from motives of regard to Quintus Fabius, they were ready to make oath that, in their judgment, it was not for the interest of the commonwealth that Quintus Fabius should be punished at that time."

### 33

When by these expostulations they rather irritated the dictator against themselves, than appeased his anger against the master of the horse, the lieutenants-general were ordered to go down from the tribunal; and after several vain attempts were made to procure silence by means of a crier, the noise and tumult being so great that neither the voice of the dictator himself, nor that of his apparitors, could be heard; night, as in the case of a battle, put an end to the contest. The master of the horse was ordered to attend on the day following; but when all assured him that Papirius, being agitated and exasperated in the course of the present contention, would proceed against him with greater violence, he fled privately from the camp to Rome; where, by the advice of his father, Marcus Fabius, who had been three times consul, and likewise dictator, he immediately called a meeting of the senate. While he was strenuously complaining before the fathers of the rage and injustice of the dictator, on a sudden was heard the noise of lictors before the senate-house, clearing the way, and Papirius himself arrived, full of resentment, having followed, with a guard of light horse, as soon as he heard that the other had quitted the camp. The contention then began anew, and the dictator ordered Fabius to be seized. Where, when his unrelenting spirit persisted in its purpose, notwithstanding the united intercessions of the principal patricians, and of the whole senate, Fabius, the father, then said, "Since neither the authority of the senate has any weight with you; nor my age, which you wish to render childless; nor the noble birth and merit of a master of the horse, nominated by yourself; nor prayers which have often mitigated the rage of an enemy, and which appease the wrath of the gods; I call upon the tribunes of the commons for support, and appeal to the people; and since you decline the judgment of your own army, as well as of the senate, I call you before a judge who must certainly be allowed, though no other should, to possess more power and authority than yourself, though dictator. I shall see whether you will submit to an appeal, to which Tullus Hostilius, a Roman king, submitted." They proceeded directly from the senate-house to the assembly; where, being arrived, the dictator attended by few, the master of the horse by all the people of the first rank in a body, Papirius commanded him to be taken from the rostrum to the lower ground; his father, following him, said, "You do well in ordering us to be brought down to a place where even as

private persons we have liberty of speech." At first, instead of regular speeches, nothing but altercation was heard; at length, the indignation of old Fabius, and the strength of his voice, got the better of noise, while he reproached Papirius with arrogance and cruelty. "He himself," he said, "had been dictator at Rome; and no man, not even the lowest plebeian, or centurion, or soldier, had been outraged by him. But Papirius sought for victory and triumph over a Roman commander, as over the generals of the enemy. What an immense difference between the moderation of the ancients, and modern oppression and cruelty. Quinctius Cincinnatus when dictator exercised no further severity on Lucius Minucius the consul, although rescued by him from a siege, than leaving him at the head of the army, in the quality of lieutenant-general, instead of consul. Marcus Furius Camillus, in the case of Lucius Furius, who, in contempt of his great age and authority, had fought a battle with a most disgraceful result, not only restrained his anger at the time so as to write no unfavourable representation of his conduct to the people or the senate; but after returning home, when the patricians gave him a power of electing from among his colleagues whoever he might approve as an associate with himself in the command, chose that very man in preference to all the other consular tribunes. Nay, that not even the resentment of the people, with whom lay the supreme power in all cases, was ever exercised with greater severity towards those who, through rashness and ignorance, had occasioned the loss of armies, than the fining them in a sum of money. Until that day, a capital prosecution for ill conduct in war had never been instituted against any commander, but now generals of the Roman people when victorious, and meriting the most honourable triumphs, are threatened with rods and axes; a treatment which would not have been deemed allowable, even towards those who had been defeated by an enemy. What would his son have to suffer, if he had occasioned the loss of the army? if he had been routed, put to flight, and driven out of his camp? To what greater length could his resentment and violence be stretched, than to scourge him, and put him to death? How was it consistent with reason, that through the means of Quintus Fabius, the state should be filled with joy, exulting in victory, and occupied in thanksgivings and congratulations; while at the same time, he who had given occasion to the temples of the gods being thrown open, their altars yet smoking with sacrifices, and loaded with honours and offerings, should be stripped naked, and torn with stripes in the sight of the Roman people; within view of the Capitol and citadel, and of those gods not in vain invoked in two different battles? With what temper would the army which had conquered under his conduct and auspices have borne it? What mourning would there be in the Roman camp! what joy among their enemies!" This speech he accompanied with an abundant flow of tears; uniting reproaches and complaints, imploring the aid both of gods and men, and warmly embracing his son.

### 34

On his side stood the majesty of the senate, the favour of the people, the support of the tribunes, and regard for the absent army. On the other side were urged the inviolable authority of the Roman government and military discipline; the edict of the dictator, always observed as the mandate of a deity; the orders of Manlius, and his postponing even parental affection to public utility. "The same also," said the dictator, "was the conduct of Lucius Brutus, the founder of Roman liberty, in the case of his two sons. That now fathers were become indulgent, and the aged indifferent in the case of the authority of others being despised, and indulge the young in the subversion of military order, as if it were a matter of trifling consequence. For his part, however, he would persevere in his purpose, and would not remit the smallest part of the punishment justly due to a

person who fought contrary to his orders, while the rites of religion were imperfectly executed, and the auspices uncertain. Whether the majesty of the supreme authority was to be perpetual or not, depended not on him; but Lucius Papirius would not diminish aught of its rights. He wished that the tribunitian office, inviolate itself, would not by its interposition violate the authority of the Roman government; nor the Roman people, to their own detriment particularly, annihilate the dictator and the rights of the dictatorship together. But if this should be the case, not Lucius Papirius but the tribunes and the people would be blamed by posterity in vain; when military discipline being once dissolved, the soldier would no longer obey the orders of the centurion, the centurion those of the tribune, the tribune those of the lieutenant-general, the lieutenant-general those of the consul, nor the master of the horse those of the dictator. No one would then pay any deference to men, no, nor even to the gods. Neither edicts of generals nor auspices would be observed. The soldiers, without leave of absence, would straggle at random through the lands of friends and of foes; and regardless of their oath would, influenced solely by a wanton humour, quit the service whenever they might choose. The standards would be unattended and forsaken: the men would neither assemble in pursuance of orders, nor would any distinction be made as to fighting by night or by day, on favourable or unfavourable ground, by order or without the orders of the general; nor would they observe standards or ranks; the service, instead of being solemn and sacred, would be confused and the result of mere chance, like that of freebooters. Render yourselves then, tribunes of the commons, accountable for all these evils to all future ages. Expose your own persons to these heavy imputations in defence of the licentious conduct of Quintus Fabius."

### 35

The tribunes now confounded, and more anxiously concerned at their own situation than at his for whom their support was sought, were freed from this embarrassment by the Roman people unanimously having recourse to prayers and entreaties, that the dictator would, for their sakes, remit the punishment of the master of the horse. The tribunes likewise, following the example set them of employing entreaties, earnestly beseech the dictator to pardon human error, to consider the immaturity of the offender's age; that he had suffered sufficiently; and now the youth himself, now his father, Marcus Fabius, disclaiming further contest, fell at the dictator's knees and deprecated his wrath. Then the dictator, after causing silence, said, "Romans, it is well. Military discipline has prevailed; the majesty of government has prevailed; both which were in danger of ceasing this day to exist. Quintus Fabius, who fought contrary to the order of his commander, is not acquitted of guilt; but after being condemned as guilty, is granted as a boon to the Roman people; is granted to the college of tribunes, supporting him with their prayers, not with the regular power of their office. Live, Quintus Fabius, more happy in this united sympathy of the state for your preservation, than in the victory in which you lately exulted. Live, after having ventured on such an act, as your father himself, had he been in the place of Lucius Papirius, would not have pardoned. With me you shall be reconciled whenever you wish it. To the Roman people, to whom you owe your life, you can perform no greater service than to let this day teach you a sufficient lesson to enable you to submit to lawful commands, both in war and peace." He then declared, that he no longer detained the master of the horse, and as he retired from the rostrum, the senate being greatly rejoiced, and the people still more so, gathered round him and escorted him, on one hand commending the dictator, on the other congratulating the master of the horse; while it was considered that the authority

of military command was confirmed no less effectually by the danger of Quintus Fabius than the lamentable punishment of young Manlius. It so happened, that, through the course of that year, as often as the dictator left the army the Samnites were in motion: but Marcus Valerius, the lieutenant-general who commanded in the camp, had Quintus Fabius before his eyes for an example, not to fear any violence of the enemy, so much as the unrelenting anger of the dictator. So that when a body of his foragers fell into an ambuscade and were cut to pieces in disadvantageous ground, it was generally believed that the lieutenant-general could have given them assistance if he had not been held in dread by his rigorous orders. The resentment for this also alienated the affections of the soldiery from the dictator, already incensed against him because he had been implacable towards Quintus Fabius, and because he had granted him pardon at the intercession of the Roman people, a thing which he had refused to their entreaties.

### 36

The dictator, having appointed Lucius Papirius Crassus, as master of the horse, to the command of the city, and prohibited Quintus Fabius from acting in any case as magistrate, returned to the camp; where his arrival brought neither any great joy to his countrymen, nor any degree of terror to the enemy: for on the day following, either not knowing that the dictator had arrived, or little regarding whether he were present or absent, they approached his camp in order of battle. Of such importance, however, was that single man, Lucius Papirius, that had the zeal of the soldiers seconded the dispositions of the commander, no doubt was entertained that an end might have been put that day to the war with the Samnites; so judiciously did he draw up his army with respect to situation and reserves, in such a manner did he strengthen them with every advantage of military skill: but the soldiers exerted no vigour; and designedly kept from conquering, in order to injure the reputation of their leader. Of the Samnites, however, very many were slain; and great numbers of the Romans wounded. The experienced commander quickly perceived the circumstance which prevented his success, and that it would be necessary to moderate his temper, and to mingle mildness with austerity. Accordingly, attended by the lieutenants-general, going round to the wounded soldiers, thrusting his head into their tents, and asking them, one by one, how they were in health; then, mentioning them by name, he gave them in charge to the officers, tribunes, and præfects. This behaviour, popular in itself, he maintained with such dexterity, that by his attention to their recovery he gradually gained their affection; nor did any thing so much contribute towards their recovery as the circumstance of this attention being received with gratitude. The army being restored to health, he came to an engagement with the enemy; and both himself and the troops, being possessed with full confidence of success, he so entirely defeated and dispersed the Samnites, that that was the last day they met the dictator in the field. The victorious army, afterwards, directed its march wherever a prospect of booty invited, and traversed the enemies' territories, encountering not a weapon, nor any opposition, either openly or by stratagem. It added to their alacrity, that the dictator had, by proclamation, given the whole spoil to the soldiers; so that they were animated not only by the public quarrel, but by their private emolument. Reduced by these losses, the Samnites sued to the dictator for peace, and, after they had engaged to supply each of his soldiers with a suit of clothes and a year's pay, being ordered to apply to the senate, they answered, that they would follow the dictator, committing their cause wholly to his integrity and honour. On this the troops were withdrawn out of Samnium.

### 37

The dictator entered the city in triumph; and, though desirous of resigning his office immediately, yet, by order of the senate, he held it until the consuls were elected: these were Caius Sulpicius Longus a second time, and Quintus Æmilius Cerretanus. The Samnites, without finishing the treaty of peace, the terms being still in negotiation, brought home with them a truce for a year. Nor was even that faithfully observed; so strongly was their inclination for war excited, on hearing that Papirius was gone out of office. In this consulate of Caius Sulpicius and Quintus Æmilius, (some histories have Aulius,) to the revolt of the Samnites was added a new war with the Apulians. Armies were sent against both. The Samnites fell by lot to Sulpicius, the Apulians to Æmilius. Some writers say, that this war was not waged with the Apulians, but that the allied states of that nation were defended against the violence and injustice of the Samnites. But the circumstances of the Samnites, who could with difficulty, at that period, support a war in which themselves were engaged, render it more probable that they did not make war on the Apulians, but that both nations were in arms against the Romans at the same time. However, no memorable event occurred. The lands of the Apulians and of Samnium were utterly laid waste; but in neither quarter were the enemy to be found. At Rome, an alarm, which happened in the night, suddenly roused the people from their sleep, in such a fright, that the Capitol and citadel, the walls and gates, were all filled with men in arms. But after they had called all to their posts, and run together in bodies, in every quarter, when day approached, neither the author nor cause of the alarm could be discovered. This year, in pursuance to the advice of Flavius, the Tusculans were brought to a trial before the people. Marcus Flavius, a tribune of the commons, proposed, that punishment should be inflicted on those of the Tusculans, "by whose advice and assistance the Veliternians and Privernians had made war on the Roman people." The Tusculans, with their wives and children, came to Rome. The whole party in mourning habits, like persons under accusation, went round the tribes, throwing themselves at the feet of the citizens. The compassion thus excited operated more effectually towards procuring them pardon, than all their arguments did towards clearing them of guilt. Every one of the tribes, except the Pollian, negatived the proposition. The sentence of the Pollian tribe was, that the grown-up males should be beaten and put to death, and their wives and children sold by auction, according to the rules of war. It appears that the resentment which rose against the advisers of so rigorous a measure, was retained in memory by the Tusculans down to the age of our fathers; and that hardly any candidate of the Pollian tribe could, ever since, gain the votes of the Papirian.

### 38

On the following year, in the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Lucius Fulvius, Aulus Cornelius Arvina being made dictator, and Marcus Fabius Ambustus master of the horse, a levy being held with more than usual rigour in consequence of their apprehension of a very serious war in Samnium, (for it was reported that some young men had been hired from their neighbours,) led forth a very strong army against the Samnites. Although in a hostile country, their camp was pitched in as careless a manner as if the foe were at a great distance; when, suddenly, the legions of the Samnites approached with so much boldness as to advance their rampart close to an out-post of the Romans. Night was now coming on; that prevented their assaulting the works; but they did not conceal their intention of doing so next day, as soon as the light should appear. The dictator found that there would be a necessity for fighting sooner than he had expected, and lest the situation should be an obstruction to the bravery of the troops, he led away the legions

in silence, leaving a great number of fires the better to deceive the enemy. On account of the proximity of the camps, however, he could not escape their observation: their cavalry instantly pursued, and pressed closely on his troops, in such a way as to refrain from attacking them until the day appeared. Their infantry did not even quit their camp before daylight. As soon as it was dawn, the cavalry venturing to attack the enemy by harassing the Roman rear, and pressing them in places of difficult passage, considerably delayed their march. Meanwhile their infantry overtook the cavalry; and now the Samnites pursued close with their entire force. The dictator then, finding that he could no longer go forward without great inconvenience, ordered the spot where he stood to be measured out for a camp. But it was impossible, while the enemy's horse were spread about on every side, that palisades could be brought, and the work be begun: seeing it, therefore, impracticable, either to march forward or to settle himself there, he drew up his troops for battle, removing the baggage out of the line. The enemy likewise formed their line opposite to his; fully equal both in spirit and in strength. Their courage was chiefly improved from not knowing that the motive of the Romans' retreat was the incommodiousness of the ground, so that they imagined themselves objects of terror, and supposed that they were pursuing men who fled through fear. This kept the balance of the fight equal for a considerable time; though, of late, it had been unusual with the Samnites to stand even the shout of a Roman army. Certain it is, that the contest, on this day, continued so very doubtful from the third hour to the eighth, that neither was the shout repeated, after being raised at the first onset, nor the standards moved either forward or backward; nor any ground lost on either side. They fought without taking breath or looking behind them, every man in his post, and pushing against their opponents with their shields. The noise continuing equal, and the terror of the fight the same, seemed to denote, that the decision would be effected either by fatigue or by the night. The men had now exhausted their strength, the sword its power, and the leaders their skill; when, on a sudden, the Samnite cavalry, having learned from a single troop which had advanced beyond the rest, that the baggage of the Romans lay at a distance from their army, without any guard or defence; through eagerness for booty, they attack it: of which the dictator being informed by a hasty messenger, said, "Let them only encumber themselves with spoils." Afterwards came several, one after another, crying out, that they were plundering and carrying off all the effects of the soldiers: he then called to him the master of the horse, and said, "Do you see, Marcus Fabius, that the fight has been forsaken by the enemy's cavalry? They are entangled and encumbered with our baggage. Attack them whilst scattered about, as is the case of every multitude employed in plundering; you will find few mounted on horseback, few with swords in their hands; and, while they are loading their horses with spoil, and unarmed, put them to the sword, and make it bloody spoil for them. I will take care of the legions, and the fight of the infantry: yours be the honour which the horse shall acquire."

### 39

The body of cavalry, in the most exact order possible, charging the enemy, who were straggling and embarrassed, filled every place with slaughter: for amid the packages which they hastily threw down, and which lay in the way of their feet, and of the affrighted horses, as they endeavoured to escape, being now unable either to fight or fly, they are slaughtered. Then Fabius, after he had almost entirely cut off the enemy's horse, led round his squadrons in a small circuit, and attacked the infantry in the rear. The new shout, raised in that quarter, terrified the Samnites on the one hand; and when, on the other, the dictator saw their troops in the van looking behind them, their

battalions in confusion, and their line wavering, he earnestly exhorted and animated his men, calling on the tribunes and chief centurions, by name, to join him in renewing the fight. Raising the shout anew, they pressed forward, and as they advanced, perceived the enemy more and more confused. The cavalry now could be seen by those in front, and Cornelius, turning about to the several companies, made them understand, by raising his voice and hands, that he saw the standards and bucklers of his own horsemen. On hearing which, and at the same time seeing them, they, at once, so far forgot the fatigue which they had endured through almost the whole day, and even their wounds, that they rushed on against the enemy with as much vigour and alacrity as if they were coming fresh out of camp on receiving the signal for battle. The Samnites could no longer sustain the charge of horse and foot together; part of them, enclosed on both sides, were cut off; the rest were scattered and fled different ways. The infantry slew those who were surrounded and made resistance; and the cavalry made great havoc of the fugitives, among whom fell their general. This battle crushed, at length, the power of the Samnites so effectually, that, in all their meetings, they said, "it was not at all to be wondered at, if in an impious war, commenced in violation of a treaty, when the gods were, with justice, more incensed against them than men, they succeeded in none of their undertakings. That war must be expiated and atoned for with a heavy penalty. The only alternative they had, was whether the penalty should be the guilty blood of a few, or the innocent blood of all." Some now ventured to name the authors of the war; one name in particular, by the united voices of all, was mentioned, that of Brutulus Papius; he was a man of power and noble birth, and undoubtedly the violator of the late truce. The prætors being compelled to take the opinion of the assembly concerning him, a decree was made, "that Brutulus Papius should be delivered into the hands of the Romans; and that, together with him, all the spoil taken from the Romans, and the prisoners, should be sent to Rome, and that the restitution demanded by the heralds, in conformity to treaty, should be made, as was agreeable to justice and equity." In pursuance of this determination heralds were sent to Rome, and also the dead body of Brutulus; for, by a voluntary death, he avoided the punishment and ignominy intended for him. It was thought proper that his goods also should be delivered up along with the body. But none of all those things were accepted, except the prisoners, and such articles of the spoil as were recognised by the owners. The dictator obtained a triumph by a decree of the senate.

#### 40

Some writers affirm, that this war was conducted by the consuls, and that they triumphed over the Samnites; and also, that Fabius advanced into Apulia, and carried off from thence abundance of spoil. But that Aulus Cornelius was dictator that year is an undisputed fact. The question then is, whether he was appointed for the purpose of conducting the war, or on occasion of the illness of Lucius Plautius, the prætor; in order that there might be a magistrate to give the signal for the starting of the chariots at the Roman games. This latter is asserted of him; and that after performing the business, which in truth reflected no great lustre on his office, he resigned the dictatorship. It is not easy to determine between either the facts or the writers, which of them deserves the preference: I am inclined to think that history has been much corrupted by means of funeral panegyrics and false inscriptions on statues; each family striving by false representations to appropriate to itself the fame of warlike exploits and public honours. From this cause, certainly, both the actions of individuals and the public records of

events have been confused. Nor is there extant any writer, contemporary with those events, on whose authority we can with certainty rely.

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# Book IX

## B.C. 321-304

*Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius, with their army, surrounded by the Samnites at the Caudine forks; enter into a treaty, give six hundred hostages, and are sent under the yoke. The treaty declared invalid; the two generals and the other sureties sent back to the Samnites, but are not accepted. Not long after, Papirius Cursor obliterates this disgrace, by vanquishing the Samnites, sending them under the yoke, and recovering the hostages. Two tribes added. Appius Claudius, censor, constructs the Claudian aqueduct, and the Appian road; admits the sons of freedom into the senate. Successes against the Apulians, Etruscans, Umbrians, Marsians, Pelignians, Aequans, and Samnites. Mention made of Alexander the Great, who flourished at this time; a comparative estimate of his strength, and that of the Roman people, tending to show, that if he had carried his arms into Italy, he would not have been as successful there as he had been in the Eastern countries.*

### 1

This year is followed by the convention of Caudium, so memorable on account of the misfortune of the Romans, the consuls being Titus Veturius Calvinus and Spurius Postumius. The Samnites had as their commander that year Caius Ponius, son to Herennius, born of a father most highly renowned for wisdom, and himself a consummate warrior and commander. When the ambassadors, who had been sent to make restitution, returned, without concluding a peace, he said, "That ye may not think that no purpose has been effected by this embassy, whatever degree of anger the deities of heaven had conceived against us, on account of the infraction of the treaty, has been hereby expiated. I am very confident, that whatever deities they were, whose will it was that you should be reduced to the necessity of making the restitution, which had been demanded according to the treaty, it was not agreeable to them, that our atonement for the breach of treason should be so haughtily spurned by the Romans. For what more could possibly be done towards appeasing the gods, and softening the anger of men, than we have done? The effects of the enemy, taken among the spoils, which appeared to be our own by the right of war, we restored: the authors of the war, as we could not deliver them up alive, we delivered them dead: their goods we carried to Rome, lest by retaining them, any degree of guilt should remain among us. What more, Roman, do I owe to thee? what to the treaty? what to the gods, the guarantees of the treaty? What arbitrator shall I call in to judge of your resentment, and of my punishment? I decline none; neither nation nor private person. But if nothing in human law is left to the weak against stronger, I will appeal to the gods, the avengers of intolerant arrogance, and will beseech them to turn their wrath against those for whom neither the restoration of their own effects nor additional heaps of other men's property, can suffice, whose cruelty is not satiated by the death of the guilty, by the surrender of their lifeless bodies, nor by their goods accompanying the surrender of the owner; who cannot be appeased otherwise than by giving them our blood to drink, and our entrails to be torn. Samnites, war is just to those for whom it is necessary, and arms are clear of impiety for those who have no hope left but in arms. Wherefore, as in every human undertaking, it is of the utmost importance what matter men may set about with the favour, what under the displeasure of the gods, be assured that the former wars ye waged in opposition to the

gods more than to men; in this, which is now impending, ye will act under the immediate guidance of the gods themselves."

## 2

After uttering these predictions, not more cheering than true, he led out the troops, and placed his camp about Caudium as much out of view as possible. From thence he sent to Calatia, where he heard that the Roman consuls were encamped, ten soldiers, in the habit of shepherds, and ordered them to keep some cattle feeding in several different places, at a small distance from the Roman posts; and that, when they fell in with any of their foragers, they should all agree in the same story, that the legions of the Samnites were then in Apulia, that they were besieging Luceria with their whole force, and very near taking it by storm. Such a rumour had been industriously spread before, and had already reached the Romans; but these prisoners increased the credit of it, especially as they all concurred in the same report. There was no doubt but that the Romans would carry succour to the Lucerians, as being good and faithful allies; and for this further reason, lest all Apulia, through apprehension of the impending danger, might go over to the enemy. The only point of deliberation was, by what road they should go. There were two roads leading to Luceria, one along the coast of the upper sea, wide and open; but, as it was the safer, so it was proportionably longer: the other, which was shorter, through the Caudine forks. The nature of the place is this: there are two deep glens, narrow and covered with wood, connected together by mountains ranging on both sides from one to the other; between these lies a plain of considerable extent, enclosed in the middle, abounding in grass and water, and through the middle of which the passage runs: but before you can arrive at it, the first defile must be passed, while the only way back is through the road by which you entered it; or if in case of resolving to proceed forward, you must go by the other glen, which is still more narrow and difficult. Into this plain the Romans, having marched down their troops by one of those passes through the cleft of a rock, when they advanced onward to the other defile, found it blocked up by trees thrown across, and a mound of huge stones lying in their way. When the stratagem of the enemy now became apparent, there is seen at the same time a body of troops on the eminence over the glen. Hastening back, then, they proceed to retrace the road by which they had entered; they found that also shut up by such another fence, and men in arms. Then, without orders, they halted; amazement took possession of their minds, and a strange kind of numbness seized their limbs: they then remained a long time motionless and silent, each looking to the other, as if each thought the other more capable of judging and advising than himself. After some time, when they saw that the consul's pavilions were being erected, and that some were getting ready the implements for throwing up works, although they were sensible that it must appear ridiculous the attempt to raise a fortification in their present desperate condition, and when almost every hope was lost, would be an object of necessity, yet, not to add a fault to their misfortunes, they all, without being advised or ordered by any one, set earnestly to work, and enclosed a camp with a rampart, close to the water, while themselves, besides that the enemy heaped insolent taunts on them, seemed with melancholy to acknowledge the apparent fruitlessness of their toil and labour. The lieutenants-general and tribunes, without being summoned to consultation, (for there was no room for either consultation or remedy,) assembled round the dejected consul; while the soldiers, crowding to the general's quarters, demanded from their leaders that succour, which it was hardly in the power of the immortal gods themselves to afford them.

## 3

Night came on them while lamenting their situation rather than consulting, whilst they urged expedients, each according to his temper; one crying out, "Let us go over those fences of the roads;" others, "over the steeps; through the woods; any way, where arms can be carried. Let us be but permitted to come to the enemy, whom we have been used to conquer now near thirty years. All places will be level and plain to a Roman, fighting against the perfidious Samnite." Another would say, "Whither, or by what way can we go? Do we expect to remove the mountains from their foundations? While these cliffs hang over us, by what road will you reach the enemy? Whether armed or unarmed, brave or dastardly, we are all, without distinction, captured and vanquished. The enemy will not even show us a weapon by which we might die with honour. He will finish the war without moving from his seat." In such discourse, thinking of neither food nor rest, the night was passed. Nor could the Samnites, though in circumstances so joyous, instantly determine how to act: it was therefore universally agreed that Herennius Pontius, father of the general, should be consulted by letter. He was now grown feeble through age, and had withdrawn himself, not only from all military, but also from all civil occupations; yet, notwithstanding the decline of his bodily strength, his mind retained its full vigour. When he heard that the Roman armies were shut up at the Caudine forks between the two glens, being consulted by his son's messenger, he gave his opinion, that they should all be immediately dismissed from thence unhurt. On this counsel being rejected, and the same messenger returning a second time, he recommended that they should all, to a man, be put to death. When these answers, so opposite to each other, like those of an ambiguous oracle, were given, although his son in particular considered that the powers of his father's mind, together with those of his body, had been impaired by age, was yet prevailed on, by the general desire of all, to send for him to consult him. The old man, we are told, complied without reluctance, and was carried in a waggon to the camp, where, when summoned to give his advice, he spoke in such way as to make no alteration in his opinions; he only added the reasons for them. That "by his first plan, which he esteemed the best, he meant, by an act of extraordinary kindness, to establish perpetual peace and friendship with a most powerful nation: by the other, to put off the return of war to the distance of many ages, during which the Roman state, after the loss of those two armies, could not easily recover its strength." A third plan there was not. When his son, and the other chiefs, went on to ask him if "a plan of a middle kind might not be adopted; that they both should be dismissed unhurt, and, at the same time, by the right of war, terms imposed on them as vanquished?" "That, indeed," said he, "is a plan of such a nature, as neither procures friends or removes enemies. Only preserve those whom ye would irritate by ignominious treatment. The Romans are a race who know not how to sit down quiet under defeat; whatever that is which the present necessity shall brand will rankle in their breasts for ever, and will not suffer them to rest, until they have wreaked manifold vengeance on your heads." Neither of these plans was approved, and Herennius was carried home from the camp.

#### 4

In the Roman camp also, when many fruitless efforts to force a passage had been made, and they were now destitute of every means of subsistence, forced by necessity, they send ambassadors, who were first to ask peace on equal terms; which, if they did not obtain, they were to challenge the enemy to battle. To this Pontius answered, that "the war was at an end; and since, even in their present vanquished and captive state, they were not willing to acknowledge their situation, he would send them under the yoke

unarmed, each with a single garment; that the other conditions of peace should be such as were just between the conquerors and the conquered. If their troops would depart, and their colonies be withdrawn out of the territories of the Samnites; for the future, the Romans and Samnites, under a treaty of equality, shall live according to their own respective laws. On these terms he was ready to negotiate with the consuls: and if any of these should not be accepted, he forbade the ambassadors to come to him again." When the result of this embassy was made known, such general lamentation suddenly arose, and such melancholy took possession of them, that had they been told that all were to die on the spot, they could not have felt deeper affliction. After silence continued a long time, and the consuls were not able to utter a word, either in favour of a treaty so disgraceful, or against a treaty so necessary; at length, Lucius Lentulus, who was the first among the lieutenants-general, both in respect of bravery, and of the public honours which he had attained, addressed them thus: "Consuls, I have often heard my father say, that he was the only person in the Capitol who did not advise the senate to ransom the state from the Gauls with gold; and these he would not concur in, because they had not been enclosed with a trench and rampart by the enemy, (who were remarkably slothful with respect to works and raising fortifications,) and because they might sally forth, if not without great danger, yet without certain destruction. Now if, in like manner as they had it in their power to run down from the Capitol in arms against their foe, as men besieged have often sallied out on the besiegers, it were possible for us to come to blows with the enemy, either on equal or unequal ground, I would not be wanting in the high quality of my father's spirit in stating my advice. I acknowledge, indeed, that death, in defence of our country, is highly glorious; and I am ready, either to devote myself for the Roman people and the legions, or to plunge into the midst of the enemy. But in this spot I behold my country: in this spot, the whole of the Roman legions, and unless these choose to rush on death in defence of their own individual characters, what have they which can be preserved by their death? The houses of the city, some may say, and the walls of it, and the crowd who dwell in it, by which the city is inhabited. But in fact, in case of the destruction of this army, all these are betrayed, not preserved. For who will protect them? An unwarlike and unarmed multitude, shall I suppose? Yes, just as they defended them against the attack of the Gauls. Will they call to their succour an army from Veii, with Camillus at its head? Here on the spot, I repeat, are all our hopes and strength; by preserving which, we preserve our country; by delivering them up to death, we abandon and betray our country. But a surrender is shameful and ignominious. True: but such ought to be our affection for our country, that we should save it by our own disgrace, if necessity required, as freely as by our death. Let therefore that indignity be undergone, how great soever, and let us submit to that necessity which even the gods themselves do not overcome. Go, consuls, ransom the state for arms, which your ancestors ransomed with gold."

## 5

The consuls having gone to Pontius to confer with him, when he talked, in the strain of a conqueror, of a treaty, they declared that such could not be concluded without an order of the people, nor without the ministry of the heralds, and the other customary rites. Accordingly the Caudine peace was not ratified by settled treaty, as is commonly believed, and even asserted by Claudius, but by conventional sureties. For what occasion would these be either for sureties or hostages in the former case, where the ratification is performed by the imprecation, "that whichever nation shall give occasion to the said terms being violated, may Jupiter strike that nation in like manner as the

swine is struck by the heralds." The consuls, lieutenants-general, quaestors, and military tribunes, became sureties; and the names of all these who became sureties are extant; where, had the business been transacted by treaty, none would have appeared but those of the two heralds. On account of the necessary delay of the treaty six hundred horsemen were demanded as hostages, who were to suffer death if the compact were not fulfilled; a time was then fixed for delivering up the hostages, and sending away the troops disarmed. The return of the consuls renewed the general grief in the camp, insomuch that the men hardly refrained from offering violence to them, "by whose rashness," they said, "they had been brought into such a situation; and through whose cowardice they were likely to depart with greater disgrace than they came. They had employed no guide through the country, nor scouts; but were sent out blindly, like beasts into a pitfall" They cast looks on each other, viewed earnestly the arms which they must presently surrender; while their persons would be subject to the whim of the enemy: figured to themselves the hostile yoke, the scoffs of the conquerors, their haughty looks, and finally, thus disarmed, their march through the midst of an armed foe. In a word, they saw with horror the miserable journey of their dishonoured band through the cities of the allies; and their return into their own country, to their parents, whither themselves, and their ancestors, had so often come in triumph. Observing, that "they alone had been conquered without a fight, without a weapon thrown, without a wound; that they had not been permitted to draw their swords, nor to engage the enemy. In vain had arms, in vain had strength, in vain had courage been given them." While they were giving vent to such grievous reflections, the fatal hour of their disgrace arrived, which was to render every circumstance still more shocking in fact, than they had preconceived it in their imaginations. First, they were ordered to go out, beyond the rampart, unarmed, and with single garments; then the hostages were surrendered, and carried into custody. The lictors were next commanded to depart from the consuls, and the robes of the latter were stripped off. This excited such a degree of commiseration in the breasts of those very men, who a little before, pouring execrations upon them, had proposed that they should be delivered up and torn to pieces, that every one, forgetting his own condition, turned away his eyes from that degradation of so high a dignity, as from a spectacle too horrid to behold.

## 6

First, the consuls, nearly half naked, were sent under the yoke; then each officer, according to his rank, was exposed to disgrace, and the legions successively. The enemy stood on each side under arms, reviling and mocking them; swords were pointed at most of them, several were wounded and some even slain, when their looks, rendered too fierce by the indignity to which they were subjected, gave offence to the conquerors. Thus were they led under the yoke; and what was still more intolerable, under the eyes of the enemy. When they had got clear of the defile, they seemed as if they had been drawn up from the infernal regions, and then for the first time beheld the light; yet, when they viewed the ignominious appearance of the army, the light itself was more painful to them than any kind of death could have been; so that although they might have arrived at Capua before night, yet, uncertain with respect to the fidelity of the allies, and because shame embarrassed them, in need of every thing, they threw themselves carelessly on the ground, on each side of the road: which being told at Capua, just compassion for their allies got the better of the arrogance natural to the Campanians. They immediately sent to the consuls their ensigns of office, the fasces and lictors; to the soldiers, arms, horses, clothes, and provisions in abundance: and, on their

approach to Capua, the whole senate and people went out to meet them, and performed every proper office of hospitality, both public and private. But the courtesy, kind looks, and address of the allies, could not only not draw a word from them, but it could not even prevail on them to raise their eyes, or look their consoling friends in the face, so completely did shame, in addition to grief, oblige them to shun the conversation and society of these their friends. Next day, when some young nobles, who had been sent from Capua, to escort them on their road to the frontiers of Campania, returned, they were called into the senate-house, and, in answer to the inquiries of the elder members, said, that "to them they seemed deeply sunk in melancholy and dejection; that the whole body moved on in silence, almost as if dumb; the former genius of the Romans was prostrated, and that their spirit had been taken from them, together with their arms. Not one returned a salute, nor returned an answer to those who greeted them; as if, through fear, they were unable to utter a word; as if their necks still carried the yoke under which they had been sent. That the Samnites had obtained a victory, not only glorious, but lasting also; for they had subdued, not Rome merely, as the Gauls had formerly done, but what was a much more warlike achievement, the Roman courage." When these remarks were made and attentively listened to, and the almost extinction of the Roman name was lamented in this assembly of faithful allies, Ofilius Calavius, son of Ovius, a man highly distinguished, both by his birth and conduct, and at this time further respectable on account of his age, is said to have declared that he entertained a very different opinion in the case. "This obstinate silence," said he, "those eyes fixed on the earth,--those ears deaf to all comfort,--with the shame of beholding the light,--are indications of a mind calling forth, from its inmost recesses, the utmost exertions of resentment. Either he was ignorant of the temper of the Romans, or that silence would shortly excite, among the Samnites, lamentable cries and groans; for that the remembrance of the Caudine peace would be much more sorrowful to the Samnites than to the Romans. Each side would have their own native spirit, wherever they should happen to engage, but the Samnites would not, every where, have the glens of Caudium."

## 7

Their disaster was, by this time, well known at Rome also. At first, they heard that the troops were shut up; afterwards the news of the ignominious peace caused greater affliction than had been felt for their danger. On the report of their being surrounded, a levy of men was begun; but when it was understood that the army had surrendered in so disgraceful a manner, the preparations were laid aside; and immediately, without any public directions, a general mourning took place, with all the various demonstrations of grief. The shops were shut; and all business ceased in the forum, spontaneously, before it was proclaimed. *Laticlaves*.<sup>173</sup> and gold rings were laid aside: and the public were in greater tribulation, if possible, than the army itself; they were not only enraged against the commanders, the advisers and sureties of the peace, but detested even the unoffending soldiers, and asserted, that they ought not to be admitted into the city or its habitations. But these transports of passion were allayed by the arrival of the troops, which excited compassion even in the angry; for entering into the city, not like men returning into their country with unexpected safety, but in the habit and with the looks of captives, late in the evening; they hid themselves so closely in their houses, that, for

<sup>173</sup> In the original, *lati clavi*. The *latus clavus* was a tunic, or vest, ornamented with a broad stripe of purple on the fore part, worn by the senators; the knights wore a similar one, only ornamented with a narrower stripe. Gold rings were also used as badges of distinction, the common people wore iron ones.

the next, and several following days, not one of them could bear to come in sight of the forum, or of the public. The consuls, shut up in private, transacted no official business, except that which was wrung from them by a decree of the senate, to nominate a dictator to preside at the elections. They nominated Quintus Fabius Ambustus, and as master of the horse Publius Aelius Paetus. But they having been irregularly appointed, there were substituted in their room, Marcus Aemilius Papus dictator, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus master of the horse. But neither did these hold the elections: and the people being dissatisfied with all the magistrates of that year, an interregnum ensued. The interreges were, Quintus Fabius Maximus and Marcus Valerius Corvus, who elected consuls Quintus Publilius Philo, and Lucius Papirius Cursor a second time; a choice universally approved, for there were no commanders at that time of higher reputation.

## 8

They entered into office on the day they were elected, for so it had been determined by the fathers. When the customary decrees of the senate were passed, they proposed the consideration of the Caudine peace; and Publilius, who was in possession of the fasces, said, "Spurius Postumius, speak:" he arose with just the same countenance with which he had passed under the yoke, and delivered himself to this effect: "Consuls, I am well aware that I have been called up first with marked ignominy, not with honour; and that I am ordered to speak, not as being a senator, but as a person answerable as well for an unsuccessful war as for a disgraceful peace. However, since the question propounded by you is not concerning our guilt, or our punishment; waving a defence, which would not be very difficult, before men who are not unacquainted with human casualties or necessities, I shall briefly state my opinion on the matter in question; which opinion will testify, whether I meant to spare myself or your legions, when I engaged as surety to the convention, whether dishonourable or necessary: by which, however, the Roman people are not bound, inasmuch as it was concluded without their order; nor is any thing liable to be forfeited to the Samnites, in consequence of it, except our persons. Let us then be delivered up to them by the heralds, naked, and in chains. Let us free the people of the religious obligation, if we have bound them under any such; so that there may be no restriction, divine or human, to prevent your entering on the war anew, without violating either religion or justice. I am also of opinion, that the consuls, in the mean time, enlist, arm, and lead out an army; but that they should not enter the enemy's territories before every particular, respecting the surrender of us, be regularly executed. You, O immortal gods! I pray and beseech that, although it has not been your will that Spurius Postumius and Titus Veturius, as consuls, should wage war with success against the Samnites, ye may yet deem it sufficient to have seen us sent under the yoke; to have seen us bound under an infamous convention; to have seen us delivered into the hands of our foes naked and shackled, taking on our own heads the whole weight of the enemy's resentment. And grant, that the consuls and legions of Rome may wage war against the Samnites, with the same fortune with which every war has been waged before we became consuls." On his concluding this speech, men's minds were so impressed with both admiration and compassion, that now they could scarce believe him to be the same Spurius Postumius who had been the author of so shameful a peace; again lamenting, that such a man was likely to undergo, among the enemy, a punishment even beyond that of others, through resentment for annulling the peace. When all the members, extolling him with praises, expressed their approbation of his sentiments, a protest was attempted for a time by Lucius Livius and Quintus Maelius, tribunes of the commons, who said, that "the people could not be acquitted of the

religious obligation by the consuls being given up, unless all things were restored to the Samnites in the same state in which they had been at Caudium; nor had they themselves deserved any punishment, for having, by becoming sureties to the peace, preserved the army of the Roman people; nor, finally, could they, being sacred and inviolable, be surrendered to the enemy or treated with violence."

## 9

To this Postumius replied, "In the mean time surrender us as unsanctified persons, which ye may do, without offence to religion; those sacred and inviolable personages, the tribunes, ye will afterwards deliver up as soon as they go out of office: but, if ye listen to me, they will be first scourged with rods, here in the Comitium, that they may pay this as interest for their punishment being delayed. For, as to their denying that the people are acquitted of the religious obligation, by our being given up, who is there so ignorant of the laws of the heralds, as not to know, that those men speak in that manner, that they themselves may not be surrendered, rather than because the case is really so? Still I do not deny, conscript fathers, that compacts, on sureties given, are as sacred as treaties, in the eyes of all who regard faith between men, with the same reverence which is paid to duties respecting the gods: but I insist, that without the order of the people, nothing can be ratified that is to bind the people. Suppose that, out of the same arrogance with which the Samnites wrung from us the convention in question, they had compelled us to repeat the established form of words for the surrendering of cities, would ye, tribunes, say, that the Roman people was surrendered? and, that this city, these temples, and consecrated grounds, these lands and waters, were become the property of the Samnites? I say no more of the surrender, because our having become sureties is the point insisted on. Now, suppose we had become sureties that the Roman people should quit this city; that they should set it on fire; that they should have no magistrates, no senate, no laws; that they should, in future, be ruled by kings: the gods forbid, you say. But, the enormity of the articles lessens not the obligation of a compact. If there is any thing in which the people can be bound, it can in all. Nor is there any importance in another circumstance, which weighs, perhaps, with some: whether a consul, a dictator, or a praetor, be the surety. And this, indeed, was what even the Samnites themselves proved, who were not satisfied with the security of the consuls, but compelled the lieutenants-general, quaestors, and military tribunes to join them. Let no one, then, demand of me, why I entered into such a compact, when neither such power was vested in a consul, and when I could not either to them, insure a peace, of which I could not command the ratification; or in behalf of you, who had given me no powers. Conscript fathers, none of the transactions at Caudium were directed by human wisdom. The immortal gods deprived of understanding both your generals and those of the enemy. On the one side we acted not with sufficient caution in the war; on the other, they threw away a victory, which through our folly they had obtained, while they hardly confided in the places, by means of which they had conquered; but were in haste, on any terms, to take arms out of the hands of men who were born to arms. Had their reason been sound, would it have been difficult, during the time which they spent in sending for old men from home to give them advice, to send ambassadors to Rome, and to negotiate a peace and treaty with the senate, and with the people? It would have been a journey of only three days to expeditious travellers. In the interim, matters might have rested under a truce, that is, until their ambassadors should have brought from Rome, either certain victory or peace. That would have been really a compact, on the faith of sureties, for we should have become sureties by order of the people. But, neither would ye have

passed such an order, nor should we have pledged our faith; nor was it right that the affair should have any other issue, than, that they should be vainly mocked with a dream, as it were, of greater prosperity than their minds were capable of comprehending, and that the same fortune, which had entangled our army, should extricate it; that an ineffectual victory should be frustrated by a more ineffectual peace; and that a convention, on the faith of a surety, should be introduced, which bound no other person beside the surety. For what part had ye, conscript fathers; what part had the people, in this affair? Who can call upon you? Who can say, that he has been deceived by you? Can the enemy? Can a citizen? To the enemy ye engaged nothing. Ye ordered no citizen to engage on your behalf. Ye are therefore no way concerned either with us, to whom ye gave no commission; nor with the Samnites, with whom ye transacted no business. We are sureties to the Samnites; debtors, sufficiently wealthy in that which is our own, in that which we can offer--our bodies and our minds. On these, let them exercise their cruelty; against these, let them whet their resentment and their swords. As to what relates to the tribunes, consider whether the delivering them up can be effected at the present time, or if it must be deferred to another day. Meanwhile let us, Titus Veturius, and the rest concerned, offer our worthless persons, as atonements for the breaking our engagements, and, by our sufferings liberate the Roman armies."

## 10

Both these arguments, and, still more, the author of them, powerfully affected the senators; as they did likewise every one, not excepting even the tribunes of the commons who declared, that they would be directed by the senate. They then instantly resigned their office, and were delivered, together with the rest, to the heralds, to be conducted to Caudium. On passing this decree of the senate, it seemed as if some new light had shone upon the state: Postumius was in every mouth: they extolled him to heaven; and pronounced his conduct as equal even to the devoting act of the consul Publius Decius, and to other illustrious acts. "Through his counsel, and exertions," they said, "the state had raised up its head from an ignominious peace. He now offered himself to the enemy's rage, and to torments; and was suffering, in atonement for the Roman people." All turned their thoughts towards arms and war, [and the general cry was,] "When shall we be permitted with arms in our hands to meet the Samnites?" While the state glowed with resentment and rancour, the levies were composed almost entirely of volunteers. New legions, composed of the former soldiers, were quickly formed, and an army marched to Caudium. The heralds, who went before, on coming to the gate, ordered the sureties of the peace to be stripped of their clothes, and their hands to be tied behind their backs. As the apparitor, out of respect to his dignity, was binding Postumius in a loose manner, "Why do you not," said he, "draw the cord tight, that the surrender may be regularly performed?" Then, when they came into the assembly of the Samnites, and to the tribunal of Pontius, Aulus Cornelius Arvina, a herald, pronounced these words: "Forasmuch as these men, here present, without orders from the Roman people, the Quirites, entered into surety, that a treaty should be made, and have thereby rendered themselves criminal; now, in order that the Roman people may be freed from the crime of impiety, I here surrender these men into your hands." On the herald saying thus, Postumius gave him a stroke on the thigh with his knee, as forcibly as he could, and said with a loud voice, that "he was now a citizen of Samnium, the other a Roman ambassador; that the herald had been, by him, violently ill-treated, contrary to the law of nations; and that his people would therefore have the more justice on their side, in waging war."

**11**

Pontius then said, "Neither will I accept such a surrender, nor will the Samnites deem it valid. Spurius Postumius, if you believe that there are gods, why do you not undo all that has been done, or fulfil your agreement? The Samnite nation is entitled, either to all the men whom it had in its power, or, instead of them, to a peace. But why do I call on you, who, with as much regard to faith as you are able to show, return yourself a prisoner into the hands of the conqueror? I call on the Roman people. If they are dissatisfied with the convention made at the Caudine forks, let them replace the legions within the defile where they were pent up. Let there be no deception on either side. Let all that has been done pass as nothing. Let them receive again the army which they surrendered by the convention; let them return into their camp. Whatever they were in possession of, the day before the conference, let them possess again. Then let war and resolute counsels be adopted. Then let the convention, and peace, be rejected. Let us carry on the war in the same circumstances, and situations, in which we were before peace was mentioned. Let neither the Roman people blame the convention of the consuls, nor us the faith of the Roman people. Will ye never want an excuse for not standing to the compacts which ye make on being defeated? Ye gave hostages to Porsena: ye clandestinely withdrew them. Ye ransomed your state from the Gauls, for gold: while they were receiving the gold, they were put to the sword. Ye concluded a peace with us, on condition of our restoring your captured legions: that peace ye now annul; in fine, ye always spread over your fraudulent conduct some show of right. Do the Roman people disapprove of their legions being saved by an ignominious peace? Let them have their peace, and return the captured legions to the conqueror. This would be conduct consistent with faith, with treaties, and with the laws of the heralds. But that you should, in consequence of the convention, obtain what you desired, the safety of so many of your countrymen, while I obtain not, what I stipulated for on sending you back those men, a peace; is this the law which you, Aulus Cornelius, which ye, heralds, prescribe to nations? But for my part, I neither accept those men whom ye pretend to surrender, nor consider them as surrendered; nor do I hinder them from returning into their own country, which stands bound under an actual convention, formally entered into carrying with them the wrath of all the gods, whose authority is thus baffled. Wage war, since Spurius Postumius has just now struck with his knee the herald, in character of ambassador. The gods are to believe that Postumius is a citizen of Samnium, not of Rome; and that a Roman ambassador has been violated by a Samnite; and that therefore a just war has been waged against us by you. That men of years, and of consular dignity, should not be ashamed to exhibit such mockery of religion in the face of day! And should have recourse to such shallow artifices to palliate their breach of faith, unworthy even of children! Go, lictor, take off the bonds from those Romans. Let no one delay them from departing when they think proper." Accordingly they returned unhurt from Caudium to the Roman camp, having acquitted, certainly, their own faith, and perhaps that of the public.

**12**

The Samnites finding that instead of a peace which flattered their pride, the war was revived, and with the utmost inveteracy, not only felt, in their minds, a foreboding of all the consequences which ensued, but saw them, in a manner, before their eyes. They now, too late and in vain, applauded the plans of old Pontius, by blundering between which, they had exchanged the possession of victory for an uncertain peace; and having lost the opportunity of doing a kindness or an injury, were now to fight against men,

whom they might have either put out of the way, for ever, as enemies; or engaged, for ever, as friends. And such was the change which had taken place in men's minds, since the Caudine peace, even before any trial of strength had shown an advantage on either side, that Postumius, by surrendering himself, had acquired greater renown among the Romans, than Pontius among the Samnites, by his bloodless victory. The Romans considered their being at liberty to make war, a certain victory; while the Samnites supposed the Romans victorious, the moment they resumed their arms. Meanwhile, the Satricans revolted to the Samnites, who attacked the colony of Fregellae, by a sudden surprise in the night, accompanied, as it appears, by the Satricans. From that time until day, their mutual fears kept both parties quiet: the daylight was the signal for battle, which the Fregellans contrived to maintain, for a considerable time, without loss of ground; both because they fought for their religion and liberty; and the multitude, who were unfit to bear arms, assisted them from the tops of the houses. At length a stratagem gave the advantage to the assailants; for they suffered the voice of a crier to be heard proclaiming, that "whoever laid down his arms might retire in safety." This relaxed their eagerness in the fight, and they began almost every where to throw away their arms. A part, more determined, however, retaining their arms, rushed out by the opposite gate, and their boldness brought greater safety to them, than their fear, which inclined them to credulity, did to the others: for the Samnites, having surrounded the latter with fires, burned them all to death, while they made vain appeals to the faith of gods and men. The consuls having settled the province between them, Papirius proceeded into Apulia to Luceria where the Roman horsemen, given as hostages at Caudium were kept in custody: Publilius remained in Samnium, to oppose the Caudine legions. This proceeding perplexed the minds of the Samnites: they could not safely determine either to go to Luceria, lest the enemy should press on their rear or to remain where they were, lest in the mean time Luceria should be lost. They concluded, therefore, that it would be most advisable to trust to the decision of fortune, and to take the issue of a battle with Publilius: accordingly they drew out their forces into the field.

### 13

When Publilius was about to engage, considering it proper to address his soldiers first, he ordered an assembly be summoned. But though they ran together to the general's quarters with the greatest alacrity, yet so loud were the clamours, demanding the fight, that none of the general's exhortations were heard: each man's own reflections on the late disgrace served as an exhortation. They advanced therefore to battle, urging the standard-bearers to hasten; at rest, in beginning the conflict, there should be any delay, in wielding their javelins and then drawing their swords, they threw away the former, as if a signal to that purpose had been given, and, drawing the latter, rushed in full speed upon the foe. Nothing of a general's skill was displayed in forming ranks or reserves; the resentment of the troops performed all, with a degree of fury little inferior to madness. The enemy, therefore, were not only completely routed, not even daring to embarrass their flight by retreating to their camp but dispersing, made towards Apulia in scattered parties: afterwards, however, collecting their forces into one body, they reached Luceria. The same exasperation, which had carried the Romans through the midst of the enemy's line, carried them forward also into their camp, where greater carnage was made, and more blood spilt, than even in the field, while the greater part of the spoil was destroyed in their rage. The other army, with the consul Papirius, had now arrived at Arpi, on the sea-coast, having passed without molestation through all the countries in their way; which was owing to the ill-treatment received by those people from the

Samnites, and their hatred towards them, rather than to any favour received from the Roman people. For such of the Samnites as dwelt on the mountains in separate villages, used to ravage the low lands, and the places on the coast; and being mountaineers, and savage themselves, despised the husbandmen who were of a gentler kind, and, as generally happens, resembled the district they inhabited. Now if this tract had been favourably affected towards the Samnites, either the Roman army could have been prevented from reaching Arpi, or, as it lay between Rome and Arpi, it might have intercepted the convoys of provisions, and utterly destroyed them by the consequent scarcity of all necessaries. Even as it was, when they went from thence to Luceria, both the besiegers and the besieged were distressed equally by want. Every kind of supplies was brought to the Romans from Arpi; but in so very scanty proportion, that the horsemen had to carry corn from thence to the camp, in little bags, for the foot, who were employed in the outposts, watches, and works; and sometimes falling in with the enemy, they were obliged to throw the corn from off their horses, in order to fight. Before the arrival of the other consul and his victorious army, both provisions had been brought in to the Samnites, and reinforcements conveyed in to them from the mountains; but the coming of Publilius contracted all their resources; for, committing the siege to the care of his colleague, and keeping himself disengaged, he threw every difficulty in the way of the enemy's convoys. There being therefore little hope for the besieged, or that they would be able much longer to endure want, the Samnites, encamped at Luceria, were obliged to collect their forces from every side, and come to an engagement with Papirius.

#### 14

At this juncture, while both parties were preparing for an action, ambassadors from the Tarentines interposed, requiring both Samnites and Romans to desist from war; with menaces, that "if either refused to agree to a cessation of hostilities, they would join their arms with the other party against them." Papirius, on hearing the purport of their embassy, as if influenced by their words, answered, that he would consult his colleague: he then sent for him, employing the intermediate time in the necessary preparations; and when he had conferred with him on a matter, about which no doubt was entertained, he made the signal for battle. While the consuls were employed in performing the religious rites and the other usual business preparatory to an engagement the Tarentine ambassadors put themselves in their way, expecting an answer: to whom Papirius said, "Tarentines, the priest reports that the auspices are favourable, and that our sacrifices have been attended with excellent omens: under the direction of the gods, we are proceeding, as you see, to action." He then ordered the standards to move, and led out the troops; thus rebuking the exorbitant arrogance of that nation, which at a time when, through intestine discord and sedition, it was unequal to the management of its own affairs, yet presumed to prescribe the bounds of peace and war to others. On the other side, the Samnites, who had neglected every preparation for fighting, either because they were really desirous of peace, or it seemed their interest to pretend to be so, in order to conciliate the favour of the Tarentines, when they saw, on a sudden, the Romans drawn up for battle, cried out, that "they would continue to be directed by the Tarentines, and would neither march out, nor carry their arms beyond the rampart. That if deceived, they would rather endure any consequence which chance may bring, than show contempt to the Tarentines, the advisers of peace." The consuls said that "they embraced the omen, and prayed that the enemy might continue in the resolution of not even defending their rampart." Then,

dividing the forces between them, they advanced to the works; and, making an assault on every side at once, while some filled up the trenches, others tore down the rampart, and tumbled it into the trench. All were stimulated, not only by their native courage, but by the resentment which, since their disgrace, had been festering in their breasts. They made their way into the camp; where, every one repeating, that here was not Caudium, nor the forks, nor the impassable glens, where cunning haughtily triumphed over error; but Roman valour, which no rampart nor trench could ward off;--they slew, without distinction, those who resisted and those who fled, the armed and unarmed, freemen and slaves, young and old, men and cattle. Nor would a single animal have escaped, had not the consuls given the signal for retreat; and, by commands and threats, forced out of the camp the soldiers, greedy of slaughter. As they were highly incensed at being thus interrupted in the gratification of their vengeance, a speech was immediately addressed to them, assuring the soldiers, that "the consuls neither did nor would fall short of any one of the soldiers, in hatred toward the enemy; on the contrary, as they led the way in battle, so would they have done the same in executing unbounded vengeance, had not the consideration of the six hundred horsemen, who were confined as hostages in Luceria, restrained their inclinations; lest total despair of pardon might drive on the enemy blindly to take vengeance on them, eager to destroy them before they themselves should perish." The soldiers highly applauded this conduct, and rejoiced that their resentment had been checked, and acknowledged that every thing ought to be endured, rather than that the safety of so many Roman youths of the first distinction should be brought into danger.

## 15

The assembly being then dismissed, a consultation was held, whether they should press forward the siege of Luceria, with all their forces; or, whether with one of the commanders, and his army, trial should be made of the Apulians, a nation in the neighbourhood still doubtful. The consul Publilius set out to make a circuit through Apulia, and in the one expedition either reduced by force, or received into alliance on conditions, a considerable number of the states. Papirius likewise, who had remained to prosecute the siege of Luceria, soon found the event agreeable to his hopes: for all the roads being blocked up through which provisions used to be conveyed from Samnium, the Samnites, who were in garrison, were reduced so low by famine, that they sent ambassadors to the Roman consul, proposing that he should raise the siege, on receiving the horsemen who were the cause of the war, to whom Papirius returned this answer, that "they ought to have consulted Pontius, son of Herennius, by whose advice they had sent the Romans under the yoke, what treatment he thought fitting for the conquered to undergo. But since, instead of offering fair terms themselves, they chose rather that they should be imposed on them by their enemies, he desired them to carry back orders to the troops in Luceria, that they should leave within the walls their arms, baggage, beasts of burthen, and all persons unfit for war. The soldiers he would send under the yoke with single garments, retaliating the disgrace formerly inflicted, not inflicting a new one." The terms were not rejected. Seven thousand soldiers were sent under the yoke, and an immense booty was seized in Luceria, all the standards and arms which they had lost at Caudium being recovered; and, what greatly surpassed all their joy, recovered the horsemen whom the Samnites had sent to Luceria to be kept as pledges of the peace. Hardly ever did the Romans gain a victory more distinguished for the sudden reverse produced in the state of their affairs; especially if it be true, as I find in some annals, that Pontius, son of Herennius, the Samnite general, was sent under the

yoke along with the rest, to atone for the disgrace of the consuls. I think it indeed more strange that there should exist any doubt whether it was Lucius Cornelius, in quality of dictator, Lucius Papirius Cursor being master of the horse, who performed these achievements at Caudium, and afterwards at Luceria, as the single avenger of the disgrace of the Romans, enjoying the best deserved triumph, perhaps, next to that of Furius Camillus, which had ever yet been obtained; or whether that honour belongs to the consuls, and particularly to Papirius. This uncertainty is followed by another, whether, at the next election, Papirius Cursor was chosen consul a third time, with Quintus Aulus Ceretanus a second time, being re-elected in requital of his services at Luceria; or whether it was Lucius Papirius Mugillanus, the surname being mistaken.

## 16

From henceforth, the accounts are clear, that the other wars were conducted to a conclusion by the consuls. Aulus by one successful battle, entirely conquered the Forentans. The city, to which their army had retreated after its defeat, surrendered on terms, hostages having been demanded. With similar success the other consul conducted his operations against the Satricans; who, though Roman citizens, had, after the misfortune at Caudium, revolted to the Samnites, and received a garrison into their city. The Satricans, however, when the Roman army approached their walls, sent deputies to sue for peace, with humble entreaties; to whom the consul answered harshly, that "they must not come again to him, unless they either put to death, or delivered up, the Samnite garrison:" by which terms greater terror was struck into the colonists than by the arms with which they were threatened. The deputies, accordingly, several times asking the consul, how he thought that they, who were few and weak, could attempt to use force against a garrison so strong and well-armed: he desired them to "seek counsel from those, by whose advice they had received that garrison into the city." They then departed, and returned to their countrymen, having obtained from the consul, with much difficulty, permission to consult their senate on the matter, and bring back their answer to him. Two factions divided the senate; one that whose leaders had been the authors of the defection from the Roman people, the other consisted of the citizens who retained their loyalty; both, however, showed an earnest desire, that every means should be used towards effecting an accommodation with the consul for the restoration of peace. As the Samnite garrison, being in no respect prepared for holding out a siege, intended to retire the next night out of the town, one party thought it sufficient to discover to the consul, at what hour, through what gate, and by what road, his enemy was to march out. The other, against whose wishes defection to the Samnites had occurred, even opened one of the gates for the consul in the night, secretly admitting the armed enemy into the town. In consequence of this twofold treachery, the Samnite garrison was surprised and overpowered by an ambush, placed in the woody places, near the road; and, at the same time, a shout was raised in the city, which was now filled with the enemy. Thus, in the short space of one hour, the Samnites were put to the sword, the Satricans made prisoners, and all things reduced under the power of the consul; who, having instituted an inquiry by whose means the revolt had taken place, scourged with rods and beheaded such as he found to be guilty; and then, disarming the Satricans, he placed a strong garrison in the place. On this those writers state, that Papirius Cursor proceeded to Rome to celebrate his triumph, who say, that it was under his guidance Luceria was retaken, and the Samnites sent under the yoke. Undoubtedly, as a warrior, he was deserving of every military praise, excelling not only in vigour of mind, but likewise in strength of body. He possessed extraordinary

swiftness of foot, surpassing every one of his age in running, from whence came the surname into his family; and he is said, either from the robustness of his frame, or from much practice, to have been able to digest a very large quantity of food and wine. Never did either the foot-soldier or horseman feel military service more laborious, under any general, because he was of a constitution not to be overcome by fatigue. The cavalry, on some occasion, venturing to request that, in consideration of their good behaviour, he would excuse them some part of their business, he told them, "Ye should not say that no indulgence has been granted you,--I excuse you from rubbing your horses' backs when ye dismount." He supported also the authority of command, in all its vigour, both among the allies and his countrymen. The praetor of Praeneste, through fear, had been tardy in bringing forward his men from the reserve to the front: he, walking before his tent, ordered him to be called, and then bade the lictor to make ready his axe, on which, the Praenestine standing frightened almost to death, he said, "Here, lictor, cut away this stump, it is troublesome to people as they walk;" and, after thus alarming him with the dread of the severest punishment, he imposed a fine and dismissed him. It is beyond doubt, that during that age, than which none was ever more productive of virtuous characters, there was no man in whom the Roman affairs found a more effectual support; nay, people even marked him out, in their minds, as a match for Alexander the Great, in case that, having completed the conquest of Asia, he should have turned his arms on Europe.

## 17

Nothing can be found farther from my intention, since the commencement of this history, than to digress, more than necessity required, from the course of narration; and, by embellishing my work with variety, to seek pleasing resting-places, as it were, for my readers, and relaxation for my own mind: nevertheless, the mention of so great a king and commander, now [editorial note: there is reason to believe that one or two lines of text might be missing at this point] calls forth to public view those silent reflections, whom Alexander must have fought. Manlius Torquatus, had he met him in the field, might, perhaps, have yielded to Alexander in discharging military duties in battle (for these also render him no less illustrious); and so might Valerius Corvus; men who were distinguished soldiers, before they became commanders. The same, too, might have been the case with the Decii, who, after devoting their persons, rushed upon the enemy; or of Papirius Cursor, though possessed of such powers, both of body and mind. By the counsels of one youth, it is possible the wisdom of a whole senate, not to mention individuals, might have been baffled, [consisting of such members,] that he alone, who declared that "it consisted of kings," conceived a correct idea of a Roman senate. But then the danger was, that with more judgment than any one of those whom I have named he might choose ground for an encampment, provide supplies, guard against stratagems, distinguish the season for fighting, form his line of battle, or strengthen it properly with reserves. He would have owned that he was not dealing with Darius, who drew after him a train of women and eunuchs; saw nothing about him but gold and purple; was encumbered with the trappings of his state, and should be called his prey, rather than his antagonist; whom therefore he vanquished without loss of blood and had no other merit, on the occasion, than that of showing a proper spirit in despising empty show. The aspect of Italy would have appeared to him of a quite different nature from that of India, which he traversed in the guise of a traveller, at the head of a crew of drunkards, if he had seen the forests of Apulia, and the mountains of Lucania, with the

vestiges of the disasters of his house, and where his uncle Alexander, king of Epirus, had been lately cut off.

## 18

We are now speaking of Alexander not yet intoxicated by prosperity, the seductions of which no man was less capable of withstanding. But, if he is to be judged from the tenor of his conduct in the new state of his fortune, and from the new disposition, as I may say, which he put on after his successes, he would have entered Italy more like Darius than Alexander; and would have brought thither an army that had forgotten Macedonia, and were degenerating into the manners of the Persians. It is painful, in speaking of so great a king, to recite his ostentatious change of dress; of requiring that people should address him with adulation, prostrating themselves on the ground, a practice insupportable to the Macedonians, had they even been conquered, much more so when they were victorious; the shocking cruelty of his punishments; his murdering his friends in the midst of feasting and wine; with the folly of his fiction respecting his birth. What must have been the consequence, if his love of wine had daily become more intense? if his fierce and uncontrollable anger? And as I mention not any one circumstance of which there is a doubt among writers, do we consider these as no disparagements to the qualifications of a commander? But then, as is frequently repeated by the silliest of the Greeks, who are fond of exalting the reputation, even of the Parthians, at the expense of the Roman name, the danger was that the Roman people would not have had resolution to bear up against the splendour of Alexander's name, who, however, in my opinion, was not known to them even by common fame; and while, in Athens, a state reduced to weakness by the Macedonian arms, which at the very time saw the ruins of Thebes smoking in its neighbourhood, men had spirit enough to declaim with freedom against him, as is manifest from the copies of their speeches, which have been preserved; [we are to be told] that out of such a number of Roman chiefs, no one would have freely uttered his sentiments. How great soever our idea of this man's greatness may be, still it is the greatness of an individual, constituted by the successes of a little more than ten years; and those who give it pre-eminence on account that the Roman people have been defeated, though not in any entire war, yet in several battles, whereas Alexander was never once unsuccessful in a single fight, do not consider that they are comparing the actions of one man, and that a young man, with the exploits of a nation waging wars now eight hundred years. Can we wonder if, when on the one side more ages are numbered than years on the other, fortune varied more in so long a lapse of time than in the short term of thirteen years?<sup>174</sup> But why not compare the success of one general with that of another? How many Roman commanders might I name who never lost a battle? In the annals of the magistrates, and the records, we may run over whole pages of consuls and dictators, with whose bravery, and successes also, the Roman people never once had reason to be dissatisfied. And what renders them more deserving of admiration than Alexander, or any king, is, that some of these acted in the office of dictator, which lasted only ten, or it might be twenty days, none, in a charge of longer duration than the consulship of a year; their levies obstructed by plebeian tribunes; often late in taking the field; recalled, before the time, on account of elections; amidst the very busiest efforts of the campaign, their year of office expired; sometimes the rashness, sometimes the perverseness of a colleague, proving an impediment or detriment; and finally succeeding to the unfortunate administration of a predecessor, with an army of raw or ill-disciplined men. But, on the other hand, kings, being not only

<sup>174</sup> The duration of Alexander's military career.

free from every kind of impediment, but masters of circumstances and seasons, control all things in subserviency to their designs, themselves uncontrolled by any. So that Alexander, unconquered, would have encountered unconquered commanders; and would have had stakes of equal consequence pledged on the issue. Nay, the hazard had been greater on his side; because the Macedonians would have had but one Alexander, who was not only liable, but fond of exposing himself to casualties; the Romans would have had many equal to Alexander, both in renown, and in the greatness of their exploits; any one of whom might live or die according to his destiny, without any material consequence to the public.

## 19

It remains that the forces be compared together, with respect to their numbers, the quality of the men, and the supplies of auxiliaries. Now, in the general surveys of the age, there were rated two hundred and fifty thousand men, so that, on every revolt of the Latin confederates, ten legions were enlisted almost entirely in the city levy. It often happened during those years, that four or five armies were employed at a time, in Etruria, in Umbria, the Gauls too being at war, in Samnium, in Lucania. Then as to all Latium, with the Sabines, and Volscians, the Aequans, and all Campania; half of Umbria, Etruria, and the Picentians, Marsians, Pelignians, Vestinians, and Apulians; to whom may add, the whole coast of the lower sea, possessed by the Greeks, from Thurii to Neapolis and Cumae; and the Samnites from thence as far as Antium and Ostia: all these he would have found either powerful allies to the Romans or deprived of power by their arms. He would have crossed the sea with his veteran Macedonians, amounting to no more than thirty thousand infantry and four thousand horse, these mostly Thessalians. This was the whole of his strength. Had he brought with him Persians and Indians, and those other nations, it would be dragging after him an encumbrance other than a support. Add to this, that the Romans, being at home, would have had recruits at hand: Alexander, waging war in a foreign country, would have found his army worn out with long service, as happened afterwards to Hannibal. As to arms, theirs were a buckler and long spears; those of the Romans, a shield, which covered the body more effectually, and a javelin, a much more forcible weapon than the spear, either in throwing or striking. The soldiers, on both sides, were used to steady combat, and to preserve their ranks. But the Macedonian phalanx was unapt for motion, and composed of similar parts throughout: the Roman line less compact, consisting of several various parts, was easily divided as occasion required, and as easily conjoined. Then what soldier is comparable to the Roman in the throwing up of works? who better calculated to endure fatigue? Alexander, if overcome in one battle, would have been overcome in war. The Roman, whom Claudium, whom Cannae, did not crush, what line of battle could crush? In truth, even should events have been favourable to him at first, he would have often wished for the Persians, the Indians, and the effeminate tribes of Asia, as opponents; and would have acknowledged, that his wars had been waged with women, as we are told was said by Alexander, king of Epirus, after receiving his mortal wound, when comparing the wars waged in Asia by this very youth, with those in which himself had been engaged. Indeed, when I reflect that, in the first Punic war, a contest was maintained by the Romans with the Carthaginians, at sea, for twenty-four years, I can scarcely suppose that the life of Alexander would have been long enough for the finishing of one war [with either of those nations]. And perhaps, as both the Punic state was united to the Roman by ancient treaties, and as similar apprehensions might arm against a common foe those two nations the most potent of the time in arms and in men, he might have

been overwhelmed in a Punic and a Roman war at once. The Romans have had experience of the boasted prowess of the Macedonians in arms, not indeed under Alexander as their general, or when their power was at the height, but in the wars against Antiochus, Philip, and Perses; and not only not with any losses, but not even with any danger to themselves. Let not my assertion give offence, nor our civil wars be brought into mention; never were we worsted by an enemy's cavalry, never by their infantry, never in open fight, never on equal ground, much less when the ground was favourable. Our soldiers, heavy laden with arms, may reasonably fear a body of cavalry, or arrows; defiles of difficult passage, and places impassable to convoys. But they have defeated, and will defeat a thousand armies, more formidable than those of Alexander and the Macedonians, provided that the same love of peace and solicitude about domestic harmony, in which we now live, continue permanent.

## 20

Marcus Foslius Flaccinator and Lucius Plautius Venno were the next raised to the consulship. In this year ambassadors came from most of the states of the Samnites to procure a renewal of the treaty; and, after they had moved the compassion of the senate, by prostrating themselves before them, on being referred to the people, they found not their prayers so efficacious. The treaty therefore, being refused, after they had importuned them individually for several days, was obtained. The Teaneans likewise, and Canusians of Apulia, worn out by the devastations of their country, surrendered themselves to the consul, Lucius Plautius, and gave hostages. This year praefects first began to be created for Capua, and a code of laws was given to that nation, by Lucius Furius the praetor; both in compliance with their own request, as a remedy for the disorder of their affairs, occasioned by intestine dissensions. At Rome, two additional tribes were constituted, the Ufentine and Falerine. On the affairs of Apulia falling into decline, the Teatians of that country came to the new consuls, Caius Junius Bubulcus, and Quintus Aemilius Barbula, suing for an alliance; and engaging, that peace should be observed towards the Romans through every part of Apulia. By pledging themselves boldly for this, they obtained the grant of an alliance, not however on terms of equality, but of their submitting to the dominion of the Roman people. Apulia being entirely reduced, (for Junius had also gained possession of Forentum, a town of great strength,) the consuls advanced into Lucania; there Nerulum was surprised and stormed by the sudden advance of the consul Aemilius. When fame had spread abroad among the allies, how firmly the affairs of Capua were settled by [the introduction of] the Roman institutions, the Antians, imitating the example, presented a complaint of their being without laws, and without magistrates; on which the patrons of the colony itself were appointed by the senate to form a body of laws for it. Thus not only the arms, but the laws, of Rome became extensively prevalent.

## 21

The consuls, Caius Junius Bubulcus and Quintus Aemilius Barbula, at the conclusion of the year, delivered over the legions, not to the consuls elected by themselves, who were Spurius Nautius and Marcus Popillius, but to a dictator, Lucius Aemilius. He, with Lucius Fulvius, master of the horse, having commenced to lay siege to Saticula, gave occasion to the Samnites of reviving hostilities. Hence a twofold alarm was occasioned to the Roman army. On one side, the Samnites having collected a numerous force to relieve their allies from the siege, pitched their camp at a small distance from that of the Romans: on the other side, the Saticulans, opening suddenly their gates, ran up with violent tumult to

the posts of the enemy. Afterwards, each party, relying on support from the other, more than on its own strength, formed a regular attack, and pressed on the Romans. The dictator, on his part, though obliged to oppose two enemies at once, yet had his line secure on both sides; for he both chose a position not easily surrounded, and also formed two different fronts. However, he directed his greater efforts against those who had sallied from the town, and, without much resistance, drove them back within the walls. He then turned his whole force against the Samnites: there he found greater difficulty. But the victory, though long delayed, was neither doubtful nor alloyed by losses. The Samnites, being forced to fly into their camp, extinguished their fires at night, and marched away in silence; and renouncing all hopes of relieving Saticula, sat themselves down before Plistia, which was in alliance with the Romans, that they might, if possible, retort equal vexation on their enemy.

## 22

The year coming to a conclusion, the war was thenceforward conducted by a dictator, Quintus Fabius. The new consuls, Lucius Papirius Cursor and Quintus Publilius Philo, both a fourth time, as the former had done, remained at Rome. Fabius came with a reinforcement to Saticula, to receive the army from Aemilius. For the Samnites had not continued before Plistia; but having sent for a new supply of men from home, and relying on their numbers, had encamped in the same spot as before; and, by provoking the Romans to battle, endeavoured to divert them from the siege. The dictator, so much the more intently, pushed forward his operations against the fortifications of the enemy; considering that only as war which was directed against the city, and showing an indifference with respect to the Samnites, except that he placed guards in proper places, to prevent any attempt on his camp. The more furiously did the Samnites ride up to the rampart, and allowed him no quiet. When the enemy were now come up close to the gates of the camp, Quintus Aulius Cerretanus, master of the horse, without consulting the dictator, sallied out furiously at the head of all the troops of cavalry, and drove back the enemy. In this desultory kind of fight, fortune worked up the strength of the combatants in such a manner, as to occasion an extraordinary loss on both sides, and the remarkable deaths of the commanders themselves. First, the general of the Samnites, indignant at being repulsed, and compelled to fly from a place to which he had advanced so confidently, by entreating and exhorting his horsemen, renewed the battle. As he was easily distinguished among the horsemen, while he urged on the fight, the Roman master of the horse galloped up against him, with his spear directed, so furiously, that, with one stroke, he tumbled him lifeless from his horse. The multitude, however, were not, as is generally the case, dismayed by the fall of their leader, but rather raised to fury. All who were within reach darted their weapons at Aulius, who incautiously pushed forward among the enemy's troops; but the chief share of the honour of revenging the death of the Samnite general they assigned to his brother; he, urged by rage and grief, dragged down the victorious master of the horse from his seat, and slew him. Nor were the Samnites far from obtaining his body also, as he had fallen among the enemies' troops: but the Romans instantly dismounted, and the Samnites were obliged to do the same; and lines being thus formed suddenly but, at the same time, untenable through scarcity of necessaries: "for all the country round, from which provisions could be supplied, has revolted; and besides, even were the inhabitants disposed to aid us, the ground is unfavourable. I will not therefore mislead you by leaving a camp here, into which ye may retreat, as on a former day, without completing the victory. Works ought to be secured by arms, not arms by works. Let those keep a

camp, and repair to it, whose interest it is to protract the war; but let us cut off from ourselves every other prospect but that of conquering. Advance the standards against the enemy; as soon as the troops shall have marched beyond the rampart, let those who have it in orders burn the camp. Your losses, soldiers, shall be compensated with the spoil of all the nations round who have revolted." The soldiers advanced against the enemy with spirit inflamed by the dictator's discourse, which seemed indication of an extreme necessity; and, at the same time, the very sight of the camp burning behind them, though the nearest part only was set on fire, (for so the dictator had ordered,) was small incitement: rushing on therefore like madmen, they disordered the enemy's battalions at the very first onset; and the master of the horse, when he saw at a distance the fire in the camp, which was a signal agreed on, made a seasonable attack on their rear. The Samnites, thus surrounded on either side, fled different ways. A vast number, who had gathered into a body through fear, yet from confusion incapable of fleeing, were surrounded and cut to pieces. The enemy's camp was taken and plundered; and the soldiers being laden with spoil, the dictator led them back to the Roman camp, highly rejoiced at the success, but by no means so much as at finding, contrary to their expectation, every thing there safe, except a small part only, which was injured or destroyed by the fire.

## 24

They then marched back to Sora; and the new consuls, Marcus Poetelius and Caius Sulpicius, receive the army from the dictator Fabius, discharging a great part of the veteran soldiers, having brought with them new cohorts to supply their place. Now while, on account of the dire situation of the city, no certain mode of attack could be devised, and success must either be distant in time, or at desperate risk; a deserter from Sora came out of the town privately by night, and when he had got as far as the Roman watches, desired to be conducted instantly to the consuls: which being complied with, he made them an offer of delivering the place into their hands. When he answered their questions, respecting the means by which he intended to make good his promise, appearing to state a project by no means idle, he persuaded them to remove the Roman camp, which was almost close to the walls, to the distance of six miles; that the consequence would be that this would render the guards by day, and the watches by night, the less vigilant. He then desired that some cohorts should post themselves the following night in the woody places under the town, and took with himself ten chosen soldiers, through steep and almost impassable ways, into the citadel, where a quantity of missile weapons had been collected, larger than bore proportion to the number of men. There were stones besides, some lying at random, as in all craggy places, and others heaped up designedly by the townsmen, to add to the security of the place. Having posted the Romans here, and shown them a steep and narrow path leading up from the town to the citadel--"From this ascent," said he, "even three armed men would keep off any multitude whatever. Now ye are ten in number; and, what is more, Romans, and the bravest among the Romans. The night is in your favour, which, from the uncertainty it occasions, magnifies every object to people once alarmed. I will immediately fill every place with terror: be ye alert in defending the citadel." He then ran down in haste, crying aloud, "To arms, citizens, we are undone, the citadel is taken by the enemy; run, defend it." This he repeated, as he passed the doors of the principal men, the same to all whom he met, and also to those who ran out in a fright into the streets. The alarm, communicated first by one, was soon spread by numbers through all the city. The magistrates, dismayed on hearing from scouts that the citadel was full of

arms and armed men, whose number they multiplied, laid aside all hopes of recovering it. All places are filled with terror: the gates are broken open by persons half asleep, and for the most part unarmed, through one of which the body of Roman troops, roused by the noise, burst in, and slew the terrified inhabitants, who attempted to skirmish in the streets. Sora was now taken, when, at the first light, the consuls arrived, and accepted the surrender of those whom fortune had left remaining after the flight and slaughter of the night. Of these, they conveyed in chains to Rome two hundred and twenty-five, whom all men agreed in pointing out as the authors, both of the revolt, and also of the horrid massacre of the colonists. The rest they left in safety at Sora, a garrison being placed there. All those who were brought to Rome were beaten with rods in the forum, and beheaded, to the great joy of the commons, whose interest it most highly concerned, that the multitudes, sent to various places in colonies should be in safety.

## 25

The consuls, leaving Sora, turned their warlike operations against the lands and cities of the Ausonians; for all places had been set in commotion by the coming of the Samnites, when the battle was fought at Lautulae: conspiracies likewise had been formed in several parts of Campania; nor was Capua itself clear of the charge: nay, the business spread even to Rome, and inquiries came to be instituted respecting some of the principal men there. However, the Ausonian nation fell into the Roman power, in the same manner as Sora, by their cities being betrayed: these were Ausona Minturnae, and Vescia. Certain young men, of the principal families, twelve in number, having conspired to betray their respective cities, came to the consuls; they informed them that their countrymen, who had for a long time before honestly wished for the coming of the Samnites, on hearing of the battle at Lautulae, had looked on the Romans as defeated, and had assisted the Samnites with supplies of young men and arms; but that, since the Samnites had been beaten out of the country, they were wavering between peace and war, not shutting their gates against the Romans, lest they should thereby invite an attack; yet determined to shut them if an army should approach; that in that fluctuating state they might easily be overpowered by surprise. By these men's advice the camp was moved nearer; and soldiers were sent, at the same time, to each of the three towns; some armed, who were to lie concealed in places near the walls; others, in the garb of peace, with swords hidden under their clothes, when, on the opening of the gates at the approach of day, were to enter into the cities. These latter began with killing the guards; at the same time, a signal was made to the men with arms, to hasten up from the ambuscades. Thus the gates were seized, and the three towns taken in the same hour and by the same device. But as the attacks were made in the absence of the generals, there were no bounds to the carnage which ensued; and the nation of the Ausonians, when there was scarcely any clear proof of the charge of its having revolted, was utterly destroyed, as if it had supported a contest through a deadly war.

## 26

During this year, Luceria fell into the hands of the Samnites, the Roman garrison being betrayed to the enemy. This matter did not long go unpunished with the traitors: the Roman army was not far off, by whom the city, which lay in a plain, was taken at the first onset. The Lucerians and Samnites were to a man put to the sword; and to such a length was resentment carried, that at Rome, on the senate being consulted about sending a colony to Luceria, many voted for the demolition of it. Besides, their hatred was of the bitterest kind, against a people whom they had been obliged twice to subdue by arms;

the great distance, also, made them averse from sending away their citizens among nations so ill-affected towards them. However the resolution was carried, that the colonists should be sent; and accordingly two thousand five hundred were transported thither. This year, when all places were becoming disaffected to the Romans, secret conspiracies were formed among the leading men at Capua, as well as at other places; a motion concerning which being laid before the senate, the matter was by no means neglected. Inquiries were decreed, and it was resolved that a dictator should be appointed to enforce these inquiries. Caius Maenius was accordingly nominated, and he appointed Marcus Foslius master of the horse. People's dread of that office was very great, insomuch that the Calavii, Ovius and Novius, who were the heads of the conspiracy, either through fear of the dictator's power, or the consciousness of guilt, previous to the charge against them being laid in form before him, avoided, as appeared beyond doubt, trial by a voluntary death. As the subject of the inquiry in Campania was thus removed, the proceedings were then directed towards Rome: by construing the order of the senate to have meant, that inquiry should be made, not specially who at Capua, but generally who at any place had caballed or conspired against the state; for that cabals, for the attaining of honours, were contrary to the edicts of the state. The inquiry was extended to a greater latitude, with respect both to the matter, and to the kind of persons concerned, the dictator scrupling not to avow, that his power of research was unlimited: in consequence, some of the nobility were called to account; and though they applied to the tribunes for protection, no one interposed in their behalf, or to prevent the charges from being received. On this the nobles, not those only against whom the charge was levelled, but the whole body jointly insisted that such an imputation lay not against the nobles, to whom the way to honours lay open if not obstructed by fraud, but against the new men: so that even the dictator and master of the horse, with respect to that question, would appear more properly as culprits than suitable inquisitors; and this they should know as soon as they went out of office. Then indeed Maenius, who was more solicitous about his character than his office, advanced into the assembly and spoke to this effect, "Romans, both of my past life ye are all witnesses; and this honourable office, which ye conferred on me, is in itself a testimony of my innocence. For the dictator, proper to be chosen for holding these inquiries, was not, as on many other occasions, where the exigencies of the state so required, the man who was most renowned in war; but him whose counsel of life was most remote from such cabals. But certain of the nobility (for what reason it is more proper that ye should judge than that I, as a magistrate, should, without proof, insinuate) have laboured to stifle entirely the inquiries; and then, finding their strength unequal to it, rather than stand a trial have fled for refuge to the stronghold of their adversaries, an appeal and the support of the tribunes; and on being there also repulsed, (so fully were they persuaded that every other measure was safer than the attempt to clear themselves,) have made an attack upon us; and, though in private characters have not been ashamed of instituting a criminal process against a dictator. Now, that gods and men may perceive that they to avoid a scrutiny as to their own conduct, attempt even things which are impossible, and that I willingly meet the charge, and face the accusations of my enemies, I divest myself of the dictatorship. And, consuls, I beseech you, that if this business is put into your hands by the senate, ye make me and Marcus Foslius the first objects of our your examinations; that it may be manifested that we are safe from such imputations by our own innocence, not by the dignity of office." He then abdicated the dictatorship, as did Marcus Foslius, immediately after, his office of master of the horse; and being the first brought to trial before the consuls, for to them the senate had

committed the business, they were most honourably acquitted of all the charges brought by the nobles. Even Publilius Philo, who had so often been invested with the highest honours, and had performed so many eminent services, both at home and abroad, being disagreeable to the nobility, was brought to trial, and acquitted. Nor did the inquiry continue respectable on account of the illustrious names of the accused, longer than while it was new, which is usually the case; it then began to descend to persons of inferior rank; and, at length, was suppressed, by means of those factions and cabals against which it had been instituted.

## 27

The accounts received of these matters, but more especially the hope of a revolt in Campania, for which a conspiracy had been formed, recalled the Samnites, who were turning towards Apulia, back to Caudium; so that from thence, being near, they might, if any commotion should open them an opportunity, snatch Capua out of the hands of the Romans. To the same place the consuls repaired with a powerful army. They both held back for some time, on the different sides of the defiles, the roads being dangerous to either party. Then the Samnites, making a short circuit through an open tract, marched down their troops into level ground in the Campanian plains, and there the hostile camps first came within view of each other. Trial of their strength in slight skirmishes was made on both sides, more frequently between the horse than the foot; and the Romans were no way dissatisfied either at the issue of these, or at the delay by which they protracted the war. The Samnite generals, on the contrary, considered that their battalions were becoming weakened daily by small losses, and the general vigour abated by prolonging the war. They therefore marched into the field, disposing their cavalry on both wings, with orders to give more heedful attention to the camp behind than to the battle; for that the line of infantry would be able to provide for their own safety. The consuls took post, Sulpicius on the right wing, Poetelius on the left. The right wing was stretched out wider than usual, where the Samnites also stood formed in thin ranks, either with design of turning the flank of the enemy, or to avoid being themselves surrounded. On the left, besides that they were formed in more compact order, an addition was made to their strength, by a sudden act of the consul Poetelius; for the subsidiary cohorts, which were usually reserved for the exigencies of a tedious fight, he brought up immediately to the front, and, in the first onset, pushed the enemy with the whole of his force. The Samnite line of infantry giving way, their cavalry advanced to support them; and as they were charging in an oblique direction between the two lines, the Roman horse, coming up at full speed, disordered their battalions and ranks of infantry and cavalry, so as to oblige the whole line on that side to give ground. The left wing had not only the presence of Poetelius to animate them, but that of Sulpicius likewise; who, on the shout being first raised in that quarter, rode thither from his own division, which had not yet engaged. When he saw victory no longer doubtful there, he returned to his own post with twelve hundred men, but found the state of things there very different; the Romans driven from their ground, and the victorious enemy pressing on them thus dismayed. However, the arrival of the consul effected a speedy change in every particular; for, on the sight of their leader, the spirit of the soldiers was revived, and the bravery of the men who came with him rendered them more powerful aid than even their number; while the news of success in the other wing, which was heard, and after seen, restored the fight. From this time, the Romans became victorious through the whole extent of the line, and the Samnites, giving up the contest, were slain or taken prisoners, except such as made their escape to Maleventum, the town which is now

called Beneventum. It is recorded that thirty thousand of the Samnites were slain or taken.

## 28

The consuls, after this important victory, led forward the legions to lay siege to Bovianum; and there they passed the winter quarters, until Caius Poetelius, being nominated dictator, with Marcus Foslius, master of the horse, received the command of the army from the new consuls, Lucius Papirius Cursor a fifth, and Caius Junius Bubulcus a second time. On hearing that the citadel of Fregellae was taken by the Samnites, he left Bovianum, and proceeded to Fregellae, whence, having recovered possession of it without any contest, the Samnites abandoning it in the night, and having placed a strong garrison there, he returned to Campania, directing his operations principally to the recovery of Nola. Within the walls of this place, the whole multitude of the Samnites, and the inhabitants of the country about Nola, betook themselves on the approach of the dictator. Having taken a view of the situation of the city, in order that the approach to the fortifications may be the more open, he set fire to all the buildings which stood round the walls, which were very numerous; and, in a short time after, Nola was taken, either by the dictator Poetelius, or the consul Caius Junius, for both accounts are given. Those who attribute to the consul the honour of taking Nola, add, that Atina and Calatia were also taken by him, and that Poetelius was created dictator in consequence of a pestilence breaking out, merely for the purpose of driving the nail. The colonies of Suessa and Pontiae were established in this year. Suessa had belonged to the Auruncians: the Volscians had occupied Pontiae, an island lying within sight of their shore. A decree of the senate was also passed for conducting colonies to Interamna and Cassinum. But commissioners were appointed, and colonists, to the number of four thousand, were sent by the succeeding consuls, Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius.

## 29

The war with the Samnites being now nearly put an end to, before the Roman senate was freed from all concern on that side, a report arose of an Etrurian war; and there was not, in those times, any nation, excepting the Gauls, whose arms were more dreaded, by reason both of the vicinity of their country, and of the multitude of their men. While therefore one of the consuls prosecuted the remains of the war in Samnium, Publius Decius, who, being attacked by a severe illness, remained at Rome, by direction of the senate, nominated Caius Junius Bubulcus dictator. He, as the magnitude of the affair demanded, compelled all the younger citizens to enlist, and with the utmost diligence prepared arms, and the other matters which the occasion required. Yet he was not so elated by the power he had collected, as to think of commencing offensive operations, but prudently determined to remain quiet, unless the Etrurians should become aggressors. The plans of the Etrurians were exactly similar with respect to preparing for, and abstaining from, war: neither party went beyond their own frontiers. The censorship of Appius Claudius and Caius Plautius, for this year, was remarkable; but the name of Appius has been handed down with more celebrity to posterity, on account of his having made the road, [called after him, the Appian,] and for having conveyed water into the city. These works he performed alone; for his colleague, overwhelmed with shame by reason of the infamous and unworthy choice made of senators, had abdicated his office. Appius possessing that inflexibility of temper, which, from the earliest times, had been the characteristic of his family, held on the censorship by himself. By direction of the same Appius, the Potitian family, in which the office of priests attendant on the

great altar of Hercules was hereditary, instructed some of the public servants in the rites of that solemnity, with the intention to delegate the same to them. A circumstance is recorded, wonderful to be told, and one which should make people scrupulous of disturbing the established modes of religious solemnities: for though there were, at that time, twelve branches of the Potitian family, all grown-up persons, to the number of thirty, yet they were every one, together with their offspring, cut off within the year; so that the name of the Potitii became extinct, while the censor Appius also was, by the unrelenting wrath of the gods, some years after, deprived of sight.

### 30

The consuls of the succeeding year were, Caius Junius Bubulcus a third time, and Quintus Aemilius Barbula a second. In the commencement of their office, they complained before the people, that, by the improper choice of members of the senate, that body had been disgraced, several having been passed over who were preferable to the persons chosen in; and they declared, that they would pay no regard to such election, which had been made without distinction of right or wrong, merely to gratify interest or humour: they then immediately called over the list of the senate, in the same order which had existed before the censorship of Appius Claudius and Caius Plautius. Two public employments, both relating to military affairs, came this year into the disposal of the people; one being an order, that sixteen of the tribunes, for four legions, should be appointed by the people; whereas hitherto they had been generally in the gift of the dictators and consuls, very few of the places being left to suffrage. This order was proposed by Lucius Atilius and Caius Marcius, plebeian tribunes. Another was, that the people likewise should constitute two naval commissioners, for the equipping and refitting of the fleet. The person who introduced this order of the people, was Marcus Decius, plebeian tribune. Another transaction of this year I should pass over as trifling, did it not seem to bear some relation to religion. The flute-players, taking offence because they had been prohibited by the last censors from holding their repasts in the temple of Jupiter, which had been customary from very early times, went off in a body to Tibur; so that there was not one left in the city to play at the sacrifices. The religious tendency of this affair gave uneasiness to the senate; and they sent envoys to Tibur to endeavour that these men might be sent back to Rome. The Tiburtines readily promised compliance, and first, calling them into the senate-house, warmly recommended to them to return to Rome; and then, when they could not be prevailed on, practised on them an artifice not ill adapted to the dispositions of that description of people: on a festival day, they invited them separately to their several houses, apparently with the intention of heightening the pleasure of their feasts with music, and there plied them with wine, of which such people are always fond, until they laid them asleep. In this state of insensibility they threw them into waggons, and carried them away to Rome: nor did they know any thing of the matter, until, the waggons having been left in the forum, the light surprised them, still heavily sick from the debauch. The people then crowded about them, and, on their consenting at length to stay, privilege was granted them to ramble about the city in full dress, with music, and the licence which is now practised every year during three days. And that licence, which we see practised at present, and the right of being fed in the temple, was restored to those who played at the sacrifices. These incidents occurred while the public attention was deeply engaged by two most important wars.

### 31

The consuls adjusting the provinces between them, the Samnites fell by lot to Junius, the new war of Etruria to Aemilius. In Samnium the Samnites had blockaded and reduced by famine Cluvia, a Roman garrison, because they had been unable to take it by storm; and, after torturing with stripes, in a shocking manner, the townsmen who surrendered, they had put them to death. Enraged at this cruelty, Junius determined to postpone every thing else to the attacking of Cluvia; and, on the first day that he assaulted the walls, took it by storm, and slew all who were grown to man's estate. The victorious troops were led from thence to Bovianum; this was the capital of the Pentrian Samnites, by far the most opulent of their cities, and the most powerful both in men and arms. The soldiers, stimulated by the hope of plunder, for their resentment was not so violent, soon made themselves masters of the town: where there was less severity exercised on the enemy; but a quantity of spoil was carried off, greater almost than had ever been collected out of all Samnium, and the whole was liberally bestowed on the assailants. And when neither armies, camps, or cities could now withstand the vast superiority of the Romans in arms; the attention of all the leading men in Samnium became intent on this, that an opportunity should be sought for some stratagem, if by any chance the army, proceeding with incautious eagerness for plunder, could be caught in a snare and overpowered. Peasants who deserted and some prisoners (some thrown in their way by accident, some purposely) reporting to the consul a statement in which they concurred, and one which was at the same time true, that a vast quantity of cattle had been driven together into a defile of difficult access, prevailed on them to lead thither the legions lightly accoutred for plunder. Here a very numerous army of the enemy had posted themselves, secretly, at all the passes; and, as soon as they saw that the Romans had got into the defile, they rose up suddenly, with great clamour and tumult, and attacked them unawares. At first an event so unexpected caused some confusion, while they were taking their arms, and throwing the baggage into the centre; but, as fast as each had freed himself from his burden and fitted himself with arms, they assembled about the standards, from every side; and all, from the long course of their service, knowing their particular ranks, the line was formed of its own accord without any directions. The consul, riding up to the place where the fight was most warm, leaped from his horse, and called "Jupiter, Mars, and the other gods to witness, that he had come into that place, not in pursuit of any glory to himself, but of booty for his soldiers; nor could any other fault be charged on him, than too great a solicitude to enrich his soldiers at the expense of the enemy. From that disgrace nothing could extricate him but the valour of the troops: let them only join unanimously in a vigorous attack against a foe, already vanquished in the field, beaten out of their camps, and stripped of their towns, and now trying their last hope by the contrivance of an ambuscade, placing their reliance on the ground they occupied, not on their arms. But what ground was now unsurmountable to Roman valour?" The citadel of Fregellae, and that of Sora, were called to their remembrance, with many other places where difficulties from situation had been surmounted. Animated by these exhortations, the soldiers, regardless of all difficulties, advanced against the line of the enemy, posted above them; and here there was some fatigue whilst the army was climbing the steep. But as soon as the first battalions got footing in the plain, on the summit, and the troops perceived that they now stood on equal ground, the dismay was instantly turned on the plotters; who, dispersing and casting away their arms, attempted, by flight, to recover the same lurking-places in which they had lately concealed themselves. But the difficulties of the ground, which had been intended for the enemy, now entangled them in the snares of their own contrivance. Accordingly very few found means to escape; twenty thousand men were

slain, and the victorious Romans hastened in several parties to secure the booty of cattle, spontaneously thrown in their way by the enemy.

### 32

While such was the situation of affairs in Samnium, all the states of Etruria, except the Arretians, had taken arms, and vigorously commenced hostilities, by laying siege to Sutrium; which city, being in alliance with the Romans, served as a barrier against Etruria. Thither the other consul, Aemilius, came with an army to deliver the allies from the siege. On the arrival of the Romans, the Sutrians conveyed a plentiful supply of provisions into their camp, which was pitched before the city. The Etrurians spent the first day in deliberating whether they should expedite or protract the war. On the day following, when the speedier plan pleased the leaders in preference to the safer, as soon as the sun rose the for battle was displayed, and the troops marched out to the field; which being reported to the consul, he instantly commanded notice to be given, that they should dine, and after taking refreshment, then appear under arms. The order was obeyed; and the consul, seeing them armed and in readiness, ordered the standards to be carried forth beyond the rampart, and drew up his men at a small distance from the enemy. Both parties stood a long time with fixed attention, each waiting for the shout and fight to begin on the opposite side; and the sun had passed the meridian before a weapon was thrown by either side. Then, rather than leave the place without something being done, the shout was given by the Etrurians, the trumpets sounded, and the battalions advanced. With no less alertness do the Romans commence the fight: both rushed to the fight with violent animosity; the enemy were superior in numbers, the Romans in valour. The battle being doubtful, carries off great numbers on both sides, particularly the men of greatest courage; nor did victory declare itself, until the second line of the Romans came up fresh to the front, in the place of the first, who were much fatigued. The Etrurians, because their front line was not supported by any fresh reserves, fell all before and round the standards, and in no battle whatever would there have been seen less disposition to run, or a greater effusion of human blood, had not the night sheltered the Etrurians, who were resolutely determined on death; so that the victors, not the vanquished, were the first who desisted from fighting. After sunset the signal for retreat was given, and both parties retired in the night to their camps. During the remainder of the year, nothing memorable was effected at Sutrium; for, of the enemy's army, the whole first line had been cut off in one battle, the reserves only being left, who were scarce sufficient to guard the camp; and, among the Romans, so numerous were the wounds, that more wounded men died after the battle than had fallen in the field.

### 33

Quintus Fabius, consul for the ensuing year, succeeded to the command of the army at Sutrium; the colleague given to him was Caius Marcius Rutilus. On the one side, Fabius brought with him a reinforcement from Rome, and on the other, a new army had been sent for, and came from home, to the Etrurians. Many years had now passed without any disputes between the patrician magistrates and plebeian tribunes, when a contest took its rise from that family, which seemed raised by fate as antagonists to the tribunes and commons of those times; Appius Claudius, being censor, when the eighteen months had expired, which was the time limited by the Aemilian law for the duration of the censorship, although his colleague Caius Plautius had already resigned his office, could not be prevailed on, by any means, to give up his. There was a tribune of the commons,

Publius Sempronius; he undertook to enforce a legal process for terminating the censorship within the lawful time, which was not more popular than just, nor more pleasing to the people generally than to every man of character in the city. After he frequently appealed to the Aemilian law, and bestowed commendations on Mamercus Aemilius, who, in his dictatorship, had been the author of it, for having contracted, within the space of a year and six months, the censorship, which formerly had lasted five years, and was a power which, in consequence of its long continuance, often became tyrannical, he proceeded thus: "Tell me, Appius Claudius, in what manner you would have acted, had you been censor, at the time when Caius Furius and Marcus Geganius were censors?" Appius insisted, that "the tribune's question was irrelevant to his case. For, although the Aemilian law might bind those censors, during whose magistracy it was passed,--because the people made that law after they had become censors; and whatever order is the last passed by the people, that is held to be the law, and valid:--yet neither he, nor any of those who had been created censors subsequent to the passing of that law, could be bound by it."

### 34

While Appius urged such frivolous arguments as these, which carried no conviction whatever, the other said, "Behold, Romans, the offspring of that Appius, who being created decemvir for one year, created himself for a second; and who, during a third, without being created even by himself or by any other, held on the fasces and the government though a private individual; nor ceased to continue in office, until the government itself, ill acquired, ill administered, and ill retained, overwhelmed him in ruin. This is the same family, Romans, by whose violence and injustice ye were compelled to banish yourselves from your native city, and seize on the Sacred mount; the same, against which ye provided for yourselves the protection of tribunes; the same, on account of which two armies of you took post on the Aventine; the same, which violently opposed the laws against usury, and always the agrarian laws; the same, which broke through the right of intermarriage between the patricians and the commons; the same, which shut up the road to curule offices against the commons: this is a name, more hostile to your liberty by far, than that of the Tarquins. I pray you, Appius Claudius, though this is now the hundredth year since the dictatorship of Mamercus Aemilius, though there have been so many men of the highest characters and abilities censors, did none of these ever read the twelve tables? none of them know, that, whatever was the last order of the people, that was law? Nay, certainly they all knew it; and they therefore obeyed the Aemilian law, rather than the old one, under which the censors had been at first created; because it was the last order; and because, when two laws are contradictory, the new always repeals the old. Do you mean to say, Appius, that the people are not bound by the Aemilian law? Or, that the people are bound, and you alone exempted? The Aemilian law bound those violent censors, Caius Furius and Marcus Geganius, who showed what mischief that office might do in the state; when, out of resentment for the limitation of their power, they disfranchised Mamercus Aemilius, the first man of the age, either in war or peace. It bound all the censors thenceforward, during the space of a hundred years. It binds Caius Plautius your colleague, created under the same auspices, with the same privileges. Did not the people create him with the fullest privileges with which any censor ever was created? Or is yours an excepted case, in which this peculiarity and singularity takes place? Shall the person, whom you create king of the sacrifices, laying hold of the style of sovereignty, say, that he was created with the fullest privileges with which any king was ever created at Rome? Who

then, do you think, would be content with a dictatorship of six months? who, with the office of interrex for five days? Whom would you, with confidence, create dictator, for the purpose of driving the nail, or of exhibiting games? How foolish, how stupid, do ye think, those must appear in this man's eyes, who, after performing most important services, abdicated the dictatorship within the twentieth day; or who, being irregularly created, resigned their office? Why should I bring instances from antiquity? Lately, within these last ten years, Caius Maenius, dictator, having enforced inquiries, with more strictness than consisted with the safety of some powerful men, a charge was thrown out by his enemies, that he himself was infected with the very crime against which his inquiries were directed;--now Maenius, I say, in order that he might, in a private capacity, meet the imputation, abdicated the dictatorship. I expect not such moderation in you; you will not degenerate from your family, of all others the most imperious and assuming; nor resign your office a day, nor even an hour, before you are forced to it. Be it so: but then let no one exceed the time limited. It is enough to add a day, or a month, to the censorship. But Appius says, I will hold the censorship, and hold it alone, three years and six months longer than is allowed by the Aemilian law. Surely this is like kingly power. Or will you fill up the vacancy with another colleague, a proceeding not allowable, even in the case of the death of a censor? You are not satisfied that, as if a religious censor, you have degraded a most ancient solemnity, and the only one instituted by the very deity to whom it is performed, from priests of that rite who were of the highest rank to the ministry of mere servants. [You are not satisfied that] a family, more ancient than the origin of this city, and sanctified by an intercourse of hospitality with the immortal gods, has, by means of you and your censorship, been utterly extirpated, with all its branches, within the space of a year, unless you involve the whole commonwealth in horrid guilt, which my mind feels a horror even to contemplate. This city was taken in that lustrum in which Lucius Papirius Cursor, on the death of his colleague Julius, the censor, rather than resign his office, substituted Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis. Yet how much more moderate was his ambition, Appius, than yours! Lucius Papirius neither held the censorship alone, nor beyond the time prescribed by law. But still he found no one who would follow his example; all succeeding censors, in case of the death of a colleague, abdicated the office. As for you, neither the expiration of the time of your censorship, nor the resignation of your colleague, nor law, nor shame restrains you. You make fortitude to consist in arrogance, in boldness, in a contempt of gods and men. Appius Claudius, in consideration of the dignity and respect due to that office which you have borne, I should be sorry, not only to offer you personal violence, but even to address you in language too severe. With respect to what I have hitherto said, your pride and obstinacy forced me to speak. And now, unless you pay obedience to the Aemilian law, I shall order you to be led to prison. Nor, since a rule has been established by our ancestors, that in the election of censors unless two shall obtain the legal number of suffrages, neither shall be returned, but the election deferred,--will I suffer you, who could not singly be created censor, to hold the censorship without a colleague." Having spoken to this effect he ordered the censor to be seized, and borne to prison. But although six of the tribunes approved of the proceeding of their colleague, three gave their support to Appius, on his appealing to them, and he held the censorship alone, to the great disgust of all ranks of men.

### 35

While such was the state of affairs at Rome, the Etrurians had laid siege to Sutrium, and the consul Fabius, as he was marching along the foot of the mountains, with a design to

succour the allies, and attempt the enemy's works, if it were by any means practicable, was met by their army prepared for battle. As the wide-extended plain below showed the greatness of their force, the consul, in order to remedy his deficiency in point of number, by advantage of the ground, changed the direction of his route a little towards the hills, where the way was rugged and covered with stones, and then formed his troops, facing the enemy. The Etrurians, thinking of nothing but their numbers, on which alone they depended, commence the fight with such haste and eagerness, that, in order to come the sooner to a close engagement, they threw away their javelins, drew their swords, rushing against the enemy. On the other side, the Romans poured down on them, sometimes javelins, and sometimes stones which the place abundantly supplied; so that whilst the blows on their shields and helmets confused even those whom they did not wound, (it was neither an easy matter to come to close quarters, nor had they missile weapons with which to fight at a distance,) when there was nothing now to protect them whilst standing and exposed to the blows, some even giving way, and the whole line wavering and unsteady the spearmen and the first rank, renewing the shout, rush on them with drawn swords. This attack the Etrurians could not withstand, but, facing about, fled precipitately towards their camp; when the Roman cavalry, getting before them by galloping obliquely across the plain, threw themselves in the way of their flight, on which they quitted the road, and bent their course to the mountains. From thence, in a body, almost without arms, and debilitated with wounds, they made their way into the Ciminian forest. The Romans, having slain in many thousands of the Etrurians, and taken thirty-eight military standards, took also possession of their camp, together with a vast quantity of spoil. They then began to consider of pursuing the enemy.

### 36

The Ciminian forest was in those days deemed as impassable and frightful as the German forests have been in latter times; not even any trader having ever attempted to pass it. Hardly any, besides the general himself, showed boldness enough to enter it; the others had not the remembrance of the disaster at Caudium effaced from their mind. On this, of those who were present, Marcus Fabius, the consul's brother, (some say Caeso, others Caius Claudius, born of the same mother with the consul,) undertook to go and explore the country, and to bring them in a short time an account of every particular. Being educated at Caere, where he had friends, he was perfectly acquainted with the Etrurian language. I have seen it affirmed, that, in those times, the Roman youth were commonly instructed in the Etrurian learning, as they are now in the Greek: but it is more probable, that there was something very extraordinary in the person who acted so daringly a counterfeit part, and mixed among the enemy. It is said, that his only attendant was a slave, who had been bred up with him, and who was therefore not ignorant of the same language. They received no further instructions at their departure, than a summary description of the country through which they were to pass; to this was added the names of the principal men in the several states, to prevent their being at a loss in conversation, and from being discovered by making some mistake. They set out in the dress of shepherds, armed with rustic weapons, bills, and two short javelins each. But neither their speaking the language of the country, nor the fashion of their dress and arms, concealed them so effectually, as the incredible circumstance of a stranger's passing the Ciminian forest. They are said to have penetrated as far as the Camertian district of the Umbrians: there the Romans ventured to own who they were, and being introduced to the senate, treated with them, in the name of the consul, about an alliance

and friendship; and after being entertained with courteous hospitality, were desired to acquaint the Romans, that if they came into those countries, there should be provisions in readiness for the troops sufficient for thirty days, and that they should find the youth of the Camertian Umbrians prepared in arms to obey their commands. When this information was brought to the consul, he sent forward the baggage at the first watch, ordering the legions to march in the rear of it. He himself staid behind with the cavalry, and the next day, as soon as light appeared, rode up to the posts of the enemy, which had been stationed on the outside of the forest; and, when he had detained them there for a sufficient length of time, he retired to his camp, and marching out by the opposite gate, overtook the main body of the army before night. At the first light, on the following day, he had gained the summit of Mount Ciminius, from whence having a view of the opulent plains of Etruria, he let loose his soldiers upon them. When a vast booty had been driven off, some tumultuary cohorts of Etrurian peasants, hastily collected by the principal inhabitants of the district, met the Romans; but in such disorderly array, that these rescuers of the prey were near becoming wholly a prey themselves. These being slain or put to flight, and the country laid waste to a great extent, the Romans returned to their camp victorious, and enriched with plenty of every kind. It happened that, in the mean time, five deputies, with two plebeian tribunes, had come hither, to charge Fabius, in the name of the senate, not to attempt to pass the Ciminian forest. These, rejoicing that they had arrived too late to prevent the expedition, returned to Rome with the news of its success.

### 37

By this expedition of the consul, the war, instead of being brought nearer to a conclusion, was only spread to a wider extent: for all the tract adjacent to the foot of Mount Ciminius had felt his devastations; and, out of the indignation conceived thereat, had roused to arms, not only the states of Etruria, but the neighbouring parts of Umbria. They came therefore to Sutrium, with such a numerous army as they had never before brought into the field; and not only ventured to encamp on the outside of the wood, but through their earnest desire of coming to an engagement as soon as possible, marched down the plains to offer battle. The troops, being marshalled, stood at first, for some time, on their own ground, having left a space sufficient for the Romans to draw up, opposite to them; but perceiving that the enemy declined fighting, they advanced to the rampart; where, when they observed that even the advanced guards had retired within the works, a shout at once was raised around their generals, that they should order provisions for that day to be brought down to them: "for they were resolved to remain there under arms; and either in the night, or, at all events, at the dawn of day, to attack the enemy's camp." The Roman troops, though not less eager for action, were restrained by the commands of the general. About the tenth hour, the consul ordered his men a repast; and gave directions that they should be ready in arms, at whatever time of the day or night he should give the signal. He then addressed a few words to them; spoke in high terms of the wars of the Samnites, and disparagingly of the Etrurians, who "were not," he said, "as an enemy to be compared with other enemies, nor as a numerous force, with others in point of numbers. Besides, he had an engine at work, as they should find in due time; at present it was of importance to keep it secret." By these hints he intimated that the enemy was circumvented in order to raise the courage of his men, damped by the superiority of the enemy's force; and, from their not having fortified the post where they lay, the insinuation of a stratagem formed against them seemed the more credible. After refreshing themselves, they consigned themselves to rest, and

being roused without noise, about the fourth watch, took arms. Axes are distributed among the servants following the army, to tear down the rampart and fill up the trench. The line was formed within the works, and some chosen cohorts posted close to the gates. Then, a little before day, which in summer nights is the time of the profoundest sleep, the signal being given, the rampart was levelled, and the troops rushing forth, fell upon the enemy, who were every where stretched at their length. Some were put to death before they could stir; others half asleep, in their beds; the greatest part, while they ran in confusion to arms; few, in short, had time afforded them to arm themselves; and these, who followed no particular leader, nor orders, were quickly routed by the Romans and pursued by the Roman horse. They fled different ways; to the camp and to the woods. The latter afforded the safer refuge; for the former, being situated in a plain, was taken the same day. The gold and silver was ordered to be brought to the consul; the rest of the spoil was given to the soldiers. On that day, sixty thousand of the enemy were slain or taken. Some affirm, that this famous battle was fought on the farther side of the Ciminian forest, at Perugia; and that the public had been under great dread, lest the army might be enclosed in such a dangerous pass, and overpowered by a general combination of the Etrurians and Umbrians. But on whatever spot it was fought, it is certain that the Roman power prevailed; and, in consequence thereof, ambassadors from Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium, which were then among the principal states of Etruria, soliciting a peace and alliance with the Romans, obtained a truce for thirty years.

### 38

During these transactions in Etruria, the other consul, Caius Marcius Rutilus, took Allifae by storm from the Samnites; and many of their forts, and smaller towns, were either destroyed by his arms, or surrendered without being injured. About the same time also, the Roman fleet, having sailed to Campania, under Publius Cornelius, to whom the senate had given the command on the sea-coast, put into Pompeii. Immediately on landing, the soldiers of the fleet set out to ravage the country about Nuceria: and after they had quickly laid waste the parts which lay nearest, and whence they could have returned to the ships with safety, they were allured by the temptation of plunder, as it often happens, to advance too far, and thereby roused the enemy against them. While they rambled about the country, they met no opposition, though they might have been cut off to a man; but as they were returning, in a careless manner, the peasants overtook them, not far from the ships, stripped them of the booty, and even slew a great part of them. Those who escaped were driven in confusion to the ships. As Fabius' having marched through the Ciminian forest had occasioned violent apprehensions at Rome, so it had excited joy in proportion among the enemy in Samnium: they talked of the Roman army being pent up, and surrounded; and of the Caudine forks, as a model of their defeat. "Those people," they said, "ever greedy after further acquisitions, were now brought into inextricable difficulties, hemmed in, not more effectually by the arms of their enemy, than by the disadvantage of the ground." Their joy was even mingled with a degree of envy, because fortune, as they thought, had transferred the glory of finishing the Roman war, from the Samnites to the Etrurians: they hastened, therefore, with their whole collected force, to crush the consul Caius Marcius; resolving, if he did not give them an opportunity of fighting, to proceed, through the territories of the Marsians and Sabines, into Etruria. The consul met them, and a battle was fought with great fury on both sides, but without a decisive issue. Although both parties suffered severely, yet the discredit of defeat fell on the Romans, because several of equestrian rank, some military

tribunes, with one lieutenant-general, had fallen; and, what was more remarkable than all, the consul himself was wounded. On account of this event, exaggerated by report as is usual, the senate became greatly alarmed, so that they resolved on having a dictator nominated. No one entertained a doubt that the nomination would light on Papirius Cursor, who was then universally deemed to possess the greatest abilities as a commander: but they could not be certain, either that a message might be conveyed with safety into Samnium, where all was in a state of hostility, or that the consul Marcius was alive. The other consul, Fabius, was at enmity with Papirius, on his own account; and lest this resentment might prove an obstacle to the public good, the senate voted that deputies of consular rank should be sent to him, who, uniting their own influence to that of government, might prevail on him to drop, for the sake of his country, all remembrance of private animosities. When the deputies, having come to Fabius, delivered to him the decree of the senate, adding such arguments as were suitable to their instructions, the consul, casting his eyes towards the ground, retired in silence, leaving them in uncertainty what part he intended to act. Then, in the silent time of the night, according to the established custom, he nominated Lucius Papirius dictator. When the deputies returned him thanks, for so very meritoriously subduing his passion, he still persevered in obstinate silence, and dismissed them without any answer, or mention of what he had done: a proof that he felt an extraordinary degree of resentment, which had been suppressed within his breast. Papirius appointed Caius Junius Bubulcus master of the horse; and, as he was proceeding in an assembly of the Curiae<sup>175</sup> to get an order passed respecting the command of the army, an unlucky omen obliged him to adjourn it; for the Curia which was to vote first, happened to be the Faucian, remarkably distinguished by two disasters, the taking of the city, and the Caudine peace; the same Curia having voted first in those years in which the said events are found. Licinius Macer supposes this Curia ominous, also, on account of a third misfortune, that which was experienced at the Cremera.

### 39

Next day the dictator, taking the auspices anew, obtained the order, and, marching out at the head of the legions, lately raised on the alarm occasioned by the army passing the Ciminian forest, came to Longula; where having received the old troops of the consul Marcius, he led on his forces to battle; nor did the enemy seem to decline the combat. However, they stood drawn up for battle and under arms, until night came on; neither side choosing to begin the fray. After this, they continued a considerable time encamped near each other, without coming to action; neither diffident of their own strength, nor despising the adversary. Meanwhile matters went on actively in Etruria; for a decisive battle was fought with the Umbrians, in which the enemy was routed, but lost not many men, for they did not maintain the fight with the vigour with which they began it. Besides this the Etrurians, having raised an army under the sanctions of the devoting law, each man choosing another, came to an engagement at the Cape of Vadimon, with more numerous forces, and, at the same time, with greater spirit than they had ever shown before. The battle was fought with such animosity that no javelins were thrown by either party: swords alone were made use of; and the fury of the combatants was still higher inflamed by the long-continued contest; so that it appeared to the Romans as if they were disputing, not with Etrurians, whom they had so often conquered, but with a

<sup>175</sup> The *comitia curiata*, or assemblies of the curiae, alone had the power of conferring military command; no magistrate, therefore, could assume the command without the previous order of their assembly. In time, this came to be a mere matter of form; yet the practice always continued to be observed.

new race. Not the semblance of giving ground appeared in any part; the first lines fell; and lest the standards should be exposed, without defence, the second lines were formed in their place. At length, even the men forming the last reserves were called into action; and to such an extremity of difficulty and danger had they come, that the Roman cavalry dismounted, and pressed forward, through heaps of arms and bodies, to the front ranks of the infantry. These starting up a new army, as it were, among men now exhausted, disordered the battalions of the Etrurians; and the rest, weak as their condition was, seconding their assault, broke at last through the enemy's ranks. Their obstinacy then began to give way: some companies quitted their posts, and, as soon as they once turned their backs, betook themselves to more decided flight. That day first broke the strength of the Etrurians, now grown exuberant through a long course of prosperity; all the flower of their men were cut off in the field, and in the same assault their camp was seized and sacked.

#### 40

Equal danger, and an issue equally glorious, soon after attended the war with the Samnites; who, besides their many preparations for the field, made their army to glitter with new decorations of their armour. Their troops were in two divisions, one of which had their shields embossed with gold, the other with silver. The shape of the shield was this; broad at the middle to cover the breast and shoulders, the summit being flat, sloping off gradually so as to become pointed below, that it might be wielded with ease; a loose coat of mail also served as a protection for the breast, and the left leg was covered with a greave; their helmets were adorned with plumes, to add to the appearance of their stature. The golden-armed soldiers wore tunics of various colours; the silver-armed, of white linen. To the latter the right wing was assigned; the former took post on the left. The Romans had been apprized of these splendid accoutrements, and had been taught by their commanders, that "a soldier ought to be rough; not decorated with gold and silver, but placing his confidence in his sword. That matters of this kind were in reality spoil rather than armour; glittering before action, but soon becoming disfigured amid blood and wounds. That the brightest ornament of a soldier was valour; that all those trinkets would follow victory, and that those rich enemies would be valuable prizes to the conquerors, however poor." Cursor, having animated his men with these observations, led them on to battle. He took post himself on the right wing, he gave the command of the left to the master of the horse. As soon as they engaged, the struggle between the two armies became desperate, while it was no less so between the dictator and the master of the horse, on which wing victory should first show itself. It happened that Junius first, with the left wing, made the right of the enemy give way; this consisted of men devoted after the custom of Samnites, and on that account distinguished by white garments and armour of equal whiteness. Junius, saying "he would sacrifice these to Pluto," pressed forward, disordered their ranks, and made an evident impression on their line: which being perceived by the dictator, he exclaimed, "Shall the victory begin on the left wing, and shall the right, the dictator's own troops, only second the arms of others, and not claim the greatest share of the victory?" This spurred on the soldiers: nor did the cavalry yield to the infantry in bravery, nor the ardour of lieutenants-general to that of the commanders. Marcius Valerius from the right wing, and Publius Decius from the left, both men of consular rank, rode off to the cavalry, posted on the extremities of the line, and, exhorting them to join in putting in for a share of the honour, charged the enemy on the flanks. When the addition of this new alarm assailed the enemies' troops on both sides, and the

Roman legions, having renewed the shout to confound the enemy, rushed on, they began to fly. And now the plains were quickly filled with heaps of bodies and splendid armour. At first, their camp received the dismayed Samnites; but they did not long retain even the possession of that: before night it was taken, plundered, and burnt. The dictator triumphed, in pursuance of a decree of the senate; and the most splendid spectacle by far, of any in his procession, was the captured arms: so magnificent were they deemed, that the shields, adorned with gold, were distributed among the owners of the silver shops, to serve as embellishments to the forum. Hence, it is said, arose the custom of the forum being decorated by the aediles, when the grand processions are made on occasion of the great games. The Romans, indeed, converted these extraordinary arms to the honour of the gods: but the Campanians, out of pride, and in hatred of the Samnites, gave them as ornaments to their gladiators, who used to be exhibited as a show at their feasts, and whom they distinguished by the name of Samnites. During this year, the consul Fabius fought with the remnants of the Etrurians at Perugia, which city also had violated the truce, and gained an easy and decisive victory. He would have taken the town itself (for he marched up to the walls,) had not deputies come out and capitulated. Having placed a garrison at Perugia, and sent on before him to the Roman senate the embassies of Etruria, who solicited friendship, the consul rode into the city in triumph, for successes more important than those of the dictator. Besides, a great share of the honour of reducing the Samnites was attributed to the lieutenants-general, Publius Decius and Marcius Valerius: whom, at the next election, the people, with universal consent, declared the one consul, the other praetor.

#### 41

To Fabius, in consideration of his extraordinary merit in the conquest of Etruria, the consulship was continued. Decius was appointed his colleague. Valerius was created praetor a fourth time. The consuls divided the provinces between them. Etruria fell to Decius, Samnium to Fabius. The latter, having marched to Nuceria, rejected the application of the people of Alfaterna, who then sued for peace, because they had not accepted it when offered, and by force of arms compelled them to surrender. A battle was fought with the Samnites; the enemy were overcome without much difficulty: nor would the memory of that engagement have been preserved, except that in it the Marsians first appeared in arms against the Romans. The Pelignians, imitating the defection of the Marsians, met the same fate. The other consul, Decius, was likewise very successful in his operations: through terror he compelled the Tarquinians to supply his army with corn, and to sue for a truce for forty years. He took several forts from the Volsinians by assault, some of which he demolished, that they might not serve as receptacles to the enemy, and by extending his operations through every quarter, diffused such a dread of his arms, that the whole Etrurian nation sued to the consul for an alliance: this they did not obtain; but a truce for a year was granted them. The pay of the Roman army for that year was furnished by the enemy; and two tunics for each soldier were exacted from them: this was the purchase of the truce. The tranquillity now established in Etruria was interrupted by a sudden insurrection of the Umbrians, a nation which had suffered no injury from the war, except what inconvenience the country had felt in the passing of the army. These, by calling into the field all their own young men, and forcing a great part of the Etrurians to resume their arms, made up such a numerous force, that speaking of themselves with ostentatious vanity and of the Romans with contempt, they boasted that they would leave Decius behind in Etruria, and march away to besiege Rome; which design of theirs being reported to the consul

Decius, he removed by long marches from Etruria towards their city, and sat down in the district of Pupinia, in readiness to act according to the intelligence received of the enemy. Nor was the insurrection of the Umbrians slighted at Rome: their very threats excited tears among the people, who had experienced, in the calamities suffered from the Gauls, how insecure a city they inhabited. Deputies were therefore despatched to the consul Fabius with directions, that, if he had any respite from the war of the Samnites, he should with all haste lead his army into Umbria. The consul obeyed the order, and by forced marches proceeded to Mevania, where the forces of the Umbrians then lay. The unexpected arrival of the consul, whom they had believed to be sufficiently employed in Samnium, far distant from their country, so thoroughly affrighted the Umbrians, that several advised retiring to their fortified towns; others, the discontinuing the war. However, one district, called by themselves Materina, prevailed on the rest not only to retain their arms, but to come to an immediate engagement. They fell upon Fabius while he was fortifying his camp. When the consul saw them rushing impetuously towards his rampart, he called off his men from the work, and drew them up in the best manner which the nature of the place and the time allowed; encouraging them by displaying, in honourable and just terms, the glory which they had acquired, as well in Etruria as in Samnium, he bade them finish this insignificant appendage to the Etrurian war, and take vengeance for the impious expressions in which these people had threatened to attack the city of Rome. Such was the alacrity of the soldiers on hearing this, that, raising the shout spontaneously, they interrupted the general's discourse, and, without waiting for orders, advanced, with the sound of all the trumpets and cornets, in full speed against the enemy. They made their attack not as on men, or at least men in arms, but, what must appear wonderful in the relation, began by snatching the standards out of the hands which held them; and then, the standard-bearers themselves were dragged to the consul, and the armed soldiers transferred from the one line to the other; and wherever resistance was any where made, the business was performed, not so much with swords, as with their shields, with the bosses of which, and thrusts of their elbows, they bore down the foe. The prisoners were more numerous than the slain, and through the whole line the Umbrians called on each other, with one voice, to lay down their arms. Thus a surrender was made in the midst of action, by the first promoters of the war; and on the next and following days, the other states of the Umbrians also surrendered. The Ocriculans were admitted to a treaty of friendship on giving security.

#### 42

Fabius, successful in a war allotted to another, led back his army into his own province. And as, in the preceding year, the people had, in consideration of his services so successfully performed, re-elected him to the consulship, so now the senate, from the same motive, notwithstanding a warm opposition made by Appius, prolonged his command for the year following, in which Appius Claudius and Lucius Volumnius were consuls. In some annals I find, that Appius, still holding the office of censor, declared himself a candidate for the consulship, and that his election was stopped by a protest of Lucius Furius, plebeian tribune, until he resigned the censorship. After his election to the consulship, the new war with the Sallentine enemies being decreed to his colleague, he remained at Rome, with design to increase his interest by city intrigues, since the means of procuring honour in war were placed in the hands of others. Volumnius had no reason to be dissatisfied with his province: he fought many battles with good success, and took several cities by assault. He was liberal in his donations of the spoil;

and this munificence, engaging in itself, he enhanced by his courteous demeanour, by which conduct he inspired his soldiers with ardour to meet both toil and danger. Quintus Fabius, proconsul, fought a pitched battle with the armies of the Samnites, near the city of Allifae. The victory was complete. The enemy were driven from the field, and pursued to their camp; nor would they have kept possession of that, had not the day been almost spent. It was invested, however, before night, and guarded until day, lest any should slip away. Next morning, while it was scarcely clear day, they proposed to capitulate, and it was agreed, that such as were natives of Samnium should be dismissed with single garments. All these were sent under the yoke. No precaution was taken in favour of the allies of the Samnites: they were sold by auction, to the number of seven thousand. Those who declared themselves subjects of the Hernicians, were kept by themselves under a guard. All these Fabius sent to Rome to the senate; and, after being examined, whether it was in consequence of a public order, or as volunteers, that they had carried arms on the side of the Samnites against the Romans, they were distributed among the states of the Latins to be held in custody; and it was ordered, that the new consuls, Publius Cornelius Arvina and Quintus Marcius Tremulus, who by this time had been elected, should lay that affair entire before the senate: this gave such offence to the Hernicians, that, at a meeting of all the states, assembled by the Anagnians, in the circus called the Maritime, the whole nation of the Hernicians, excepting the Alatrians, Ferentines, and Verulans, declared war against the Roman people.

### 43

In Samnium also, in consequence of the departure of Fabius, new commotions arose. Calatia and Sora, and the Roman garrisons stationed there, were taken, and extreme cruelty was exercised towards the captive soldiers: Publius Cornelius was therefore sent thither with an army. The command against the new enemy (for by this time an order had passed for declaring war against the Anagnians, and the rest of the Hernicians) was decreed to Marcius. These, in the beginning, secured all the passes between the camps of the consuls, in such a manner, that no messenger, however expert, could make his way from one to the other; and each consul spent several days in absolute uncertainty regarding every matter and in anxious suspense concerning the state of the other. Apprehensions for their safety spread even to Rome; so that all the younger citizens were compelled to enlist and two regular armies were raised, to answer sudden emergencies. The conduct of the Hernicians during the progress of the war afterwards, showed nothing suitable to the present alarm, or to the ancient renown of that nation. Without ever venturing any effort worth mentioning, being stripped of three different camps within a few days, they stipulated for a truce of thirty days, during which they might send to Rome, to the senate, on the terms of furnishing two months' pay, and corn, and a tunic to every soldier. They were referred back to Marcius by the senate, whom by a decree they empowered to determine regarding the Hernicians, and he accepted their submission. Meanwhile, in Samnium, the other consul, though superior in strength, was very much embarrassed by the nature of his situation; the enemy had blocked up all the roads, and seized on the passable defiles, so that no provisions could be conveyed; nor could the consul, though he daily drew out his troops and offered battle, allure them to an engagement. It was evident, that neither could the Samnites support an immediate contest, nor the Romans a delay of action. The approach of Marcius, who, after he had subdued the Hernicians, hastened to the succour of his colleague, put it out of the enemy's power any longer to avoid fighting: for they, who had not deemed themselves a match in the field, even for one of the armies, could not

surely suppose that if they should allow the two consular armies to unite, they could have any hope remaining: they made an attack therefore on Marcius, as he was approaching in the irregular order of march. The baggage was hastily thrown together in the centre, and the line formed as well as the time permitted. First the shout which reached the standing camp of Cornelius, then the dust observed at a distance, excited a bustle in the camp of the other consul. Ordering his men instantly to take arms, and leading them out to the field with the utmost haste, he charged the flank of the enemy's line, which had enough to do in the other dispute, at the same time exclaiming, that "it would be the height of infamy if they suffered Marcius's army to monopolize the honour of both victories, and did not assert their claim to the glory of their own war." He bore down all before him, and pushed forward, through the midst of the enemy's line, to their camp, which, being left without a guard, he took and set on fire; which when the soldiers of Marcius saw in flames, and the enemy observed it on looking about, a general flight immediately took place among the Samnites. But they could not effect an escape in any direction; in every quarter they met death. After a slaughter of thirty thousand men, the consuls had now given the signal for retreat; and were collecting, into one body, their several forces, who were employed in mutual congratulations, when some new cohorts of the enemy, which had been levied for a reinforcement, being seen at a distance, occasioned a renewal of the carnage. On these the conquerors rushed, without any order of the consuls, or signal received, crying out, that they would make these Samnites pay dearly for their introduction to service. The consuls indulged the ardour of the legions, well knowing that the raw troops of the enemy, mixed with veterans dispirited by defeat, would be incapable even of attempting a contest. Nor were they wrong in their judgment: all the forces of the Samnites, old and new, fled to the nearest mountains. These the Roman army also ascended, so that no situation afforded safety to the vanquished; they were beaten off, even from the summits which they had seized. And now they all, with one voice, supplicated for a suspension of arms. On which, being ordered to furnish corn for three months, pay for a year, and a tunic to each of the soldiers, they sent deputies to the senate to sue for peace. Cornelius was left in Samnium. Marcius returned into the city, in triumph over the Hernicians; and a decree was passed for erecting to him, in the forum, an equestrian statue, which was placed before the temple of Castor. To three states of the Hernicians, (the Alatrians, Verulans, and Ferentines,) their own laws were restored, because they preferred these to the being made citizens of Rome; and they were permitted to intermarry with each other, a privilege which they alone of the Hernicians, for a long time after, enjoyed. To the Anagnians, and the others, who had made war on the Romans, was granted the freedom of the state, without the right of voting; public assemblies, and intermarriages, were not allowed them, and their magistrates were prohibited from acting except in the ministration of public worship. During this year, Caius Junius Bubulcus, censor, contracted for the building of a temple to Health, which he had vowed during his consulate in the war with the Samnites. By the same person, and his colleague, Marcus Valerius Maximus, roads were made through the fields at the public expense. During the same year the treaty with the Carthaginians was renewed a third time, and ample presents made to their ambassadors who came on that business.

#### 44

This year had a dictator in office, Publius Cornelius Scipio, with Publius Decius Mus, master of the horse. By these the election of consuls was held, being the purpose for which they had been created, because neither of the consuls could be absent from the

armies. The consuls elected were Lucius Postumius and Titus Minucius; whom Piso places next after Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius, omitting the two years in which I have set down Claudius with Volumnius, and Cornelius with Marcius, as consuls. Whether this happened through a lapse of memory in digesting his annals, or whether he purposely passed over those two consulates as deeming the accounts of them false, cannot be ascertained. During this year the Samnites made incursions into the district of Stellae in the Campanian territory. Both the consuls were therefore sent into Samnium, and proceeded to different regions, Postumius to Tifernum, Minucius to Bovianum. The first engagement happened at Tifernum, under the command of Postumius. Some say, that the Samnites were completely defeated, and twenty thousand of them made prisoners. Others, that the army separated without victory on either side; and that Postumius, counterfeiting fear, withdrew his forces privately by night, and marched away to the mountains; whither the enemy also followed, and took possession of a stronghold two miles distant. The consul, having created a belief that he had come thither for the sake of a safe post, and a fruitful spot, (and such it really was,) secured his camp with strong works. Furnishing it with magazines of every thing useful, he left a strong guard to defend it; and at the third watch, led away the legions lightly accoutred, by the shortest road which he could take, to join his colleague, who lay opposite to his foe. There, by advice of Postumius, Minucius came to an engagement with the enemy; and when the fight had continued doubtful through a great part of the day, Postumius, with his fresh legions, made an unexpected attack on the enemy's line, spent by this time with fatigue: thus, weariness and wounds having rendered them incapable even of flying, they were cut off to a man, and twenty-one standards taken. The Romans then proceeded to Postumius's station, where the two victorious armies falling upon the enemy, already dismayed by the news of what had passed, routed and dispersed them: twenty-six military standards were taken here, and the Samnite general, Staius Gellius, with a great number of other prisoners, and both the camps were taken. Next day Bovianum was besieged, and soon after taken. Both the consuls were honoured with a triumph, with high applause of their excellent conduct. Some writers say, that the consul Minucius was brought back to the camp grievously wounded, and that he died there; that Marcus Fulvius was substituted consul in his place, and that it was he who, being sent to command Minucius's army, took Bovianum. During the same year, Sora, Arpinum, and Censennia were recovered from the Samnites. The great statue of Hercules was erected in the Capitol, and dedicated.

#### 45

In the succeeding consulate of Publius Sulpicius Saverrio and Publius Sempronius Sophus, the Samnites, desirous either of a termination or a suspension of hostilities, sent ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace; to whose submissive solicitations this answer was returned, that, "had not the Samnites frequently solicited peace, at times when they were actually preparing for war, their present application might, perhaps, in the course of negotiating, have produced the desired effect. But now, since words had hitherto proved vain, people's conduct must be guided by facts: that Publius Sempronius the consul would shortly be in Samnium with an army: that he could not be deceived in judging whether their dispositions inclined to peace or war. He would bring the senate certain information respecting every particular, and their ambassadors might follow the consul on his return from Samnium." When the Roman army accordingly marched through all parts of Samnium, which was in a state of peace, provisions being liberally supplied, a renewal of the old treaty was, this year, granted to the Samnites.

The Roman arms were then turned against the Aequans, their old enemies, but who had, for many years past, remained quiet, under the guise of a treacherous peace, because, while the Hernicians were in a state of prosperity, these had, in conjunction with them, frequently sent aid to the Samnites; and after the Hernicians were subdued, almost the whole nation, without dissembling that they acted by public authority, had revolted to the enemy; and when, after the conclusion of the treaty with the Samnites at Rome, ambassadors were sent to demand satisfaction, they said, that "this was only a trial made of them, on the expectation that they would through fear suffer themselves to be made Roman citizens. But how much that condition was to be wished for, they had been taught by the Hernicians; who, when they had the option, preferred their own laws to the freedom of the Roman state. To people who wished for liberty to choose what they judged preferable, the necessity of becoming Roman citizens would have the nature of a punishment." In resentment of these declarations, uttered publicly in their assemblies, the Roman people ordered war to be made on the Aequans; and, in prosecution of this new undertaking, both the consuls marched from the city, and sat down at the distance of four miles from the camp of the enemy. The troops of the Aequans, like tumultuary recruits, in consequence of their having passed such a number of years without waging war on their own account, were all in disorder and confusion, without established officers and without command. Some advised to give battle, others to defend the camp; the greater part were influenced by concern for the devastation of their lands, likely to take place, and the consequent destruction of their cities, left with weak garrisons. Among a variety of propositions, one, however, was heard which, abandoning all concern for the public interest, tended to transfer every man's attention to the care of his private concerns. It recommended that, at the first watch, they should depart from the camp by different roads, so as to carry all their effects into the cities, and to secure them by the strength of the fortifications; this they all approved with universal assent. When the enemy were now dispersed through the country, the Romans, at the first dawn, marched out to the field, and drew up in order of battle; but no one coming to oppose them, they advanced in a brisk pace to the enemy's camp. But when they perceived neither guards before the gates, nor soldiers on the ramparts, nor the usual bustle of a camp,--surprised at the extraordinary silence, they halted in apprehension of some stratagem. At length, passing over the rampart, and finding the whole deserted, they proceeded to search out the tracks of the enemy. But these, as they scattered themselves to every quarter, occasioned perplexity at first. Afterwards discovering their design by means of scouts, they attacked their cities, one after another, and within the space of fifty days took, entirely by force, forty-one towns, most of which were razed and burnt, and the race of the Aequans almost extirpated. A triumph was granted over the Aequans. The Marrucinians, Marsians, Pelignians, and Ferentans, warned by the example of their disasters, sent deputies to Rome to solicit peace and friendship; and these states, on their submissive applications, were admitted into alliance.

#### 46

In the same year, Cneius Flavius, son of Cneius, grandson of a freed man, a notary, in low circumstances originally, but artful and eloquent, was appointed curule aedile. I find in some annals, that, being in attendance on the aediles, and seeing that he was voted aedile by the prerogative tribe, but that his name would not be received, because he acted as a notary, he threw down his tablet, and took an oath, that he would not, for the future, follow that business. But Licinius Macer contends, that he had dropped the employment of notary a considerable time before, having already been a tribune, and

twice a triumvir, once for regulating the nightly watch, and another time for conducting a colony. However, of this there is no dispute, that against the nobles, who threw contempt on the meanness of his condition, he contended with much firmness. He made public the rules of proceeding in judicial causes, hitherto shut up in the closets of the pontiffs; and hung up to public view, round the forum, the calendar on white tablets, that all might know when business could be transacted in the courts. To the great displeasure of the nobles, he performed the dedication of the temple of Concord, in the area of Vulcan's temple; and the chief pontiff, Cornelius Barbatius, was compelled by the united instances of the people, to dictate to him the form of words, although he affirmed, that, consistently with the practice of antiquity, no other than a consul, or commander-in-chief, could dedicate a temple. This occasioned a law to be proposed to the people, by direction of the senate, that no person should dedicate a temple, or an altar, without an order from the senate, or from a majority of the plebeian tribunes. The incident which I am about to mention would be trivial in itself, were it not an instance of the freedom assumed by plebeians in opposition to the pride of the nobles. When Flavius had come to make a visit to his colleague, who was sick, and when, by an arrangement between some young nobles who were sitting there, they did not rise on his entrance, he ordered his curule chair to be brought thither, and from his honourable seat of office enjoyed the sight of his enemies tortured with envy. However, a low faction, which had gathered strength during the censorship of Appius Claudius, had made Flavius an aedile; for he was the first who degraded the senate, by electing into it the immediate descendants of freed men; and when no one allowed that election as valid, and when he had not acquired in the senate-house that influence in the city which he had been aiming at, by distributing men of the meanest order among all the several tribes, he thus corrupted the assemblies both of the forum and of the field of Mars; and so much indignation did the election of Flavius excite, that most of the nobles laid aside their gold rings and bracelets in consequence of it. From that time the state was split into two parties. The uncorrupted part of the people, who favoured and supported the good, held one side; the faction of the rabble, the other; until Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius were made censors; and Fabius, both for the sake of concord, and at the same time to prevent the elections remaining in the hands of the lowest of the people, purged the rest of the tribes of all the rabble of the forum, and threw it into four, and called them city tribes. And this procedure, we are told, gave such universal satisfaction, that, by this regulation in the orders of the state, he obtained the surname of Maximus, which he had not obtained by his many victories. The annual review of the knights, on the ides of July, is also said to have been instituted by him.

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# Book X

## B.C. 303-293

*Submission of the Marcians accepted. The college of Augurs augmented from four to nine. The law of appeal to the people carried by Valerius the consul. Two more tribes added. War declared against the Samnites. Several successful actions. In an engagement against the combined forces of the Etruscans, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls, Publius Decius, after the example of his father, devotes himself for the army. Dies, and, by his death, procures the victory to the Romans. Defeat of the Samnites by Papirius Cursor. The census held. The lustrum closed. The number of the citizens two hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-two.*

### 1

During the consulate of Lucius Genucius and Servius Cornelius, the state enjoyed almost uninterrupted rest from foreign wars. Colonies were led out to Sora and Alba. For the latter, situated in the country of the Aequans, six thousand colonists were enrolled. Sora had formerly belonged to the Volscian territory, but had fallen into the possession of the Samnites: thither were sent four thousand settlers. This year the freedom of the state was granted to the Arpinians and Trebulans. The Frusinonians were fined a third part of their lands, because it was discovered that the Hernicians had been tampered with by them; and the heads of that conspiracy, after a trial before the consuls, held in pursuance of a decree of the senate, were beaten with rods and beheaded. However, that the Romans might not pass the year entirely exempt from war, a little expedition was made into Umbria; intelligence being received from thence, that excursions of men, in arms, had been made, from a certain cave, into the adjacent country. Into this cave the troops penetrated with their standards, and, the place being dark, they received many wounds, chiefly from stones thrown. At length the other mouth of the cave being found, for it was pervious, both the openings were filled up with wood, which being set on fire, there perished by means of the smoke and heat, no less than two thousand men; many of whom, at the last, in attempting to make their way out, rushed into the very flames. The two Marci, Livius Denter and Aemilius, succeeding to the consulship, war was renewed with the Aequans; who, being highly displeased at the colony established within their territory, as if it were a fortress, having made an attempt, with their whole force, to seize it, were repulsed by the colonists themselves. They caused, however, such an alarm at Rome, that, to quell this insurrection, Caius Junius Bubulcus was nominated dictator: for it was scarcely credible that the Aequans, after being reduced to such a degree of weakness, should by themselves alone have ventured to engage in a war. The dictator, taking the field, with Marcus Titinius, master of the horse, in the first engagement reduced the Aequans to submission; and returning into the city in triumph, on the eighth day, dedicated, in the character of dictator, the temple of Health, which he had vowed when consul, and contracted for when censor.

### 2

During this year a fleet of Grecians, under the command of Cleonymus, a Lacedaemonian, arrived on the coast of Italy, and took Thuriae, a city in the territory of the Sallentines. Against this enemy the consul Aemilius was sent, who, in one battle,

completely defeated them, and drove them on board their ships. Thuriae was then restored to its old inhabitants, and peace re-established in the country of the Sallentines. In some annals, I find that Junius Bubulcus was sent dictator into that country, and that Cleonymus, without hazarding an engagement with the Romans, retired out of Italy. He then sailed round the promontory of Brundisium, and, steering down the middle of the Adriatic gulf, because he dreaded, on the left hand, the coasts of Italy destitute of harbours, and, on the right, the Illyrians, Liburnians, and Istrians, nations of savages, and noted in general for piracy, he passed on to the coasts of the Venetians. Here, having landed a small party to explore the country, and being informed that a narrow beach stretched along the shore, beyond which were marshes, overflowed by the tides; that dry land was seen at no great distance, level in the nearest part, and rising behind into hills, beyond which was the mouth of a very deep river, into which they had seen ships brought round and moored in safety, (this was the river Meduacus,) he ordered his fleet to sail into it and go up against the stream. As the channel would not admit the heavy ships, the troops, removing into the lighter vessels, arrived at a part of the country occupied by three maritime cantons of the Patavians, settled on that coast. Here they made a descent, leaving a small guard with the ships, made themselves masters of these cantons, set fire to the houses, drove off a considerable booty of men and cattle, and, allured by the sweets of plunder, proceeded still further from the shore. When news of this was brought to Patavium, where the contiguity of the Gauls kept the inhabitants constantly in arms, they divided their young men into two bands, one of which was led towards the quarter where the marauders were said to be busy; the other by a different route, to avoid meeting any of the pirates, towards the station of the ships, fifteen miles distant from the town. An attack was made on the small craft, and the guards being killed, the affrighted mariners were obliged to remove their ships to the other bank of the river. By land, also, the attack on the dispersed plunderers was equally successful; and the Grecians, flying back towards their ships, were opposed in their way by the Venetians. Thus they were enclosed on both sides, and cut to pieces; and some, who were made prisoners, gave information that the fleet, with their king, Cleonymus, was but three miles distant. Sending the captives into the nearest canton, to be kept under a guard, some soldiers got on board the flat-bottomed vessels, so constructed for the purpose of passing the shoals with ease; others embarked in those which had been lately taken from the enemy, and proceeding down the river, surrounded their unwieldy ships, which dreaded the unknown sands and flats more than they did the Romans, and which showed a greater eagerness to escape into the deep than to make resistance. The soldiers pursued them as far as the mouth of the river; and having taken and burned a part of the fleet, which in the hurry and confusion had been stranded, returned victorious. Cleonymus, having met success in no part of the Adriatic sea, departed with scarce a fifth part of his navy remaining. Many, now alive, have seen the beaks of his ships, and the spoils of the Lacedaemonians, hanging in the old temple of Juno. In commemoration of this event, there is exhibited at Patavium, every year, on its anniversary day, a naval combat on the river in the middle of the town.

### 3

A treaty was this year concluded at Rome with the Vestinians, who solicited friendship. Various causes of apprehension afterwards sprung up. News arrived, that Etruria was in rebellion; the insurrection having arisen from the dissensions of the Arretians; for the Cilnian family having grown exorbitantly powerful, a party, out of envy of their wealth, had attempted to expel them by force of arms. [Accounts were also received] that the

Marsians held forcible possession of the lands to which the colony of Carseoli, consisting of four thousand men, had been sent. By reason, therefore, of these commotions, Marcus Valerius Maximus was nominated dictator, and chose for his master of the horse Marcus Aemilius Paullus. This I am inclined to believe, rather than that Quintus Fabius, at such an age as he then was, and after enjoying many honours, was placed in a station subordinate to Valerius: but I think it not unlikely that the mistake arose from the surname Maximus. The dictator, having set out at the head of an army, in one battle utterly defeated the Marsians, drove them into their fortified towns, and afterwards, in the course of a few days, took Milonia, Plestina, and Fresilia; and then finding Marsians in a part of their lands, granted them a renewal of the treaty. The war was then directed against the Etrurians; and when the dictator had gone to Rome, for the purpose of renewing the auspices, the master of the horse, going out to forage, was surrounded by an ambuscade, and obliged to fly shamefully into his camp, after losing several standards and many of his men. The occurrence of which discomfiture to Fabius is exceedingly improbable; not only because, if in any particular, certainly, above all, in the qualifications of a commander, he fully merited his surname; but besides, mindful of Papirius's severity, he never could have been tempted to fight, without the dictator's orders.

#### 4

The news of this disaster excited at Rome an alarm greater than suited the importance of the affair; for, as if the army had been destroyed, a justitium was proclaimed, guards mounted at the gates, and watches set in every street: and armour and weapons were heaped on the walls. All the younger citizens being compelled to enlist, the dictator was ordered to join the army. There he found every thing in a more tranquil state than he expected, and regularity established through the care of the master of the horse, the camp removed to a place of greater safety, the cohorts, which had lost their standards, left without tents on the outside of the ramparts and the troops ardently impatient for battle, that their disgrace might be the sooner obliterated. He therefore immediately advanced his camp into the territory of Rusella. Thither the enemy also followed, and although, since their late success, they entertained the most sanguine hopes from an open trial of strength, yet they endeavoured to circumvent the enemy by a stratagem which they had before practised with success. There were, at a small distance from the Roman camp, the half-ruined houses of a town which had been burnt in the devastation of the country. A body of troops being concealed there, some cattle was driven on, within view of a Roman post, commanded by a lieutenant-general, Cneius Fulvius. When no one was induced by this temptation to stir from his post, one of the herdsmen, advancing close to the works, called out, that others were driving out those cattle at their leisure from the ruins of the town, why did they remain idle, when they might safely drive them through the middle of the Roman camp? When this was interpreted to the lieutenant-general, by some natives of Caere, and great impatience prevailed through every company of the soldiers, who, nevertheless, dared not to move without orders, he commanded some who were skilled in the language to observe attentively, whether the dialect of the herdsmen resembled that of rustics or of citizens. When these reported, that their accent in speaking, their manner and appearance, were all of a more polished cast than suited shepherds, "Go then," said he, "tell them that they may uncover the ambush which they vainly conceal, that the Romans understand all their devices, and can now be no more taken by stratagem than they can be conquered by arms." When these words were heard, and carried to those who lay in ambush, they

immediately arose from their lurking place, and marched out in order into the plain which was open to view on every side. The lieutenant-general thought their force too powerful for his small band to cope with. He therefore sent in haste to Valerius for support, and in the mean time, by himself, sustained the enemy's onset.

## 5

On receiving his message, the dictator ordered the standards to move, and the troops to follow in arms. But every thing was executed more quickly, almost, than ordered. The standards and arms were instantly snatched up, and they were with difficulty restrained from running impetuously on, both indignation at their late defeat stimulated them, as well as the shouts striking their ears with increasing vehemence, as the contest grew hotter. They therefore urged each other, and pressed the standard-bearers to quicken their pace. The dictator, the more eagerly he saw them push forward, took the more pains to repress their haste, and ordered them to march at a slower rate. On the other side, the Etrurians, putting themselves in motion, on the first beginning of the fray had come up with their whole force, and several expresses came to the dictator, one after another, that all the regions of the Etrurians had joined in the fight, and that his men could not any longer withstand them: at the same time, he himself saw, from the higher ground, in how perilous a situation the party was. Confident, however, that the lieutenant-general was able, even yet, to support the contest, and considering that he himself was at hand to rescue him from defeat, he wished to let the enemy be fatigued, as much as might be, in order that, when in that state, he might fall on them with his fresh troops. Slowly as these marched, the distance was now just sufficient for the cavalry to begin their career for a charge. The battalions of the legions marched in front, lest the enemy might suspect any secret or sudden movement, but intervals had been left in the ranks of the infantry, affording room for the horses to gallop through. At the same instant the line raised the shout, and the cavalry, charging at full speed, poured on the enemy, and spread at once a general panic. After this, as succour had arrived, almost too late, to the party surrounded, so now they were allowed entire rest, the fresh troops taking on themselves the whole business of the fight. Nor was that either long or dubious. The enemy, now routed, fled to their camp, and the Romans advancing to attack it, they gave way, and are crowded all together in the remotest part of it. In their flight they are obstructed by the narrowness of the gates, the greater number climbed up on the mounds and ramparts, to try if they could either defend themselves with the aid of the advantageous ground, or get over, by any means, and escape. One part of the rampart, happening to be badly compacted sunk under the weight of the multitude who stood on it, and fell into the trench. On which, crying out that the gods had opened that pass to give them safety, they made their way out, most of them leaving their arms behind. By this battle the power of the Etrurians was, a second time, effectually crushed, so that, engaging to furnish a year's pay, and corn for two months, with the dictator's permission, they sent ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace. This was refused, but a truce for two years was granted to them. The dictator returned into the city in triumph. I have seen it asserted, that tranquillity was restored in Etruria by the dictator, without any memorable battle, only by composing the dissensions of the Arretians, and effecting a reconciliation between the Cilnian family and the commons. Marcus Valerius was elected consul, before the expiration of his dictatorship, many have believed, without his soliciting the office, and even while he was absent; and that the election was held by an interrex. In one point all agree, that he held the consulship with Quintus Appulcius Pansa.

## 6

During this consulate of Marcus Valerius and Quintus Appulcius, affairs abroad wore a very peaceable aspect. Their losses sustained in war, together with the truce, kept the Etrurians quiet. The Samnites, depressed by the misfortunes of many years, had not yet become dissatisfied with their new alliance. At Rome, also, the carrying away of such multitudes to colonies, rendered the commons tranquil, and lightened their burthens. But, that things might not be tranquil on all sides, a contention was excited between the principal persons in the commonwealth, patricians on one hand, and plebeians on the other, by the two Ogulnii, Quintus and Cneius, plebeian tribunes, who, seeking every where occasions of criminating the patricians in the hearing of the people, and having found other attempts fruitless, set on foot a proceeding by which they might inflame, not the lowest class of the commons, but their chief men, the plebeians of consular and triumphal rank, to the completion of whose honours nothing was now wanting but the offices of the priesthood, which were not yet laid open to them. They therefore published a proposal for a law, that, whereas there were then four augurs and four pontiffs, and it had been determined that the number of priests should be augmented, the four additional pontiffs and five augurs should all be chosen out of the commons. How the college of augurs could be reduced to the number of four, except by the death of two, I do not understand: for it is a rule among the augurs, that their number should be composed of threes, so that the three ancient tribes, the Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres, should have each its own augur; or, in case there should be occasion for more, that each should increase its number of augurs, in equal proportion with the rest, in like manner as when, by the addition of five to four, they made up the number nine, so that there were three to each tribe. However, as it was proposed that they should be chosen out of the commons, the patricians were as highly offended at the proceeding, as when they saw the consulship made common; yet they pretended that the business concerned not them so much as it did the gods, who would "take care that their own worship should not be contaminated; that, for their parts, they only wished that no misfortune might ensue to the commonwealth." But they made a less vigorous opposition, as being now accustomed to suffer defeat in such kind of disputes; and they saw their adversaries, not, as formerly, grasping at that which they could scarcely hope to reach, the higher honours; but already in possession of all those advantages, on the uncertain prospect of which they had maintained the contest, manifold consulships, censorships, and triumphs.

## 7

The principal struggle, however, in supporting and opposing the bill, they say, was between Appius Claudius and Publius Decius Mus. After these had urged nearly the same topics, respecting the privileges of patricians and plebeians, which had been formerly employed for and against the Licinian law, when the proposition was brought forward of opening the consulship to plebeians, Decius is said to have drawn a lively description of his own father, such as many then present in the assembly had seen him, girt in the Sabine dress, standing on a spear, in the attitude in which he had devoted himself for the people and the legions, and to have added, that the consul Publius Decius was then deemed by the immortal gods an offering equally pure and pious, as if his colleague, Titus Manlius, had been devoted. And might not the same Publius Decius have been, with propriety, chosen to perform the public worship of the Roman people? Was there any danger that the gods would give less attention to his prayers than to those of Appius Claudius? Did the latter perform his private acts of adoration with a purer mind,

or worship the gods more religiously than he? Who had any reason to complain of the vows offered in behalf of the commonwealth, by so many plebeian consuls and dictators, either when setting out to their armies, or in the heat of battle? Were the numbers of commanders reckoned, during those years since business began to be transacted under the conduct and auspices of plebeians, the same number of triumphs might be found. The commons had now no reason to be dissatisfied with their own nobility. On the contrary, they were fully convinced, that in case of a sudden war breaking out, the senate and people of Rome would not repose greater confidence in patrician than in plebeian commanders. "Which being the case," said he, "what god or man can deem it an impropriety, if those whom ye have honoured with curule chairs, with the purple bordered gown, with the palm-vest and embroidered robe, with the triumphal crown and laurel, whose houses ye have rendered conspicuous above others, by affixing to them the spoils of conquered enemies, should add to these the badges of augurs or pontiffs? If a person, who has rode through the city in a gilt chariot; and, decorated with the ensigns of Jupiter, supremely good and great, has mounted the Capitol, should be seen with a chalice and wand; what impropriety, I say, that he should, with his head veiled, slay a victim, or take an augury in the citadel? When, in the inscription on a person's statue, the consulship, censorship, and triumph shall be read with patience, will the eyes of readers be unable to endure the addition of the office of augur or pontiff? In truth (with deference to the gods I say it) I trust that we are, through the kindness of the Roman people, qualified in such a manner that we should, by the dignity of our characters, reflect back, on the priesthood, not less lustre than we should receive; and may demand, rather on behalf of the gods, than for our own sakes, that those whom we worship in our private we may also worship in a public capacity."

## 8

"But why do I argue thus, as if the cause of the patricians, respecting the priesthood, were untouched? and as if we were not already in possession of one sacerdotal office, of the highest class? We see plebeian decemvirs, for performing sacrifices, interpreters of the Sibylline prophecies, and of the fates of the nation; we also see them presidents of Apollo's festival, and of other religious performances. Neither was any injustice done to the patricians, when, to the two commissioners for performing sacrifices, an additional number was joined, in favour of the plebeians; nor is there now, when a tribune, a man of courage and activity, wishes to add five places of augurs, and four of pontiffs, to which plebeians may be nominated; not Appius, with intent to expel you from your places; but, that men of plebeian rank may assist you, in the management of divine affairs, with the same zeal with which they assist you in matters of human concernment. Blush not, Appius, at having a man your colleague in the priesthood, whom you might have a colleague in the censorship or consulship, whose master of the horse you yourself may be, when he is dictator, as well as dictator when he is master of the horse. A Sabine adventurer, the first origin of your nobility, either Attus Clausus, or Appius Claudius, which you will, the ancient patricians of those days admitted into their number: do not then, on your part, disdain to admit us into the number of priests. We bring with us numerous honours; all those honours, indeed, which have rendered your party so proud. Lucius Sextius was the first consul chosen out of the plebeians; Caius Licinius Stolo, the first master of the horse; Caius Marcius Rutilus, the first dictator, and likewise censor; Quintus Publilius Philo, the first praetor. On all occasions was heard a repetition of the same arguments; that the right of auspices was vested in you; that ye alone had the rights of ancestry; that ye alone were legally entitled to the supreme command, and

the auspices both in peace and war. The supreme command has hitherto been, and will continue to be, equally prosperous in plebeian hands as in patrician. Have ye never heard it said, that the first created patricians were not men sent down from heaven, but such as could cite their fathers, that is, nothing more than free born. I can now cite my father, a consul; and my son will be able to cite a grandfather. Citizens, there is nothing else in it, than that we should never obtain any thing without a refusal. The patricians wish only for a dispute; nor do they care what issue their disputes may have. For my part, be it advantageous, happy, and prosperous to you and to the commonwealth, I am of opinion that this law should receive your sanction."

## 9

The people ordered that the tribes should be instantly called; and there was every appearance that the law would be accepted. It was deferred, however, for that day, by a protest, from which on the day following the tribunes were deterred; and it passed with the approbation of a vast majority. The pontiffs created were, Publius Decius Mus, the advocate for the law; Publius Sempronius Sophus, Caius Marcius Rutilus, and Marcus Livius Dentor. The five augurs, who were also plebeians, were, Caius Genucius, Publius Aelius Paetus, Marcus Minucius Fessus, Caius Marcius, and Titus Publilius. Thus the number of the pontiffs was made eight; that of the augurs nine. In the same year Marcus Valerius, consul, procured a law to be passed concerning appeals; more carefully enforced by additional sanctions. This was the third time, since the expulsion of the kings, of this law being introduced, and always by the same family. The reason for renewing it so often was, I believe, no other, than that the influence of a few was apt to prove too powerful for the liberty of the commons. However, the Porcian law seems intended, solely, for the security of the persons of the citizens; as it visited with a severe penalty any one for beating with stripes or putting to death a Roman citizen. The Valerian law, after forbidding a person, who had appealed, to be beaten with rods and beheaded, added, in case of any one acting contrary thereto, that it shall yet be only deemed a wicked act. This, I suppose, was judged of sufficient strength to enforce obedience to the law in those days; so powerful was then men's sense of shame; at present one would scarcely make use of such a threat seriously. The Aequans rebelling, the same consul conducted the war against them; in which no memorable event occurred; for, except ferocity, they retained nothing of their ancient condition. The other consul, Appuleius, invested the town of Nequinum in Umbria. The ground, the same whereon Narnia now stands, was steep (on one side even perpendicular); this rendered the town impregnable either by assault or works. That business, therefore, came unfinished into the hands of the succeeding consuls, Marcus Fulvius Paetinus and Titus Manlius Torquatus. When all the centuries named Quintus Fabius consul for that year though not a candidate, Macer Licinius and Tubero state that he himself recommended them to postpone the conferring the consulship on him until a year wherein there might be more employment for their arms; adding, that, during the present year, he might be more useful to the state in the management of a city magistracy; and thus, neither dissembling what he preferred, nor yet making direct application for it, he was appointed curule aedile with Lucius Papirius Cursor. Piso, a more ancient writer of annals, prevents me from averring this as certain; he asserts that the curule aediles of that year were Caius Domitius Calvinus, son of Cneius, and Spurius Carvilius Maximus, son of Caius. I am of opinion, that this latter surname caused a mistake concerning the aediles; and that thence followed a story conformable to this mistake, patched up out of the two elections, of the aediles, and of the consuls. The general survey was performed,

this year, by Publius Sempronius Sophus and Publius Sulpicius Saverrio, censors; and two tribes were added, the Aniensian and Terentine. Such were the occurrences at Rome.

## 10

Meanwhile, after much time had been lost in the tedious siege of Nequinum, two of the townsmen, whose houses were contiguous to the wall, having formed a subterraneous passage, came by that private way to the Roman advanced guards; and being conducted thence to the consul, offered to give admittance to a body of armed men within the works and walls. The proposal was thought to be such as ought neither to be rejected, nor yet assented to without caution. With one of these men, the other being detained as an hostage, two spies were sent through the mine, and certain information being received from them, three hundred men in arms, guided by the deserter, entered the city, and seized by night the nearest gate, which being broken open, the Roman consul and his army took possession of the city without any opposition. In this manner came Nequinum under the dominion of the Roman people. A colony was sent thither as a barrier against the Umbrians, and called Narnia, from the river Nar. The troops returned to Rome with abundance of spoil. This year the Etrurians made preparations for war in violation of the truce. But a vast army of the Gauls, making an irruption into their territories, while their attention was directed to another quarter, suspended for a time the execution of their design. They then, relying on the abundance of money which they possessed, endeavour to make allies of the Gauls, instead of enemies; in order that, with their armies combined, they might attack the Romans. The barbarians made no objection to the alliance, and a negotiation was opened for settling the price; which being adjusted and paid, and every thing else being in readiness for commencing their operations, the Etrurians desired them to accompany them in their march. This they refused, alleging that "they had stipulated a price for making war against the Romans: that the payment already made, they had received in consideration of their not wasting the Etrurian territory, or using their arms against the inhabitants. That notwithstanding, if it was the wish of the Etrurians, they were still willing to engage in the war, but on no other condition than that of being allowed a share of their lands, and obtaining at length some permanent settlement." Many assemblies of the states of Etruria were held on this subject, and nothing could be settled; not so much by reason of their aversion from the dismemberment of their territory, as because every one felt a dread of fixing in so close vicinity to themselves people of such a savage race. The Gauls were therefore dismissed, and carried home an immense sum of money, acquired without toil or danger. The report of a Gallic tumult, in addition to an Etrurian war, had caused serious apprehensions at Rome; and, with the less hesitation on that account, an alliance was concluded with the state of the Picentians.

## 11

The province of Etruria fell by lot to the consul Titus Manlius; who, when he had but just entered the enemy's country, as he was exercising the cavalry, in wheeling about at full speed, was thrown from his horse, and almost killed on the spot; three days after the fall, he died. The Etrurians, embracing this omen, as it were, of the future progress of the war, and observing that the gods had commenced hostilities on their behalf, assumed new courage. At Rome the news caused great affliction, on account both of the loss of such a man and of the unseasonableness of the juncture; insomuch that an assembly, held for the purpose of substituting a new consul, having been conducted agreeably to

the wishes of people of the first consequence, prevented the senate from ordering a dictator to be created. All the votes and centuries concurred unanimously in appointing Marcus Valerius consul, the same whom the senate would have ordered to be made dictator. They then commanded him to proceed immediately into Etruria, to the legions. His coming gave such a check to the Etrurians, that not one of them dared thenceforward to appear on the outside of their trenches; their own fears operating as a blockade. Nor could the new consul, by wasting their lands and burning their houses, draw them out to an engagement; for not only country-houses, but numbers of their towns, were seen smoking and in ashes, on every side. While this war proceeded more slowly than had been expected, an account was received of the breaking out of another; which was, not without reason, regarded as terrible, in consequence of the heavy losses formerly sustained by both parties, from information given by their new allies, the Picentians, that the Samnites were looking to arms and a renewal of hostilities, and that they themselves had been solicited to join therein. The Picentians received the thanks of the state; and a large share of the attention of the senate was turned from Etruria towards Samnium. The dearth of provisions also distressed the state very much, and they would have felt the extremity of want, according to the relation of those who make Fabius Maximus curule aedile that year, had not the vigilant activity of that man, such as he had on many occasions displayed in the field, been exerted then with equal zeal at home, in the management of the market, and in procuring and forming magazines of corn. An interregnum took place this year, the reason of which is not mentioned. Appius Claudius, and, after him, Publius Sulpicius, were interreges. The latter held an election of consuls, and chose Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Cneius Fulvius. In the beginning of this year, ambassadors came from the Lucanians to the new consuls to complain, that "the Samnites, finding that they could not, by any offers, tempt them to take part in the war, had marched an army in a hostile manner into their country, and were now laying it waste, and forcing them into a war; that the Lucanian people had on former occasions erred enough and more than enough; that their minds were so firmly fixed that they thought it more endurable to bear and suffer every hardship, rather than ever again to outrage the Roman name: they besought the senate to take the people of Lucania into their protection, and defend them from the injustice and outrage of the Samnites; that although fidelity on their part to the Romans would now become necessary, a war being undertaken against the Samnites, still they were ready to give hostages."

## 12

The deliberation of the senate was short. They all, to a man, concurred in opinion, that a compact should be entered into with the Lucanians, and satisfaction demanded from the Samnites: accordingly, a favourable answer was returned to the Lucanians, and the alliance concluded. Heralds were then sent, to require of the Samnites, that they should depart from the country of the allies, and withdraw their troops from the Lucanian territory. These were met by persons despatched for the purpose by the Samnites, who gave them warning, that "if they appeared at any assembly in Samnium, they must not expect to depart in safety." As soon as this was heard at Rome, the senate voted, and the people ordered, that war should be declared against the Samnites. The consuls, then, dividing the provinces between them, Etruria fell to Scipio, the Samnites to Fulvius; and they set out by different routes, each against the enemy allotted to him. Scipio, while he expected a tedious campaign, like that of the preceding year, was met near Volaterra by the Etrurians, in order of battle. The fight lasted through the greater part of the day, while very many fell on both sides, and night came on while it was uncertain to which

side victory inclined. But the following dawn showed the conqueror and the vanquished; for the Etrurians had decamped in the dead of the night. The Romans, marching out with intent to renew the engagement, and seeing their superiority acknowledged by the departure of the enemy, advanced to their camp; and, finding even this fortified post deserted, took possession of it, evacuated as it was, together with a vast quantity of spoil. The consul then, leading back his forces into the Faliscian territory, and leaving his baggage with a small guard at Falerii, set out with his troops, lightly accoutred, to ravage the enemy's country. All places are destroyed with fire and sword; plunder driven from every side; and not only was the ground left a mere waste to the enemy, but their forts and small towns were set on fire; he refrained from attacking the cities into which fear had driven the Etrurians. The consul Cneius Fulvius fought a glorious battle in Samnium, near Bovianum, attended with success by no means equivocal. Then, having attacked Bovianum, and not long after Aufidena, he took them by storm.

This year a colony was carried out to Carseoli, into the territory of the Aequicolae. The consul Fulvius triumphed on his defeat of the Samnites.

### 13

When the consular elections were now at hand, a report prevailed, that the Etrurians and Samnites were raising vast armies; that the leaders of the Etrurians were, in all their assemblies, openly censured for not having procured the aid of the Gauls on any terms; and the magistrates of the Samnites arraigned, for having opposed to the Romans an army destined to act against the Lucanians. That, in consequence, the people were rising up in arms, with all their own strength and that of their allies combined; and that this affair seemed not likely to be terminated without a contest of much greater difficulty than the former. Although the candidates for the consulship were men of illustrious characters, yet this alarming intelligence turned the thoughts of all on Quintus Fabius Maximus, who sought not the employment at first, and afterwards, when he discovered their wishes, even declined it. "Why," said he, "should they impose such a difficult task on him, who was now in the decline of life, and had passed through a full course of labours, and of the rewards of labour? Neither the vigour of his body, nor of his mind, remained the same; and he dreaded fortune herself, lest to some god she should seem too bountiful to him, and more constant than the course of human affairs allowed. He had himself succeeded, in gradual succession, to the dignities of his seniors; and he beheld, with great satisfaction, others rising up to succeed to his glory. There was no scarcity at Rome, either of honours suited to men of the highest merit, or of men of eminent merit suited to the highest honours." This disinterested conduct, instead of repressing, increased, while in fact it justified their zeal. But thinking that this ought to be checked by respect for the laws, he ordered that clause to be read aloud by which it was not lawful that the same person shall be re-elected consul within ten years. The law was scarcely heard in consequence of the clamour; and the tribunes of the commons declared, that this "decree should be no impediment; for they would propose an order to the people, that he should be exempted from the obligation of the laws." Still he persisted in his opposition, asking, "To what purpose were laws enacted, if they eluded by the very persons who procured them? The laws now," he said, "instead of being rulers, were overruled." The people, nevertheless, proceeded to vote; and, according as each century was called in, it immediately named Fabius consul. Then at length, overcome by the universal wish of the state, he said, "Romans, may the gods approve your present, and all your future proceedings. But since, with respect to me, ye intend to

act according to your own wills, let my interest find room with you, with respect to my colleague. I earnestly request, that ye will place in the consulship with me Publius Decius; a man with whom I have already experienced the utmost harmony in our joint administration of that office; a man worthy of you, worthy of his father." The recommendation was deemed well founded, and all the remaining centuries voted Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius consuls. This year, great numbers were prosecuted by the aediles, for having in possession larger quantities of land than the state allowed; and hardly any were acquitted: by which means, a very great restraint was laid on exorbitant covetousness.

#### 14

Whilst the new consuls, Quintus Fabius Maximus a fourth, and Publius Decius Mus a third time, were settling between themselves that one should command against the Samnites, and the other against the Etrurians; and what number of forces would be sufficient for this and for that province; and which would be the fitter commander in each war; ambassadors from Sutrium, Nepete, and Falerii, stating that the states of Etruria were holding assemblies on the subject of suing for peace, they directed the whole force of their arms against Samnium. The consuls, in order that the supply of provisions might be the more ready, and to leave the enemy in the greater uncertainty on what quarter the war would fall, Fabius led his legions towards Samnium through the territory of Sora, and Decius his through that of Sidicinum. As soon as they arrived at the frontiers of the enemy, both advanced briskly, spreading devastation wherever they came; but still they explore the country, to a distance beyond where the troops were employed in plundering. Accordingly the fact did not escape the notice of the Romans, that the enemy were drawn up in a retired valley, near Tifernum, which, when the Romans entered, they were preparing to attack them from the higher ground. Fabius, sending away his baggage to a place of safety, and setting a small guard over it, and having given notice to his soldiers that a battle was at hand, advanced in a square body to the hiding-place of the enemy already mentioned. The Samnites, disappointed in making an unexpected attack, determined on a regular engagement, as the matter was now likely to come to an open contest. They therefore marched out into the plain; and, with a greater share of spirit than of hopes, committed themselves to the disposal of fortune. However, whether in consequence of their having drawn together, from every state, the whole of the force which it possessed, or that the consideration of their all being at stake, heightened their courage, they occasioned, even in open fight, a considerable alarm. Fabius, when he saw that the enemy in no place gave way, ordered Marcus Fulvius and Marcus Valerius, military tribunes, with whom he hastened to the front, to go to the cavalry, and to exhort them, that, "if they remembered any instance wherein the public had received advantage from the service of the horsemen, they would, on that day, exert themselves to insure the invincible renown of that body; telling them that the enemy stood immovable against the efforts of the infantry, and the only hope remaining was in the charge of horse." He addressed particularly both these youths, and with the same cordiality, loading them with praises and promises. But considering that, in case that effort should also fail, it would be necessary to accomplish by stratagem what his strength could not effect; he ordered Scipio, one of his lieutenants-general, to draw off the spearmen of the first legion out of the line; to lead them round as secretly as possible to the nearest mountains; and, by an ascent concealed from view, to gain the heights, and show himself suddenly on the rear of the enemy. The cavalry, led on by the tribunes, rushing forward unexpectedly before the

van, caused scarcely more confusion among the enemy than among their friends. The line of the Samnites stood firm against the furious onset of the squadrons; it neither could be driven from its ground, nor broken in any part. The cavalry, finding their attempts fruitless, withdrew from the fight, and retired behind the line of infantry. On this the enemies' courage increased, so that the Roman troops in the van would not have been able to support the contest, nor the force thus increasing by confidence in itself, had not the second line, by the consul's order, come up into the place of the first. These fresh troops checked the progress of the Samnites, who had now began to gain ground; and, at this seasonable juncture, their comrades appearing suddenly on the mountains, and raising a shout, occasioned in the Samnites a fear of greater danger than really threatened them; Fabius called out aloud that his colleague Decius was approaching; on which all the soldiers, elated with joy, repeated eagerly, that the other consul was come, the legions were arrived! This artifice, useful to the Romans, filled the Samnites with dismay and terror; terrified chiefly lest fatigued as they were, they should be overpowered by another army fresh and unhurt. As they dispersed themselves in their flight on every side, there was less effusion of blood than might have been expected, considering the completeness of the victory. There were three thousand four hundred slain, about eight hundred and thirty made prisoners, and twenty-three military standards taken.

## 15

The Apulians would have joined their forces to the Samnites before this battle, had not the consul, Publius Decius, encamped in their neighbourhood at Maleventum; and, finding means to bring them to an engagement, put them to the rout. Here, likewise, there was more of flight than of bloodshed. Two thousand of the Apulians were slain; but Decius, despising such an enemy, led his legions into Samnium. There the two consular armies, overrunning every part of the country during the space of five months, laid it entirely waste. There were in Samnium forty-five places where Decius, and eighty-six where the other consul, encamped. Nor did they leave traces only of having been there, as ramparts and trenches, but other dreadful mementos of it--general desolation and regions depopulated. Fabius also took the city of Cimetra, where he made prisoners two thousand four hundred soldiers; and there were slain in the assault about four hundred and thirty. Going thence to Rome to preside at the elections, he used all expedition in despatching that business. All the first-called centuries voted Quintus Fabius consul. Appius Claudius was a candidate, a man of consular rank, daring and ambitious; and as he wished not more ardently for the attainment of that honour for himself, than he did that the patricians might recover the possession of both places in the consulship, he laboured, with all his own power, supported by that of the whole body of the nobility, to prevail on them to appoint him consul along with Quintus Fabius. To this Fabius objected, giving, at first, the same reasons which he had advanced the year before. The nobles then all gathered round his seat, and besought him to raise up the consulship out of the plebeian mire, and to restore both to the office itself, and to the patrician rank, their original dignity. Fabius then, procuring silence, allayed their warmth by a qualifying speech, declaring, that "he would have so managed, as to have received the names of two patricians, if he had seen an intention of appointing any other than himself to the consulship. As things now stood, he would not set so bad a precedent as to admit his own name among the candidates; such a proceeding being contrary to the laws." Whereupon Appius Claudius, and Lucius Volumnius, a plebeian, who had likewise been colleagues in that office before, were elected consuls. The nobility

reproached Fabius for declining to act in conjunction with Appius Claudius, because he evidently excelled him in eloquence and political abilities.

## 16

When the election was finished, the former consuls, their command being continued for six months, were ordered to prosecute the war in Samnium. Accordingly, during this next year also, in the consulate of Lucius Volumnius and Appius Claudius, Publius Decius, who had been left consul in Samnium by his colleague, in the character of proconsul, ceased not to spread devastation through all parts of that country; until, at last, he drove the army of the Samnites, which never dared to face him in the field, entirely out of the country. Thus expelled from home, they bent their route to Etruria; and, supposing that the business, which they had often in vain endeavoured to accomplish by embassies, might now be negotiated with more effect, when they were backed by such a powerful armed force, and could intermix terror with their entreaties, they demanded a meeting of the chiefs of Etruria: which being assembled, they set forth the great number of years during which they had waged war with the Romans, in the cause of liberty; "they had," they said, "tried to sustain, with their own strength, the weight of so great a war: they had also made trial of the support of the adjoining nations, which proved of little avail. When they were unable longer to maintain the conflict, they had sued the Roman people for peace; and had again taken up arms, because they felt peace was more grievous to those with servitude, than war to free men. That their one only hope remaining rested in the Etrurians. They knew that nation to be the most powerful in Italy, in respect of arms, men, and money; to have the Gauls their closest neighbours, born in the midst of war and arms, of furious courage, both from their natural temper, and particularly against the people of Rome, whom they boasted, without infringing the truth, of having made their prisoners, and of having ransomed for gold. If the Etrurians possessed the same spirit which formerly Porsena and their ancestors once had, there was nothing to prevent their obliging the Romans, driven from all the lands on this side of the Tiber, to fight for their own existence, and not for the intolerable dominion which they assumed over Italy. The Samnite army had come to them, in readiness for action, furnished with arms and pay, and were willing to follow that instant, even should they lead to the attack of the city of Rome itself."

## 17

While they were engaged in these representations, and intriguing at Etruria, the operations of the Romans in their own territories distressed them severely. For Publius Decius, when he ascertained through his scouts the departure of the Samnite army, called a council, and there said, "Why do we ramble through the country, carrying the war from village to village? Why not attack the cities and fortified places? No army now guards Samnium. They have fled their country; they are gone into voluntary exile." The proposal being universally approved, he marched to attack Murgantia, a city of considerable strength; and so great was the ardour of the soldiers, resulting from their affection to their commander, and from their hopes of richer treasure than could be found in pillaging the country places, that in one day they took it by assault. Here, two thousand one hundred of the Samnites, making resistance, were surrounded and taken prisoners; and abundance of other spoil was captured. Decius, not choosing that the troops should be encumbered in their march with heavy baggage, ordered them to be called together, and said to them, "Do ye intend to rest satisfied with this single victory, and this booty? or do ye choose to cherish hopes proportioned to your bravery? All the

cities of the Samnites, and the property left in them, are your own; since, after so often defeating their legions, ye have finally driven them out of the country. Sell those effects in your hands; and allure traders, by a prospect of profit, to follow you on your march. I will, from time to time, supply you with goods for sale. Let us go hence to the city of Romulea, where no greater labour, but greater gain awaits you." Having sold off the spoil, and warmly adopting the general's plan, they proceeded to Romulea. There, also, without works or engines, as soon as the battalions approached, the soldiers, deterred from the walls by no resistance, hastily applying ladders wherever was most convenient to each, they mounted the fortifications. The town was taken and plundered. Two thousand three hundred men were slain, six thousand taken prisoners, and the soldiers obtained abundance of spoil. This they were obliged to sell in like manner as the former; and, though no rest was allowed them, they proceeded, nevertheless, with the utmost alacrity to Ferentinum. But here they met a greater share both of difficulty and danger: the fortifications were defended with the utmost vigour, and the place was strongly fortified both by nature and art. However, the soldiers, now inured to plunder, overcame every obstacle. Three thousand of the enemy were killed round the walls, and the spoil was given to the troops. In some annals, the principal share of the honour of taking these cities is attributed to Maximus. They say that Murgantia was taken by Decius; Romulea and Ferentinum by Fabius. Some ascribe this honour to the new consuls: others not to both, but to one of these, Lucius Volumnius: that to him the province of Samnium had fallen.

## 18

While things went on thus in Samnium, whoever it was that had the command and auspices, powerful combination, composed of many states, was formed in Etruria against the Romans, the chief promoter of which was Gellius Egnatius, a Samnite. Almost all the Etrurians had united in this war. The neighbouring states of Umbria were drawn in, as it were, by the contagion; and auxiliaries were procured from the Gauls for hire: all their several numbers assembled at the camp of the Samnites. When intelligence of this sudden commotion was received at Rome, after the consul, Lucius Volumnius, had already set out for Samnium, with the second and third legions, and fifteen thousand of the allies; it was, therefore, resolved, that Appius Claudius should, at the very earliest opportunity, go into Etruria. Two Roman legions followed him, the first and fourth, and twelve thousand allies; their camp was pitched at a small distance from the enemy. However, advantage was gained by his early arrival in this particular, that the awe of the Roman name kept in check some states of Etruria which were disposed to war, rather than from any judicious or successful enterprise achieved under the guidance of the consul. Several battles were fought, at times and places unfavourable, and increasing confidence rendered the enemy daily more formidable; so that matters came nearly to such a state, as that neither could the soldiers rely much on their leader, nor the leader on his soldiers. It appears in three several histories, that a letter was sent by the consul to call his colleague from Samnium. But I will not affirm what requires stronger proof, as that point was a matter of dispute between these two consuls of the Roman people, a second time associated in the same office; Appius denying that the letter was sent, and Volumnius affirming that he was called thither by a letter from Appius. Volumnius had, by this time, taken three forts in Samnium, in which three thousand of the enemy had been slain, and about half that number made prisoners; and, a sedition having been raised among the Lucanians by the plebeians and the more indigent of the people, he had, to the great satisfaction of the nobles, quelled it by

sending thither Quintus Fabius, proconsul, with his own veteran army. He left to Decius the ravaging of the enemy's country; and proceeded with his troops into Etruria to his colleague; where, on his arrival, the whole army received him with joy. Appius, if he did not write the letter, being conscious of this, had, in my opinion, just ground of displeasure; but if he had actually stood in need of assistance, his disowning it, as he did, arose from an illiberal and ungrateful mind. For, on going out to receive him, when they had scarcely exchanged salutations, he said, "Is all well, Lucius Volumnius? How stand affairs in Samnium? What motive induced you to remove out of your province?" Volumnius answered, that "affairs in Samnium were in a prosperous state; and that he had come thither in compliance with the request in his letter. But, if that were a forged letter, and that there was no occasion for him in Etruria, he would instantly face about, and depart." "You may depart." replied the other; "no one detains you: for it is a perfect inconsistency, that when, perhaps, you are scarcely equal to the management of your own war, you should vaunt of coming hither to succour others." To this Volumnius rejoined, "May Hercules direct all for the best; for his part, he was better pleased that he had taken useless trouble, than that any conjuncture should have arisen which had made one consular army insufficient for Etruria."

## 19

As the consuls were parting, the lieutenants-general and tribunes of Appius's army gathered round them. Some entreated their own general that he would not reject the voluntary offer of his colleague's assistance, which ought to have been solicited in the first instance: the greater number used their endeavours to stop Volumnius, beseeching him "not, through a peevish dispute with his colleague, to abandon the interest of the commonwealth; and represented to him, that in case any misfortune should happen, the blame would fall on the person who forsook the other, not on the one forsaken; that the state of affairs was such, that the credit and discredit of every success and failure in Etruria would be attributed to Lucius Volumnius: for no one would inquire, what were the words of Appius, but what the situation of the army. Appius indeed had dismissed him, but the commonwealth, and the army, required his stay. Let him only make trial of the inclinations of the soldiers." By such admonitions and entreaties they, in a manner, dragged the consuls, who almost resisted, to an assembly. There, longer discourses were made to the same purport, as had passed before in the presence of a few. And when Volumnius, who had the advantage of the argument, showed himself not deficient in oratory, in despite of the extraordinary eloquence of his colleague; Appius observed with a sneer, that "they ought to acknowledge themselves indebted to him, in having a consul who possessed eloquence also, instead of being dumb and speechless, when in their former consulate, particularly during the first months, he was not able so much as to open his lips; but now, in his harangues, even aspired after popularity." Volumnius replied, "How much more earnestly do I wish, that you had learned from me to act with spirit, than I from you to speak with elegance: that now he made a final proposal, which would determine, not which is the better orator, for that is not what the public wants, but which is the better commander. The provinces are Etruria and Samnium: that he might select which he preferred; that he, with his own army, will undertake to manage the business either in Etruria or in Samnium." The soldiers then, with loud clamours, requested that they would, in conjunction, carry on the war in Etruria; when Volumnius perceiving that it was the general wish, said, "Since I have been mistaken in apprehending my colleague's meaning, I will take care that there shall be no room for mistake with respect to the purport of your wishes. Signify by a shout whether you

choose that I should stay or depart." On this, a shout was raised, so loud, that it brought the enemy out of their camp: they snatched up their arms, and marched down in order of battle. Volumnius likewise ordered the signal to be sounded, and the standard to be advanced from the camp. It is said that Appius hesitated, perceiving that, whether he fought or remained inactive, his colleague would have the victory; and that, afterwards, dreading lest his own legions also should follow Volumnius, he also gave the signal, at the earnest desire of his men. On neither side were the forces drawn up to advantage; for, on the one, Gellius Egnatius, the Samnite general, had gone out to forage with a few cohorts, and his men entered on the fight as the violence of their passions prompted, rather than under any directions or orders. On the other, the Roman armies neither marched out together, nor had time sufficient to form: Volumnius began to engage before Appius came up to the enemy, consequently the engagement commenced, their front in the battle being uneven; and by some accidental interchange of their usual opponents, the Etrurians fought against Volumnius; and the Samnites, after delaying some time on account of the absence of their general, against Appius. We are told that Appius, during the heat of the fight, raising his hands toward heaven, so as to be seen in the foremost ranks, prayed thus, "Bellona, if thou grantest us the victory this day, I vow to thee a temple." And that after this vow, as if inspirited by the goddess, he displayed a degree of courage equal to that of his colleague and of the troops. The generals performed every duty, and each of their armies exerted, with emulation, its utmost vigour, lest victory should commence on the other side. They therefore routed and put to flight the enemy, who were ill able to withstand a force so much superior to any with which they had been accustomed to contend: then pressing them as they gave ground, and pursuing them closely as they fled, they drove them into their camp. There, by the interposition of Gellius and his Samnite cohorts, the fight was renewed for a little time. But these being likewise soon dispersed, the camp was now stormed by the conquerors; and whilst Volumnius, in person, led his troops against one of the gates, Appius, frequently invoking Bellona the victorious, inflamed the courage of his men, they broke in through the rampart and trenches. The camp was taken and plundered, and an abundance of spoil was found, and given up to the soldiers. Of the enemy seven thousand three hundred were slain; and two thousand one hundred and twenty taken.

## 20

While both the consuls, with the whole force of the Romans, pointed their exertions principally against the war in Etruria, a new army which arose in Samnium, with design to ravage the frontiers of the Roman empire, passed over through the country of the Vescians, into the Campanian and Falernian territories, and committed great depredations. Volumnius, as he was hastening back to Samnium, by forced marches, because the term for which Fabius and Decius had been continued in command was nearly expired, heard of this army of Samnites, and of the mischief which they had done in Campania; determining, therefore, to afford protection to the allies, he altered his route towards that quarter. When he arrived in the district of Gales, he found marks of their recent ravages; and the people of Gales informed him that the enemy carried with them such a quantity of spoil, that they could scarcely observe any order in their march: and that the commanders then directed publicly that the troops should go immediately to Samnium, and having deposited the booty there, that they should return to the business of the expedition, as they must not commit to the hazard of an engagement an army so heavily laden. Notwithstanding that this account carried every appearance of truth, he yet thought it necessary to obtain more certain information; accordingly he

despatched some horsemen, to seize on some of the straggling marauders; from these he learned, on inquiry, that the enemy lay at the river Vulturinus; that they intended to remove thence at the third watch; and that their route was towards Samnium. On receiving this intelligence, which could be depended upon, he set out, and sat down at such a distance from the enemy, that his approach could not be discovered by his being too near them, and, at the same time, that he might surprise them, as they should be coming out of their camp. A long time before day, he drew nigh to their post, and sent persons, who understood the Oscan language, to discover how they were employed: these, mixing with the enemy, which they could easily do during the confusion in the night, found that the standards had gone out thinly attended; that the booty, and those appointed to guard it, were then setting out, a contemptible train; each busied about his own affairs, without any concert with the rest, or much regard to orders. This was judged the fittest time for the attack, and daylight was now approaching; he gave orders to sound the charge, and fell on the enemy as they were marching out. The Samnites being embarrassed with the spoil, and very few armed, some quickened their pace, and drove the prey before them; others halted, deliberating whether it would be safer to advance, or to return again to the camp; and while they hesitated, they were overtaken and cut off. The Romans had by this time passed over the rampart, and filled the camp with slaughter and confusion: the Samnite army, in addition to the disorder caused by the enemy, had their disorder increased by a sudden insurrection of their prisoners; some of whom, getting loose, set the rest at liberty, while others snatched the arms which were tied up among the baggage, and being intermixed with the troops, raised a tumult more terrible than the battle itself. They then performed a memorable exploit: for making an attack on Statius Minacius, the general, as he was passing between the ranks and encouraging his men; then, dispersing the horsemen who attended him, they gathered round himself, and dragged him, sitting on his horse, a prisoner to the Roman consul. By this movement the foremost battalions of the Samnites were brought back, and the battle, which seemed to have been already decided, was renewed: but they could not support it long. Six thousand of them were slain, and two thousand five hundred taken, among whom were four military tribunes, together with thirty standards, and, what gave the conquerors greater joy than all, seven thousand four hundred prisoners were recovered. The spoil which had been taken from the allies was immense, and the owners were summoned by a proclamation, to claim and receive their property. On the day appointed, all the effects, the owners of which did not appear, were given to the soldiers, who were obliged to sell them, in order that they might have nothing to think of but their duty.

## 21

The depredations, committed on the lands of Campania, had occasioned a violent alarm at Rome, and it happened, that about the same time intelligence was brought from Lituria, that, after the departure of Volumnius's army, all that country had risen up in arms, and that Gellius Egnatius, the leader of the Samnites, was causing the Umbrians to join in the insurrection, and tempting the Gauls with high offers. Terrified at this news, the senate ordered the courts of justice to be shut, and a levy to be made of men of every description. Accordingly not only free-born men and the younger sort were obliged to enlist, but cohorts were formed of the elder citizens, and the sons of freed-men were incorporated in the centuries. Plans were formed for the defence of the city, and the praetor, Publius Sempronius, was invested with the chief command. However, the senate was exonerated of one half of their anxiety, by a letter from the consul, Lucius

Volumnius informing them that the army, which had ravaged Campania, had been defeated and dispersed whereupon, they decreed a public thanksgiving for this success, in the name of the consul. The courts were opened, after having been shut eighteen days, and the thanksgiving was performed with much joy. They then turned their thoughts to devising measures for the future security of the country depopulated by the Samnites, and, with this view, it was resolved, that two colonies should be settled on the frontiers of the Vescian and Falernian territories, one at the mouth of the river Liris, which has received the name of Minturnae, the other in the Vescian forest, which borders on the Falernian territory, where, it is said, stood Sinope, a city of Grecians, called thenceforth by the Roman colonists Sinuessa. The plebeian tribunes were charged to procure an order of the commons, commanding Publius Sempronius, the praetor, to create triumphs for conducting the colonies to those places. But persons were not readily found to give in their names, because they considered that they were being sent into what was almost a perpetual advanced guard in a hostile country, not as a provision from concord between consuls, and the evils arising from their disagreement in the conduct of military affairs; at the same time remarking, "how near the extremity of danger matters had been brought, by the late dispute between his colleague and himself." He warmly recommended to Decius and Fabius to "live together with one mind and one spirit." Observed that "they were men qualified by nature for military command: great in action, but unpractised in the strife of words and eloquence; their talents were such as eminently became consuls. As to the artful and the ingenious lawyers and orators, such as Appius Claudius, they ought to be kept at home to preside in the city and the forum; and to be appointed praetors for the administration of justice." In these proceedings that day was spent, and, on the following, the elections both of consuls and praetor were held, and were guided by the recommendations suggested by the consul. Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius were chosen consuls; Appius Claudius, praetor; all of them absent; and, by a decree of the senate, followed by an order of the commons, Lucius Volumnius was continued in the command for another year.

## 23

During that year many prodigies happened. For the purpose of averting which, the senate decreed a supplication for two days: the wine and frankincense for the sacrifices were furnished at the expense of the public; and numerous crowds of men and women attended the performance. This supplication was rendered remarkable by a quarrel, which broke out among the matrons in the chapel of patrician chastity, which stands in the cattle market, near the round temple of Hercules. Virginia, daughter of Aulus, a patrician, but married to Volumnius the consul, a plebeian, was, because she had married out of the patricians, excluded by the matrons from sharing in the sacred rites: a short altercation ensued, which was afterwards, through the intemperance of passion incident to the sex, kindled into a flame of contention. Virginia boasted with truth that she had a right to enter the temple of patrician chastity, as being of patrician birth, and chaste in her character, and, besides, the wife of one husband, to whom she was betrothed a virgin, and had no reason to be dissatisfied either with her husband, or his exploits or honours: to her high-spirited words, she added importance by an extraordinary act. In the long street where she resided, she enclosed with a partition a part of the house, of a size sufficient for a small chapel, and there erected an altar. Then calling together the plebeian matrons, and complaining of the injurious behaviour of the patrician ladies, she said, "This altar I dedicate to plebeian chastity, and exhort you, that

the same degree of emulation which prevails among the men of this state, on the point of valour, may be maintained by the women on the point of chastity; and that you contribute your best care, that this altar may have the credit of being attended with a greater degree of sanctity, and by chaster women, than the other, if possible." Solemn rites were performed at this altar under the same regulations, nearly, with those at the more ancient one; no person being allowed the privilege of taking part in the sacrifices, except a woman of approved chastity, and who was the wife of one husband. This institution, being afterwards debased by [the admission of] vicious characters, and not only by matrons, but women of every description, sunk at last into oblivion. During this year the Ogulnii, Cneius and Quintus, being curule aediles, carried on prosecutions against several usurers; whose property being fined, out of the produce, which was deposited in the treasury, they ordered brazen thresholds for the Capitol, utensils of plate for three tables in the chapel of Jupiter, a statue of Jupiter in a chariot drawn by four horses placed on the roof, and images of the founders of the city in their infant state under the teats of the wolf, at the Ruminal fig-tree. They also paved with square stones the roads from the Capuan gate to the temple of Mars. By the plebeian aediles likewise, Lucius Aelius Paetus and Caius Fulvius Corvus, out of money levied as fines on farmers of the public pastures, whom they had convicted of malpractices, games were exhibited, and golden bowls were placed in the temple of Ceres.

## 24

Then came into the consulship Quintus Fabius a fifth time, and Publius Decius a fourth. They had been colleagues from the censorship, and twice in the consulship, and were celebrated not more for their glorious achievements, splendid as these were, than for the unanimity which had ever subsisted between them. The continuance of this feeling I am inclined to think was interrupted by a jarring between the [opposite] orders rather than between themselves, the patricians endeavouring that Fabius should have Etruria for his province, without casting lots, and the plebeians insisting that Decius should bring the matter to the decision of lots. There was certainly a contention in the senate, and the interest of Fabius being superior there, the business was brought before the people. Here, between military men who laid greater stress on deeds than on words, the debate was short. Fabius said, "that it was unreasonable, after he had planted a tree, another should gather the fruit of it. He had opened the Ciminian forest, and made a way for the Roman arms, through passes until then impracticable. Why had they disturbed him, at that time of his life, if they intended to give the management of the war to another?" Then, in the way of a gentle reproof, he observed, that "instead of an associate in command, he had chosen an adversary; and that Decius thought it too much that their unanimity should last through three consulates." Declaring, in fine, that "he desired nothing further, than that, if they thought him qualified for the command in the province, they should send him thither. He had submitted to the judgment of the senate, and would now be governed by the authority of the people." Publius Decius complained of injustice in the senate; and asserted, that "the patricians had laboured, as long as possible, to exclude the plebeians from all access to the higher honours; and since merit, by its own intrinsic power, had prevailed so far, as that it should not, in any rank of men, be precluded from the attainment of honours, expedients were sought how not only the suffrages of the people, but even the decisions of fortune may be rendered ineffectual, and be converted to the aggrandizement of a few. All the consuls before him had disposed of the provinces by lots; now, the senate bestowed a province on Fabius without lots. If this was meant as a mark of honour, the merits of Fabius were so great

towards the commonwealth, and towards himself in particular, that he would gladly second the advancement of his reputation, provided only its splendour could be increased without reflecting dishonour on himself. But who did not see, that, when a war of difficulty and danger, and out of the ordinary course, was committed to only that one consul, the other would be considered as useless and insignificant. Fabius gloried in his exploits performed in Etruria: Publius Decius wished for a like subject of glory, and perhaps would utterly extinguish that fire, which the other left smothered, in such a manner that it often broke out anew, in sudden conflagrations. In fine, honours and rewards he would concede to his colleague, out of respect to his age and dignified character: but when danger, when a vigorous struggle with an enemy was before them, he never did, nor ever would, willingly, give place. With respect to the present dispute, this much he would gain at all events, that a business, appertaining to the jurisdiction of the people, should be determined by an order of that people, and not complimented away by the senate. He prayed Jupiter, supremely good and great, and all the immortal gods, not to grant him an equal chance with his colleague, unless they intended to grant him equal ability and success, in the management of the war. It was certainly in its nature reasonable, in the example salutary, and concerned the reputation of the Roman people, that the consuls should be men of such abilities, that under either of them a war with Etruria could be well managed." Fabius, after requesting of the people nothing else than that, before the tribes were called in to give their votes, they would hear the letters of the praetor Appius Claudius, written from Etruria, withdrew from the Comitium, and with no less unanimity of the people than of the senate, the province of Etruria was decreed to him without having recourse to lots.

## 25

Immediately almost all the younger citizens flocked together to the consul, and readily gave in their names; so strong was their desire of serving under such a commander. Seeing so great a multitude collected round him, he said, "My intention is to enlist only four thousand foot and six hundred horse: such of you as give in your names to-day and to-morrow, I will carry with me. I am more solicitous to bring home all my soldiers rich, than to employ a great multitude." Accordingly, with a competent number of men, who possessed greater hopes and confidence because a numerous army had not been required, he marched to the town of Aharna, from which the enemy were not far distant, and proceeded to the camp of the praetor Appius. When within a few miles of it, he was met by some soldiers, sent to cut wood, attended by a guard. Observing the lictors preceding him, and learning that he was Fabius the consul, they were filled with joy and alacrity; they expressed their thanks to the gods, and to the Roman people, for having sent them such a commander. Then as they gathered round to pay their respects, Fabius inquired whither they were going, and on their answering they were going to provide wood, "What do you tell me," said he, "have you not a rampart, raised about your camp?" When to this they replied, "they had a double rampart, and a trench, and, notwithstanding, were in great apprehension."

"Well then," said he, "you have abundance of wood, go back and level the rampart." They accordingly returned to the camp and there levelling the rampart threw the soldiers who had remained in it, and Appius himself, into the greatest fright, until with eager joy each called out to the rest, that, "they acted by order of the consul, Quintus Fabius." Next day the camp was moved from thence, and the praetor, Appius, was dismissed to Rome. From that time the Romans had no fixed post, the consul affirming, that it was prejudicial to an army to lie in one spot, and that by frequent marches, and changing

places, it was rendered more healthy, and more capable of brisk exertions, and marches were made as long as the winter, which was not yet ended, permitted. Then, in the beginning of spring, leaving the second legion near Clusium, which they formerly called the Camertian, and giving the command of the camp to Lucius Scipio, as propraetor, he returned to Rome, in order to adjust measures for carrying on the war, either led thereto by his own judgment, because the war seemed to him more serious than he had believed, from report, or, being summoned by a decree of the senate, for writers give both accounts. Some choose to have it believed, that he was forced back by the praetor, Appius Claudius, who, both in the senate, and before the people, exaggerated, as he was wont in all his letters, the danger of the Etrurian war, contending, that "one general, or one army, would not be sufficient to oppose four nations. That whether these directed the whole of their combined force against him alone, or acted separately in different parts, there was reason to fear, that he would be unable to provide against every emergency. That he had left there but two Roman legions; and that the foot and horse, who came with Fabius, did not amount to five thousand. It was, therefore, his opinion, that the consul, Publius Decius should, without delay, set out to his colleague in Etruria, and that the province of Samnium should be given to Lucius Volumnius. But if the consul preferred going to his own province, that then Volumnius should march a full consular army into Etruria, to join the other consul." When the advice of the praetor influenced a great part of the members, they say that Publius Decius recommended that every thing should be kept undetermined, and open for Quintus Fabius; until he should either come to Rome, if he could do so without prejudice to the public, or send some of his lieutenants, from whom the senate might learn the real state of the war in Etruria; and with what number of troops, and by how many generals, it should be carried on.

## 26

Fabius, as soon as he returned to Rome, qualified his discourses, both in the senate and when brought before the people, in such a manner as to appear neither to exaggerate or lessen, any particular relating to the war; and to show, that, in agreeing to another general being joined with him, he rather indulged the apprehensions of others, than guarded against any danger to himself, or the public. "But if they chose," he said, "to give him an assistant in the war, and associate in command, how could he overlook Publius Decius the consul, whom he had tried during so many associations in office? There was no man living whom he would rather wish to be joined in commission with him: with Publius Decius he should have forces sufficient, and never too many enemies. If, however, his colleague preferred any other employment, let them then give him Lucius Volumnius as an assistant." The disposal of every particular was left entirely to Fabius by the people and the senate, and even by his colleague. And when Decius declared that he was ready to go either to Etruria or Samnium, such general congratulation and satisfaction took place, that victory was anticipated, and it seemed as if a triumph, not a war, had been decreed to the consuls. I find in some writers, that Fabius and Decius, immediately on their entering into office, set out together for Etruria, without any mention of the casting of lots for the provinces, or of the disputes which I have related. Others, not satisfied with relating those disputes, have added charges of misconduct, laid by Appius before the people against Fabius, when absent; and a stubborn opposition, maintained by the praetor against the consul, when present; and also another contention between the colleagues, Decius insisting that each consul should attend to the care of his own separate province. Certainty, however, begins to appear from the time when both consuls set out for the campaign. Now, before the consuls

arrived in Etruria, the Senonian Gauls came in a vast body to Clusium, to attack the Roman legion and the camp. Scipio, who commanded the camp, wishing to remedy the deficiency of his numbers by an advantage in the ground, led his men up a hill, which stood between the camp and the city but having, in his haste, neglected to examine the place, he reached near the summit, which he found already possessed by the enemy, who had ascended on the other side. The legion was consequently attacked on the rear, and surrounded in the middle, when the enemy pressed it on all sides. Some writers say, that the whole were cut off, so that not one survived to give an account of it, and that no information of the misfortune reached the consuls, who were, at the time, not far from Clusium, until the Gallic horsemen came within sight, carrying the heads of the slain, some hanging before their horses' breasts, others on the points of their spears, and expressing their triumph in songs according to their custom. Others affirm, that the defeat was by Umbrians, not Gauls, and that the loss sustained was not so great. That a party of foragers, under Lucius Manlius Torquatus, lieutenant-general, being surrounded, Scipio, the propraetor, brought up relief from the camp, and the battle being renewed, that the Umbrians, lately victorious, were defeated, and the prisoners and spoil retaken. But it is more probable that this blow was suffered from a Gallic than an Umbrian enemy, because during that year, as was often the case at other times, the danger principally apprehended by the public, was that of a Gallic tumult, for which reason, notwithstanding that both the consuls had marched against the enemy, with four legions, and a large body of Roman cavalry, joined by a thousand chosen horsemen of Campania, supplied on the occasion, and a body of the allies and Latin confederates, superior in number to the Romans, two other armies were posted near the city, on the side facing Etruria, one in the Faliscian, the other in the Vatican territory. Cneius Fulvius and Lucius Postumius Megellus, both propraetors, were ordered to keep the troops stationed in those places.

## 27

The consuls, having crossed the Apennines, came up with the enemy in the territory of Sentinum, their camp was pitched there at the distance of about four miles. Several councils were then held by the enemy, and their plan of operations was thus settled: that they should not encamp together, nor go out together to battle; the Gauls were united to the Samnites, the Umbrians to the Etrurians. The day of battle was fixed. The part of maintaining the fight was committed to the Samnites and Gauls; and the Etrurians and Umbrians were ordered to attack the Roman camp during the heat of the engagement. This plan was frustrated by three Clusian deserters, who came over by night to Fabius, and after disclosing the above designs, were sent back with presents, in order that they might discover, and bring intelligence of, any new scheme which should be determined on. The consuls then wrote to Flavius and Postumius to move their armies, the one from the Faliscian, the other from the Vatican country, towards Clusium; and to ruin the enemy's territory by every means in their power. The news of these depredations drew the Etrurians from Sentinum to protect their own region. The consuls, in their absence, practised every means to bring on an engagement. For two days they endeavoured, by several attacks, to provoke the enemy to fight; in which time, however, nothing worth mention was performed. A few fell on each side, but still the minds [of the Romans] were irritated to wish for a general engagement; yet nothing decisive was hazarded. On the third day, both parties marched out their whole force to the field: here, while the armies stood in order of battle, a hind, chased by a wolf from the mountains, ran through the plain between the two lines: there the animals taking

different directions, the hind bent its course towards the Gauls, the wolf towards the Romans: way was made between the ranks for the wolf, the Gauls slew the hind with their javelins; on which one of the Roman soldiers in the van said, "To that side, where you see an animal, sacred to Diana, lying prostrate, flight and slaughter are directed; on this side the victorious wolf of Mars, safe and untouched, reminds us of our founder, and of our descent from that deity." The Gauls were posted on the right wing, the Samnites on the left: against the latter, Fabius drew up, as his right wing, the first and third legions: against the Gauls, Decius formed the left wing of the fifth and sixth. The second and fourth were employed in the war in Samnium, under the proconsul, Lucius Volumnius. In the first encounter the action was supported with strength so equal on both sides, that had the Etrurians and Umbrians been present, either in the field or at the camp, in whichever place they might have employed their force, the Romans must have been defeated.

## 28

However, although the victory was still undecided, fortune not having declared in favour of either party, yet the course of the fight was by no means similar on both right and left wings. The Romans, under Fabius, rather repelled than offered assault, and the contest was protracted until very late in the day, for their general knew very well, that both Samnites and Gauls were furious in the first onset, so that, to withstand them would be sufficient. It was known, too, that in a protracted contest the spirits of the Samnites gradually flagged, and even the bodies of the Gauls, remarkably ill able to bear labour and heat, became quite relaxed, and although, in their first efforts, they were more than men, yet in their last they were less than women. He, therefore, reserved the strength of his men as unimpaired as possible, until the time when the enemy were the more likely to be worsted. Decius, more impetuous, as being in the prime of life and full flow of spirits, exerted whatever force he had to the utmost in the first encounter, and thinking the infantry not sufficiently energetic, brought up the cavalry to the fight. Putting himself at the head of a troop of young horsemen of distinguished bravery, he besought those youths, the flower of the army, to charge the enemy with him, [telling them] "they would reap a double share of glory, if the victory should commence on the left wing, and through their means." Twice they compelled the Gallic cavalry to give way. At the second charge, when they advanced farther and were briskly engaged in the midst of the enemy's squadrons, by a method of fighting new to them, they were thrown into dismay. A number of the enemy, mounted on chariots and cars, made towards them with such a prodigious clatter from the trampling of the cattle and rolling of wheels, as affrighted the horses of the Romans, unaccustomed to such tumultuous operations. By this means the victorious cavalry were dispersed, through a panic, and men and horses, in their headlong flight, were tumbled promiscuously on the ground. Hence also the battalions of the legions were thrown into disorder, through the impetuosity of the horses, and of the carriages which they dragged through the ranks, many of the soldiers in the van were trodden or bruised to death, while the Gallic line, as soon as they saw their enemy in confusion, pursued the advantage, nor allowed them time to take breath or recover themselves. Decius, calling aloud, "Whither were they flying, or what hope could they have in running away?" strove to stop them as they turned their backs, but finding that he could not, by any efforts, prevail on them to keep their posts, so thoroughly were they dismayed, he called on his father, Publius Decius, by name. He said, "Why do I any longer defer the fate entailed on my family? It is destined to our race, that we should serve as expiatory victims to avert the public danger. I will now

offer the legions of the enemy, together with myself, to be immolated to Earth, and the infernal gods." Having thus said, he commanded Marcus Livius, a pontiff, whom, at his coming out to the field, he had charged not to stir from him, to dictate the form of words in which he was to devote himself, and the legions of the enemy, for the army of the Roman people, the Quirites. He was accordingly devoted with the same imprecations, and in the same habit, in which his father, Publius Decius, had ordered himself to be devoted at the Vesperis in the Latin war. When, immediately after the solemn imprecation, he added, that "he drove before him dismay and flight, slaughter and blood, and the wrath of the gods celestial and infernal, that, with the contagious influence of the furies, the ministers of death, he would infect the standards, the weapons, and the armour of the enemy, and that the same spot should be that of his perdition, and that of the Gauls and Samnites." After uttering these execrations on himself and the foe, he spurred forward his horse, where he saw the line of the Gauls thickest, and, rushing upon the enemy's weapons, met his death.

## 29

Thenceforward the battle seemed to be fought with a degree of force scarcely human. The Romans, on the loss of their general, a circumstance which, on other occasions, is wont to inspire terror, stopped their flight, and were anxious to begin the combat afresh. The Gauls, and especially the multitude which encircled the consul's body, as if deprived of reason, cast their javelins at random without execution, some became so stupid as not to think of either fighting or flying, while on the other side, Livius, the pontiff, to whom Decius had transferred his lictors, with orders to act as propraetor, cried out aloud, that "the Romans were victorious, being saved by the death of their consul. That the Gauls and Samnites were now the victims of mother Earth and the infernal gods. That Decius was summoning and dragging to himself the army devoted along with him, and that, among the enemy, all was full of dismay, and the vengeance of all the furies." While the soldiers were busy in restoring the fight, Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Marcius, with some reserved troops from the rear, who had been sent by Quintus Fabius, the consul, to the support of his colleague, came up. There the fate of Decius is ascertained, a powerful stimulus to brave every danger in the cause of the public. Wherefore, when the Gauls stood in close order, with their shields formed into a fence before them, and but little prospect of success appeared from a close fight, the javelins, which lay scattered between the two lines, were, therefore, by order of the lieutenants-general, gathered up from the ground, and thrown against the enemy's shields, and as most of them pierced the fence, the long pointed ones even into their bodies, their compact band was overthrown in such a manner, that a great many, who were unhurt, yet fell as if thunderstruck. Such were the changes of fortune on the left wing of the Romans; on the right, Fabius had at first protracted the time, as we mentioned above, in slow operations, then, as soon as he perceived that neither the shout, nor the efforts of the enemy, nor the weapons which they threw, retained their former force, having ordered the commanders of the cavalry to lead round their squadrons to the flank of the Samnites, so that, on receiving the signal, they should charge them in flank, with all possible violence, he commanded, at the same time, his infantry to advance leisurely, and drive the enemy from their ground. When he saw that they were unable to make resistance, and that their exhaustion was certain, drawing together all his reserves, whom he had kept fresh for that occasion, he made a brisk push with the legions, and gave the cavalry the signal to charge. The Samnites could not support the shock, but fled precipitately to their camp, passing by the line of the Gauls,

and leaving their allies to fight by themselves. These stood in close order under cover of their shields. Fabius, therefore, having heard of the death of his colleague, ordered the squadron of Campanian cavalry, in number about five hundred, to fall back from the ranks, and riding round, to attack the rear of the Gallic line, then the chief strength of the third legion to follow, with directions that wherever they should see the enemy's troops disordered by the charge, to follow the blow, and cut them to pieces, when in a state of consternation. After vowing a temple and the spoils of the enemy to Jupiter the Victorious, he proceeded to the camp of the Samnites, whither all their forces were hurrying in confusion. The gates not affording entrance to such very great numbers, those who were necessarily excluded, attempted resistance just at the foot of the rampart, and here fell Gellius Egnatius, the Samnite general. These, however, were soon driven within the rampart; the camp was taken after a slight resistance; and at the same time the Gauls were attacked on the rear, and overpowered. There were slain of the enemy on that day twenty-five thousand: eight thousand were taken prisoners. Nor was the victory an unbloody one; for, of the army of Publius Decius, the killed amounted to seven thousand; of the army of Fabius, to one thousand two hundred. Fabius, after sending persons to search for the body of his colleague, had the spoils of the enemy collected into a heap, and burned them as an offering to Jupiter the Victorious. The consul's body could not be found that day, being hid under a heap of slaughtered Gauls: on the following, it was discovered and brought to the camp, amidst abundance of tears shed by the soldiers. Fabius, discarding all concern about any other business, solemnized the obsequies of his colleague in the most honourable manner, passing on him the high encomiums which he had justly merited.

### 30

During the same period, matters were managed successfully by Cneius Fulvius, propraetor, he having, besides the immense losses occasioned to the enemy by the devastation of their lands, fought a battle with extraordinary success, in which there were above three thousand of the Perusians and Clusians slain, and twenty military standards taken. The Samnites, in their flight, passing through the Pelignian territory, were attacked on all sides by the Pelignians; and, out of five thousand, one thousand were killed. The glory of the day on which they fought at Sentinum was great, even when truly estimated; but some have gone beyond credibility by their exaggerations, who assert in their writings, that there were in the army of the enemy forty thousand three hundred and thirty foot, six thousand horse, and one thousand chariots, that is, including the Etrurians and Umbrians, who [they affirm] were present in the engagement: and, to magnify likewise the number of Roman forces, they add to the consuls another general, Lucius Volumnius, proconsul, and his army to the legions of the consul. In the greater number of annals, that victory is ascribed entirely to the two consuls. Volumnius was employed in the mean time in Samnium; he drove the army of the Samnites to Mount Tifernus, and, not deterred by the difficulty of the ground, routed and dispersed them. Quintus Fabius, leaving Decius's army in Etruria, and leading off his own legions to the city, triumphed over the Gauls, Etrurians, and Samnites: the soldiers attended him in his triumph. The victory of Quintus Fabius was not more highly celebrated, in their coarse military verses, than the illustrious death of Publius Decius; and the memory of the father was recalled, whose fame had been equalled by the praiseworthy conduct of the son, in respect of the issue which resulted both to himself and to the public. Out of the spoil, donations were made to the soldiers of eighty-

two *asses*<sup>176</sup> to each, with cloaks and vests; rewards for service, in that age, by no means contemptible.

### 31

Notwithstanding these successes, peace was not yet established, either among the Samnites or Etrurians: for the latter, at the instigation of the Perusians, resumed their arms, after his army had been withdrawn by the consul; and the Samnites made predatory incursions on the territories of Vescia and Formiae; and also on the other side, on those of Aesernia, and the parts adjacent to the river Volturnus. Against these was sent the praetor Appius Claudius, with the army formerly commanded by Decius. In Etruria, Fabius, on the revival of hostilities, slew four thousand five hundred of the Perusians, and took prisoners one thousand seven hundred and forty, who were ransomed at the rate of three hundred and ten *asses*<sup>177</sup> each. All the rest of the spoil was bestowed on the soldiers. The legions of the Samnites, though pursued, some by the praetor Appius Claudius, the others by Lucius Volumnius, proconsul, formed a junction in the country of the Stelatians. Here sat down the whole body of the Samnites; and Appius and Volumnius, with their forces united in one camp. A battle was fought with the most rancorous animosity, one party being spurred on by rage against men who had so often renewed their attacks on them, and the other now fighting in support of their last remaining hope. Accordingly, there were slain, of the Samnites, sixteen thousand three hundred, and two thousand and seven hundred made prisoners: of the Roman army fell two thousand and seven hundred. This year, so successful in the operations of war, was filled with distress at home, arising from a pestilence, and with anxiety, occasioned by prodigies: for accounts were received that, in many places, showers of earth had fallen; and that very many persons, in the army of Appius Claudius, had been struck by lightning; in consequence of which, the books were consulted. At this time, Quintus Fabius Gurges, the consul's son, having prosecuted some matrons before the people on a charge of adultery, built, with the money accruing from the fines which they were condemned to pay, the temple of Venus, which stands near the circus. Still we have the wars of the Samnites on our hands, notwithstanding that the relation of them has already extended, in one continued course, through four volumes of our history, and through a period of forty-six years, from the consulate of Marcus Valerius and Aulus Cornelius, who first carried the Roman arms into Samnium. And, not to recite the long train of disasters sustained by both nations, and the toils which they underwent, by which, however, their stubborn breasts could not be subdued; even in the course of the last year, the Samnites, with their own forces separately, and also in conjunction with those of other nations, had been defeated by four several armies, and four generals of the Romans, in the territory of Sentinum, in that of the Pelignians, at Tifernum, and in the plains of the Stelatians; had lost the general of the highest character in their nation; and, now, saw their allies in the war, the Etrurians, the Umbrians, and the Gauls, in the same situation with themselves; but, although they could now no longer stand, either by their own or by foreign resources, yet did they not desist from the prosecution of hostilities. So far were they from being weary of defending liberty, even though unsuccessfully: and they preferred being defeated to not aspiring after victory. Who does not find his patience tired, either in writing, or reading, of wars of such continuance; and which yet exhausted not the resolution of the parties concerned?

<sup>176</sup> 5s. 31d.

<sup>177</sup> £1

**32**

Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius were succeeded in the consulship by Lucius Postumius Megellus and Marcus Atilius Regulus. The province of Samnium was decreed to both in conjunction; because intelligence had been received that the enemy had embodied three armies; with one that Etruria was to be recovered; with another the ravages in Campania were to be repeated; and the third was intended for the defence of their frontiers. Sickness detained Postumius at Rome, but Atilius set out immediately, with design to surprise the enemy in Samnium, before they should have advanced beyond their own borders; for such had been the directions of the senate. The Romans met the enemy, as if by mutual appointment, at a spot where, while they could be hindered, not only from ravaging, but even from entering the Samnite territory, they could likewise hinder the Samnites from continuing their progress into the countries which were quiet, and the lands of the allies of the Roman people. While their camps lay opposite to each other, the Samnites attempted an enterprise, which the Romans, so often their conquerors, would scarcely have ventured to undertake; such is the rashness inspired by extreme despair: this was to make an assault on the Roman camp. And although this attempt, so daring, succeeded not in its full extent, yet it was not without effect. There was a fog, which continued through a great part of the day, so thick as to exclude the light of the sun, and to prevent not only the view of any thing beyond the rampart, but scarcely the sight of each other, when they should meet. Depending on this, as a covering to the design, when the sun was scarcely yet risen, and the light which he did afford was obscured by the fog, the Samnites came up to an advanced guard of the Romans at one of the gates, who were standing carelessly on their post. In the sudden surprise, these had neither courage nor strength to make resistance: an assault was then made, through the Decuman gate, in the rear of the camp: the quaestor's quarters in consequence were taken, and the quaestor, Lucius Opimius Pansa, was there slain; on this a general alarm was given to take up arms.

**33**

The consul, being roused by the tumult, ordered two cohorts of the allies, a Lucanian and Suessanian, which happened to be nearest, to defend the head-quarters, and led the companies of the legions down the principal street. These ran into the ranks, scarcely taking time to furnish themselves with arms; and, as they distinguished the enemy by their shout rather than by sight, could form no judgment how great their number might be: thus, ignorant of the circumstances of their situation, they at first drew back, and admitted the enemy into the heart of the camp. Then when the consul cried out, asking them, whether they intended to let themselves be beaten out beyond the rampart, and then to return again to storm their own camp, they raised the shout, and uniting their efforts, stood their ground; then made advances, pushed closely on the enemy, and having forced them to give way, drove them back, without suffering their first terror to abate. They soon beat them out beyond the gate and the rampart, but not daring to pursue them, because the darkness of the weather made them apprehend an ambush, and content with having cleared the camp, they retired within the rampart, having killed about three hundred of the enemy. Of the Romans, including the first advanced guard and the watchmen, and those who were surprised at the quaestor's quarters, two hundred and thirty perished. This not unsuccessful piece of boldness raised the spirits of the Samnites so high, that they not only did not suffer the Romans to march forward into their country, but even to procure forage from their lands; and the foragers were obliged to go back into the quiet country of Sora. News of these events being conveyed

to Rome, with circumstances of alarm magnified beyond the truth, obliged Lucius Postumius, the consul, though scarcely recovered from his illness, to set out for the army. However, before his departure, having issued a proclamation that his troops should assemble at Sora, he dedicated the temple of Victory, for the building of which he had provided, when curule aedile, out of the money arising from fines; and, joining the army, he advanced from Sora towards Samnium, to the camp of his colleague. The Samnites, despairing of being able to make head against the two armies, retreated from thence, on which the consuls, separating, proceeded by different routes to lay waste the enemy's lands and besiege their towns.

### 34

Postumius attempted to make himself master of Milionia, at first by storm and an assault; but these not succeeding, he carried his approaches to the walls, and thus gained an entrance into the place. The fight was continued in all parts of the city from the fourth hour until near the eighth, the result being a long time uncertain: the Romans at last gained possession of the town. Three thousand two hundred of the Samnites were killed, four thousand seven hundred taken, besides the other booty. From thence the legions were conducted to Ferentinum, out of which the inhabitants had, during the night, retired in silence through the opposite gate, with all their effects which could be either carried or driven. The consul, on his arrival, approached the walls with the same order and circumspection, as if he were to meet an opposition here equal to what he had experienced at Milionia. Then, perceiving a dead silence in the city, and neither arms nor men on the towers and ramparts, he restrains the soldiers, who were eager to mount the deserted fortifications, lest they might fall into a snare. He ordered two divisions of the confederate Latin horse to ride round the walls, and explore every particular. These horsemen observed one gate, and, at a little distance, another on the same side, standing wide open, and on the roads leading from these every mark of the enemy having fled by night. They then rode up leisurely to the gates, from whence, with perfect safety, they took a clear view through straight streets quite across the city. They report to the consul, that the city was abandoned by the enemy, as was plain from the solitude, the recent tracks on their retreat, and the things which, in the confusion of the night, they had left scattered up and down. On hearing this, the consul led round the army to that side of the city which had been examined, and making the troops halt at a little distance from the gate, gave orders that five horsemen should ride into the city; and when they should have advanced a good way into it, then, if they saw all things safe, three should remain there, and the other two return to him with intelligence. These returned and said, that they had proceeded to a part of the town from which they had a view on every side, and that nothing but silence and solitude reigned through the whole extent of it. The consul immediately led some light-armed cohorts into the city; ordering the rest to fortify a camp in the mean time. The soldiers who entered the town, breaking open the doors, found only a few persons, disabled by age or sickness; and such effects left behind as could not, without difficulty, be removed. These were seized as plunder: and it was discovered from the prisoners, that several cities in that quarter had, in pursuance of a concerted plan, resolved on flight; that their towns-people had gone off at the first watch, and they believed that the same solitude they should find in the other places. The accounts of the prisoners proved well-founded, and the consul took possession of the forsaken towns.

### 35

The war was by no means so easy with the other consul, Marcus Atilius. As he was marching his legions towards Luceria, to which he was informed that the Samnites had laid siege, the enemy met him on the border of the Lucerian territory. Rage supplied them, on this occasion, with strength to equal his: the battle was stubbornly contested, and the victory doubtful; in the issue, however, more calamitous on the side of the Romans, both because they were unaccustomed to defeat, and that, on leaving the field, they felt more sensibly, than during the heat of the action, how much more wounds and bloodshed had been on their side. In consequence of this, such dismay spread through the camp, as, had it seized them during the engagement, a signal defeat would have been the result. Even as the matter stood, they spent the night in great anxiety; expecting, every instant, that the Samnites would assault the camp; or that, at the first light, they should be obliged to stand a battle with a victorious enemy. On the side of the enemy, however, although there was less loss, yet there was not greater courage. As soon as day appeared, they wished to retire without any more fighting; but there was only one road, and that leading close by the post of their enemy; on their taking which, they seemed as if advancing directly to attack the camp. The consul, therefore, ordered his men to take arms, and to follow him outside the rampart, giving directions to the lieutenants-general, tribunes, and the praefects of the allies, in what manner he would have each of them act. They all assured him that "they would do every thing in their power, but that the soldiers were quite dejected; that, from their own wounds, and the groans of the dying, they had passed the whole night without sleep; that if the enemy had approached the camp before day, so great were the fears of the troops, that they would certainly have deserted their standards." "Even at present they were restrained from flight merely by shame; and, in other respects, were little better than vanquished men." This account made the consul judge it necessary to go himself among the soldiers, and speak to them; and, as he came up to each, he rebuked them for their backwardness in taking arms, asking, "Why they loitered, and declined the fight? If they did not choose to go out of the camp, the enemy would come into it; and they must fight in defence of their tents, if they would not in defence of the rampart. Men who have arms in their hands, and contend with their foe, have always a chance for victory; but the man who waits naked and unarmed for his enemy, must suffer either death or slavery." To these reprimands and rebukes they answered, that "they were exhausted by the fatigue of the battle of yesterday; and had no strength, nor even blood remaining; and besides, the enemy appeared more numerous than they were the day before." The hostile army, in the mean time, drew near; so that, seeing every thing more distinctly as the distance grew less, they asserted that the Samnites carried with them pallisades for a rampart, and evidently intended to draw lines of circumvallation round the camp. On this the consul exclaimed, with great earnestness, against submitting to such an ignominious insult, and from so dastardly a foe. "Shall we even be blockaded," said he, "in our camp, and die, with ignominy, by famine, rather than bravely by the sword, if it must be so? May the gods be propitious! and let every one act in the manner which he thinks becomes him. The consul Marcus Atilius, should no other accompany him, will go out, even alone, to face the enemy; and will fall in the middle of the Samnite battalions, rather than see the Roman camp enclosed by their trenches." The lieutenants-general, tribunes, every troop of the cavalry, and the principal centurions, expressed their approbation of what the consul said; and the soldiers at length, overcome by shame, took up their arms, but in a spiritless manner; and in the same spiritless manner, marched out of the camp. In a long train, and that not every where connected, melancholy, and seemingly subdued, they proceeded towards the enemy, whose hopes and courage, were not more steady than

theirs. As soon therefore as the Roman standards were beheld, a murmur spread from front to rear of the Samnites, that, as they had feared, "the Romans were coming out to oppose their march; that there was no road open, through which they could even fly thence; in that spot they must fall, or else cut down the enemy's ranks, and make their way over their bodies."

### 36

They then threw the baggage in a heap in the centre, and, with their arms prepared for battle, formed their line, each falling into his post. There was now but a small interval between the two armies, and both stood, waiting until the shout and onset should be begun by their adversary. Neither party had any inclination to fight, and they would have separated, and taken different roads, unhurt and untouched, but that each had a dread of being harassed, in retreat, by the other. Notwithstanding this shyness and reluctance, an engagement unavoidably began, but spiritless, and with a shout which discovered neither resolution nor steadiness; nor did any move a foot from his post. The Roman consul, then, in order to infuse life into the action, ordered a few troops of cavalry to advance out of the line and charge: most of whom being thrown from their horses and the rest put in disorder, several parties ran forward, both from the Samnite line, to cut off those who had fallen, and from the Roman, to protect their friends. In consequence the battle became a little more brisk, but the Samnites had come forward with more briskness, and also in greater numbers, and the disordered cavalry, with their affrighted horses, trod down their own party who came to their relief. Flight commencing in this quarter, caused the whole Roman line to turn their backs. And now the Samnites had no employment for their arms but against the rear of a flying enemy, when the consul, galloping on before his men to the gate of the camp, posted there a body of cavalry, with orders to treat as an enemy any person who should make towards the rampart, whether Roman or Samnite; and, placing himself in the way of his men, as they pressed in disorder towards the camp, denounced threats to the same purport: "Whither are you going, soldiers?" said he; "here also you will find both men and arms; nor, while your consul lives, shall you pass the rampart, unless victorious. Choose therefore which you will prefer, fighting against your own countrymen, or the enemy." While the consul was thus speaking the cavalry gathered round, with the points of their spears presented, and ordered the infantry to return to the fight. Not only his own brave spirit, but fortune likewise aided the consul, for the Samnites did not push their advantage; so that he had time to wheel round his battalions, and to change his front from the camp towards the enemy. The men then began to encourage each other to return to the battle, while the centurions snatched the ensigns from the standard-bearers and bore them forward, pointing out to the soldiers the enemy, coming on in a hurry, few in number, and with their ranks disordered. At the same time the consul, with his hands lifted up towards heaven, and raising his voice so as to be heard at a distance, vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator, if the Roman army should rally from flight, and, renewing the battle, cut down and defeat the Samnites. All divisions of the army, now, united their efforts to restore the fight; officers, soldiers, the whole force, both of cavalry and infantry; even the powers of heaven seemed to have looked, with favour, on the Roman cause; so speedily was a thorough change effected in the fortune of the day, the enemy being repulsed from the camp, and, in a short time, driven back to the spot where the battle had commenced. Here they stopped, being obstructed by the heap of baggage, lying in their way, where they had thrown it together; and then, to prevent the plundering of their effects, formed round them a circle of troops. On this, the infantry

assailed them vigorously in front, while the cavalry, wheeling, fell on their rear: and, being thus enclosed between the two, they were all either slain, or taken prisoners. The number of the prisoners was seven thousand two hundred, who were all sent under the yoke; the killed amounted to four thousand eight hundred. The victory did not prove a joyous one, even on the side of the Romans: when the consul took an account of the loss sustained in the two days, the number returned, of soldiers lost, was seven thousand three hundred. During these transactions in Apulia, the Samnites with the other army having attempted to seize on Iteramna, a Roman colony situated on the Latin road, did not however obtain the town; whence, after ravaging the country, as they were driving off spoil, consisting of men and cattle, together with the colonists whom they had taken, they met the consul returning victorious from Luceria, and not only lost their booty, but marching in disorder, in a long train, and heavily encumbered, were themselves cut to pieces. The consul, by proclamation, summoned the owners to Interamna, to claim and receive again their property, and leaving his army there, went to Rome to hold the elections. On his applying for a triumph, that honour was refused him, because he had lost so many thousands of his soldiers; and also, because he had sent the prisoners under the yoke without imposing any conditions.

### 37

The other consul, Postumius, because there was no employment for his arms in Samnium, having led over his forces into Etruria, first laid waste the lands of the Volsinians; and afterwards, on their marching out to protect their country, gained a decisive victory over them, at a small distance from their own walls. Two thousand two hundred of the Etrurians were slain; the proximity of their city protected the rest. The army was then led into the territory of Rusella, and there, not only were the lands wasted, but the town itself taken. More than two thousand men were made prisoners, and somewhat less than that number killed on the walls. But a peace, effected that year in Etruria, was still more important and honourable than the war had been. Three very powerful cities, the chief ones of Etruria, (Volsinii, Perugia, and Arretium,) sued for peace; and having stipulated with the consul to furnish clothing and corn for his army, on condition of being permitted to send deputies to Rome, they obtained a truce for forty years, and a fine was imposed on each state of five hundred thousand *asses*,<sup>178</sup> to be immediately paid. When the consul demanded a triumph from the senate, in consideration of these services, rather to comply with the general practice, than in hope of succeeding; and when he saw that one party, his own personal enemies, another party, the friends of his colleague, refused him the triumph, the latter to console a similar refusal, some on the plea that he had been rather tardy in taking his departure from the city; others, that he had passed from Samnium into Etruria without orders from the senate; he said, "Conscript fathers, I shall not be so far mindful of your dignity, as to forget that I am consul. By the same right of office by which I conducted the war, I shall now have a triumph, when this war has been brought to a happy conclusion, Samnium and Etruria being subdued, and victory and peace procured. With these words he left the senate." On this arose a contention between the plebeian tribunes; some of them declaring that they would protest against his triumphing in a manner unprecedented; others, that they would support his pretensions, in opposition to their colleagues. The affair came at length to be discussed before the people, and the consul being summoned to attend, when he represented, that Marcus Horatius and Lucius Valerius, when consuls, and lately Caius Marcus Rutilus, father of the present censor,

<sup>178</sup> £1614. 11s 8d.

had triumphed, not by direction of the senate, but by that of the people; he then added that "he would in like manner have laid his request before the public, had he not known that some plebeian tribunes, the abject slaves of the nobles, would have obstructed the law. That the universal approbation and will of the people were and should be with him equivalent to any order whatsoever." Accordingly, on the day following, by the support of three plebeian tribunes, in opposition to the protest of the other seven, and the declared judgment of the senate, he triumphed; and the people paid every honour to the day. The historical accounts regarding this year are by no means consistent; Claudius asserts, that Postumius, after having taken several cities in Samnium, was defeated and put to flight in Apulia; and that, being wounded himself, he was driven, with a few attendants, into Luceria. That the war in Etruria was conducted by Atilius, and that it was he who triumphed. Fabius writes, that the two consuls acted in conjunction, both in Samnium and at Luceria; that an army was led over into Etruria, but by which of the consuls he has not mentioned; that at Luceria, great numbers were slain on both sides; and that in that battle, the temple of Jupiter Stator was vowed, the same vow having been formerly made by Romulus, but the fane only, that is, the area appropriated for the temple, had been yet consecrated. However, in this year, the state having been twice bound by the same vow, it became a matter of religious obligation that the senate should order the temple to be erected.

### 38

In the next year, we find a consul, distinguished by the united splendour of his own and his father's glory, Lucius Papirius Cursor, as also a war of vast importance, and a victory of such consequence, as no man, excepting Lucius Papirius, the consul's father, had ever before obtained over the Samnites. It happened too that these had, with the same care and pains as on the former occasion, decorated their soldiers with the richest suits of splendid armour; and they had, likewise, called in to their aid the power of the gods, having, as it were, initiated the soldiers, by administering the military oath, with the solemn ceremonies practised in ancient times, and levied troops in every part of Samnium, under an ordinance entirely new, that "if any of the younger inhabitants should not attend the meeting, according to the general's proclamation, or shall depart without permission, his head should be devoted to Jupiter." Orders being then issued, for all to assemble at Aquilonia, the whole strength of Samnium came together, amounting to forty thousand men. There a piece of ground, in the middle of the camp, was enclosed with hurdles and boards, and covered overhead with linen cloth, the sides being all of an equal length, about two hundred feet. In this place sacrifices were performed, according to directions read out of an old linen book, the priest being a very old man, called Ovius Paccius, who affirmed, that he took these ceremonials from the ancient ritual of the Samnites, being the same which their ancestors used, when they had formed the secret design of wresting Capua from the Etrurians. When the sacrifices were finished, the general ordered a beadle to summon every one of those who were most highly distinguished by their birth or conduct: these were introduced singly. Besides the other exhibitions of the solemnity, calculated to impress the mind with religious awe, there were, in the middle of the covered enclosure, altars erected, about which lay the victims slain, and the centurions stood around with their swords drawn. The soldier was led up to the altars, rather like a victim, than a performer in the ceremony, and was bound by an oath not to divulge what he should see and hear in that place. He was then compelled to swear, in a dreadful kind of form, containing execrations on his own person, on his family and race, if he did not go to battle,

whithersoever the commanders should lead; and, if either he himself fled from the field, or, in case he should see any other flying, did not immediately kill him. At first some, refusing to take the oath, were put to death round the altars, and lying among the carcasses of the victims, served afterwards as a warning to others not to refuse it. When those of the first rank in the Samnite nation had been bound under these solemnities, the general nominated ten, whom he desired to choose each a man, and so to proceed until they should have called up the number of sixteen thousand. This body, from the covering of the enclosure wherein the nobility had been thus devoted, was called the linen legion. They were furnished with splendid armour and plumed helmets, to distinguish them above the rest. They had another body of forces, amounting to somewhat more than twenty thousand, not inferior to the linen legion, either in personal appearance, or renown in war, or their equipment. This number, composing the main strength of the nation, sat down at Aquilonia.

### 39

On the other side, the consuls set out from the city. First, Spurius Carvilius, to whom had been decreed the veteran legions, which Marcus Atilius, the consul of the preceding year, had left in the territory of Interamna, marched at their head into Samnium; and, while the enemy were busied in their superstitious rites, and holding their secret meeting, he took by storm the town of Amiternum. Here were slain about two thousand eight hundred men; and four thousand two hundred and seventy were made prisoners. Papirius, with a new army, which he raised in pursuance of a decree of the senate, made himself master of the city of Duronia. He took fewer prisoners than his colleague; but slew much greater numbers. Rich booty was acquired in both places. The consuls then, overrunning Samnium, and wasting the province of Atinum with particular severity, arrived, Carvilius at Cominium, and Papirius at Aquilonia, where the main force of the Samnites were posted. Here, for some time, there was neither a cessation of action, nor any vigorous effort. The day was generally spent in provoking the enemy when quiet, and retiring when they offered resistance; in menacing, rather than making an attack. By which practice of beginning, and then desisting, even those trifling skirmishes were continually left without a decision. The other Roman camp was twenty miles distant, and the advice of his absent colleague was appealed to on every thing which he undertook, while Carvilius, on his part, directed a greater share of his attention to Aquilonia, where the state of affairs was more critical and important, than to Cominium, which he himself was besieging. When Papirius had fully adjusted every measure, preparatory to an engagement, he despatched a message to his colleague, that "he intended, if the auspices permitted, to fight the enemy on the day following; and that it would be necessary that he (Carvilius) should at the same time make an assault on Cominium, with his utmost force, that the Samnites there might have no leisure to send any succour to Aquilonia." The messenger had the day for the performance of his journey, and he returned in the night, with an answer to the consul, that his colleague approved of the plan. Papirius, on sending off the messenger, had instantly called an assembly, where he descanted, at large, on the nature of the war in general, and on the present mode of equipment adopted by the enemy, which served for empty parade, rather than for any thing effectual towards insuring success; for "plumes," he said, "made no wounds; that a Roman javelin would make its way through shields, however painted and gilt; and that the army, refulgent from the whiteness of their tunics, would soon be besmeared with blood, when matters came to be managed with the sword. His father had formerly cut off, to a man, a gold and silver army of the Samnites; and such

accoutrements had made a more respectable figure, as spoils, in the hands of the conquering foe, than as arms in those of the wearers. Perhaps it was allotted, by destiny, to his name and family, that they should be opposed in command against the most powerful efforts of the Samnites; and should bring home spoils, of such beauty, as to serve for ornaments to the public places. The immortal gods were certainly on his side, on account of the leagues so often solicited and so often broken. Besides, if a judgment might be formed of the sentiments of the deities, they never were more hostile to any army, than to that which, smeared with the blood of human beings mixed with that of cattle in their abominable sacrifice, doomed to the twofold resentment of the gods, dreading on the one hand the divinities, witnesses of the treaties concluded with the Romans, on the other hand the imprecations expressed in the oath sworn in contradiction to those treaties, swore with reluctance, abhorred the oath, and feared at once the gods, their countrymen, and their enemies."

#### 40

When the consul had recounted these particulars, ascertained from the information of the deserters, to the soldiers already enraged of themselves, they then, filled with confidence in both divine and human aid, with one universal shout, demanded the battle; were dissatisfied at the action being deferred to the following day; they are impatient under the intended delay of a day and a night. Papirius, at the third watch, having received his colleague's letter, arose in silence, and sent the keeper of the chickens to take the auspices. There was no one description of men in the camp who felt not earnest wishes for the fight: the highest and the lowest were equally eager; the general watching the ardour of the soldiers, and the soldiers that of the general. This universal zeal spread even to those employed in taking the auspices; for the chickens having refused to feed, the auspex ventured to misrepresent the omen, and reported to the consul that they had fed voraciously.<sup>179</sup> The consul, highly pleased, and giving notice that the auspices were excellent, and that they were to act under the direction of the gods, displayed the signal for battle. Just as he was going out to the field, he happened to receive intelligence from a deserter, that twenty cohorts of Samnites, consisting of about four hundred each, had marched towards Cominium. Lest his colleague should be ignorant of this, he instantly despatched a messenger to him, and then ordered the troops to advance with speed, having already assigned to each division of the army its proper post, and appointed general officers to command them. The command of the right wing he gave to Lucius Volumnius, that of the left to Lucius Scipio, that of the cavalry to the other lieutenants-general, Caius Caedicius and Caius Trebonius. He ordered Spurius Nautius to take off the panniers from the mules, and to lead them round quickly, together with his auxiliary cohorts, to a rising ground in view; and there to show himself during the heat of the engagement, and to raise as much dust as possible. While the general was employed in making these dispositions, a dispute arose among the keepers of the chickens, about the auspices of the day, which was overheard by some Roman horsemen, who, deeming it a matter not to be slighted, informed Spurius Papirius, the consul's nephew, that there was a doubt about the auspices. The youth, born in an age when that sort of learning which inculcates contempt of the gods was yet unknown, examined into the affair, that he might not carry an uncertain report

<sup>179</sup> When the auspices were to be taken from the chickens, the keeper threw some of them food upon the ground, in their sight, and opened the door of then coop. If they did not come out; if they came out slowly; if they refused to feed, or ate in a careless manner, the omen was considered as bad. On the contrary, if they rushed out hastily and ate greedily, so that some of the food fell from their mouths on the ground, this was considered as an omen of the best import; it was called *tripudium solistinum*, originally, *terripavium*, from *terra*, and *pavire*, to strike.

to the consul; and then acquainted him with it. His answer was, "I very much applaud your conduct and zeal. However, the person who officiates in taking the auspices, if he makes a false report, draws on his own head the evil portended; but to the Roman people and their army, the favourable omen reported to me is an excellent auspice." He then commanded the centurions to place the keepers of the chickens in the front of the line. The Samnites likewise brought forward their standards; their main body followed, armed and decorated in such a manner, that the enemy afforded a magnificent show. Before the shout was raised, or the battle begun, the auspex, wounded by a random cast of a javelin, fell before the standards; which being told to the consul, he said, "The gods are present in the battle; the guilty has met his punishment." While the consul uttered these words, a crow, in front of him, cawed with a clear voice; at which augury, the consul being rejoiced, and affirming, that never had the gods interposed in a more striking manner in human affairs, ordered the charge to be sounded and the shout to be raised.

#### 41

A furious conflict now ensued, but with very unequal spirit [in the combatants]. Anger, hope, and ardour for conquest, hurried on the Romans to battle, thirsting for their enemy's blood; while the Samnites, for the most part reluctantly, as if compelled by necessity and religious dread, rather stood on their defence, than made an attack. Nor would they, familiarized as they were to defeats, through a course of so many years, have withstood the first shout and shock of the Romans, had not another fear, operating still more powerfully in their breasts, restrained them from flying. For they had before their eyes the whole scene exhibited at the secret sacrifice, the armed priests, the promiscuous carnage of men and cattle, the altars besmeared with the blood of victims and of their murdered countrymen, the dreadful curses, and the direful form of imprecation, drawn up for calling down perdition on their family and race. Prevented by these shackles from running away, they stood, more afraid of their countrymen than of the enemy. The Romans pushed on both the wings, and in the centre, and made great havoc among them, stupified as they were, through their fears of the gods and of men. A faint resistance is now made, as by men whom fear alone prevented from running away. The slaughter had now almost reached to their standards, when, on one side, appeared a cloud of dust, as if raised by the marching of a numerous army: it was Spurius Nautius, (some say Octavius Metius,) commander of the auxiliary cohorts: for these raised a greater quantity of dust than was proportioned to the number of men, the servants of the camp, mounted on the mules, trailing boughs of trees, full of leaves, along the ground. Through the light thus obscured, arms and standards were seen in front; behind, a higher and denser cloud of dust presented the appearance of horsemen bringing up the rear. This effectually deceived, not only the Samnites, but the Romans themselves: and the consul confirmed the mistake, by calling out among the foremost battalions, so that his voice reached also the enemy, that "Cominium was taken, and that his victorious colleague was approaching," bidding his men "now make haste to complete the defeat of the enemy, before the glory should fall to the share of the other army." This he said as he sat on horseback, and then ordered the tribunes and centurions to open passages for the horse. He had given previous directions to Trebonius and Caedicius, that, when they should see him waving the point of his spear aloft, they should incite the cavalry to charge the enemy with all possible violence. Every particular, as previously concerted, was executed with the utmost exactness. The passages were opened between the ranks, the cavalry darted through, and, with the

points of their spears presented, rushed into the midst of the enemy's battalions, breaking down the ranks wherever they charged. Voluminius and Scipio seconded the blow, and taking advantage of the enemy's disorder, made a terrible slaughter. Thus attacked, the cohorts, called *linteatae*, regardless of all restraints from either gods or men, quitted their posts in confusion, the sworn and the unsworn all fled alike, no longer dreading aught but the enemies. The body of their infantry which survived the battle, were driven into the camp at Aquilonia. The nobility and cavalry directed their flight to Bovianum. The horse were pursued by the Roman horse, the infantry by their infantry, while the wings proceeded by different roads; the right, to the camp of the Samnites; the left to the city. Voluminius succeeded first in gaining possession of the camp. At the city, Scipio met a stouter resistance; not because the conquered troops there had gained courage, but because walls were a better defence against armed men than a rampart. From these they repelled the enemy with stones. Scipio, considering that unless the business were effected during their first panic, and before they could recover their spirits, the attack of so strong a town would be very tedious, asked his soldiers "if they could endure, without shame, that the other wing should already have taken the camp, and that they, after all their success, should be repulsed from the gates of the city?" Then, all of them loudly declaring their determination to the contrary, he himself advanced, the foremost, to the gate, with his shield raised over his head: the rest, following under the like cover of their shields conjoined, burst into the city, and dispersing the Samnites who were near the gate, took possession of the walls, but they ventured not to push forward into the interior of the city in consequence of the smallness of their number.

#### 42

Of these transactions the consul was for some time ignorant; and was busily employed in calling home his troops, for the sun was now hastening to set, and the approach of night rendered every place suspicious and dangerous, even to victorious troops. Having rode forward a considerable way, he saw on the right the camp taken, and heard on the left a shouting in the city, with a confused noise of fighting, and cries of terror. This happened while the fight was going on at the gate. When, on riding up nearer, he saw his own men on the walls, and so much progress already made in the business, pleased at having gained, through the precipitate conduct of a few, an opportunity of striking an important blow, he ordered the troops, whom he had sent back to the camp, to be called out, and to march to the attack of the city: these, having made good their entrance on the nearest side, proceeded no farther, because night approached. Before morning, however, the town was abandoned by the enemy. There were slain of the Samnites on that day, at Aquilonia, thirty thousand three hundred and forty; taken, three thousand eight hundred and seventy, with ninety-seven military standards. One circumstance, respecting Papirius, is particularly mentioned by historians: that, hardly ever was any general seen in the field with a more cheerful countenance; whether this was owing to his natural temper or to his confidence of success. From the same firmness of mind it proceeded, that he did not suffer himself to be diverted from the war by the dispute about the auspices; and that, in the heat of the battle, when it was customary to vow temples to the immortal gods, he vowed to Jupiter the victorious, that if he should defeat the legions of the enemy, he would, before he tasted of any generous liquor, make a libation to him of a cup of wine and honey. This kind of vow proved acceptable to the gods, and they conducted the auspices to a fortunate issue.

#### 43

Matters were conducted with the same success by the other consul at Cominium: leading up his forces to the walls, at the first dawn, he invested the city on every side, and posted strong guards opposite to the gates to prevent any sally being made. Just as he was giving the signal, the alarming message from his colleague, touching the march of the twenty Samnite cohorts, not only caused him to delay the assault, but obliged him to call off a part of his troops, when they were formed and ready to begin the attack. He ordered Decius Brutus Scaeva, a lieutenant-general, with the first legion, ten auxiliary cohorts, and the cavalry, to go and oppose the said detachment; and in whatever place he should meet the foe, there to stop and detain them, and even to engage in battle, should opportunity offer for it; at all events not to suffer those troops to approach Cominium. He then commanded the scaling ladders to be brought up to the walls, on every side of the city; and, under a fence of closed shields, advanced to the gates. Thus, at the same moment, the gates were broken open, and the assault made on every part of the walls. Though the Samnites, before they saw the assailants on the works, had possessed courage enough to oppose their approaches to the city, yet now, when the action was no longer carried on at a distance, nor with missile weapons, but in close fight; and when those, who had with difficulty gained the walls, having overcome the disadvantage of ground, which, they principally dreaded, fought with ease on equal ground, against an enemy inferior in strength, they all forsook the towers and walls, and being driven to the forum, they tried there for a short time, as a last effort, to retrieve the fortune of the fight; but soon throwing down their arms, surrendered to the consul, to the number of eleven thousand four hundred; four thousand three hundred and eighty were slain. Such was the course of events at Cominium, such at Aquilonia. In the middle space between the two cities, where a third battle had been expected, the enemy were not found; for, when they were within seven miles of Cominium, they were recalled by their countrymen, and had no part in either battle. At night-fall, when they were now within sight of their camp, and also of Aquilonia, shouts from both places reaching them with equal force induced them to halt; then, on the side of the camp, which had been set on fire by the Romans, the wide-spreading flames indicating with more certainty the disaster [which had happened], prevented their proceeding any farther. In that same spot, stretched on the ground at random under their arms, they passed the whole night in great inquietude, at one time wishing for, at another dreading the light. At the first dawn, while they were still undetermined to what quarter they should direct their march, they were obliged to betake themselves hastily to flight, being descried by the cavalry; who having gone in pursuit of the Samnites, that left the town in the night, saw the multitude unprotected either by a rampart or advanced guard. This party had likewise been perceived from the walls of Aquilonia, and the legionary cohorts now joined in the pursuit. The foot were unable to overtake them, but about two hundred and eighty of their rear guard were cut off by the cavalry. In their consternation they left behind them a great quantity of arms and eighteen military standards: they reached Bovianum with the rest of their party in safety, as far as could be expected after so disorderly a rout.

#### 44

The joy of both Roman armies was enhanced by the success achieved on the other side. Each consul, with the approbation of his colleague, gave to his soldiers the plunder of the town which he had taken; and, when the houses were cleared, set them on fire. Thus, on the same day, Aquilonia and Cominium were both reduced to ashes. The consuls then united their camps, where mutual congratulations took place between

them and between their soldiers. Here, in the view of the two armies, Carvilius bestowed on his men commendations and presents according to the desert of each; and Papirius likewise, whose troops had been engaged in a variety of actions, in the field, in the assault of the camp, and in that of the city, presented Spurius Nautius, Spurius Papirius, his nephew, four centurions, and a company of the spearmen, with bracelets and crowns of gold:--to Nautius, on account of his behaviour at the head of his detachment, when he had terrified the enemy with the appearance as of a numerous army; to young Papirius, on account of his zealous exertions with the cavalry, both in the battle and in harassing the Samnites in their flight by night, when they withdrew privately from Aquilonia; and to the centurions and company of soldiers, because they were the first who gained possession of the gate and wall of that town. All the horsemen he presented with gorgets and bracelets of silver, on account of their distinguished conduct on many occasions. As the time was now come for withdrawing the army out of Samnium, the expediency was considered, as to whether they should withdraw both, or at least one. It was concluded, that the lower the strength of the Samnites was reduced, the greater perseverance and vigour ought to be used in prosecuting the war, so that Samnium might be given up to the succeeding consuls perfectly subjected. As there was now no army of the enemy which could be supposed capable of disputing the field, there remained one mode of operations, the besieging of the cities; by the destruction of which, they might be enabled to enrich their soldiers with the spoil; and, at the same time, utterly to destroy the enemy, reduced to the necessity of fighting, their all being at stake. The consuls, therefore, after despatching letters to the senate and people of Rome, containing accounts of the services which they had performed, led away their legions to different quarters; Papirius going to attack Saepioura, Carvilius to Volana.

#### 45

The letters of the consuls were heard with extraordinary exultation, both in the senate-house and in the assembly of the people; and, in a thanksgiving of four days' continuance, the public rejoicings were celebrated with zeal by individuals. These successes were not only important in themselves to the Roman people, but peculiarly seasonable; for it happened, that at the same time intelligence was brought that the Etrurians were again in arms. The reflection naturally occurred to people's minds, how it would have been possible, in case any misfortune had happened in Samnium, to have withstood the power of Etruria; which, being encouraged by the conspiracy of the Samnites, and seeing both the consuls, and the whole force of the Romans, employed against them, had made use of that juncture, in which the Romans had so much business on their hands, for reviving hostilities. Ambassadors from the allies, being introduced to the senate by the praetor Marcus Atilius, complained that their countries were wasted with fire and sword by the neighbouring Etrurians, because they had refused to revolt from the Romans; and they besought the conscript fathers to protect them from the violence and injustice of their common enemy. The ambassadors were answered, that "the senate would take care that the allies should not repent their fidelity." That the "Etrurians should shortly be in the same situation with the Samnites." Notwithstanding which, the business respecting Etruria would have been prosecuted with less vigour, had not information been received, that the Faliscians likewise, who had for many years lived in friendship with Rome, had united their arms with those of the Etrurians. The consideration of the near vicinity of that nation quickened the attention of the senate; insomuch that they passed a decree that heralds should be sent to demand satisfaction: which being refused, war was declared against the Faliscians by direction of the senate,

and order of the people; and the consuls were desired to determine, by lots, which of them should lead an army from Samnium into Etruria. Carvilius had, in the mean time, taken from the Samnites Volana, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum; Volana after a siege of a few days, Palumbinum the same day on which he approached the walls. At Herculaneum, it is true, the consul had two regular engagements without any decisive advantage on either side, and with greater loss on his side than on that of the enemy; but afterwards, encamping on the spot, he shut them up within their works. The town was besieged and taken. In these three towns were taken or slain ten thousand men, of whom the prisoners composed somewhat the greater part. On the consuls casting lots for the provinces, Etruria fell to Carvilius, to the great satisfaction of the soldiers, who could no longer bear the intensity of the cold in Samnium. Papirius was opposed at Saepinum with a more powerful force: he had to fight often in pitched battles, often on a march, and often under the walls of the city, against the eruptions of the enemy; and could neither besiege, nor engage them on equal terms; for the Samnites not only protected themselves by walls, but likewise protected their walls with numbers of men and arms. At length, after a great deal of fighting, he forced them to submit to a regular siege. This he carried on with vigour, and made himself master of the city by means of his works, and by storm. The rage of the soldiers on this occasion caused the greatest slaughter in the taking of the town; seven thousand four hundred fell by the sword; the number of the prisoners did not amount to three thousand. The spoil, of which the quantity was very great, the whole substance of the Samnites being collected in a few cities, was given up to the soldiers.

#### 46

The snow had now entirely covered the face of the country, and they could no longer dispense with the shelter of houses: the consul therefore led home his troops from Samnium. While he was on his way to Rome, a triumph was decreed him with universal consent; and accordingly he triumphed while in office, and with extraordinary splendour, considering the circumstances of those times. The cavalry and infantry marched in the procession, adorned with presents. Great numbers of civic, vallar, and mural crowns were seen.<sup>180</sup> The spoils of the Samnites were inspected with much curiosity, and compared, in respect of magnificence and beauty, with those taken by his father, which were well known, from being frequently exhibited as ornaments of the public places. Several prisoners of distinction, renowned for their own exploits and those of their ancestors, were led in the cavalcade. There were carried in the train two millions and thirty-three thousand *asses* in weight.<sup>181</sup> This money was said to be produced by the sale of the prisoners. Of silver, taken in the cities, one thousand three hundred and thirty pounds. All the silver and brass were lodged in the treasury, no share of this part of the spoil being given to the soldiers. The ill humour in the commons was further exasperated, because the tax for the payment of the army was collected by contribution; whereas, said they, if the vain parade of conveying the produce of the spoil to the treasury had been disregarded, donations might have been made to the soldiers out of the spoil, and the pay of the army also supplied out of that fund. The temple of Quirinus, vowed by his father when dictator, (for that he himself had vowed it in the heat of battle, I do not find in any ancient writer, nor indeed could he in so short a time have finished the building of it,) the son, in the office of consul, dedicated and adorned

<sup>180</sup> These marks of honour were bestowed for having saved the lives of citizens, or for having been the first to mount walls or ramparts.

<sup>181</sup> £4940 13s

with military spoils. And of these, so great was the abundance, that not only that temple and the forum were decorated with them, but some were also distributed among the allies and colonies in the neighbourhood, to serve as ornaments to their temples and public places. Immediately after his triumph, he led his army into winter quarters in the territory of Vescia; because that country was harassed by the Samnites. Meanwhile, in Etruria, the consul Carvilius having set about laying siege to Troilium, suffered four hundred and seventy of the richest inhabitants to depart; they had paid a large sum of money for permission to leave the place: the town, with the remaining multitude, he took by storm. He afterwards reduced, by force, five forts strongly situated, wherein were slain two thousand four hundred of the enemy, and not quite two thousand made prisoners. To the Faliscians, who sued for peace, he granted a truce for a year, on condition of their furnishing a hundred thousand *asses* in weight,<sup>182</sup> and that year's pay for his army. This business completed, he returned home to a triumph, which, though it was less illustrious than that of his colleague, in respect of his share in the defeat of the Samnites, was yet raised to an equality with it, by his having put a termination to the war in Etruria. He carried into the treasury three hundred and ninety thousand *asses* in weight.<sup>183</sup> Out of the remainder of the money accruing to the public from the spoils, he contracted for the building of a temple to Fors Fortuna, near to that dedicated to the same goddess by king Servius Tullius; and gave to the soldiers, out of the spoil, one hundred and two *asses* each, and double that sum to the centurions and horsemen, who received this donative the more gratefully, on account of the parsimony of his colleague.

#### 47

The favour of the consul saved from a trial, before the people, Postumius; who, on a prosecution being commenced against him by Marcus Scantius, plebeian tribune, evaded, as was said, the jurisdiction of the people, by procuring the commission of lieutenant-general, so the indictment against him could only be held out as a threat, and not put in force. The year having now elapsed, new plebeian tribunes had come unto office; and for these, in consequence of some irregularity on their appointments, others had been, within five days after, substituted in their room. The lustrum was closed this year by the censors Publius Cornelius Arvina and Caius Marcius Rutilus. The number of citizens rated was two hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-two. These were the twenty-sixth pair of censors since the first institution of that office; and this the nineteenth lustrum. In this year, persons who had been presented with crowns, in consideration of meritorious behaviour in war, first began to wear them at the exhibition of the Roman games. Then, for the first time, palms were conferred on the victors according to a custom introduced from Greece. In the same year the paving of the road from the temple of Mars to Bovillae was completed by the curule aediles, who exhibited those games out of fines levied on the farmers of the pastures. Lucius Papirius presided at the consular election, and returned consuls Quintus Fabius Gurges, son of Maximus, and Decius Junius Brutus Scaeva. Papirius himself was made praetor. This year, prosperous in many particulars, was scarcely sufficient to afford consolation for one calamity, a pestilence, which afflicted both the city and country: the mortality was prodigious. To discover what end, or what remedy, was appointed by the gods for that calamity, the books were consulted: in the books it was found that Aesculapius must be brought to Rome from Epidaurus. Nor were any

<sup>182</sup> £322 18s. 4d.

<sup>183</sup> £1259 7s. 6d.

steps taken that year in that matter, because the consuls were fully occupied in the war, except that a supplication was performed to Aesculapius for one day.

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*Here ten books of the original are lost, making a chasm of seventy-five years. The translator's object being to publish the work of Livy only, he has not thought it his duty to attempt to supply this deficiency, either by a compilation of his own, or by transcribing or translating those of others. The reader, however, who may be desirous of knowing the events which took place during this interval, will find as complete a detail of them as can now be given, in Hooke's or Rollin's Roman History. The contents of the lost books have been preserved, and are as follows--*

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## Books XI-XX

[Y.R. 460. B.C. 292.] Fabius Gurges, consul, having fought an unsuccessful battle with the Samnites, the senate deliberate about dismissing him from the command of the army; are prevailed upon not to inflict that disgrace upon him, principally by the entreaties of his father, Fabius Maximus, and by his promising to join the army, and serve, in quality of lieutenant-general, under his son: which promise he performs, and the consul, aided by his counsel and co-operation, obtains a victory over the Samnites, and a triumph in consequence. C. Pontius, the general of the Samnites, led in triumph before the victor's carriage, and afterwards beheaded. A plague at Rome. [Y.R. 461. B.C. 291.] Ambassadors sent to Epidaurus, to bring from thence to Rome the statue of Aesculapius: a serpent, of itself, goes on board their ship; supposing it to be the abode of the deity, they bring it with them; and, upon its quitting their vessel, and swimming to the island in the Tiber, they consecrate there a temple to Aesculapius. L. Postumius, a man of consular rank, condemned for employing the soldiers under his command in working upon his farm. [Y.R. 462. B.C. 290] Curius Dentatus, consul, having subdued the Samnites, and the rebellious Sabines, triumphs twice during his year of office. [Y.R. 463. B.C. 289.] The colonies of Castrum, Sena, and Adria, established. Three judges of capital crimes now first appointed. A census and lustrum: the number of citizens found to be two hundred and seventy-three thousand. After a long-continued sedition, on account of debts, the commons secede to the Janiculum: [Y.R. 466. B.C. 286.] are brought back by Hortensius, dictator, who dies in office. Successful operations against the Volsinians and Lucanians, [Y.R. 468. B.C. 284.] against whom it was thought expedient to send succour to the Thuringians.

### BOOK XII.

[Y.R. 469. B.C. 283.] The Senonian Gauls having slain the Roman ambassadors, war is declared against them: they cut off L. Caecilius, praetor, with the legions under his command, [Y.R. 470. B.C. 282.] The Roman fleet plundered by the Tarentines, and the commander slain: ambassadors, sent to complain of this outrage, are ill-treated and sent back; whereupon war is declared against them. The Samnites revolt; against whom, together with the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Etruscans, several unsuccessful battles are fought by different generals. [Y.R. 471. B.C. 281.] Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, comes into Italy, to succour the Tarentines. A Campanian legion, sent, under the command of Decius Jubellius, to garrison Rhegium, murder the inhabitants, and seize the city.

### BOOK XIII.

[Y.R. 472. B.C. 280.] Valerius Laevinus, consul, engages with Pyrrhus, and is beaten, his soldiers being terrified at the unusual appearance of elephants. After the battle, Pyrrhus, viewing the bodies of the Romans who were slain, remarks, that they all of them lay with their faces turned towards their enemy. He proceeds towards Rome, ravaging the country as he goes along. C. Fabricius is sent by the senate to treat for the redemption of the prisoners: the king, in vain, attempts to bribe him to desert his country. The prisoners restored without ransom. Cineas, ambassador from Pyrrhus to the senate, demands, as a condition of peace, that the king be admitted into the city of Rome: the consideration of which being deferred to a fuller meeting, Appius Claudius, who, on account of a disorder in his eyes, had not, for a long time, attended in the senate, comes

there; moves, and carries his motion, that the demand of the king be refused. Cneius Domitius, the first plebeian censor, holds a lustrum; the number of the citizens found to be two hundred and seventy-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-two. A second, but undecided battle with Pyrrhus. [Y.R. 473. B.C. 279.] The treaty with the Carthaginians renewed a fourth time. An offer made to Fabricius, the consul, by a traitor, to poison Pyrrhus; [Y. R. 474. B. C. 278.] he sends him to the king, and discovers to him the treasonable offer. Successful operations against the Etruscans, Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites.

#### **BOOK XIV.**

Pyrrhus crosses over into Sicily. [Y. R. 475. B. C. 277.] Many prodigies, among which, the statue of Jupiter in the Capitol is struck by lightning, and thrown down. [Y. R. 476. B. C. 276.] The head of it afterwards found by the priests. Curius Dentatus, holding a levy, puts up to sale the goods of a person who refuses to answer to his name when called upon. [Y. R. 477. B. C. 275.] Pyrrhus, after his return from Sicily, is defeated, and compelled to quit Italy. The censors hold a lustrum, and find the number of the citizens to be two hundred and seventy-one thousand two hundred and twenty-four. [Y. R. 479. B. c. 273.] A treaty of alliance formed with Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Sextilia, a vestal, found guilty of incest, and buried alive. Two colonies sent forth, to Posidonium and Cossa. [Y. R. 480. B. C. 272.] A Carthaginian fleet sails, in aid of the Tarentines, by which act the treaty is violated. Successful operations against the Lucanians, Samnites, and Bruttians. Death of king Pyrrhus.

#### **BOOK XV.**

The Tarentines overcome: peace and freedom granted to them. [Y. R. 481. B. C. 271.] The Campanian legion, which had forcibly taken possession of Rhegium, besieged there; lay down their arms, and are punished with death. Some young men, who had ill-treated the ambassadors from the Apollonians to the senate of Rome, are delivered up to them. Peace granted to the Picentians. [Y. R. 484. B. C. 268.] Two colonies established; one at Ariminum in Picenum, another at Beneventum in Samnium. Silver coin now, for the first time, used by the Roman people. [Y. R. 485. B. C. 267.] The Umbrians and Sallentines subdued. The number of quaestors increased to eight.

#### **BOOK XVI.**

[Y. R. 488. B. C. 264.] Origin and progress of the Carthaginian state. After much debate, the senate resolves to succour the Mammertines against the Carthaginians, and against Hiero, king of Syracuse. Roman cavalry, then, for the first time, cross the sea, and engage successfully, in battle with Hiero; who solicits and obtains peace. [Y.R. 489. B.C. 263.] A lustrum: the number of the citizens amounts to two hundred and ninety-two thousand two hundred and twenty-four. D. Junius Brutus exhibits the first show of gladiators, in honour of his deceased father. [Y.R. 490. B.C. 262.] The Aesernian colony established. Successful operations against the Carthaginians and Vulsinians. [Y.R. 491. B.C. 261.]

#### **BOOK XVII.**

[Y.R. 492. B.C. 260.] Cneius Cornelius, consul, surrounded by the Carthaginian fleet; and, being drawn into a conference by a stratagem, is taken. [Y.R. 493. B.C. 259.] C. Duilius, consul, engages with and vanquishes the Carthaginian fleet; is the first commander to whom a triumph was decreed for a naval victory; in honour of which, he is allowed, when returning to his habitation at night, to be attended with torches and music. L. Cornelius, consul, fights and subdues the Sardinians and Corsicans, together with

Hanno, the Carthaginian general, in the island of Sardinia. [Y.R. 494. B.C. 258.] Atilius Calatinus, consul, drawn into an ambushade by the Carthaginians, is rescued by the skill and valour of M. Calpurnius, a military tribune, who making a sudden attack upon the enemy, with a body of only three hundred men, turns their whole force against himself. [Y.R. 495. B.C. 257.] Hannibal, the commander of the Carthaginian fleet which was beaten, is put to death by his soldiers.

### **BOOK XVIII.**

[Y.R. 496. B.C. 256.] Attilius Regulus, consul, having overcome the Carthaginians in a sea-fight, passes over into Africa: kills a serpent of prodigious magnitude, with great loss of his own men. [Y.R. 497. B.C. 255.] The senate, on account of his successful conduct of the war, not appointing him a successor, he writes to them, complaining; and, among other reasons for desiring to be recalled, alleges, that his little farm, being all his subsistence, was going to ruin, owing to the mismanagement of hired stewards. [Y.R. 498. B.C. 254.] A memorable instance of the instability of fortune exhibited in the person of Regulus, who is overcome in battle, and taken prisoner by Xanthippus, a Lacedaemonian general. [Y. R. 499. B. C. 253.] The Roman fleet shipwrecked; which disaster entirely reverses the good fortune which had hitherto attended their affairs. Titus Corucanius, the first high priest chosen from among the commons. [Y. R. 500. B. C. 252.] P. Sempronius Sophus and M. Yalerius Maximus, censors, examine into the state of the senate, and expel thirteen of the members of that body. [Y. R. 501. B. C. 251.] They hold a lustrum, and find the number of citizens to be two hundred and ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven. [Y. R. 502. B. C. 250.] Regulus being sent by the Carthaginians to Rome to treat for peace, and an exchange of prisoners, binds himself by oath to return if these objects be not attained; dissuades the senate from agreeing to the propositions: and then, in observance of his oath, returning to Carthage, is put to death by torture.

### **BOOK XIX.**

[Y. R. 502. B. C. 250.] C. Caecilius Metellus, having been successful in several engagements with the Carthaginians, triumphs with more splendour than had ever yet been seen; thirteen generals of the enemy, and one hundred and twenty elephants, being exhibited in the procession, [Y. R. 503. B. C. 249.] Claudius Pulcher, consul, obstinately persisting, notwithstanding the omens were inauspicious, engages the enemy's fleet, and is beaten; drowns the sacred chickens which would not feed: recalled by the senate, and ordered to nominate a dictator; he appoints Claudius Glicia, one of the lowest of the people, who, notwithstanding his being ordered to abdicate the office, yet attends the celebration of the public games in his dictator's robe. [Y. R. 504. B. C. 248.] Atilius Calatinus, the first dictator who marches with an army out of Italy. An exchange of prisoners with the Carthaginians. Two colonies established at Fregenae and Brundisium in the Sallentine territories. [Y. R. 505. B. C. 247.] A lustrum; the citizens numbered amount to two hundred and fifty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-two. [Y. R. 506. B. C. 246.] Claudia, the sister of Claudius, who had fought unsuccessfully, in contempt of the auspices, being pressed by the crowd, as she was returning from the game, cries out, *I wish my brother were alive and had again the command of the fleet*: for which offence she is tried and fined. [Y. R. 507. B. C. 245.] Two praetors now first created. Aulus Postumius, consul, being priest of Mars, forcibly detained in the city by Caecilius Metellus, the high priest, and not suffered to go forth to war, being obliged by law to attend to the sacred duties of his office. [Y.R. 508. B.C. 244.] After several

successful engagements with the Carthaginians, Caius Lutatius, consul, puts an end to the war, [Y.R. 509. B.C. 243.] by gaining a complete victory over their fleet, at the island of Aegate. The Carthaginians sue for peace, which is granted to them. [Y.R. 510. B.C. 242.] The temple of Vesta being on fire, the high priest, Caecilius Metellus, saves the sacred utensils from the flames. [Y.R. 511. B.C. 241.] Two new tribes added, the Veline and Quirine. The Falisci rebel; are subdued in six days.

#### **BOOK XX.**

A colony settled at Spoletum. [Y.R. 512. B.C. 240.] An army sent against the Ligurians; being the first war with that state. The Sardinians and Corsicans rebel, and are subdued. [Y.R. 514. B.C. 238.] Tuccia, a vestal, found guilty of incest. War declared against the Illyrians, who had slain an ambassador; they are subdued and brought to submission. [Y.R. 515. B.C. 237.] The number of praetors increased to four. The Transalpine Gauls make an irruption into Italy: are conquered and put to the sword. [Y.R. 516. B.C. 236.] The Roman army, in conjunction with the Latins, is said to have amounted to no less than three hundred thousand men. [Y.R. 517. B.C. 235.] The Roman army for the first time crosses the Po; fights with and subdues the Insubrian Gauls. [Y.R. 530. B.C. 222.] Claudius Marcellus, consul, having slain Viridomarus, the general of the Insubrian Gauls, carries off the *spolia opima*. [Y.R. 531. B.C. 221.] The Istrians subdued; also the Illyrians, who had rebelled. [Y.R. 532. B.C. 220.] The censors hold a lustrum, in which the number of the citizens is found to be two hundred and seventy thousand two hundred and thirteen. The sons of freed-men formed into four tribes; the Esquiline, Palatine, Suburran, and Colline. [Y.R. 533. B.C. 219.] Caius Flaminius, censor, constructs the Flaminian road, and builds the Flaminian circus.

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# Book XXI

## B.C. 219-218

*Origin of the second Punic war. Hannibal's character. In violation of a treaty, he passes the Iberus. Besieges Saguntum, and at length takes it. The Romans send ambassadors to Carthage; declare war. Hannibal crosses the Pyrenees: makes his way through Gaul; then crosses the Alps; defeats the Romans at the Ticinus. The Romans again defeated at the Trebia. Cneius Cornelius Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain, and takes Hanno, their general, prisoner.*

### 1

I may be permitted to premise at this division of my work, what most historians<sup>184</sup> have professed at the beginning of their whole undertaking; that I am about to relate the most memorable of all wars that were ever waged: the war which the Carthaginians, under the conduct of Hannibal, maintained with the Roman people. For never did any states and nations more efficient in their resources engage in contest; nor had they themselves at any other period so great a degree of power and energy. They brought into action too no arts of war unknown to each other, but those which had been tried in the first Punic war; and so various was the fortune of the conflict, and so doubtful the victory, that they who conquered were more exposed to danger. The hatred with which they fought also was almost greater than their resources; the Romans being indignant that the conquered aggressively took up arms against their victors; the Carthaginians, because they considered that in their subjection it had been lorded over them with haughtiness and avarice. There is besides a story, that Hannibal, when about nine years old, while he boyishly coaxed his father Hamilcar that he might be taken to Spain, (at the time when the African war was completed, and he was employed in sacrificing previously to transporting his army thither,) was conducted to the altar; and, having laid his hand on the offerings, was bound by an oath to prove himself, as soon as he could, an enemy to the Roman people. The loss of Sicily and Sardinia grieved the high spirit of Hamilcar: for he deemed that Sicily had been given up through a premature despair of their affairs; and that Sardinia, during the disturbances in Africa, had been treacherously taken by the Romans, while, in addition, the payment of a tribute had been imposed.

### 2

Being disturbed with these anxieties, he so conducted himself for five years in the African war, which commenced shortly after the peace with Rome, and then through nine years employed in augmenting the Carthaginian empire in Spain, that it was obvious that he was revolving in his mind a greater war than he was then engaged in; and that if he had lived longer, the Carthaginians under Hamilcar would have carried the war into Italy, which, under the command of Hannibal, they afterwards did. The timely death of Hamilcar and the youth of Hannibal occasioned its delay. Hasdrubal, intervening between the father and the son, held the command for about eight years. He was first endeared to Hamilcar, as they say, on account of his youthful beauty, and then adopted by him, when advanced in age, as his son-in-law, on account of his eminent

<sup>184</sup> Thucydides seems to be specially referred to.

abilities; and, because he was his son-in-law, he obtained the supreme authority, against the wishes of the nobles, by the influence of the Barcine faction,<sup>185</sup> which was very powerful with the military and the populace. Prosecuting his designs rather by stratagem than force, by entertaining the princes, and by means of the friendship of their leaders, gaining the favour of unknown nations, he aggrandized the Carthaginian power, more than by arms and battles. Yet peace proved no greater security to himself. A barbarian, in resentment of his master's having been put to death by him, publicly murdered him; and, having been seized by the bystanders, he exhibited the same countenance as if he had escaped; nay, even when he was lacerated by tortures, he preserved such an expression of face, that he presented the appearance of one who smiled, his joy getting the better of his pains. With this Hasdrubal, because he possessed such wonderful skill in gaining over the nations and adding them to his empire, the Roman people had renewed the treaty,<sup>186</sup> on the terms, that the river Iberus should be the boundary of both empires; and that to the Saguntines, who lay between the territories of the two states, their liberty should be preserved.

### 3

There was no doubt that in appointing a successor to Hasdrubal, the approbation of the commons would follow the military prerogative, by which the young Hannibal had been immediately carried to the praetorium, and hailed as general, amid the loud shouts and acquiescence of all. Hasdrubal had sent for him by letter, when scarce yet arrived at manhood; and the matter had even been discussed in the senate, the Barcine faction using all their efforts, that Hannibal might be trained to military service and succeed to his father's command. Hanno, the leader of the opposite faction, said, "Hasdrubal seems indeed to ask what is reasonable, but I, nevertheless, do not think his request ought to be granted." When he had attracted to himself the attention of all, through surprise at this ambiguous opinion, he proceeded: "Hasdrubal thinks that the flower of youth which he gave to the enjoyment of Hannibal's father, may justly be expected by himself in return from the son: but it would little become us to accustom our youth, in place of a military education, to the lustful ambition of the generals. Are we afraid that the son of Hamilcar should be too late in seeing the immoderate power and splendour of his father's sovereignty? or that we shall not soon enough become slaves to the son of him, to whose son-in-law our armies were bequeathed as an hereditary right? I am of opinion, that this youth should be kept at home, and taught, under the restraint of the laws and the authority of magistrates, to live on an equal footing with the rest of the citizens, lest at some time or other this small fire should kindle a vast conflagration."

### 4

A few, and nearly every one of the highest merit, concurred with Hanno; but, as usually happens, the more numerous party prevailed over the better. Hannibal, having been sent into Spain, from his very first arrival drew the eyes of the whole army upon him. The veteran soldiers imagined that Hamilcar, in his youth, was restored to them; they remarked the same vigour in his looks and animation in his eye the same features and

<sup>185</sup> The Barcine faction derived its name from Hamilcar, who was surnamed Barca. Hanno appears to have been at the head of the opposite party.

<sup>186</sup> A.U.C. 526, thirteen years after the conclusion of the first Punic war, being the sixth treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. The first was a commercial agreement made during the first consulate, in the year that the Tarquins were expelled from Rome; but is not mentioned by Livy. The second is noted by him, lib. vii. 27, and the third, lib. ix. 43. The fourth was concluded during the war with Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, Polyb. V. iii. 25: and the fifth was the memorable treaty at the close of the first war.

expression of countenance; and then, in a short time, he took care that his father should be of the least powerful consideration in conciliating their esteem. There never was a genius more fitted for the two most opposite duties of obeying and commanding; so that you could not easily decide whether he were dearer to the general or the army: and neither did Hasdrubal prefer giving the command to any other, when any thing was to be done with courage and activity; nor did the soldiers feel more confidence and boldness under any other leader. His fearlessness in encountering dangers, and his prudence when in the midst of them, were extreme. His body could not be exhausted, nor his mind subdued, by any toil. He could alike endure either heat or cold. The quantity of his food and drink was determined by the wants of nature, and not by pleasure. The seasons of his sleeping and waking were distinguished neither by day nor night. The time that remained after the transaction of business was given to repose; but that repose was neither invited by a soft bed nor by quiet. Many have seen him wrapped in a military cloak, lying on the ground amid the watches and outposts of the soldiers. His dress was not at all superior to that of his equals: his arms and his horses were conspicuous. He was at once by far the first of the cavalry and infantry; and, foremost to advance to the charge, was last to leave the engagement. Excessive vices counterbalanced these high virtues of the hero; inhuman cruelty, more than Punic perfidy, no truth, no reverence for things sacred, no fear of the gods, no respect for oaths, no sense of religion. With a character thus made up of virtue and vices, he served for three years under the command of Hasdrubal, without neglecting any thing which ought to be done or seen by one who was to become a great general.

## 5

But from the day on which he was declared general, as if Italy had been decreed to him as his province, and the war with Rome committed to him, thinking there should be no delay, lest, while he procrastinated, some unexpected accident might defeat him, as had happened to his father, Hamilcar, and afterwards to Hasdrubal, he resolved to make war the Saguntines. As there could be no doubt that by attacking them the Romans would be excited to arms, he first led his army into the territory of the Olcades, a people beyond the Iberus, rather within the boundaries than under the dominion of the Carthaginians, so that he might not seem to have had the Saguntines for his object, but to have been drawn on to the war by the course of events; after the adjoining nations had been subdued, and by the progressive annexation of conquered territory. He storms and plunders Carteia, a wealthy city, the capital of that nation; at which the smaller states being dismayed, submitted to his command and to the imposition of a tribute. His army, triumphant and enriched with booty, was led into winter-quarters to New Carthage. Having there confirmed the attachment of all his countrymen and allies by a liberal division of the plunder, and by faithfully discharging the arrears of pay, the war was extended, in the beginning of spring, to the Vaccaei. The cities Hermandica and Arbocala were taken by storm. Arbocala was defended for a long time by the valour and number of its inhabitants. Those who escaped from Hermandica joining themselves to the exiles of the Olcades, a nation subdued the preceding summer, excite the Carpetani to arms; and having attacked Hannibal near the river Tagus, on his return from the Vaccaei, they threw into disorder his army encumbered with spoil. Hannibal avoided an engagement, and having pitched his camp on the bank, as soon as quiet and silence prevailed among the enemy, forded the river; and having removed his rampart so far that the enemy might have room to pass over, resolved to attack them in their passage. He commanded the cavalry to charge as soon as they should see them advanced into the water. He drew

up the line of his infantry on the bank with forty elephants in front. The Carpetani, with the addition of the Olcades and Vaccaei amounted to a hundred thousand, an invincible army, were the fight to take place in the open plain. Being therefore both naturally ferocious and confiding in their numbers; and since they believed that the enemy had retired through fear thinking that victory was only delayed by the intervention of the river, they raise a shout, and in every direction, without the command of any one, dash into the stream, each where it nearest to him. At the same time, a heavy force of cavalry poured into the river from its opposite bank, and the engagement commenced in the middle of the channel on very unequal terms; for there the foot-soldier, having no secure footing, and scarcely trusting to the ford, could be borne down even by an unarmed horseman, by the mere shock of his horse urged at random; while the horseman, with the command of his body and his weapons, his horse moving steadily even through the middle of the eddies, could maintain the fight either at close quarters or at a distance. A great number were swallowed up by the current; some being carried by the whirlpools of the stream to the side of the enemy, were trodden down by the elephants; and whilst the last, for whom it was more safe to retreat to their own bank, were collecting together after their various alarms, Hannibal, before they could regain courage after such excessive consternation, having entered the river with his army in a close square, forced them to fly from the bank. Having then laid waste their territory, he received the submission of the Carpetani also within a few days. And now all the country beyond the Iberus, excepting that of the Saguntines, was under the power of the Carthaginians.

## 6

As yet there was no war with the Saguntines, but already, in order to a war, the seeds of dissension were sown between them and their neighbours, particularly the Turetani, with whom when the same person sided who had originated the quarrel, and it was evident, not that a trial of the question of right, but violence, was his object, ambassadors were sent by the Saguntines to Rome to implore assistance in the war which now evidently threatened them. The consuls then at Rome were Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, who, after the ambassadors were introduced into the senate, having made a motion on the state of public affairs, it was resolved that envoys should be sent into Spain to inspect the circumstances of the allies; and if they saw good reason, both to warn Hannibal that he should refrain from the Saguntines, the allies of the Roman people, and to pass over into Africa to Carthage, and report the complaints of the allies of the Roman people. This embassy having been decreed but not yet despatched, the news arrived, more quickly than any one expected, that Saguntum was besieged. The business was then referred anew to the senate. And some, decreeing Spain and Africa as provinces for the consuls, thought the war should be maintained both by sea and land, while others wished to direct the whole hostilities against Spain and Hannibal. There were others again who thought that an affair of such importance should not be entered on rashly; and that the return of the ambassadors from Spain ought to be awaited. This opinion, which seemed the safest, prevailed; and Publius Valerius Flaccus, and Quintus Baebius Tamphilus, were, on that account, the more quickly despatched as ambassadors to Hannibal at Saguntum, and from thence to Carthage, if he did not desist from the war, to demand the general himself in atonement for the violation of the treaty.

## 7

While the Romans thus prepare and deliberate, Saguntum was already besieged with the utmost vigour. That city, situated about a mile from the sea, was by far the most opulent beyond the Iberus. Its inhabitants are said to have been sprung from the island Zacynthus, and some of the Rutulian race from Ardea to have been also mixed with them; but they had risen in a short time to great wealth, either by their gains from the sea or the land, or by the increase of their numbers, or the integrity of their principles, by which they maintained their faith with their allies, even to their own destruction. Hannibal having entered their territory with a hostile army, and laid waste the country in every direction, attacks the city in three different quarters. There was an angle of the wall sloping down into a more level and open valley than the other space around; against this he resolved to move the vineae, by means of which the battering-ram might be brought up to the wall. But though the ground at a distance from the wall was sufficiently level for working the vineae, yet their undertakings by no means favourably succeeded, when they came to effect their object. Both a huge tower overlooked it, and the wall, as in a suspected place, was raised higher than in any other part; and a chosen band of youths presented a more vigorous resistance, where the greatest danger and labour were indicated. At first they repelled the enemy with missile weapons, and suffered no place to be sufficiently secure for those engaged in the works; afterwards, not only did they brandish their weapons in defence of the walls and tower, but they had courage to make sallies on the posts and works of the enemy; in which tumultuary engagements, scarcely more Saguntines than Carthaginians were slain. But when Hannibal himself, while he too incautiously approached the wall, fell severely wounded in the thigh by a javelin, such flight and dismay spread around, that the works and vineae had nearly been abandoned.

## 8

For a few days after, while the general's wound was being cured, there was rather a blockade than a siege: during which time, though there was a respite from fighting, yet there was no intermission in the preparation of works and fortifications. Hostilities, therefore, broke out afresh with greater fury, and in more places, in some even where the ground scarcely admitted of the works, the vineae began to be moved forward, and the battering-ram to be advanced to the walls. The Carthaginian abounded in the numbers of his troops; for there is sufficient reason to believe that he had as many as a hundred and fifty thousand in arms. The townsmen began to be embarrassed, by having their attention multifariously divided, in order to maintain their several defences, and look to every thing; nor were they equal to the task, for the walls were now battered by the rams, and many parts of them were shattered. One part by continuous ruins left the city exposed; three successive towers and all the wall between them had fallen down with an immense crash, and the Carthaginians believed the town taken by that breach; through which, as if the wall had alike protected both, there was a rush from each side to the battle. There was nothing resembling the disorderly fighting which, in the storming of towns, is wont to be engaged in, on the opportunities of either party; but regular lines, as in an open plain, stood arrayed between the ruins of the walls and the buildings of the city, which lay but a slight distance from the walls. On the one side hope, on the other despair, inflamed their courage; the Carthaginian believing that, if a little additional effort were used, the city was his; the Saguntines opposing their bodies in defence of their native city deprived of its walls, and not a man retiring a step, lest he might admit the enemy into the place he deserted. The more keenly and closely, therefore, they fought on both sides, the more, on that account, were wounded, no

weapon falling without effect amidst their arms and persons. There was used by the Saguntines a missile weapon, called *falarica*, with the shaft of fir, and round in other parts except towards the point, whence the iron projected: this part, which was square, as in the *pilum*, they bound around with tow, and besmeared with pitch. It had an iron head three feet in length, so that it could pierce through the body with the armour. But what caused the greatest fear was, that this weapon, even though it stuck in the shield and did not penetrate into the body, when it was discharged with the middle part on fire, and bore along a much greater flame, produced by the mere motion, obliged the armour to be thrown down, and exposed the soldier to succeeding blows.

## 9

When the contest had for a long time continued doubtful, and the courage of the Saguntines had increased, because they had succeeded in their resistance beyond their hopes, while the Carthaginian, because he had not conquered, felt as vanquished, the townsmen suddenly set up a shout, and drive their enemies to the ruins of the wall; thence they force them, while embarrassed and disordered; and lastly, drove them back, routed and put to flight, to their camp. In the mean time it was announced that ambassadors had arrived from Rome; to meet whom messengers were sent to the sea-side by Hannibal, to tell them that they could not safely come to him through so many armed bands of savage tribes, and that Hannibal at such an important conjuncture had not leisure to listen to embassies. It was obvious that, if not admitted, they would immediately repair to Carthage: he therefore sends letters and messengers beforehand to the leaders of the Barcine faction, to prepare the minds of their partisans, so that the other party might not be able in any thing to give an advantage to the Romans.

## 10

That embassy, therefore, excepting that the ambassadors were admitted and heard, proved likewise vain and fruitless. Hanno alone, in opposition to the rest of the senate, pleaded the cause of the treaty, amidst deep silence on account of his authority, and not from the approbation of the audience. He said: that he had admonished and forewarned them by the gods, the arbiters and witnesses of treaties, that they should not send the son of Hamilcar to the army; that the manes, that the offspring of that man could not rest in peace, nor ever, while any one of the Barcine name and blood survived, would the Roman treaties continue undisturbed. "You, supplying as it were fuel to the flame, have sent to your armies a youth burning with the desire of sovereign power, and seeing but one road to his object, if by exciting war after war, he may live surrounded by arms and legions. You have therefore fostered this fire, in which you now burn. Your armies invest Saguntum, whence they are forbidden by the treaty: ere long the Roman legions will invest Carthage, under the guidance of those gods through whose aid they revenged in the former war the infraction of the treaty. Are you unacquainted with the enemy, or with yourselves, or with the fortune of either nation? Your good general refused to admit into his camp ambassadors coming from allies and in behalf of allies, and set at nought the law of nations. They, however, after being there repulsed, where not even the ambassadors of enemies are prohibited admittance, come to you: they require restitution according to the treaty: let not guilt attach to the state, they demand to have delivered up to them the author of the transgression, the person who is chargeable with this offence. The more gently they proceed,--the slower they are to begin, the more unrelentingly, I fear, when they have once commenced, will they indulge resentment. Set before your eyes the islands *Aegates* and *Eryx*, all that for twenty-four years ye have

suffered by land and sea. Nor was this boy the leader, but his father Hamilcar himself, a second Mars, as these people would have it: but we had not refrained from Tarentum, that is, from Italy, according to the treaty; as now we do not refrain from Saguntum. The gods and men have, therefore, prevailed over us; and as to that about which there was a dispute in words, whether of the two nations had infringed the treaty, the issue of the war, like an equitable judge, hath awarded the victory to the party on whose side justice stood. It is against Carthage that Hannibal is now moving his vineae and towers: it is the wall of Carthage that he is shaking with his battering-ram. The ruins of Saguntum (oh that I may prove a false prophet!) will fall on our heads; and the war commenced against the Saguntines must be continued against the Romans. Shall we, therefore, some one will say, deliver up Hannibal? In what relates to him I am aware that my authority is of little weight, on account of my enmity with his father. But I both rejoice that Hamilcar perished, for this reason, that, had he lived we should have now been engaged in a war with the Romans; and this youth, as the fury and firebrand of this war, I hate and detest. Nor ought he only to be given up in atonement for the violated treaty; but even though no one demanded him, he ought to be transported to the extremest shores of earth or sea, and banished to a distance, whence neither his name nor any tidings of him can reach us, and he be unable to disturb the peace of a tranquil state. I therefore give my opinion, that ambassadors be sent immediately to Rome to satisfy the senate; others to tell Hannibal to lead away his army from Saguntum, and to deliver up Hannibal himself, according to the treaty to the Romans; and I propose a third embassy to make restitution to the Saguntines."

## 11

When Hanno had concluded, there was no occasion for any one to contend with him in debate, to such a decree were almost all the senators devoted to Hannibal; and they accused Hanno of having spoken with more malignity than Flaccus Valerius, the Roman ambassador. It was then said in answer to the Roman ambassadors, "that the war had been commenced by the Saguntines, not by Hannibal; and that the Roman people acted unjustly if they preferred the Saguntines to the most ancient<sup>187</sup> alliance of the Carthaginians." Whilst the Romans waste time in sending embassies, Hannibal, because his soldiers were fatigued with the battles and the works, allowed them rest for a few days, parties being stationed to guard the vineae and other works. In the mean time he inflames their minds, now by inciting their anger against the enemy, now with the hope of reward. But when he declared before the assembled army, that the plunder of the captured city should be given to the soldiers, to such a degree were they all excited, that if the signal had been immediately given, it appeared that they could not have been resisted by any force. The Saguntines, as they had a respite from fighting, neither for some days attacking nor attacked, so they had not, by night or day, ever ceased from toiling, that they might repair anew the wall in the quarter where the town had been exposed by the breach. A still more desperate storming than the former then assailed them; nor whilst all quarters resounded with various clamours, could they satisfactorily know where first or principally they should lend assistance. Hannibal, as an encouragement, was present in person, where a movable tower, exceeding in height all the fortifications of the city, was urged forward. When being brought up it had cleared the walls of their defenders by means of the catapultae and ballistae ranged through all its stories, then Hannibal, thinking it a favourable opportunity, sends about five hundred Africans with pickaxes to undermine the wall: nor was the work difficult, since

<sup>187</sup> Alluding to the first treaty made in the year that the kings were expelled from Rome.

the unhewn stones were not fastened with lime, but filled in their interstices with clay, after the manner of ancient building. It fell, therefore, more extensively than it was struck, and through the open spaces of the ruins troops of armed men rushed into the city. They also obtain possession of a rising ground; and having collected thither catapultae and ballistae, so that they might have a fort in the city itself, commanding it like a citadel, they surround it with a wall: and the Saguntines raise an inner wall before the part of the city which was not yet taken. On both sides they exert the utmost vigour in fortifying and fighting: but the Saguntines, by erecting these inner defences, diminish daily the size of their city. At the same time, the want of all supplies increased through the length of the siege, and the expectation of foreign aid diminished, since the Romans, their only hope, were at such a distance, and all the country round was in the power of the enemy. The sudden departure of Hannibal against the Oretani and Carpetani.<sup>188</sup> revived for a little their drooping spirits; which two nations, though, exasperated by the severity of the levy, they had occasioned, by detaining the commissaries, the fear of a revolt, having been suddenly checked by the quickness of Hannibal, laid down the arms they had taken up.

## 12

Nor was the siege of Saguntum, in the mean time, less vigorously maintained; Maharbal, the son of Himilco, whom Hannibal had set over the army, carrying on operations so actively that neither the townsmen nor their enemies perceived that the general was away. He both engaged in several successful battles, and with three battering-rams overthrew a portion of the wall; and showed to Hannibal, on his arrival the ground all covered with fresh ruins. The army was therefore immediately led against the citadel itself, and a desperate combat was commenced with much slaughter on both sides, and part of the citadel was taken. The slight chance of a peace was then tried by two persons; Alcon a Saguntine, and Alorcus a Spaniard. Alcon, thinking he could effect something by entreaties, having passed over, without the knowledge of the Saguntines, to Hannibal by night, when his tears produced no effect, and harsh conditions were offered as from an exasperated conqueror, becoming a deserter instead of an advocate, remained with the enemy; affirming that the man would be put to death who should treat for peace on such terms. For it was required that they should make restitution to the Turdetani; and after delivering up all their gold and silver, departing from the city each with a single garment, should take up their dwelling where the Carthaginian should direct. Alcon having denied that the Saguntines would accept such terms of peace, Alorcus, asserting that when all else is subdued, the mind becomes subdued, offers himself as the proposer of that peace. Now at that time he was a soldier of Hannibal's, but publicly the friend and host of the Saguntines. Having openly delivered his weapon to the guards of the enemy and passed the fortifications, he was conducted, as he had himself requested, to the Saguntine praetor; whither when there was immediately a general rush of every description of people, the rest of the multitude being removed, an audience of the senate is given to Alorcus; whose speech was to the following effect:

## 13

<sup>188</sup> The Carpetani have already been mentioned, chap. v. The Oretani, then neighbours, occupied the country lying between the sources of the Baetis and the Anas, or what are now called the Guadalquivir and Guadiana. In a part of Orospea they deduced their name from a city called Oretum, the site of which has been brought to light in a paltry village to which the name of Oreto still remains.--*D'Anville*.

"If your citizen Alcon, as he came to implore a peace from Hannibal, had in like manner brought back to you the terms of peace proposed by Hannibal, this journey of mine would have been unnecessary; by which circumstance I should not have had to come to you as the legate of Hannibal, nor as a deserter. Since he has remained with your enemies, either through your fault or his own, (through his own, if he counterfeited fear; through yours, if among you there be danger to those who tell the truth,) that you may not be ignorant that there are some terms of safety and peace for you, I have come to you in consideration of the ancient ties of hospitality which subsist between us. But that I speak what I address to you for your sake and that of no other, let even this be the proof: that neither while you resisted with your own strength, nor while you expected assistance from the Romans, did I ever make any mention of peace to you. But now, after you have neither any hope from the Romans, nor your own arms nor walls sufficiently defend you, I bring to you a peace rather necessary than just: of effecting which there is thus some hope, if, as Hannibal offers it in the spirit of a conqueror, you listen to it as vanquished; if you will consider not what is taken from you as loss, (since all belongs to the conqueror,) but whatever is left as a gift. He takes away from you your city, which, already for the greater part in ruins, he has almost wholly in his possession; he leaves you your territory, intending to mark out a place in which you may build a new town; he commands that all the gold and silver, both public and private, shall be brought to him; he preserves inviolate your persons and those of your wives and children, provided you are willing to depart from Saguntum, unarmed, each with two garments. These terms a victorious enemy dictates. These, though harsh and grievous, your condition commends to you. Indeed I do not despair, when the power of every thing is given him, that he will remit something from these terms. But even these I think you ought rather to endure, than suffer, by the rights of war, yourselves to be slaughtered, your wives and children to be ravished and dragged into captivity before your faces."

#### 14

When an assembly of the people, by the gradual crowding round of the multitude, had mingled with the senate to hear these proposals, the chief men suddenly withdrawing before an answer was returned, and throwing all the gold and silver collected, both from public and private stores, into a fire hastily kindled for that purpose, the greater part flung themselves also into it. When the dismay and agitation produced by this deed had pervaded the whole city, another noise was heard in addition from the citadel. A tower, long battered, had fallen down; and when a Carthaginian cohort, rushing through the breach, had made a signal to the general that the city was destitute of the usual outposts and guards, Hannibal, thinking that there ought to be no delay at such an opportunity, having attacked the city with his whole forces, took it in a moment, command being given that all the adults should be put to death; which command, though cruel, was proved in the issue to have been almost necessary. For to whom of those men could mercy have been shown, who, either shut up with their wives and children, burned their houses over their own heads, or abroad in arms made no end of fighting, except in death.

#### 15

The town was taken, with immense spoil. Though the greater part of the goods had been purposely damaged by their owners, and resentment had made scarce any distinction of age in the massacre, and the captives were the booty of the soldiers; still it appears that

some money was raised from the price of the effects that were sold, and that much costly furniture and garments were sent to Carthage. Some have written that Saguntum was taken in the eighth month after it began to be besieged; that Hannibal then retired to New Carthage, into winter quarters; and that in the fifth month after he had set out from Carthage he arrived in Italy. If this be so, it was impossible that Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius could have been consuls, to whom both at the beginning of the siege the Saguntine ambassadors were despatched, and who, during their office, fought with Hannibal; the one at the river Ticinus, and both some time after at the Trebia. Either all these events took place in a somewhat shorter period, or Saguntum was not begun to be besieged, but taken at the beginning of the year in which Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius were consuls. For the battle at Trebia could not have been so late as the year of Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius, since Flaminius entered on the office at Ariminum, having been created by the consul Tiberius Sempronius; who, having repaired to Rome after the battle at Trebia for the purpose of creating consuls, returned when the election was finished to the army into winter quarters.

## 16

Nearly about the same time, both the ambassadors who had returned from Carthage brought intelligence to Rome that all appearances were hostile, and the destruction of Saguntum was announced. Then such grief, and pity for allies so undeservingly destroyed, and shame that aid was withheld, and rage against the Carthaginians, and fear for the issue of events, as if the enemy were already at the gates, took at once possession of the senators, that their minds, disturbed by so many simultaneous emotions, trembled with fear rather than deliberated. For they considered that neither had a more spirited or warlike enemy ever encountered them nor had the Roman state been ever so sunk in sloth, and unfit for war: that the Sardinians, the Corsicans, the Istrians, and the Illyrians, had rather kept in a state of excitement than exercised the Roman arms; and with the Gauls it had been more properly a tumult than a war. That the Carthaginian, a veteran enemy, ever victorious during the hardest service for twenty-three years among the tribes of Spain, first trained to war under Hamilcar, then Hasdrubal, now Hannibal, a most active leader, and fresh from the destruction of a most opulent city, was passing the Iberus; that along with them he was bringing the numerous tribes of Spain, already aroused, and was about to excite the nations of Gaul, ever desirous of war; and that a war against the world was to be maintained in Italy and before the walls of Rome.

## 17

The provinces had already been previously named for the consuls; and having been now ordered to cast lots for them, Spain fell to Cornelius, and Africa with Sicily to Sempronius. Six legions were decreed for that year, and as many of the allies as should seem good to the consuls, and as great a fleet as could be equipped. Twenty-four thousand Roman infantry were levied, and one thousand eight hundred horse: forty thousand infantry of the allies, and four thousand four hundred horse: two hundred and twenty ships of three banks of oars, and twenty light galleys, were launched. It was then proposed to the people, "whether they willed and commanded that war should be declared against the people of Carthage;" and for the sake of that war a supplication was made through the city, and the gods were implored that the war which the Roman people had decreed might have a prosperous and fortunate issue. The forces were thus divided between the consuls. To Sempronius two legions were given, (each of these

consisted of four thousand infantry and three hundred horse,) and sixteen thousand of the infantry of the allies, and one thousand eight hundred horse: one hundred and sixty ships of war, and twelve light galleys. With these land and sea forces Tiberius Sempronius was despatched to Sicily, in order to transport his army to Africa if the other consul should be able to prevent the Carthaginian from invading Italy. Fewer troops were given to Cornelius, because Lucius Manlius, the praetor, also had been sent with no weak force into Gaul. The number of ships in particular was reduced to Cornelius. Sixty of five banks of oars were assigned to him, (for they did not believe that the enemy would come by sea, or would fight after that mode of warfare,) and two Roman legions with their regular cavalry, and fourteen thousand of the infantry of the allies, with one thousand six hundred horse. The province of Gaul being not as yet exposed to the Carthaginian invasion, had, in the same year, two Roman legions, ten thousand allied infantry, one thousand allied cavalry, and six hundred Roman.

## 18

These preparations having been thus made, in order that every thing that was proper might be done before they commenced war, they send Quintus Fabius, Marcus Livius, Lucius Aemilius, Caius Licinius, and Quintus Baebius, men of advanced years, as ambassadors into Africa, to inquire of the Carthaginians if Hannibal had laid siege to Saguntum by public authority; and if they should confess it, as it seemed probable they would, and defend it as done by public authority, to declare war against the people of Carthage. After the Romans arrived at Carthage, when an audience of the senate was given them, and Quintus Fabius had addressed no further inquiry than the one with which they had been charged, then one of the Carthaginians replied: "Even your former embassy, O Romans, was precipitate, when you demanded Hannibal to be given up, as attacking Saguntum on his own authority: but your present embassy, though so far milder in words, is in fact more severe. For then Hannibal was both accused, and required to be delivered up: now both a confession of wrong is exacted from us, and, as though we had confessed, restitution is immediately demanded. But I think that the question is not, whether Saguntum was attacked by private or public authority, but whether it was with right or wrong. For in the case of our citizen, the right of inquiry, whether he has acted by his own pleasure or ours, and the punishment also, belongs to us. The only dispute with you is, whether it was allowed to be done by the treaty. Since, therefore, it pleases you that a distinction should be made between what commanders do by public authority, and what on their own suggestion, there was a treaty between us made by the consul Lutatius; in which, though provision was made for the allies of both, there is no provision made for the Saguntines, for they were not as yet your allies. But in that treaty which was made with Hasdrubal, the Saguntines are excepted; against which I am going to say nothing but what I have learned from you. For you denied that you were bound by the treaty which Caius Lutatius the consul first made with us, because that it had neither been made by the authority of the senate nor the command of the people; and another treaty was therefore concluded anew by public authority. If your treaties do not bind you unless they are made by your authority and your commands, neither can the treaty of Hasdrubal, which he made without our knowledge, be binding on us. Cease, therefore, to make mention of Saguntum and the Iberus, and let your mind at length bring forth that with which it has long been in labour." Then the Roman, having formed a fold in his robe, said, "Here we bring to you peace and war; take which you please." On this speech they exclaimed no less fiercely in reply: "he might give which he chose;" and when he again, unfolding his robe, said "he gave war," they all

answered that "they accepted it, and would maintain it with the same spirit with which they accepted it."

## 19

This direct inquiry and denunciation of war seemed more consistent with the dignity of the Roman people, both before and now, especially when Saguntum was destroyed, than to cavil in words about the obligation of treaties. For if it was a subject for a controversy of words, in what was the treaty of Hasdrubal to be compared with the former treaty of Lutatius, which was altered? Since in the treaty of Lutatius, was expressly added, "that it should only be held good if the people sanctioned it;" but in the treaty of Hasdrubal, neither was there any such exception; and that treaty during its life had been so established by the silence of so many years, that not even after the death of its author was any change made in it. Although even were they to abide by the former treaty, there had been sufficient provision made for the Saguntines by excepting the allies of both states; for neither was it added, "those who then were," nor "those who should afterwards be admitted." and since it is allowable to admit new allies, who could think it proper, either that no people should be received for any services into friendship? or that, being received under protection, they should not be defended? It was only stipulated, that the allies of the Carthaginians should not be excited to revolt, nor, revolting of their own accord, be received. The Roman ambassadors, according as they had been commanded at Rome, passed over from Carthage into Spain, in order to visit the nations, and either to allure them into an alliance, or dissuade them from joining the Carthaginians. They came first to the Bargusii, by whom having been received with welcome, because they were weary of the Carthaginian government, they excited many of the states beyond the Iberus to the desire of a revolution. Thence they came to the Volciani, whose reply being celebrated through Spain, dissuaded the other states from an alliance with the Romans; for thus the oldest member in their council made answer: "What sense of shame have ye, Romans, to ask of us that we should prefer your friendship to that of the Carthaginians, when you, their allies, betrayed the Saguntines with greater cruelty than that with which the Carthaginians, their enemies, destroyed them? There, methinks, you should look for allies, where the massacre of Saguntum is unknown. The ruins of Saguntum will remain a warning as melancholy as memorable to the states of Spain, that no one should confide in the faith or alliance of Rome." Having been then commanded to depart immediately from the territory of the Volciani, they afterwards received no kinder words from any of the councils of Spain: they therefore pass into Gaul, after having gone about through Spain to no purpose.

## 20

Among the Gauls a new and alarming spectacle was seen, by reason of their coming (such is the custom of the nation) in arms to the assembly. When, extolling in their discourse the renown and valour of the Roman people, and the wide extent of their empire, they had requested that they would refuse a passage through their territory and cities to the Carthaginian invading Italy; such laughter and yelling is said to have arisen, that the youths were with difficulty composed to order by the magistrates and old men. So absurd and shameless did the request seem, to propose that the Gauls, rather than suffer the war to pass on to Italy, should turn it upon themselves and expose their own lands to be laid waste instead of those of others. When the tumult was at length allayed, answer was returned to the ambassadors, "that they had neither experienced good from the Romans, nor wrong from the Carthaginians, on account of which they should either

take up arms in behalf of the Romans, or against the Cathaginians. On the contrary, they had heard that men of their nation had been driven from the lands and confines of Italy by the Roman people, that they had to pay a tribute, and suffered other indignities." Nearly the same was said and heard in the other assemblies of Gaul; nor did they hear any thing friendly or pacific before they came to Marseilles. There, every thing found out by the care and fidelity of the allies was made known to them--"that the minds of the Gauls had been already prepossessed by Hannibal, but that not even by him would that nation be found very tractable, (so fierce and untameable are their dispositions,) unless the affections of the chiefs should every now and then be conciliated with gold, of which that people are most covetous." Having thus gone round through the tribes of Spain and Gaul, the ambassadors return to Rome not long after the consuls had set out for their provinces. They found the whole city on tiptoe in expectation of war, the report being sufficiently confirmed, that the Carthaginians had already passed the Iberus.

## 21

Hannibal, after the taking of Saguntum, had retired to New Carthage into winter quarters; and there, having heard what had been done and decreed at Rome and Carthage, and that he was not only the leader, but also the cause of the war, after having divided and sold the remains of the plunder, thinking there ought to be no longer delay, he calls together and thus addresses his soldiers of the Spanish race: "I believe, tribes, that even you yourselves perceive that, all the tribes of Spain having been reduced to peace, we must either conclude our campaigns and disband our armies, or transfer the war into other regions: for thus these nations will flourish amid the blessings not only of peace, but also of victory, if we seek from other countries spoils and renown. Since, therefore, a campaign far from home soon awaits you, and it is uncertain when you shall again see your homes, and all that is there dear to you, if any one of you wishes to visit his friends, I grant him leave of absence. I give you orders to be here at the beginning of spring, that, with the good assistance of the gods, we may enter on a war which will prove one of great glory and spoil." This power of visiting their homes, voluntarily offered, was acceptable to almost all, already longing to see their friends, and foreseeing in future a still longer absence. Repose through the whole season of winter, between toils already undergone and those that were soon to be endured, repaired the vigour of their bodies and minds to encounter all difficulties afresh. At the beginning of spring they assembled according to command. Hannibal, when he had reviewed the auxiliaries of all the nations, having gone to Gades, performs his vows to Hercules; and binds himself by new vows, provided his other projects should have a prosperous issue. Then dividing his care at the same time between the offensive and defensive operations of the war, lest while he was advancing on Italy by a land journey through Spain and Gaul, Africa should be unprotected and exposed to the Romans from Sicily, he resolved to strengthen it with a powerful force. For this purpose he requested a reinforcement from Africa, chiefly of light-armed spearmen, in order that the Africans might serve in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa, each likely to be a better soldier at a distance from home, as if bound by mutual pledges. He sent into Africa thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty targetteers, eight hundred and seventy Balearic slingers, and one thousand two hundred horsemen, composed of various nations. He orders these forces partly to be used as a garrison for Carthage and partly to be distributed through Africa: at the same time having sent commissaries into the different states, he orders four thousand chosen youth whom they had levied to be conducted to Carthage, both as a garrison and as hostages.

## 22

Thinking also that Spain ought not to be neglected (and the less because he was aware that it had been traversed by the Roman ambassadors, to influence the minds of the chiefs,) he assigns that province to his brother Hasdrubal, a man of active spirit, and strengthens him chiefly with African troops: eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty African infantry, three hundred Ligurians, and five hundred Balearians. To these forces of infantry were added four hundred horsemen of the Libyphoenicians, a mixed race of Carthaginians and Africans; of the Numidians and Moors, who border on the ocean, to the number of one thousand eight hundred, and a small band of Ilergetes from Spain, amounting to two hundred horse: and, that no description of land force might be wanting, fourteen elephants. A fleet was given him besides to defend the sea-coast, (because it might be supposed that the Romans would then fight in the same mode of warfare by which they had formerly prevailed,) fifty quinqueremes, two quadriremes, five triremes: but only thirty-two quinqueremes and five triremes were properly fitted out and manned with rowers. From Gades he returned to the winter quarters of the army at Carthage; and thence setting out, he led his forces by the city Etoivissa to the Iberus and the sea-coast. There, it is reported, a youth of divine aspect was seen by him in his sleep, who said, "that he was sent by Jupiter as the guide of Hannibal into Italy, and that he should, therefore, follow him, nor in any direction turn his eyes away from him." At first he followed in terror, looking no where, either around or behind: afterwards, through the curiosity of the human mind, when he revolved in his mind what that could be on which he was forbidden to look back, he could not restrain his eyes; then he beheld behind him a serpent of wonderful size moving along with an immense destruction of trees and bushes, and after it a cloud following with thunderings from the skies; and that then inquiring "what was that great commotion, and what the cause of the prodigy," he heard in reply: "That it was the devastation of Italy: that he should continue to advance forward, nor inquire further, but suffer the fates to remain in obscurity."

## 23

Cheered by this vision, he transported his forces in three divisions across the Iberus, having sent emissaries before him to conciliate by gifts the minds of the Gauls, in the quarter through which his army was to be led, and to examine the passes of the Alps. He led ninety thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry across the Iberus. He then subdued the Ilergetes, the Bargusii, the Ausetani, and that part of Lacetania which lies at the foot of the Pyrenaean mountains; and he placed Hanno in command over all this district, that the narrow gorges which connect Spain with Gaul might be under his power. Ten thousand infantry, and a thousand cavalry, were given to Hanno for the defence of the country he was to occupy. After the army began to march through the passes of the Pyrenees, and a more certain rumour of the Roman war spread through the barbarians, three thousand of the Carpetanian infantry turned back: it clearly appeared that they were not so much swayed by the prospect of the war as by the length of the journey and the insuperable passage of the Alps. Hannibal, because it was hazardous to recall or detain them by force, lest the fierce minds of the rest might also be irritated, sent home above seven thousand men, whom also he had observed to be annoyed with the service, pretending that the Carpetani had also been dismissed by him.

## 24

Then, lest delay and ease might unsettle their minds, he crosses the Pyrenees with the rest of his forces, and pitches his camp at the town Illiberis. The Gauls, though they had heard that the war was directed against Italy, yet because there was a report that the Spaniards on the other side of the Pyrenees had been reduced by force, and that strong forces had been imposed on them, being roused to arms through the fear of slavery, assembled certain tribes at Ruscino. When this was announced to Hannibal, he, having more fear of the delay than of the war, sent envoys to say to their princes, "that he wished to confer with them; and that they should either come nearer to Illiberis, or that he would proceed to Ruscino, that their meeting might be facilitated by vicinity: for that he would either be happy to receive them into his camp, or would himself without hesitation come to them: since he had entered Gaul as a friend, and not as an enemy, and would not draw the sword, if the Gauls did not force him, before he came to Italy." These proposals, indeed, were made by his messengers. But when the princes of the Gauls, having immediately moved their camp to Illiberis, came without reluctance to the Carthaginian, being won by his presents, they suffered his army to pass through their territories, by the town of Ruscino, without any molestation.

## 25

In the mean time no further intelligence had been brought into Italy to Rome by the ambassadors of Marseilles than that Hannibal had passed the Iberus; when the Boii asked if he had already passed the Alps, revolted after instigating the Insubrians; not so much through their ancient resentment towards the Roman people, as on account of their having felt aggrieved that the colonies of Placentia and Cremona had been lately planted in the Gallic territory about the Po. Having therefore, suddenly taken up arms, and made an attack on that very territory, they created so much of terror and tumult, that not only the rustic population, but even the Roman triumvirs, Caius Lutatius, Caius Servilius, and Titus Annius, who had come to assign the lands, distrusting the walls of Placentia, fled to Mutina. About the name of Luttius there is no doubt: in place of Caius Servilius and Titus Annius, some annals have Quintus Acilius and Caius Herenrius; others, Publius Cornelius Asina and Caius Papirius Maso. This point is also uncertain, whether the ambassadors went to expostulate to the Boii suffered violence, or whether an attack was made on the triumvirs while measuring out the lands. While they were shut up in Mutina, and a people unskilled in the arts of besieging towns, and, at the same time, most sluggish at military operations, lay inactive before the walls, which they had not touched, pretended proposals for a peace were set on foot; and the ambassadors, being invited out to a conference by the chiefs of the Gauls, are seized, not only contrary to the law of nations, but in violation of the faith which was pledged on that very occasion; the Gauls denying that they would set them free unless their hostages were restored to them. When this intelligence respecting the ambassadors was announced, and that Mutina and its garrison were in danger, Lucius Manlius, the praetor, inflamed with rage, led his army in haste to Mutina. There were then woods on both sides of the road, most of the country being uncultivated. There, having advanced without previously exploring his route, he fell suddenly into an ambuscade; and after much slaughter of his men, with difficulty made his way into the open plains. Here a camp was fortified, and because confidence was wanting to the Gauls to attack it, the spirit of the soldiers revived, although it was sufficiently evident that their strength was much clipped. The journey was then commenced anew; nor while the army was led in march through open tracts did the enemy appear: but, when the woods were again entered, then attacking the rear, amid great confusion and alarm of all, they slew eight hundred

soldiers, and took six standards. There was an end to the Gauls of creating, and to the Romans of experiencing terror, when they escaped from the pathless and entangled thicket; then easily defending their march through the open ground, the Romans directed their course to Tanetum, a village near the Po; where, by a temporary fortification, and the supplies conveyed by the river, and also by the aid of the Brixian Gauls, they defended themselves against the daily increasing multitude of their enemies.

## 26

When the account of this sudden disturbance was brought to Rome, and the senators heard that the Punic had also been increased by a Gallic war, they order Caius Atilius, the praetor, to carry assistance to Manlius with one Roman legion and five thousand of the allies, enrolled in the late levy by the consul: who, without any contest, for the enemy had retired through fear, arrived at Tanetum. At the same time Publius Cornelius, a new legion having been levied in the room of that which was sent with the praetor, setting out from the city with sixty ships of war, by the coast of Etruria and Liguria, and then the mountains of the Salyes, arrived at Marseilles, and pitched his camp at the nearest mouth of the Rhone, (for the stream flows down to the sea divided into several channels,) scarcely as yet well believing that Hannibal had crossed the Pyreanean mountains; whom when he ascertained to be also meditating the passage of the Rhone, uncertain in what place he might meet him, his soldiers not yet being sufficiently recovered from the tossing of the sea, he sends forward, in the mean time, three hundred chosen horses, with Massilian guides and Gallic auxiliaries, to explore all the country, and observe the enemy from a safe distance. Hannibal, the other states being pacified by fear or bribes, had now come into the territory of the Volcae, a powerful nation. They, indeed, dwell on both sides of the Rhone: but doubting that the Carthaginian could be driven from the hither bank, in order that they might have the river as a defence, having transported almost all their effects across the Rhone, occupied in arms the farther bank of the river. Hannibal, by means of presents, persuades the other inhabitants of the river-side, and some even of the Volcae themselves, whom their homes had detained, to collect from every quarter and build ships; and they at the same time themselves desired that the army should be transported, and their country relieved, as soon as possible, from the vast multitude of men that burthened it. A great number, therefore, of ships and boats rudely formed for the neighbouring passages, were collected together; and the Gauls, first beginning the plan, hollowed out some new ones from single trees; and then the soldiers themselves, at once induced by the plenty of materials and the easiness of the work, hastily formed shapeless hulks, in which they could transport themselves and their baggage, caring about nothing else, provided they could float and contain their burthen.

## 27

And now, when all things were sufficiently prepared for crossing, the enemy over against them occupying the whole bank, horse and foot, deterred them. In order to dislodge them, Hannibal orders Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, at the first watch of the night, to proceed with a part of the forces, principally Spanish, one day's journey up the river; and having crossed it where he might first be able, as secretly as possible, to lead round his forces, that when the occasion required he might attack the enemy in the rear. The Gauls, given him as guides for the purpose, inform him that about twenty-five miles from thence, the river spreading round a small island, broader where it was divided, and therefore with a shallower channel, presented a passage. At this place timber was

quickly cut down and rafts formed, on which men, horses, and other burthens might be conveyed over. The Spaniards, without making any difficulty, having put their clothes in bags of leather, and themselves leaning on their bucklers placed beneath them, swam across the river. And the rest of the army, after passing on the rafts joined together, and pitching their camp near the river, being fatigued by the journey of the night and the labour of the work, are refreshed by the rest of one day, their leader being anxious to execute his design at a proper season. Setting out next day from this place, they signify by raising a smoke that they had crossed, and were not far distant; which when Hannibal understood, that he might not be wanting on the opportunity, he gives the signal for passing. The infantry already had the boats prepared and fitted; a line of ships higher up transporting the horsemen for the most part near their horses swimming beside them, in order to break the force of the current, rendered the water smooth to the boats crossing below. A great part of the horses were led across swimming, held by bridles from the stern, except those which they put on board saddled and bridled, in order that they might be ready to be used by the rider the moment he disembarked on the strand.

## 28

The Gauls run down to the bank to meet them with various whoopings and songs, according to their custom, shaking their shields above their heads, and brandishing their weapons in their right hands, although such a multitude of ships in front of them alarmed them, together with the loud roaring of the river, and the mingled clamours of the sailors and soldiers, both those who were striving to break through the force of the current, and those who from the other bank were encouraging their comrades on their passage. While sufficiently dismayed by this tumult in front, more terrifying shouts from behind assailed them, their camp having been taken by Hanno; presently he himself came up, and a twofold terror encompassed them, both such a multitude of armed men landing from the ships, and this unexpected army pressing on their rear. When the Gauls, having made a prompt and bold effort to force the enemy, were themselves repulsed, they break through where a way seemed most open, and fly in consternation to their villages around. Hannibal, now despising these tumultuary onsets of the Gauls, having transported the rest of his forces at leisure, pitches his camp. I believe that there were various plans for transporting the elephants; at least there are various accounts of the way in which it was done. Some relate, that after the elephants were assembled together on the bank, the fiercest of them being provoked by his keeper, pursued him as he swam across the water, to which he had run for refuge, and drew after him the rest of the herd; the mere force of the stream hurrying them to the other bank, when the bottom had failed each, fearful of the depth. But there is more reason to believe that they were conveyed across on rafts; which plan, as it must have appeared the safer before execution, is after it the more entitled to credit. They extended from the bank into the river one raft two hundred feet long and fifty broad, which, fastened higher up by several strong cables to the bank, that it might not be carried down by the stream they covered, like a bridge, with earth thrown upon it, so that the beasts might tread upon it without fear, as over solid ground. Another raft equally broad and a hundred feet long, fit for crossing the river, was joined to this first; and when the elephants, driven along the stationary raft as along a road had passed, the females leading the way, on to the smaller raft which was joined to it, the lashings, by which it was slightly fastened, being immediately let go, it was drawn by some light boats to the opposite side. The first having been thus landed, the rest were then returned for and carried

across. They gave no signs of alarm whatever while they were driven along as it were on a continuous bridge. The first fear was, when, the raft being loosed from the rest, they were hurried into the deep. Then pressing together, as those at the edges drew back from the water, they produced some disorder, till mere terror, when they saw water all around, produced quiet. Some, indeed, becoming infuriated, fell into the river; but, steadied by their own weight, having thrown off their riders, and seeking step by step the shallows, they escaped to the shore.

## 29

Whilst the elephants were conveyed over, Hannibal, in the mean time, had sent five hundred Numidian horsemen towards the camp of the Romans, to observe where and how numerous their forces were, and what they were designing. The three hundred Roman horsemen sent, as was before said, from the mouth of the Rhone, meet this band of cavalry; and a more furious engagement than could be expected from the number of the combatants takes place. For, besides many wounds, the loss on both sides was also nearly equal: and the flight and dismay of the Numidians gave victory to the Romans, now exceedingly fatigued. There fell of the conquerors one hundred and sixty, not all Romans, but partly Gauls: of the vanquished more than two hundred. This commencement, and at the same time omen of the war, as it portended to the Romans a prosperous issue of the whole, so did it also the success of a doubtful and by no means bloodless contest. When, after the action had thus occurred, his own men returned to each general, Scipio could adopt no fixed plan of proceeding, except that he should form his measures from the plans and undertakings of the enemy: and Hannibal, uncertain whether he should pursue the march he had commenced into Italy, or fight with the Roman army which had first presented itself, the arrival of ambassadors from the Boii, and of a petty prince called Magalus, diverted from an immediate engagement; who, declaring that they would be the guides of his journey and the companions of his dangers, gave it as their opinion, that Italy ought to be attacked with the entire force of the war, his strength having been no where previously impaired. The troops indeed feared the enemy, the remembrance of the former war not being yet obliterated; but much more did they dread the immense journey and the Alps, a thing formidable by report, particularly to the inexperienced.

## 30

Hannibal, therefore, when his own resolution was fixed to proceed in his course and advance on Italy, having summoned an assembly, works upon the minds of the soldiers in various ways, by reproof and exhortation. He said, that "he wondered what sudden fear had seized breasts ever before undismayed: that through so many years they had made their campaigns with conquest; nor had departed from Spain before all the nations and countries which two opposite seas embrace, were subjected to the Carthaginians. That then, indignant that the Romans demanded those, whosoever had besieged Saguntum, to be delivered up to them, as on account of a crime, they had passed the Iberus to blot out the name of the Romans, and to emancipate the world. That then the way seemed long to no one, though they were pursuing it from the setting to the rising of the sun. That now, when they saw by far the greater part of their journey accomplished, the passes of the Pyrenees surmounted, amid the most ferocious nations, the Rhone, that mighty river, crossed, in spite of the opposition of so many thousand Gauls, the fury of the river itself having been overcome, when they had the Alps in sight, the other side of which was Italy, should they halt through weariness at the very gates

of the enemy, imagining the Alps to be--what else than lofty mountains? That supposing them to be higher than the summits of the Pyrenees, assuredly no part of the earth reached the sky, nor was insurmountable by mankind. The Alps in fact were inhabited and cultivated;--produced and supported living beings. Were they passable by a few men and impassable to armies? That those very ambassadors whom they saw before them had not crossed the Alps borne aloft through the air on wings; neither were their ancestors indeed natives of the soil, but settling in Italy from foreign countries, had often as emigrants safely crossed these very Alps in immense bodies, with their wives and children. To the armed soldier, carrying nothing with him but the instruments of war, what in reality was impervious or insurmountable? That Saguntum might be taken, what dangers, what toils were for eight months undergone! Now, when their aim was Rome, the capital of the world, could any thing appear so dangerous or difficult as to delay their undertaking? That the Gauls had formerly gained possession of that very country which the Carthaginian despairs of being able to approach. That they must, therefore, either yield in spirit and valour to that nation which they had so often during those times overcome; or look forward, as the end of their journey, to the plain which spreads between the Tiber and the walls of Rome."

### 31

He orders them, roused by these exhortations, to refresh themselves and prepare for the journey. Next day, proceeding upward along the bank of the Rhone, he makes for the inland part of Gaul: not because it was the more direct route to the Alps, but believing that the farther he retired from the sea, the Romans would be less in his way; with whom, before he arrived in Italy, he had no intention of engaging. After four days' march he came to the Island: there the streams of the Arar and the Rhone, flowing down from different branches of the Alps, after embracing a pretty large tract of country, flow into one. The name of the Island is given to the plains that lie between them. The Allobroges dwell near, a nation even in those days inferior to none in Gaul in power and fame. They were at that time at variance. Two brothers were contending for the sovereignty. The elder, named Brancus, who had before been king, was driven out by his younger brother and a party of the younger men, who, inferior in right, had more of power. When the decision of this quarrel was most opportunely referred to Hannibal, being appointed arbitrator of the kingdom, he restored the sovereignty to the elder, because such had been the opinion of the senate and the chief men. In return for this service, he was assisted with a supply of provisions, and plenty of all necessaries, particularly clothing, which the Alps, notorious for extreme cold, rendered necessary to be prepared. After composing the dissensions of the Allobroges, when he now was proceeding to the Alps, he directed his course thither, not by the straight road, but turned to the left into the country of the Tricastini, thence by the extreme boundary of the territory of the Vocontii he proceeded to the Tricorii; his way not being any where obstructed till he came to the river Druentia. This stream, also arising amid the Alps, is by far the most difficult to pass of all the rivers in Gaul; for though it rolls down an immense body of water, yet it does not admit of ships; because, being restrained by no banks, and flowing in several and not always the same channels, and continually forming new shallows and new whirlpools, (on which account the passage is also uncertain to a person on foot,) and rolling down besides gravelly stones, it affords no firm or safe passage to those who enter it; and having been at that time swollen by showers, it created great disorder among the soldiers as they crossed, when, in addition to other difficulties, they were of themselves confused by their own hurry and uncertain shouts.

**32**

Publius Cornelius the consul, about three days after Hannibal moved from the bank of the Rhone, had come to the camp of the enemy, with his army drawn up in square, intending to make no delay in fighting: but when he saw the fortifications deserted, and that he could not easily come up with them so far in advance before him, he returned to the sea and his fleet, in order more easily and safely to encounter Hannibal when descending from the Alps. But that Spain, the province which he had obtained by lot, might not be destitute of Roman auxiliaries, he sent his brother Cneius Scipio with the principal part of his forces against Hasdrubal, not only to defend the old allies and conciliate new, but also to drive Hasdrubal out of Spain. He himself, with a very small force, returned to Genoa, intending to defend Italy with the army which was around the Po. From the Druentia, by a road that lay principally through plains, Hannibal arrived at the Alps without molestation from the Gauls that inhabit those regions. Then, though the scene had been previously anticipated from report, (by which uncertainties are wont to be exaggerated,) yet the height of the mountains when viewed so near, and the snows almost mingling with the sky, the shapeless huts situated on the cliffs, the cattle and beasts of burden withered by the cold, the men unshorn and wildly dressed, all things, animate and inanimate, stiffened with frost, and other objects more terrible to be seen than described, renewed their alarm. To them, marching up the first acclivities, the mountaineers appeared occupying the heights over head; who, if they had occupied the more concealed valleys, might, by rushing out suddenly to the attack, have occasioned great flight and havoc. Hannibal orders them to halt, and having sent forward Gauls to view the ground, when he found there was no passage that way, he pitches his camp in the widest valley he could find, among places all rugged and precipitous. Then, having learned from the same Gauls, when they had mixed in conversation with the mountaineers, from whom they differed little in language and manners, that the pass was only beset during the day, and that at night each withdrew to his own dwelling, he advanced at the dawn to the heights, as if designing openly and by day to force his way through the defile. The day then being passed in feigning a different attempt from that which was in preparation, when they had fortified the camp in the same place where they had halted, as soon as he perceived that the mountaineers had descended from the heights, and that the guards were withdrawn, having lighted for show a greater number of fires than was proportioned to the number that remained, and having left the baggage in the camp, with the cavalry and the principal part of the infantry, he himself with a party of light-armed, consisting of all the most courageous of his troops, rapidly cleared the defile, and took post on those very heights which the enemy had occupied.

**33**

At dawn of light the next day the camp broke up, and the rest of the army began to move forward. The mountaineers, on a signal being given, were now assembling from their forts to their usual station, when they suddenly behold part of the enemy overhanging them from above, in possession of their former position, and the others passing along the road. Both these objects, presented at the same time to the eye and the mind, made them stand motionless for a little while; but when they afterwards saw the confusion in the pass, and that the marching body was thrown into disorder by the tumult which itself created, principally from the horses being terrified, thinking that whatever terror they added would suffice for the destruction of the enemy, they scramble along the dangerous rocks, as being accustomed alike to pathless and circuitous ways. Then indeed the Carthaginians were opposed at once by the enemy and by the difficulties of

the ground; and each striving to escape first from the danger, there was more fighting among themselves than with their opponents. The horses in particular created danger in the lines, which, being terrified by the discordant clamours which the groves and re-echoing valleys augmented, fell into confusion; and if by chance struck or wounded, they were so dismayed that they occasioned a great loss both of men and baggage of every description: and as the pass on both sides was broken and precipitous, this tumult threw many down to an immense depth, some even of the armed men; but the beasts of burden, with their loads, were rolled down like the fall of some vast fabric. Though these disasters were shocking to view, Hannibal however kept his place for a little, and kept his men together, lest he might augment the tumult and disorder; but afterwards, when he saw the line broken, and that there was danger that he should bring over his army, preserved to no purpose if deprived of their baggage, he hastened down from the higher ground; and though he had routed the enemy by the first onset alone, he at the same time increased the disorder in his own army: but that tumult was composed in a moment, after the roads were cleared by the flight of the mountaineers; and presently the whole army was conducted through, not only without being disturbed, but almost in silence. He then took a fortified place, which was the capital of that district, and the little villages that lay around it, and fed his army for three days with the corn and cattle he had taken; and during these three days, as the soldiers were neither obstructed by the mountaineers, who had been daunted by the first engagement, nor yet much by the ground, he made considerable way.

### 34

He then came to another state, abounding, for a mountainous country, with inhabitants; where he was nearly overcome, not by open war, but by his own arts of treachery and ambuscade. Some old men, governors of forts, came as deputies to the Carthaginian, professing, "that having been warned by the useful example of the calamities of others, they wished rather to experience the friendship than the hostilities of the Carthaginians: they would, therefore, obediently execute his commands, and begged that he would accept of a supply of provisions, guides of his march, and hostages for the sincerity of their promises." Hannibal, when he had answered them in a friendly manner, thinking that they should neither be rashly trusted nor yet rejected, lest if repulsed they might openly become enemies, having received the hostages whom they proffered, and made use of the provisions which they of their own accord brought down to the road, follows their guides, by no means as among a people with whom he was at peace, but with his line of march in close order. The elephants and cavalry formed the van of the marching body; he himself, examining every thing around, and intent on every circumstance, followed with the choicest of the infantry. When they came into a narrower pass, lying on one side beneath an overhanging eminence, the barbarians, rising at once on all sides from their ambush, assail them in front and rear, both at close quarters and from a distance, and roll down huge stones on the army. The most numerous body of men pressed on the rear; against whom the infantry, facing about and directing their attack, made it very obvious, that had not the rear of the army been well supported, a great loss must have been sustained in that pass. Even as it was they came to the extremity of danger, and almost to destruction: for while Hannibal hesitates to lead down his division into the defile, because, though he himself was a protection to the cavalry, he had not in the same way left any aid to the infantry in the rear; the mountaineers, charging obliquely, and on having broken through the middle of the army, took

possession of the road; and one night was spent by Hannibal without his cavalry and baggage.

### 35

Next day, the barbarians running in to the attack between (the two divisions) less vigorously, the forces were re-united, and the defile passed, not without loss, but yet with a greater destruction of beasts of burden than of men. From that time the mountaineers fell upon them in smaller parties, more like an attack of robbers than war, sometimes on the van, sometimes on the rear, according as the ground afforded them advantage, or stragglers advancing or loitering gave them an opportunity. Though the elephants were driven through steep and narrow roads with great loss of time, yet wherever they went they rendered the army safe from the enemy, because men unacquainted with such animals were afraid of approaching too nearly. On the ninth day they came to a summit of the Alps, chiefly through places trackless; and after many mistakes of their way, which were caused either by the treachery of the guides, or, when they were not trusted, by entering valleys at random, on their own conjectures of the route. For two days they remained encamped on the summit; and rest was given to the soldiers, exhausted with toil and fighting: and several beasts of burden, which had fallen down among the rocks, by following the track of the army arrived at the camp. A fall of snow, it being now the season of the setting of the constellation of the Pleiades, caused great fear to the soldiers, already worn out with weariness of so many hardships. On the standards being moved forward at daybreak, when the army proceeded slowly over all places entirely blocked up with snow, and languor and despair strongly appeared in the countenances of all, Hannibal, having advanced before the standards, and ordered the soldiers to halt on a certain eminence, whence there was a prospect far and wide, points out to them Italy and the plains of the Po, extending themselves beneath the Alpine mountains; and said "that they were now surmounting not only the ramparts of Italy, but also of the city of Rome; that the rest of the journey would be smooth and down-hill; that after one, or, at most, a second battle, they would have the citadel and capital of Italy in their power and possession." The army then began to advance, the enemy now making no attempts beyond petty thefts, as opportunity offered. But the journey proved much more difficult than it had been in the ascent, as the declivity of the Alps being generally shorter on the side of Italy is consequently steeper; for nearly all the road was precipitous, narrow, and slippery, so that neither those who made the least stumble could prevent themselves from falling, nor, when fallen, remain in the same place, but rolled, both men and beasts of burden, one upon another.

### 36

They then came to a rock much more narrow, and formed of such perpendicular ledges, that a light-armed soldier, carefully making the attempt, and clinging with his hands to the bushes and roots around, could with difficulty lower himself down. The ground, even before very steep by nature, had been broken by a recent falling away of the earth into a precipice of nearly a thousand feet in depth. Here when the cavalry had halted, as if at the end of their journey, it is announced to Hannibal, wondering what obstructed the march that the rock was impassable. Having then gone himself to view the place, it seemed clear to him that he must lead his army round it, by however great a circuit, through the pathless and untrodden regions around. But this route also proved impracticable; for while the new snow of a moderate depth remained on the old, which had not been removed, their footsteps were planted with ease as they walked upon the

new snow, which was soft and not too deep; but when it was dissolved by the trampling of so many men and beasts of burden, they then walked on the bare ice below, and through the dirty fluid formed by the melting snow. Here there was a wretched struggle, both on account of the slippery ice not affording any hold to the step, and giving way beneath the foot more readily by reason of the slope; and whether they assisted themselves in rising by their hands or their knees, their supports themselves giving way, they would stumble again; nor were there any stumps or roots near; by pressing against which, one might with hand or foot support himself; so that they only floundered on the smooth ice and amid the melted snow. The beasts of burden sometimes also went into this lower ice by merely treading upon it, at others they broke it completely through, by the violence with which they struck in their hoofs in their struggling, so that most of them, as if taken in a trap, stuck in the hardened and deeply frozen ice.

### 37

At length, after the men and beasts of burden had been fatigued to no purpose, the camp was pitched on the summit, the ground being cleared for that purpose with great difficulty, so much snow was there to be dug out and carried away. The soldiers being then set to make a way down the cliff by which alone a passage could be effected, and it being necessary that they should cut through the rocks, having felled and lopped a number of large trees which grew around, they make a huge pile of timber; and as soon as a strong wind fit for exciting the flames arose, they set fire to it, and, pouring vinegar on the heated stones, they render them soft and crumbling. They then open a way with iron instruments through the rock thus heated by the fire, and soften its declivities by gentle windings, so that not only the beasts of burden, but also the elephants could be led down it. Four days were spent about this rock, the beasts nearly perishing through hunger: for the summits of the mountains are for the most part bare, and if there is any pasture the snows bury it. The lower parts contain valleys, and some sunny hills, and rivulets flowing beside woods, and scenes more worthy of the abode of man. There the beasts of burden were sent out to pasture, and rest given for three days to the men, fatigued with forming the passage: they then descended into the plains, the country and the dispositions of the inhabitants being now less rugged.

### 38

In this manner chiefly they came to Italy in the fifth month (as some authors relate) after leaving New Carthage, having crossed the Alps in fifteen days. What number of forces Hannibal had when he had passed into Italy is by no means agreed upon by authors. Those who state them at the highest, make mention of a hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse; those who state them at the lowest, of twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse. Lucius Cincius Alimentus, who relates that he was made prisoner by Hannibal, would influence me most as an authority, did he not confound the number by adding the Gauls and Ligurians. Including these, (who, it is more probable, flocked to him afterwards, and so some authors assert,) he says, that eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse were brought into Italy; and that he had heard from Hannibal himself, that after crossing the Rhone he had lost thirty-six thousand men, and an immense number of horses, and other beasts of burden, among the Taurini, the next nation to the Gauls, as he descended into Italy. As this circumstance is agreed on by all, I am the more surprised that it should be doubtful by what road he crossed the Alps; and that it should commonly be believed that he passed over the Pennine mountain, and

that thence.<sup>189</sup> the name was given to that ridge of the Alps. Coelius says, that he passed over the top of Mount Cremo; both which passes would have brought him, not to the Taurini, but through the Salasian mountaineers to the Libuan Gauls. Neither is it probable that these roads into Gaul were then open, especially once those which, lead to the Pennine mountain would have been unlocked up by nations half German; nor by Hercules (if this argument has weight with any one) do the Veragri, the inhabitants of this ridge, know of the name being given to these mountains from the passage of the Carthaginians, but from the divinity, whom the mountaineers style Penninus, worshipped on the highest summit.

### 39

Very opportunely for the commencement of his operations, a war had broken out with the Taurini, the nearest nation, against the Insubrians; but Hannibal could not put his troops under arms to assist either party, as they very chiefly felt the disorders they had before contracted, in remedying them; for ease after toil, plenty after want, and attention to their persons after dirt and filth, had variously affected their squalid and almost savage-looking bodies. This was the reason that Publius Cornelius, the consul, when he had arrived at Pisa with his fleet, hastened to the Po, though the troops he received from Manlius and Atilius were raw and disheartened by their late disgraces, in order that he might engage the enemy when not yet recruited. But when the consul came to Placentia, Hannibal had already moved from his quarters, and had taken by storm one city of the Taurini, the capital of the nation, because they did not come willingly into his alliance; and he would have gained over to him, not only from fear, but also from inclination, the Gauls who dwell beside the Po, had not the arrival of the consul suddenly checked them while watching for an opportunity of revolt. Hannibal at the same time moved from the Taurini, thinking that the Gauls, uncertain which side to choose, would follow him if present among them. The armies were now almost in sight of each other, and their leaders, though not at present sufficiently acquainted, yet met each other with a certain feeling of mutual admiration. For the name of Hannibal, even before the destruction of Saguntum, was very celebrated among the Romans; and Hannibal believed Scipio to be a superior man, from the very circumstance of his having been specially chosen to act as commander against himself. They had increased too their estimation of each other; Scipio, because, being left behind in Gaul, he had met Hannibal when he had crossed into Italy; Hannibal, by his daring attempt of crossing the Alps and by its accomplishment. Scipio, however, was the first to cross the Po, and having pitched his camp at the river Ticinus, he delivered the following oration for the sake of encouraging his soldiers before he led them out to form for battle:

### 40

"If, soldiers, I were leading out that army to battle which I had with me in Gaul, I should have thought it superfluous to address you; for of what use would it be to exhort either those horsemen who so gloriously vanquished the cavalry of the enemy at the river Rhone, or those legions with whom, pursuing this very enemy flying before us, I obtained in lieu of victory, a confession of superiority, shown by his retreat and refusal to fight? Now because that army, levied for the province of Spain, maintains the war under my auspices.<sup>190</sup> and the command of my brother Cneius Scipio, in the country where the senate and people of Rome wished him to serve, and since I, that you might

<sup>189</sup> from Paenus, Carthaginian.

<sup>190</sup> Because Spain was his proper province as consul.

have a consul for your leader against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, have offered myself voluntarily for this contest, few words are required to be addressed from a new commander to soldiers unacquainted with him. That you may not be ignorant of the nature of the war nor of the enemy, you have to fight, soldiers, with those whom in the former war you conquered both by land and sea; from whom you have exacted tribute for twenty years; from whom you hold Sicily and Sardinia, taken as the prizes of victory. In the present contest, therefore, you and they will have those feelings which are wont to belong to the victors and the vanquished. Nor are they now about to fight because they are daring, but because it is unavoidable; except you can believe that they who declined the engagement when their forces were entire, should have now gained more confidence when two-thirds of their infantry and cavalry have been lost in the passage of the Alps, and when almost greater numbers have perished than survive. Yes, they are few indeed, (some may say,) but they are vigorous in mind and body; men whose strength and power scarce any force may withstand. On the contrary, they are but the resemblances, nay, are rather the shadows of men; being worn out with hunger, cold, dirt, and filth, and bruised and enfeebled among stones and rocks. Besides all this, their joints are frost-bitten, their sinews stiffened with the snow, their limbs withered up by the frost, their armour battered and shivered, their horses lame and powerless. With such cavalry, with such infantry, you have to fight: you will not have enemies in reality, but rather their last remains. And I fear nothing more than that when you have fought Hannibal, the Alps may appear to have conquered him. But perhaps it was fitting that the gods themselves should, without any human aid, commence and carry forward a war with a leader and a people that violate the faith of treaties; and that we, who next to the gods have been injured, should finish the contest thus commenced and nearly completed."

#### 41

"I do not fear lest any one should think that I say this ostentatiously for the sake of encouraging you, while in my own mind I am differently affected. I was at liberty to go with my army into Spain, my own province, whither I had already set out; where I should have had a brother as the bearer of my councils and my dangers, and Hasdrubal, instead of Hannibal, for my antagonist, and without question a less laborious war: nevertheless, as I sailed along the coast of Gaul, having landed on hearing of this enemy, and having sent forward the cavalry, I moved my camp to the Rhone. In a battle of cavalry, with which part of my forces the opportunity of engaging was afforded, I routed the enemy; and because I could not overtake by land his army of infantry, which was rapidly hurried away, as if in flight, having returned to the ships with all the speed I could, after compassing such an extent of sea and land, I have met him at the foot of the Alps. Whether do I appear, while declining the contest, to have fallen in unexpectedly with this dreaded foe, or encounter him in his track? to challenge him and drag him out to decide the contest? I am anxious to try whether the earth has suddenly, in these twenty years, sent forth a new race of Carthaginians, or whether these are the same who fought at the islands Aegates, and whom you permitted to defeat from Eryx, valued at eighteen denarii a head; and whether this Hannibal be, as he himself gives out, the rival of the expeditions of Hercules, or one left by his father the tributary and taxed subject and slave of the Roman people; who, did not his guilt at Saguntum drive him to frenzy, would certainly reflect, if not upon his conquered country, at least on his family, and his father, and the treaties written by the hand of Hamilcar; who, at the command of our consul, withdrew the garrison from Eryx; who, indignant and grieving, submitted to the

harsh conditions imposed on the conquered Carthaginians; who agreed to depart from Sicily, and pay tribute to the Roman people. I would, therefore, have you fight, soldiers, not only with that spirit with which you are wont to encounter other enemies, but with a certain indignation and resentment, as if you saw your slaves suddenly taking up arms against you. We might have killed them when shut up in Eryx by hunger, the most dreadful of human tortures; we might have carried over our victorious fleet to Africa, and in a few days have destroyed Carthage without any opposition. We granted pardon to their prayers; we released them from the blockade; we made peace with them when conquered; and we afterwards considered them under our protection when they were oppressed by the African war. In return for these benefits, they come under the conduct of a furious youth to attack our country. And I wish that the contest on your side was for glory, and not for safety: it is not about the possession of Sicily and Sardinia, concerning which the dispute was formerly, but for Italy, that you must fight: nor is there another army behind, which, if we should not conquer, can resist the enemy; nor are there other Alps, during the passage of which fresh forces may be procured: here, soldiers, we must make our stand, as if we fought before the walls of Rome. Let every one consider that he defends with his arms not only his own person, but his wife and young children: nor let him only entertain domestic cares and anxieties, but at the same time let him revolve in his mind, that the senate and people of Rome now anxiously regard our efforts; and that according as our strength and valour shall be, such henceforward will be the fortune of that city and of the Roman empire."

#### 42

Thus the consul addressed the Romans. Hannibal, thinking that his soldiers ought to be roused by deeds rather than by words, having drawn his army around for the spectacle, placed in their midst the captive mountaineers in fetters; and after Gallic arms had been thrown at their feet, he ordered the interpreter to ask, "whether any among them, on condition of being released from chains, and receiving, if victorious, armour and a horse, was willing to combat with the sword?" When they all, to a man, demanded the combat and the sword, and lots were cast into the urn for that purpose, each wished himself the person whom fortune might select for the contest. As the lot of each man came out, eager and exulting with joy amidst the congratulations of his comrades, and dancing after the national custom, he hastily snatched up the arms: but when they fought, such was the state of feeling, not only among their companions in the same circumstances, but among the spectators in general, that the fortune of those who conquered was not praised more than that of those who died bravely.

#### 43

When he had dismissed the soldiers, thus affected after viewing several pairs of combatants, having then summoned an assembly, he is said to have addressed them in these terms: "If, soldiers, you shall by and by, in judging of your own fortune, preserve the same feelings which you experienced a little before in the example of the fate of others, we have already conquered; for neither was that merely a spectacle, but as it were a certain representation of your condition. And I know not whether fortune has not thrown around you still stronger chains and more urgent necessities than around your captives. On the right and left two seas enclose you, without your possessing a single ship even for escape. The river Po around you, the Po larger and more impetuous than the Rhone, the Alps behind, scarcely passed by you when fresh and vigorous, hem you in. Here, soldiers, where you have first met the enemy, you must conquer or die;

and the same fortune which has imposed the necessity of fighting, holds out to you, if victorious, rewards, than which men are not wont to desire greater, even from the immortal gods. If we were only about to recover by our valour Sicily and Sardinia, wrested from our fathers, the recompence would be sufficiently ample; but whatever, acquired and amassed by so many triumphs, the Romans possess, all, with its masters themselves, will become yours. To gain this rich reward, hasten, then, and seize your arms with the favour of the gods. Long enough in pursuing cattle among the desert mountains of Lusitania<sup>191</sup> and Celtiberia, you have seen no emolument from so many toils and dangers: it is time to make rich and profitable campaigns, and to gain the great reward of your labours, after having accomplished such a length of journey over so many mountains and rivers, and so many nations in arms. Here fortune has granted you the termination of your labours; here she will bestow a reward worthy of the service you have undergone. Nor, in proportion as the war is great in name, ought you to consider that the victory will be difficult. A despised enemy has often maintained a sanguinary contest, and renowned states and kings been conquered by a very slight effort. For, setting aside only the splendour of the Roman name, what remains in which they can be compared to you? To pass over in silence your service for twenty years, distinguished by such valour and success you have made your way to this place from the pillars of Hercules, from the ocean, and the remotest limits of the world advancing victorious through so many of the fiercest nations of Gaul and Spain: you will fight with a raw army, which this very summer was beaten, conquered, and surrounded by the Gauls, as yet unknown to its general, and ignorant of him. Shall I compare myself, almost born, and certainly bred in the tent of my father, that most illustrious commander, myself the subjugator of Spain and Gaul, the conqueror too not only of the Alpine nations, but what is much more, of the Alps themselves, with this six months' general, the deserter of his army? To whom, if any one, having taken away their standards, should show to-day the Carthaginians and Romans, I am sure that he would not know of which army he was consul. I do not regard it, soldiers, as of small account, that there is not a man among you before whose eyes I have not often achieved some military exploit; and to whom, in like manner, I the spectator and witness of his valour, could not recount his own gallant deeds, particularized by time and place. With soldiers who have a thousand times received my praises and gifts, I, who was the pupil of you all before I became your commander, will march out in battle-array against those who are unknown to and ignorant of each other."

#### 44

"On whatever side I turn my eyes I see nothing but what is full of courage and energy; a veteran infantry; cavalry, both those with and those without the bridle, composed of the most gallant nations, you our most faithful and valiant allies, you Carthaginians, who are about to fight as well for the sake of your country as from the justest resentment. We are the assailants in the war, and descend into Italy with hostile standards, about to engage so much more boldly and bravely than the foe, as the confidence and courage of the assailant are greater than those of him who is defensive. Besides suffering, injury and indignity inflame and excite our minds: they first demanded me your leader for punishment, and then all of you who had laid siege to Saguntum; and had we been given up they would have visited us with the severest tortures. That most cruel and haughty nation considers every thing its own, and at its own disposal; it thinks it right that it should regulate with whom we are to have war, with whom peace: it circumscribes and

<sup>191</sup> The ancient name of Portugal.

shuts us up by the boundaries of mountains and rivers, which we must not pass; and then does not adhere to those boundaries which it appointed. Pass not the Iberus; have nothing to do with the Saguntines. Saguntum is on the Iberus; you must not move a step in any direction. Is it a small thing that you take away my most ancient provinces Sicily and Sardinia? will you take Spain also? and should I withdraw thence, you will cross over into Africa--will cross, did I say? they have sent the two consuls of this year one to Africa, the other to Spain: there is nothing left to us in any quarter, except what we can assert to ourselves by arms. Those may be cowards and dastards who have something to look back upon; whom, flying through safe and unmolested roads, their own lands and their own country will receive: there is a necessity for you to be brave; and since all between victory and death is broken off from you by inevitable despair, either to conquer, or, if fortune should waver, to meet death rather in battle than flight. If this be well fixed and determined in the minds of you all, I will repeat, you have already conquered: no stronger incentive to victory has been given to man by the immortal gods."

#### 45

When the minds of the soldiers on both sides had been animated to the contest by these exhortations, the Romans throw a bridge over the Ticinus, and, for the sake of defending the bridge, erect a fort on it. The Carthaginian, while the Romans were engaged in this work, sends Maharbal with a squadron of five hundred Numidian horse, to lay waste the territories of the allies of the Roman people. He orders that the Gauls should be spared as much as possible, and the minds of their chiefs be instigated to a revolt. When the bridge was finished, the Roman army being led across into the territory of the Insubrians, took up its station five miles from Victumviae. At this place Hannibal lay encamped; and having quickly recalled Maharbal and the cavalry, when he perceived that a battle was approaching, thinking that in exhorting the soldiers enough could never be spoken or addressed by way of admonition, he announces to them, when summoned to an assembly, stated rewards, in expectation of which they might fight. He promised, "that he would give them land in Italy, Africa, Spain, where each man might choose, exempt from all burdens to the person who received it, and to his children: if any one preferred money to land, he would satisfy him in silver; if any of the allies wished to become citizens of Carthage, he would grant them permission; if others chose rather to return home, he would lend his endeavours that they should not wish the situation of any one of their countrymen exchanged for their own." To the slaves also who followed their masters he promised freedom, and that he would give two slaves in place of each of them to their masters. And that they might know that these promises were certain, holding in his left hand a lamb, and in his right a flint, having prayed to Jupiter and the other gods, that, if he was false to his word, they would thus slay him as he slew the lamb; after the prayer he broke the skull of the sheep with the stone. Then in truth all, receiving as it were the gods as sureties, each for the fulfilment of his own hopes, and thinking that the only delay in obtaining the object of their wishes arose from their not yet being engaged, with one mind and one voice demanded the battle.

#### 46

By no means so great an alacrity prevailed among the Romans, who, in addition to other causes, were also alarmed by recent prodigies; for both a wolf had entered the camp, and having torn those who met him, had escaped unhurt; and a swarm of bees had settled on a tree overhanging the general's tent. After these prodigies were expiated,

Scipio having set out with his cavalry and light-armed spearmen towards the camp of the enemy, to observe from a near point their forces, how numerous, and of what description they were, falls in with Hannibal, who had himself also advanced with his cavalry to explore the circumjacent country: neither at first perceived the other, but the dust arising from the trampling of so many men and horses soon gave the signal of approaching enemies. Both armies halted, and were preparing themselves for battle. Scipio places his spearmen and Gallic cavalry in front; the Romans and what force of allies he had with him, in reserve. Hannibal receives the horsemen who rode with the rein in the centre, and strengthens his wings with Numidians. When the shout was scarcely raised, the spearmen fled among the reserve to the second line: there was then a contest of the cavalry, for some time doubtful; but afterwards, on account of the foot soldiers, who were intermingled, causing confusion among the horses, many of the riders falling off from their horses, or leaping down where they saw their friends surrounded and hard pressed, the battle for the most part came to be fought on foot; until the Numidians, who were in the wings, having made a small circuit, showed themselves on the rear. That alarm dismayed the Romans, and the wound of the consul, and the danger to his life, warded off by the interposition of his son, then just arriving at the age of puberty, augmented their fears. This youth will be found to be the same to whom the glory of finishing this war belongs, and to whom the name of Africanus was given, on account of his splendid victory over Hannibal and the Carthaginians. The flight, however, of the spearmen, whom the Numidians attacked first, was the most disorderly. The rest of the cavalry, in a close body, protecting, not only with their arms, but also with their bodies, the consul, whom they had received into the midst of them, brought him back to the camp without any where giving way in disorder or precipitation. Coelius attributes the honour of saving the consul to a slave, by nation a Ligurian. I indeed should rather wish that the account about the son was true, which also most authors have transmitted, and the report of which has generally obtained credit.

#### 47

This was the first battle with Hannibal; from which it clearly appeared that the Carthaginian was superior in cavalry; and on that account, that open plains, such as lie between the Po and the Alps, were not suited to the Romans for carrying on the war. On the following night, therefore, the soldiers being ordered to prepare their baggage in silence, the camp broke up from the Ticinus, and they hastened to the Po, in order that the rafts by which the consul had formed a bridge over the river, being not yet loosened, he might lead his forces across without disturbance or pursuit of the enemy. They arrived at Placentia before Hannibal had ascertained that they had set out from the Ticinus. He took, however, six hundred of those who loitered on the farther bank, who were slowly unfastening the raft; but he was not able to pass the bridge, as the whole raft floated down the stream as soon as the ends were unfastened. Coelius relates that Mago, with the cavalry and Spanish infantry, immediately swam the river; and that Hannibal himself led the army across by fords higher up the Po, the elephants being opposed to the stream in a line to break the force of the current. These accounts can scarcely gain credit with those who are acquainted with that river; for it is neither probable that the cavalry could bear up against the great violence of the stream, without losing their arms or horses, even supposing that inflated bags of leather had transported all the Spaniards; and the fords of the Po, by which an army encumbered with baggage could pass, must have been sought by a circuit of many days' march. Those authors are

more credited by me, who relate that in the course of two days a place was with difficulty found fit for forming a bridge of rafts across the river, and that by this way the light-armed Spanish cavalry was sent forward with Mago. Whilst Hannibal, delaying beside the river to give audience to the embassies of the Gauls, conveys over the heavy-armed forces of infantry, in the mean time Mago and the cavalry proceed towards the enemy at Placentia one day's journey after crossing the river. Hannibal, a few days after, fortified his camp six miles from Placentia, and on the following day, having drawn up his line of battle in sight of the enemy, gave them an opportunity of fighting.

#### 48

On the following night a slaughter was made in the Roman camp by the auxiliary Gauls, which appeared greater from the tumult than it proved in reality. Two thousand infantry and two hundred horse, having killed the guards at the gates, desert to Hannibal; whom the Carthaginians having addressed kindly, and excited by the hope of great rewards, sent each to several states to gain over the minds of their countrymen. Scipio, thinking that that slaughter was a signal for the revolt of all the Gauls, and that, contaminated with the guilt of that affair, they would rush to arms as if a frenzy had been sent among them, though he was still suffering severely from his wound, yet setting out for the river Trebia at the fourth watch of the following night with his army in silence, he removes his camp to higher ground and hills more embarrassing to the cavalry. He escaped observation less than at the Ticinus: and Hannibal, having despatched first the Numidians and then all the cavalry, would have thrown the rear at least into great confusion, had not the Numidians, through anxiety for booty, turned aside into the deserted Roman camp. There whilst, closely examining every part of the camp, they waste time, with no sufficient reward for the delay, the enemy escaped out of their hands; and when they saw the Romans already across the Trebia, and measuring out their camp, they kill a few of the loiterers intercepted on that side of the river. Scipio being unable to endure any longer the irritation of his wound, caused by the roughness of the road, and thinking that he ought to wait for his colleague, (for he had now heard that he was recalled from Sicily,) fortified a space of chosen ground, which, adjoining the river, seemed safest for a stationary camp. When Hannibal had encamped not far from thence, being as much elated with the victory of his cavalry, as anxious on account of the scarcity which every day assailed him more severely, marching as he did through the territory of the enemy, and supplies being no where provided, he sends to the village of Clastidium, where the Romans had collected a great stock of corn. There, whilst they were preparing for an assault, a hope of the town being betrayed to them was held out: Dasius, a Brundusian, the governor of the garrison, having been corrupted for four hundred pieces of gold, (no great bribe truly,) Clastidium is surrendered to Hannibal. It served as a granary for the Carthaginians while they lay at the Trebia. No cruelty was used towards the prisoners of the surrendered garrison, in order that a character for clemency might be acquired at the commencement of his proceedings.

#### 49

While the war by land was at a stand beside the Trebia, in the mean time operations went on by land and sea around Sicily and the islands adjacent to Italy, both under Sempronius the consul, and before his arrival. Twenty quinqueremes, with a thousand armed men, having been sent by the Carthaginians to lay waste the coast of Italy, nine reached the Liparae, eight the island of Vulcan, and three the tide drove into the strait. On these being seen from Messina, twelve ships sent out by Hiero king of Syracuse, who

then happened to be at Messana, waiting for the Roman consul, brought back into the port of Messana the ships taken without any resistance. It was discovered from the prisoners that, besides the twenty ships, to which fleet they belonged, and which had been despatched against Italy, thirty-five other quinqueremes were directing their course to Sicily, in order to gain over their ancient allies: that their main object was to gain possession of Lilybaeum, and they believed that that fleet had been driven to the islands Aegates by the same storm by which they themselves had been dispersed. The king writes these tidings, according as they had been received, to Marcus Aemilius the praetor, whose province Sicily was, and advises him to occupy Lilybaeum with a strong garrison. Immediately the lieutenants, generals, and tribunes, with the praetor, were despatched to the different states, in order that they might keep their men on vigilant guard; above all things it was commanded, that Lilybaeum should be secured: an edict having been put forth that, in addition to such warlike preparations, the crews should carry down to their ships dressed provisions for ten days, so that no one when the signal was given might delay in embarking; and that those who were stationed along the whole coast should look out from their watch-towers for the approaching fleet of the enemy. The Carthaginians, therefore, though they had purposely slackened the course of their ships, so that they might reach Lilybaeum just before daybreak, were descried before their arrival, because both the moon shone all night, and they came with their sails set up. Immediately the signal was given from the watch-towers, and the summons to arms was shouted through the town, and they embarked in the ships: part of the soldiers were left on the walls and at the stations of the gates, and part went on board the fleet. The Carthaginians, because they perceived that they would not have to do with an unprepared enemy, kept back from the harbour till daylight, that interval being spent in taking down their rigging and getting ready the fleet for action. When the light appeared, they withdrew their fleet into the open sea, that there might be room for the battle, and that the ships of the enemy might have a free egress from the harbour. Nor did the Romans decline the conflict, being emboldened both by the recollection of the exploits they had performed near that very spot, and by the numbers and valour of their soldiers.

## 50

When they had advanced into the open sea, the Romans wished to come to close fight, and to make a trial of strength hand to hand. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, eluded them, and sought to maintain the fight by art, not by force, and to make it a battle of ships rather than of men and arms: for though they had their fleet abundantly supplied with mariners, yet it was deficient in soldiers; and when a ship was grappled, a very unequal number of armed men fought on board of it. When this was observed, their numbers increased the courage of the Romans, and their inferiority of force diminished that of the others. Seven Carthaginian ships were immediately surrounded; the rest took to flight: one thousand seven hundred soldiers and mariners were captured in the ships, and among them were three noble Carthaginians. The Roman fleet returned without loss to the harbour, only one ship being pierced, and even that also brought back into port. After this engagement, before those at Messana were aware of its occurrence, Titus Sempronius the consul arrived at Messana. As he entered the strait, king Hiero led out a fleet fully equipped to meet him; and having passed from the royal ship into that of the general, he congratulated him on having arrived safe with his army and fleet, and prayed that his expedition to Sicily might be prosperous and successful. He then laid before him the state of the island and the designs of the Carthaginians, and promised

that with the same spirit with which he had in his youth assisted the Romans during the former war, he would now assist them in his old age; that he would gratuitously furnish supplies of corn and clothing to the legions and naval crews of the consul; adding, that great danger threatened Lilybaeum and the maritime states, and that a change of affairs would be acceptable to some of them. For these reasons it appeared to the consul that he ought to make no delay, but to repair to Lilybaeum with his fleet. The king and the royal squadron set out along with him, and on their passage they heard that a battle had been fought at Lilybaeum, and that the enemy's ships had been scattered and taken.

## 51

The consul having dismissed Hiero with the royal fleet, and left the praetor to defend the coast of Sicily, passed over himself from Lilybaeum to the island Melita, which was held in possession by the Carthaginians. On his arrival, Hamilcar, the son of Gisgo, the commander of the garrison, with little less than two thousand soldiers, together with the town and the island, are delivered up to him: thence, after a few days, he returned to Lilybaeum, and the prisoners taken, both by the consul and the praetor, excepting those illustrious for their rank, were publicly sold. When the consul considered that Sicily was sufficiently safe on that side, he crossed over to the islands of Vulcan, because there was a report that the Carthaginian fleet was stationed there: but not one of the enemy was discovered about those islands. They had already, as it happened, passed over to ravage the coast of Italy, and having laid waste the territory of Vibo, were also threatening the city. The descent made by the enemy on the Vibonensian territory is announced to the consul as he was returning to Sicily: and letters were delivered to him which had been sent by the senate, about the passage of Hannibal into Italy, commanding him as soon as possible to bring assistance to his colleague. Perplexed with having so many anxieties at once, he immediately sent his army, embarked in the fleet, by the upper sea to Ariminum; he assigned the defence of the territory of Vibo, and the sea-coast of Italy, to Sextus Pomponius, his lieutenant-general, with twenty-five ships of war: he made up a fleet of fifty ships for Marcus Aemilius the praetor; and he himself, after the affairs of Sicily were settled, sailing close along the coast of Italy with ten ships, arrived at Ariminum, whence, setting out with his army for the river Trebia, he joined his colleague.

## 52

Both the consuls and all the strength of Rome being now opposed to Hannibal, made it sufficiently obvious that the Roman empire could either be defended by those forces, or that there was no other hope left. Yet the one consul being dispirited by the battle of the cavalry and his own wound, wished operations to be deferred: the other having his spirits unsubdued, and being therefore the more impetuous, admitted no delay. The tract of country between the Trebia and the Po was then inhabited by the Gauls, who, in this contest of two very powerful states, by a doubtful neutrality, were evidently looking forward to the favour of the conqueror. The Romans submitted to this conduct of the Gauls with tolerable satisfaction, provided they did not take any active part at all; but the Carthaginian bore it with great discontent, giving out that he had come invited by the Gauls to set them at liberty. On account of that resentment, and in order that he might at the same time maintain his troops from the plunder, he ordered two thousand foot and a thousand horse, chiefly Numidians, with some Gauls intermixed, to lay waste all the country straightforward as far as the banks of the Po. The Gauls, being in want of assistance, though they had up to this time kept their inclinations doubtful, are forced

by the authors of the injury to turn to some who would be their supporters; and having sent ambassadors to the consul, they implore the aid of the Romans in behalf of a country which was suffering for the too great fidelity of its inhabitants to the Romans. Neither the cause nor the time of pleading it was satisfactory to Cornelius; and the nation was suspected by him, both on account of many treacherous actions, and though others might have been forgotten through length of time, on account of the recent perfidy of the Boii. Sempronius, on the contrary, thought that it would be the strongest tie upon the fidelity of the allies, if those were defended who first required support. Then, while his colleague hesitated, he sends his own cavalry, with about a thousand spearmen on foot in their company, to protect the Gallic territory beyond the Trebia. These, when they had unexpectedly attacked the enemy while scattered and disordered, and for the most part encumbered with booty, caused great terror, slaughter, and flight, even as far as the camp and outposts of the enemy; whence being repulsed by the numbers that poured out, they again renewed the fight with the assistance of their own party. Then pursuing and retreating in doubtful battle, though they left it at last equal, yet the fame of the victory was more with the Romans than the enemy.

### 53

But to no one did it appear more important and just than to the consul himself. He was transported with joy "that he had conquered with that part of the forces with which the other consul had been defeated; that the spirits of the soldiers were restored and revived; that there was no one, except his colleague, who would wish an engagement delayed; and that he, suffering more from disease of mind than body, shuddered, through recollection of his wound, at arms and battle. But others ought not to sink into decrepitude together with a sick man. For why should there be any longer protraction or waste of time? What third consul, what other army did they wait for? The camp of the Carthaginians was in Italy, and almost in sight of the city. It was not Sicily and Sardinia, which had been taken from them when vanquished, nor Spain on this side of the Iberus, that was their object, but that the Romans should be driven from the land of their fathers, and the soil in which they were born. How deeply," he continued, "would our fathers groan, who were wont to wage war around the walls of Carthage, if they should see us their offspring, two consuls and two consular armies, trembling within our camps in the heart of Italy, while a Carthaginian had made himself master of all the country between the Alps and the Apennine!" Such discourses did he hold while sitting beside his sick colleague, and also at the head-quarters, almost in the manner of an harangue. The approaching period of the elections also stimulated him, lest the war should be protracted till the new consuls were chosen, and the opportunity of turning all the glory to himself, while his colleague lay sick. He orders the soldiers, therefore, Cornelius in vain attempting to dissuade him, to get ready for an immediate engagement. Hannibal, as he saw what conduct would be best for the enemy, had scarce at first any hope that the consuls would do any thing rashly or imprudently, but when he discovered that the disposition of the one, first known from report, and afterwards from experience, was ardent and impetuous, and believed that it had been rendered still more impetuous by the successful engagement with his predatory troops, he did not doubt that an opportunity of action was near at hand. He was anxious and watchful not to omit this opportunity, while the troops of the enemy were raw, while his wound rendered the better of the two commanders useless, and while the spirits of the Gauls were fresh; of whom he knew that a great number would follow him with the greater reluctance the farther they were drawn away from home. When, for these and similar reasons, he

hoped that an engagement was near and desired to make the attack himself, if there should be any delay; and when the Gauls, who were the safer spies to ascertain what he wished, as they served in both camps, had brought intelligence that the Romans were prepared for battle, the Carthaginian began to look about for a place for an ambuscade.

#### 54

Between the armies was a rivulet, bordered on each side with very high banks, and covered around with marshy plants, and with the brushwood and brambles with which uncultivated places are generally overspread; and when, riding around it, he had, with his own eyes, thoroughly reconnoitred a place which was sufficient to afford a covert even for cavalry, he said to Mago his brother: "This will be the place which you must occupy. Choose out of all the infantry and cavalry a hundred men of each, with whom come to me at the first watch. Now is the time to refresh their bodies." The council was thus dismissed, and in a little time Mago came forward with his chosen men. "I see," said Hannibal, "the strength of the men; but that you may be strong not only in resolution, but also in number, pick out each from the troops and companies nine men like yourselves: Mago will show you the place where you are to lie in ambush. You will have an enemy who is blind to these arts of war." A thousand horse and a thousand foot, under the command of Mago, having been thus sent off, Hannibal orders the Numidian cavalry to ride up, after crossing the river Trebia by break of day, to the gates of the enemy, and to draw them out to a battle by discharging their javelins at the guards; and then, when the fight was commenced, by retiring slowly to decoy them across the river. These instructions were given to the Numidians: to the other leaders of the infantry and cavalry it was commanded that they should order all their men to dine; and then, under arms and with their horses equipped, to await the signal. Sempronius, eager for the contest, led out, on the first tumult raised by the Numidians, all the cavalry, being full of confidence in that part of the forces; then six thousand infantry, and lastly all his army, to the place already determined in his plan. It happened to be the winter season and a snowy day, in the region which lies between the Alps and the Apennine, and excessively cold by the proximity of rivers and marshes: besides, there was no heat in the bodies of the men and horses thus hastily led out without having first taken food, or employed any means to keep off the cold; and the nearer they approached to the blasts from the river, a keener degree of cold blew upon them. But when, in pursuit of the flying Numidians, they entered the water, (and it was swollen by rain in the night as high as their breasts,) then in truth the bodies of all, on landing, were so benumbed, that they were scarcely able to hold their arms; and as the day advanced they began to grow faint, both from fatigue and hunger.

#### 55

In the mean time the soldiers of Hannibal, fires having been kindled before the tents, and oil sent through the companies to soften their limbs, and their food having been taken at leisure, as soon as it was announced that the enemy had passed the river, seized their arms with vigour of mind and body, and advanced to the battle. Hannibal placed before the standards the Baliaries and the light-armed troops, to the amount of nearly eight thousand men; then the heavier-armed infantry, the chief of his power and strength: on the wings he posted ten thousand horse, and on their extremities stationed the elephants divided into two parts. The consul placed on the flanks of his infantry the cavalry, recalled by the signal for retreat, as in their irregular pursuit of the enemy they were checked, while unprepared, by the Numidians suddenly turning upon them. There

were of infantry eighteen thousand Romans, twenty thousand allies of the Latin name, besides the auxiliary forces of the Cenomani, the only Gallic nation that had remained faithful: with these forces they engaged the enemy. The battle was commenced by the Baliares; whom when the legions resisted with superior force, the light-armed troops were hastily drawn off to the wings; which movement caused the Roman cavalry to be immediately overpowered: for when their four thousand already with difficulty withstood by themselves ten thousand of the enemy, the wearied, against men for the most part fresh, they were overwhelmed in addition by a cloud as it were of javelins, discharged by the Baliares; and the elephants besides, which held a prominent position at the extremities of the wings, (the horses being greatly terrified not only at their appearance, but their unusual smell,) occasioned flight to a wide extent. The battle between the infantry was equal rather in courage than strength; for the Carthaginian brought the latter entire to the action, having a little before refreshed themselves, while, on the contrary, the bodies of the Romans, suffering from fasting and fatigue, and stiff with cold, were quite benumbed. They would have made a stand, however, by dint of courage, if they had only had to fight with the infantry. But both the Baliares, having beaten off the cavalry, poured darts on their flanks, and the elephants had already penetrated to the centre of the line of the infantry; while Mago and the Numidians, as soon as the army had passed their place of ambush without observing them, starting up on their rear, occasioned great disorder and alarm. Nevertheless, amid so many surrounding dangers, the line for some time remained unbroken, and, most contrary to the expectation of all, against the elephants. These the light infantry, posted for the purpose, turned back by throwing their spears; and following them up when turned, pierced them under the tail, where they received the wounds in the softest skin.

## 56

Hannibal ordered the elephants, thus thrown into disorder, and almost driven by their terror against their own party, to be led away from the centre of the line to its extremity against the auxiliary Gauls on the left wing. In an instant they occasioned unequivocal flight; and a new alarm was added to the Romans when they saw their auxiliaries routed. About ten thousand men, therefore, as they now were fighting in a circle, the others being unable to escape, broke through the middle of the line of the Africans, which was supported by the Gallic auxiliaries, with immense slaughter of the enemy: and since they neither could return to the camp, being shut out by the river, nor, on account of the heavy rain, satisfactorily determine in what part they should assist their friends, they proceeded by the direct road to Placentia. After this several irruptions were made in all directions; and those who sought the river were either swallowed up in its eddies, or whilst they hesitated to enter it were cut off by the enemy. Some, who had been scattered abroad through the country in their flight, by following the traces of the retreating army, arrived at Placentia; others, the fear of the enemy inspired with boldness to enter the river, having crossed it, reached the camp. The rain mixed with snow, and the intolerable severity of the cold, destroyed many men and beasts of burden, and almost all the elephants. The river Trebia was the termination of the Carthaginians' pursuit of the enemy; and they returned to the camp so benumbed with cold, that they could scarcely feel joy for the victory. On the following night, therefore, though the guard of the camp and the principal part of the soldiers that remained passed the Trebia on rafts, they either did not perceive it, on account of the beating of the rain, or being unable to bestir themselves, through their fatigue and wounds, pretended that they did not perceive it; and the Carthaginians remaining quiet, the army

was silently led by the consul Scipio to Placentia, thence transported across the Po to Cremona, lest one colony should be too much burdened by the winter quarters of two armies.

## 57

Such terror on account of this disaster was carried to Rome, that they believed that the enemy was already approaching the city with hostile standards, and that they had neither hope nor aid by which they might repel his attack from the gates and walls. One consul having been defeated at the Ticinus, the other having been recalled from Sicily, and now both consuls and their two consular armies having been vanquished, what other commanders, what other legions were there to be sent for? The consul Sempronius came to them whilst thus dismayed, having passed at great risk through the cavalry of the enemy, scattered in every direction in search of plunder, with courage, rather than with any plan or hope of escaping, or of making resistance if he should not escape it. Having held the assembly for the election of the consuls, the only thing which was particularly wanting at present, he returned to the winter quarters. Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius were elected consuls. But not even the winter quarters of the Romans were undisturbed, the Numidian horse ranging at large, and where the ground was impracticable for these, the Celtiberians and Lusitanians. All supplies, therefore, from every quarter, were cut off, except such as the ships conveyed by the Po. There was a magazine near Placentia, both fortified with great care and secured by a strong garrison. In the hope of taking this fort, Hannibal having set out with the cavalry and the light-armed horse, and having attacked it by night, as he rested his main hope of effecting his enterprise on keeping it concealed, did not escape the notice of the guards. Such a clamour was immediately raised, that it was heard even at Placentia. The consul; therefore, came up with the cavalry about daybreak, having commanded the legions to follow in a square band. In the mean time an engagement of cavalry commenced, in which the enemy being dismayed because Hannibal retired wounded from the fight, the fortress was admirably defended. After this, having taken rest for a few days, and before his wound was hardly as yet sufficiently healed, he sets out to lay siege to Victumviae. This magazine had been fortified by the Romans in the Gallic war; afterwards a mixture of inhabitants from the neighbouring states around had made the place populous; and at this time the terror created by the devastation of the enemy had driven together to it numbers from the country. A multitude of this description, excited by the report of the brave defence of the fortress near Placentia, having snatched up their arms, went out to meet Hannibal. They engaged on the road rather like armies in order of march than in line of battle; and since on the one side there was nothing but a disorderly crowd, and on the other a general confidence in his soldiers, and soldiers in their general, as many as thirty-five thousand men were routed by a few. On the following day, a surrender having been made, they received a garrison within their walls; and being ordered to deliver up their arms, as soon as they had obeyed the command, a signal is suddenly given to the victors to pillage the city, as if it had been taken by storm; nor was any outrage, which in such cases is wont to appear to writers worthy of relation, left unperpetrated; such a specimen of every kind of lust, barbarity, and inhuman insolence was exhibited towards that unhappy people. Such were the expeditions of Hannibal during the winter.

## 58

For a short time after, while the cold continued intolerable, rest was given to the soldiers; and having set out from his winter quarters on the first and uncertain indications of spring, he leads them into Etruria, intending to gain that nation to his side, like the Gauls and Ligurians, either by force or favour. As he was crossing the Apennines, so furious a storm attacked him, that it almost surpassed the horrors of the Alps. When the rain and wind together were driven directly against their faces, they at first halted, because their arms must either be cast away, or striving to advance against the storm they were whirled round by the hurricane, and dashed to the ground: afterwards, when it now stopped their breath, nor suffered them to respire, they sat down for a little, with their backs to the wind. Then indeed the sky resounded with loud thunder, and the lightnings flashed between its terrific peals; all, bereft of sight and hearing, stood torpid with fear. At length, when the rain had spent itself, and the fury of the wind was on that account the more increased, it seemed necessary to pitch the camp in that very place where they had been overtaken by the storm. But this was the beginning of their labours, as it were, afresh; for neither could they spread out nor fix any tent, nor did that which perchance had been put up remain, the wind tearing through and sweeping every thing away: and soon after, when the water raised aloft by the wind had been frozen above the cold summits of the mountains, it poured down such a torrent of snowy hail, that the men, casting away every thing, fell down upon their faces, rather buried under than sheltered by their coverings; and so extreme an intensity of cold succeeded, that when each wished to raise and lift himself from that wretched heap of men and beasts of burden, he was for a long time unable, because their sinews being stiffened by the cold, they had great difficulty in bending their joints. Afterwards, when, by continually moving themselves to and fro, they succeeded in recovering the power of motion, and regained their spirits, and fires began to be kindled in a few places, every helpless man had recourse to the aid of others. They remained as if blockaded for two days in that place. Many men and beasts of burden, and also seven elephants, of those which had remained from the battle fought at the Trebia, were destroyed.

## 59

Having descended from the Apennines, he moved his camp back towards Placentia, and having proceeded as far as ten miles, took up his station. On the following day he leads out twelve thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry against the enemy. Nor did Sempronius the consul (for he had now returned from Rome) decline the engagement; and during that day three miles intervened between the two camps. On the following day they fought with amazing courage and various success. At the first onset the Roman power was so superior, that they not only conquered the enemy in the regular battle, but pursued them when driven back quite into their camp, and soon after also assaulted it. Hannibal, having stationed a few to defend the rampart and the gates, and having admitted the rest in close array into the middle of the camp orders them to watch attentively the signal for sallying out. It was now about the ninth hour of the day when the Roman, having fatigued his soldiers to no purpose, after there was no hope of gaining possession of the camp, gave the signal for retreat; which when Hannibal heard, and saw that the attack was slackened, and that they were retreating from the camp, instantly having sent out the cavalry on the right and left against the enemy, he himself in the middle with the main force of the infantry rushed out from the camp. Seldom has there been a combat more furious, and few would have been more remarkable for the loss on both sides, if the day had suffered it to continue for a longer time. Night broke off

the battle when raging most from the determined spirit of the combatants. The conflict therefore was more severe than the slaughter: and as it was pretty much a drawn battle, they separated with equal loss. On neither side fell more than six hundred infantry, and half that number of cavalry. But the loss of the Romans was more severe than proportionate to the number that fell, because several of equestrian rank, and five tribunes of the soldiers, and three prefects of the allies were slain. After this battle Hannibal retired to the territory of the Ligurians, and Sempronius to Luca. Two Roman quaestors, Caius Fulvius and Lucius Lucretius, who had been treacherously intercepted, with two military tribunes and five of the equestrian order, mostly sons of senators, are delivered up to Hannibal when coming among the Ligurians, in order that he might feel more convinced that the peace and alliance with them would be binding.

## 60

While these things are transacting in Italy, Cneius Cornelius Scipio having been sent into Spain with a fleet and army, when, setting out from the mouth of the Rhone, and sailing past the Pyrenaean mountains, he had moored his fleet at Emporiae, having there landed his army, and beginning with the Lacetani, he brought the whole coast, as far as the river Iberus, under the Roman dominion, partly by renewing the old, and partly by forming new alliances. The reputation for clemency, acquired by these means, had influence not only with the maritime states, but now also with the more savage tribes in the inland and mountainous districts; nor was peace only effected with them, but also an alliance of arms, and several fine cohorts of auxiliaries were levied from their numbers. The country on this side of the Iberus was the province of Hanno, whom Hannibal had left to defend that region. He, therefore, judging that he ought to make opposition, before every thing was alienated from him, having pitched his camp in sight of the enemy, led out his forces in battle-array; nor did it appear to the Roman, that the engagement ought to be deferred, as he knew that he must fight with Hanno and Hasdrubal, and wished rather to contend against each of them separately, than against both together. The conflict did not prove one of great difficulty; six thousand of the enemy were slain, and two thousand made prisoners, together with the guard of the camp; for both the camp was stormed, and the general himself, with several of the chief officers, taken; and Scissis, a town near the camp, was also carried by assault. But the spoil of this town consisted of things of small value, such as the household furniture used by barbarians and slaves that were worth little. The camp enriched the soldiers; almost all the valuable effects, not only of that army which was conquered, but of that which was serving with Hannibal in Italy, having been left on this side the Pyrenees, that the baggage might not be cumbrous to those who conveyed it.

## 61

Before any certain news of this disaster arrived, Hasdrubal, having passed the Iberus with eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, intending to meet the Romans on their first approach, after he heard of the ruin of their affairs at Scissis, and the loss of the camp, turned his route towards the sea. Not far from Tarraco, having despatched his cavalry in various directions, he drove to their ships, with great slaughter, and greater route, the soldiers belonging to the fleet and the mariners, while scattered and wandering through the fields (for it is usually the case that success produces negligence), but not daring to remain longer in that quarter, lest he should be surprised by Scipio, he withdrew to the other side of the Iberus. And Scipio, having quickly brought up his army on the report of fresh enemies, after punishing a few captains of

ships and leaving a moderate garrison at Tarraco, returned with his fleet to Emporiae. He had scarcely departed, when Hasdrubal came up, and having instigated to a revolt the state of the Ilergetes, which had given hostages to Scipio, he lays waste, with the youth of that very people, the lands of the faithful allies of the Romans. Scipio being thereupon roused from his winter quarters, Hasdrubal again retires from in all the country on this side the Iberus. Scipio, when with a hostile army he had invaded the state of the Ilergetes, forsaken by the author of their revolt, and having driven them all into Athanagia, which was the capital of that nation laid siege to the city; and within a few days, having imposed the delivery of more hostages than before, and also fined the Ilergetes in a sum of money, he received them back into his authority and dominion. He then proceeded against the Ausetani near the Iberus, who were also the allies of the Carthaginians; and having laid siege to their city, he cut off by an ambuscade the Lacetani, while bringing assistance by night to their neighbours, having attacked them at a small distance from the city, as they were designing to enter it. As many as twelve thousand were slain; the rest, nearly all without their arms, escaped home, by dispersing through the country in every direction. Nor did any thing else but the winter, which was unfavourable to the besiegers, secure the besieged. The blockade continued for thirty days, during which the snow scarce ever lay less deep than four feet; and it had covered to such a degree the sheds and mantelets of the Romans, that it alone served as a defence when fire was frequently thrown on them by the enemy. At last, when Amusitus, their leader, had fled to Hasdrubal, they are surrendered, on condition of paying twenty talents of silver. They then returned into winter quarters at Tarraco.

## 62

At Rome during this winter many prodigies either occurred about the city, or, as usually happens when the minds of men are once inclined to superstition, many were reported and readily believed; among which it was said that an infant of good family, only six months old, had called out "Io triumphe" in the herb market: that in the cattle market an ox had of his own accord ascended to the third story, and that thence, being frightened by the noise of the inhabitants, had flung himself down; that the appearance of ships had been brightly visible in the sky, and that the temple of Hope in the herb market had been struck by lightning; that the spear at Lanuvium had shaken itself; that a crow had flown down into the temple of Juno and alighted on the very couch; that in the territory of Amiternum figures resembling men dressed in white raiment had been seen in several places at a distance, but had not come close to any one; that in Picenum it had rained stones; that at Caere the tablets for divination had been lessened in size; and that in Gaul a wolf had snatched out the sword from the scabbard of a soldier on guard, and carried it off.

On account of the other prodigies the decemvirs were ordered to consult the books; but on account of its having rained stones in Picenum the festival of nine days was proclaimed, and almost all the state was occupied in expiating the rest, from time to time. First of all the city was purified, and victims of the greater kind were sacrificed to those gods to whom they were directed to be offered; and a gift of forty pounds' weight of gold was carried to the temple of Juno at Lanuvium; and the matrons dedicated a brazen statue to Juno on the Aventine; and a lectisternium was ordered at Caere, where the tablets for divination had diminished; and a supplication to Fortune at Algidum; at Rome also a lectisternium was ordered to Youth, and a supplication at the temple of Hercules, first by individuals named and afterwards by the whole people at all the shrines; five greater victims were offered to Genius; and Caius Atilius Serranus the

praetor was ordered to make certain vows if the republic should remain in the same state for ten years. These things, thus expiated and vowed according to the Sibylline books, relieved, in a great degree, the public mind from superstitious fears.

### 63

Flaminius, one of the consuls elect, to whom the legions which were wintering at Placentia had fallen by lot, sent an edict and letter to the consul, desiring that those forces should be ready in camp at Ariminum on the ides of March. He had a design to enter on the consulship in his province, recollecting his old contests with the fathers, which he had waged with them when tribune of the people, and afterwards when consul, first about his election to the office, which was annulled, and then about a triumph. He was also odious to the fathers on account of a new law which Quintus Claudius, tribune of the people, had carried against the senate, Caius Flaminius alone of that body assisting him, that no senator, or he who had been father of a senator, should possess a ship fit for sea service, containing more than three hundred amphorae. This size was considered sufficient for conveying the produce of their lands: all traffic appeared unbecoming a senator. This contest, maintained with the warmest opposition, procured the hatred of the nobility to Flaminius, the advocate of the law; but the favour of the people, and afterwards a second consulship. For these reasons, thinking that they would detain him in the city by falsifying the auspices, by the delay of the Latin festival, and other hinderances to which a consul was liable, he pretended a journey, and, while yet in a private capacity, departed secretly to his province. This proceeding, when it was made public, excited new and additional anger in the senators, who were before irritated against him. They said, "That Caius Flaminius waged war not only with the senate, but now with the immortal gods; that having been formerly made consul without the proper auspices, he had disobeyed both gods and men recalling him from the very field of battle; and now, through consciousness of their having been dishonoured, had shunned the Capitol and the customary offering of vows, that he might not on the day of entering his office approach the temple of Jupiter, the best and greatest of gods; he might not see and consult the senate, himself hated by it, as it was hateful to him alone; that he might not proclaim the Latin festival, or perform on the Alban mount the customary rights to Jupiter Latiaris; that he might not, under the direction of the auspices, go up to the Capitol to recite his vows, and thence, attended by the lictors, proceed to his province in the garb of a general; but that he had set off, like some camp boy, without his insignia, without the lictors, in secrecy and stealth, just as if he had been quitting his country to go into banishment; as if forsooth he would enter his office more consistently with the dignity of the consul at Ariminum than Rome, and assume the robe of office in a public inn better than before his own household gods."--it was unanimously resolved that he, should be recalled and brought back, and be constrained to perform in person every duty to gods and men before he went to the army and the province. Quintus Terentius and Marcus Antistius having set out on this embassy, (for it was decreed that ambassadors should be sent,) prevailed with him in no degree more than the letter sent by the senate in his former consulship. A few days after he entered on his office, and as he was sacrificing a calf, after being struck, having broken away from the hands of the ministers, sprinkled several of the bystanders with its blood. Flight and disorder ensued, to a still greater degree at a distance among those who were ignorant what was the cause of the alarm. This circumstance was regarded by most persons as an omen of great terror. Having then received two legions from

Sempronius, the consul of the former year, and two from Caius Atilius, the praetor, the army began to be led into Etruria, through the passes of the Apennines.

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# Book XXII

## B.C. 217-216

*Hannibal, after an uninterrupted march of four days and three nights, arrives in Etruria, through the marshes, in which he lost an eye. Caius Flaminius, the consul, an inconsiderate man, having gone forth in opposition to the omens, dug up the standards which could not otherwise be raised, and been thrown from his horse immediately after he had mounted, is insnared by Hannibal, and cut off by his army near the Thrasimene lake. Three thousand who had escaped are placed in chains by Hannibal, in violation of pledges given. Distress occasioned in Rome by the intelligence. The Sibylline books consulted, and a sacred spring decreed. Fabius Maximus sent as dictator against Hannibal, whom he frustrates by caution and delay. Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, a rash and impetuous man, inveighs against the caution of Fabius, and obtains an equality of command with him. The army is divided between them, and Minucius engaging Hannibal in an unfavourable position, is reduced to the extremity of danger, and is rescued by the dictator, and places himself under his authority. Hannibal, after ravaging Campania, is shut up by Fabius in a valley near the town of Casilinum, but escapes by night, putting to flight the Romans on guard by oxen with lighted faggots attached to their horns. Hannibal attempts to excite a suspicion of the fidelity of Fabius by sparing his farm while ravaging with fire the whole country around it. Aemilius Paulus and Terentius Varro are routed at Cannae, and forty thousand men slain, among whom were Paulus the consul, eighty senators, and thirty who had served the office of consul, praetor, or edile. A design projected by some noble youths of quitting Italy in despair after this calamity, is intrepidly quashed by Publius Cornelius Scipio, a military tribune, afterwards surnamed Africanus. Successes in Spain, eight thousand slaves are enlisted by the Romans, they refuse to ransom the captives, they go out in a body to meet Varro, and thank him for not having despaired of the commonwealth.*

### 1

Spring was now at hand, when Hannibal quitted his winter quarters, having both attempted in vain to cross the Apennines, from the intolerable cold, and having remained with great danger and alarm. The Gauls, whom the hope of plunder and spoil had collected, when, instead of being themselves engaged in carrying and driving away booty from the lands of others, they saw their own lands made the seat of war and burdened by the wintering of the armies of both forces, turned their hatred back again from the Romans to Hannibal; and though plots were frequently concerted against him by their chieftains, he was preserved by the treachery they manifested towards each other; disclosing their conspiracy with the same inconstancy with which they had conspired; and by changing sometimes his dress, at other times the fashion of his hair, he protected himself from treachery by deception. However, this fear was the cause of his more speedily quitting his winter quarters. Meanwhile Cneius Servilius, the consul, entered upon his office at Rome, on the ides of March. There, when he had consulted the senate on the state of the republic in general, the indignation against Flaminius was rekindled. They said "that they had created indeed two consuls, that they had but one; for what regular authority had the other, or what auspices? That their magistrates took these with them from home, from the tutelar deities of themselves and the state, after

the celebration of the Latin holidays; the sacrifice upon the mountain being completed, and the vows duly offered up in the Capitol: that neither could an unofficial individual take the auspices, nor could one who had gone from home without them, take them new, and for the first time, in a foreign soil." Prodigies announced from many places at the same time, augmented the terror: in Sicily, that several darts belonging to the soldiers had taken fire; and in Sardinia, that the staff of a horseman, who was going his rounds upon a wall, took fire as he held it in his hand; that the shores had blazed with frequent fires; that two shields had sweated blood at Praeneste; that red-hot stones had fallen from the heavens at Arpi; that shields were seen in the heavens, and the sun fighting with the moon, at Capena; that two moons rose in the day-time; that the waters of Caere had flowed mixed with blood; and that even the fountain of Hercules had flowed sprinkled with spots of blood. In the territory of Antium, that bloody ears of corn had fallen into the basket as they were reaping. At Falerii, that the heavens appeared cleft as if with a great chasm; and, that where it had opened, a vast light had shone forth; that the prophetic tablets had spontaneously become less; and that one had fallen out thus inscribed, "Mars shakes his spear." During the same time, that the statue of Mars at Rome, on the Appian way, had sweated at the sight of images of wolves. At Capua that there had been the appearance of the heavens being on fire, and of the moon as falling amidst rain. After these, credence was given to prodigies of less magnitude: that the goats of certain persons had borne wool; that a hen had changed herself into a cock; and a cock into a hen: these things having been laid before the senate as reported, the authors being conducted into the senate-house, the consul took the sense of the fathers on religious affairs. It was decreed that those prodigies should be expiated, partly with full-grown, partly with sucking victims; and that a supplication should be made at every shrine for the space of three days; that the other things should be done accordingly as the gods should declare in their oracles to be agreeable to their will when the decemviri had examined the books. By the advice of the decemviri it was decreed, first, that a golden thunderbolt of fifty pounds' weight should be made as an offering to Jupiter; that offerings of silver should be presented to Juno and Minerva; that sacrifices of full-grown victims should be offered to Juno Regina on the Aventine; and to Juno Sospita at Lanuvium; that the matrons, contributing as much money as might be convenient to each, should carry it to the Aventine, as a present to Juno Regina; and that a lectisternium should be celebrated. Moreover, that the very freed-women should, according to their means, contribute money from which a present might be made to Feronia. When these things were done, the decemviri sacrificed with the larger victims in the forum at Ardea. Lastly, it being now the month of December, a sacrifice was made at the temple of Saturn at Rome, and a lectisternium ordered, in which senators prepared the couch and a public banquet. Proclamation was made through the city, that the Saturnalia should be kept for a day and a night; and the people were commanded to account that day as a holiday, and observe it for ever.

## 2

While the consul employs himself at Rome in appeasing the gods and holding the levy, Hannibal, setting out from his winter quarters, because it was reported that the consul Flaminius had now arrived at Arretium, although a longer but more commodious route was pointed out to him, takes the nearer road through a marsh where the Arno had, more than usual, overflowed its banks. He ordered the Spaniards and Africans (in these lay the strength of his veteran army) to lead, their own baggage being intermixed with them, lest, being compelled to halt any where, they should want what might be

necessary for their use: the Gauls he ordered to go next, that they might form the middle of the marching body; the cavalry to march in the rear: next, Mago with the light-armed Numidians to keep the army together, particularly coercing the Gauls, if, fatigued with exertion and the length of the march, as that nation is wanting in vigour for such exertions, they should fall away or halt. The van still followed the standards wherever the guides did but lead them, through the exceeding deep and almost fathomless eddies of the river, nearly swallowed up in mud, and plunging themselves in. The Gauls could neither support themselves when fallen, nor raise themselves from the eddies. Nor did they sustain their bodies with spirit, nor their minds with hope; some scarce dragging on their wearied limbs; others dying where they had once fallen, their spirits being subdued with fatigue, among the beasts which themselves also lay prostrate in every place. But chiefly watching wore them out, endured now for four days and three nights. When, the water covering every place, not a dry spot could be found where they might stretch their weary bodies, they laid themselves down upon their baggage, thrown in heaps into the waters. Piles of beasts, which lay every where through the whole route, afforded a necessary bed for temporary repose to those seeking any place which was not under water. Hannibal himself, riding on the only remaining elephant, to be the higher from the water, contracted a disorder in his eyes, at first from the unwholesomeness of the vernal air, which is attended with transitions from heat to cold; and at length from watching, nocturnal damps, the marshy atmosphere disordering his head, and because he had neither opportunity nor leisure for remedies, loses one of them.

### 3

Many men and cattle having been lost thus wretchedly, when at length he had emerged from the marshes, he pitched his camp as soon as he could on dry ground. And here he received information, through the scouts sent in advance, that the Roman army was round the walls of Arretium. Next the plans and temper of the consul, the situation of the country, the roads, the sources from which provisions might be obtained, and whatever else it was useful to know; all these things he ascertained by the most diligent inquiry. The country was among the most fertile of Italy, the plain of Etruria, between Faesulae and Arretium, abundant in its supply of corn, cattle, and every other requisite. The consul was haughty from his former consulship, and felt no proper degree of reverence not only for the laws and the majesty of the fathers, but even for the gods. This temerity, inherent in his nature, fortune had fostered by a career of prosperity and success in civil and military affairs. Thus it was sufficiently evident that, heedless of gods and men, he would act in all cases with presumption and precipitation; and, that he might fall the more readily into the errors natural to him, the Carthaginian begins to fret and irritate him; and leaving the enemy on his left, he takes the road to Faesulae, and marching through the centre of Etruria, with intent to plunder, he exhibits to the consul, in the distance, the greatest devastation he could with fires and slaughters. Flaminius, who would not have rested even if the enemy had remained quiet; then, indeed, when he saw the property of the allies driven and carried away almost before his eyes, considering that it reflected disgrace upon him that the Carthaginian now roaming at large through the heart of Italy, and marching without resistance to storm the very walls of Rome, though every other person in the council advised safe rather than showy measures, urging that he should wait for his colleague, in order that, joining their armies, they might carry on the war with united courage and counsels; and that, meanwhile, the enemy should be prevented from his unrestrained freedom in

plundering by the cavalry and the light-armed auxiliaries; in a fury hurried out of the council, and at once gave out the signal for marching and for battle. "Nay, rather," says he, "let him be before the walls of Arretium, for here is our country, here our household gods. Let Hannibal, slipping through our fingers, waste Italy through and through; and, ravaging and burning every thing, let him arrive at the walls of Rome; let us move hence till the fathers shall have summoned Flaminius from Arretium, as they did Camillus of old from Veii." While reproaching them thus, and in the act of ordering the standards to be speedily pulled up, when he had mounted upon his horse, the animal fell suddenly, and threw the unseated consul over his head. All the bystanders being alarmed at this as an unhappy omen in the commencement of the affair, in addition word is brought, that the standard could not be pulled up, though, the standard-bearer strove with all his force. Flaminius, turning to the messenger, says, "Do you bring, too, letters from the senate, forbidding me to act. Go, tell them to dig up the standard, if, through fear, their hands are so benumbed that they cannot pluck it up." Then the army began to march; the chief officers, besides that they dissented from the plan, being terrified by the twofold prodigy; while the soldiery in general were elated by the confidence of their leader, since they regarded merely the hope he entertained, and not the reasons of the hope.

#### 4

Hannibal lays waste the country between the city Cortona and the lake Trasimenus, with all the devastation of war, the more to exasperate the enemy to revenge the injuries inflicted on his allies. They had now reached a place formed by nature for an ambuscade, where the Trasimenus comes nearest to the mountains of Cortona. A very narrow passage only intervenes, as though room enough just for that purpose had been left designedly; after that a somewhat wider plain opens itself, and then some hills rise up. On these he pitches his camp, in full view, where he himself with his Spaniards and Africans only might be posted. The Baliares and his other light troops he leads round the mountains; his cavalry he posts at the very entrance of the defile, some eminences conveniently concealing them; in order that when the Romans had entered, the cavalry advancing, every place might be enclosed by the lake and the mountains. Flaminius, passing the defiles before it was quite daylight, without reconnoitering, though he had arrived at the lake the preceding day at sunset, when the troops began to be spread into the wider plain, saw that part only of the enemy which was opposite to him; the ambuscade in his rear and overhead escaped his notice. And when the Carthaginian had his enemy enclosed by the lake and mountains, and surrounded by his troops, he gives the signal to all to make a simultaneous charge; and each running down the nearest way, the suddenness and unexpectedness of the event was increased to the Romans by a mist rising from the lake, which had settled thicker on the plain than on the mountains; and thus the troops of the enemy ran down from the various eminences, sufficiently well discerning each other, and therefore with the greater regularity. A shout being raised on all sides, the Roman found himself surrounded before he could well see the enemy; and the attack on the front and flank had commenced ere his line could be well formed, his arms prepared for action, or his swords unsheathed.

#### 5

The consul, while all were panic-struck, himself sufficiently undaunted though in so perilous a case, marshals, as well as the time and place permitted, the lines which were thrown into confusion by each man's turning himself towards the various shouts; and

wherever he could approach or be heard exhorts them, and bids them stand and fight: for that they could not escape thence by vows and prayers to the gods but by exertion and valour; that a way was sometimes opened by the sword through the midst of marshalled armies, and that generally the less the fear the less the danger. However, from the noise and tumult, neither his advice nor command could be caught; and so far were the soldiers from knowing their own standards, and ranks, and position, that they had scarce sufficient courage to take up arms and make them ready for battle; and certain of them were surprised before they could prepare them, being burdened rather than protected by them; while in so great darkness there was more use of ears than of eyes. They turned their faces and eyes in every direction towards the groans of the wounded, the sounds of blows upon the body or arms, and the mingled clamours of the menacing and the affrighted. Some, as they were making their escape, were stopped, having encountered a body of men engaged in fight; and bands of fugitives returning to the battle, diverted others. After charges had been attempted unsuccessfully in every direction, and on their flanks the mountains and the lake, on the front and rear the lines of the enemy enclosed them, when it was evident that there was no hope of safety but in the right hand and the sword; then each man became to himself a leader, and encourager to action; and an entirely new contest arose, not a regular line, with principes, hastati, and triarii; nor of such a sort as that the vanguard should fight before the standards, and the rest of the troops behind them; nor such that each soldier should be in his own legion, cohort, or company: chance collects them into bands; and each man's own will assigned to him his post, whether to fight in front or rear; and so great was the ardour of the conflict, so intent were their minds upon the battle, that not one of the combatants felt an earthquake which threw down large portions of many of the cities of Italy, turned rivers from their rapid courses, carried the sea up into rivers, and levelled mountains with a tremendous crash.

## 6

The battle was continued near three hours, and in every quarter with fierceness; around the consul, however, it was still hotter and more determined. Both the strongest of the troops, and himself too, promptly brought assistance wherever he perceived his men hard pressed and distressed. But, distinguished by his armour, the enemy attacked him with the utmost vigour, while his countrymen defended him; until an Insubrian horseman, named Ducarius, knowing him also by his face, says to his countrymen, "Lo, this is the consul who slew our legions and laid waste our fields and city. Now will I offer this victim to the shades of my countrymen, miserably slain;" and putting spurs to his horse, he rushes through a very dense body of the enemy; and first slaying his armour-bearer, who had opposed himself to his attack as he approached, ran the consul through with his lance; the triarii, opposing their shields, kept him off when seeking to despoil him. Then first the flight of a great number began; and now neither the lake nor the mountains obstructed their hurried retreat; they run through all places, confined and precipitous, as though they were blind; and arms and men are tumbled one upon another. A great many, when there remained no more space to run, advancing into the water through the first shallows of the lake, plunge in, as far as they could stand above it with their heads and shoulders. Some there were whom inconsiderate fear induced to try to escape even by swimming; but as that attempt was inordinate and hopeless, they were either overwhelmed in the deep water, their courage failing, or, wearied to no purpose, made their way back, with extreme difficulty, to the shallows; and there were cut up on all hands by the cavalry of the enemy, which had entered the water. Near upon

six thousand of the foremost body having gallantly forced their way through the opposing enemy, entirely unacquainted with what was occurring in their rear, escaped from the defile; and having halted on a certain rising ground, and hearing only the shouting and clashing of arms, they could not know nor discern, by reason of the mist, what was the fortune of the battle. At length, the affair being decided, when the mist, dispelled by the increasing heat of the sun, had cleared the atmosphere, then, in the clear light, the mountains and plains showed their ruin and the Roman army miserably destroyed; and thus, lest, being descried at a distance, the cavalry should be sent against them, hastily snatching up their standards, they hurried away with all possible expedition. On the following day, when in addition to their extreme sufferings in other respects, famine also was at hand, Maharbal, who had followed them during the night with the whole body of cavalry, pledging his honour that he would let them depart with single garments, if they would deliver up their arms, they surrendered themselves; which promise was kept by Hannibal with Punic fidelity, and he threw them all into chains.

## 7

This is the celebrated battle at the Trasimenus, and recorded among the few disasters of the Roman people. Fifteen thousand Romans were slain in the battle. Ten thousand, who had been scattered in the flight through all Etruria, returned to the city by different roads. One thousand five hundred of the enemy perished in the battle; many on both sides died afterwards of their wounds. The carnage on both sides is related, by some authors, to have been many times greater. I, besides that I would relate nothing drawn from a worthless source, to which the minds of historians generally incline too much, have as my chief authority Fabius, who was contemporary with the events of this war. Such of the captives as belonged to the Latin confederacy being dismissed without ransom, and the Romans thrown into chains, Hannibal ordered the bodies of his own men to be gathered from the heaps of the enemy, and buried: the body of Flaminius too, which was searched for with great diligence for burial, he could not find. On the first intelligence of this defeat at Rome, a concourse of the people, dismayed and terrified, took place in the forum. The matrons, wandering through the streets, ask all they meet, what sudden disaster was reported? what was the fate of the army? And when the multitude, like a full assembly, having directed their course to the comitium and senate-house, were calling upon the magistrates, at length, a little before sunset, Marcus Pomponius, the praetor, declares, "We have been defeated in a great battle;" and though nothing more definite was heard from him, yet, full of the rumours which they had caught one from another, they carry back to their homes intelligence, that the consul, with a great part of his troops, was slain; that a few only survived, and these either widely dispersed in flight through Etruria, or else captured by the enemy. As many as had been the calamities of the vanquished army, into so many anxieties were the minds of those distracted whose relations had served under Flaminius, and who were uninformed of what had been the fate of their friends, nor does any one know certainly what he should either hope or fear. During the next and several successive days, a greater number of women almost than men stood at the gates, waiting either for some one of their friends or for intelligence of them, surrounding and earnestly interrogating those they met: nor could they be torn away from those they knew especially, until they had regularly inquired into every thing. Then as they retired from the informants you might discern their various expressions of countenance according as intelligence, pleasing or sad, was announced to each; and those who congratulated or condoled on

their return home. The joy and grief of the women were especially manifested. They report that one, suddenly meeting her son, who had returned safe, expired at the very door before his face--that another, who sat grieving at her house at the falsely reported death of her son, became a corpse, from excessive joy, at the first sight of him on his return. The praetors detained the senators in the house for several days from sunrise to sunset, deliberating under whose conduct and by what forces, the victorious Carthaginians could be opposed.

## 8

Before their plans were sufficiently determined another unexpected defeat is reported: four thousand horse, sent under the conduct of C. Centenius, propraetor, by Servilius to his colleague, were cut off by Hannibal in Umbria, to which place, on hearing of the battle at Trasimenus, they had turned their course. The report of this event variously affected the people. Some, having their minds preoccupied with heavier grief, considered the recent loss of cavalry trifling, in comparison with their former losses; others did not estimate what had occurred by itself, but considered that, as in a body already labouring under disease, a slight cause would be felt more violently than a more powerful one in a robust constitution, so whatever adverse event befell the state in its then sickly and impaired condition, ought to be estimated, not by the magnitude of the event itself, but with reference to its exhausted strength, which could endure nothing that could oppress it. The state therefore took refuge in a remedy for a long time before neither wanted nor employed, the appointment of a dictator, and because the consul was absent, by whom alone it appeared he could be nominated, and because neither message nor letter could easily be sent to him through the country occupied by Punic troops, and because the people could not appoint a dictator, which had never been done to that day, the people created Quintus Fabius Maximus pro dictator, and Marcus Minucius Rufus master of the horse. To them the senate assigned the task of strengthening the walls and towers of the city, of placing guards in such quarters as seemed good, and breaking down the bridges of the river, considering that they must now fight at home in defence of their city, since they were unable to protect Italy.

## 9

Hannibal, marching directly through Umbria, arrived at Spoletum, thence, having completely devastated the adjoining country, and commenced an assault upon the city, having been repulsed with great loss and conjecturing from the strength of this one colony, which had been not very successfully attacked, what was the size of the city of Rome, turned aside into the territory of Picenum, which abounded not only with every species of grain, but was stored with booty, which his rapacious and needy troops eagerly seized. There he continued encamped for several days, and his soldiers were refreshed, who had been enfeebled by winter marches and marshy ground, and with a battle more successful in its result than light or easy. When sufficient time for rest had been granted for soldiers delighting more in plunder and devastation than ease and repose, setting out, he lays waste the territories of Pretutia and Hadria, then of the Marsi, the Marrucini, and the Peligni, and the contiguous region of Apulia around Arpi and Luceria. Cneius Servilius, the consul, having fought some slight battles with the Gauls, and taken one inconsiderable town, when he heard of the defeat of his colleague and the army, alarmed now for the walls of the capital, marched towards the city, that he might not be absent at so extreme a crisis. Quintus Fabius Maximus, a second time dictator, assembled the senate the very day he entered on his office; and commencing

with what related to the gods, after he had distinctly proved to the fathers, that Caius Flaminius had erred more from neglect of the ceremonies and auspices than from temerity and want of judgment, and that the gods themselves should be consulted as to what were the expiations of their anger, he obtained a resolution that the decemviri should be ordered to inspect the Sibylline books, which is rarely decreed, except when some horrid prodigies were announced. Having inspected the prophetic books, they reported, that the vow which was made to Mars on account of this war, not having been regularly fulfilled, must be performed afresh and more fully; that the great games must be vowed to Jupiter, temples to Venus Erycina and Mens; that a supplication and lectisternium must be made, and a sacred spring vowed, if the war should proceed favourably and the state continue the condition it was in before the war. Since the management of the war would occupy Fabius, the senate orders Marcus Aemilius, the praetor, to see that all these things are done in good time, according to the directions of the college of pontiffs.

## 10

These decrees of the senate having been passed, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, pontifex maximus, the college of praetors consulting with him, gives his opinion that, first of all, the people should be consulted respecting a sacred spring: that it could not be without the order of the people. The people having been asked according to this form: Do ye will and order that this thing should be performed in this manner? If the republic of the Roman people, the Quirites, shall be safe and preserved as I wish it may, from these wars for the next five years, (the war which is between the Roman people and the Carthaginian, and the wars which are with the Cisalpine Gauls), the Roman people, the Quirites, shall present whatsoever the spring shall produce from herds of swine, sheep, goats, oxen and which shall not have been consecrated, to be sacrificed to Jupiter, from the day which the senate and people shall appoint. Let him who shall make an offering do it when he please, and in what manner he please; in whatsoever manner he does it, let it be considered duly done. If that which ought to be sacrificed die, let it be unconsecrated, and let no guilt attach; if any one unwittingly wound or kill it, let it be no injury to him; if any one shall steal it, let no guilt attach to the people or to him from whom it was stolen; if any one shall unwittingly offer it on a forbidden day, let it be esteemed duly offered; also whether by night or day, whether slave or free-man perform it. If the senate and people shall order it to be offered sooner than any person shall offer it, let the people being acquitted of it be free. On the same account great games were vowed, at an expense of three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three *asses* and a third; moreover, it was decreed that sacrifice should be done to Jupiter with three hundred oxen, to many other deities with white oxen and the other victims. The vows being duly made, a supplication was proclaimed; and not only the inhabitants of the city went with their wives and children, but such of the rustics also as, possessing any property themselves, were interested in the welfare of the state. Then a lectisternium was celebrated for three days, the decemviri for sacred things superintending. Six couches were seen, for Jupiter and Juno one, for Neptune and Minerva another, for Mars and Venus a third, for Apollo and Diana a fourth, for Vulcan and Vesta a fifth, for Mercury and Ceres a sixth. Then temples were vowed. To Venus Erycina, Quintus Fabius Maximus vowed a temple; for so it was delivered from the prophetic books, that he should vow it who held the highest authority in the state. Titus Otacilius, the praetor vowed a temple to Mens.

## 11

Divine things having been thus performed, the dictator then put the question of the war and the state; with what, and how many legions the fathers were of opinion that the victorious enemy should be opposed. It was decreed that he should receive the army from Cneius Servilius, the consul: that he should levy, moreover, from the citizens and allies as many horse and foot as seemed good; that he should transact and perform every thing else as he considered for the good of the state. Fabius said he would add two legions to the army of Servilius. These were levied by the master of the horse, and were appointed by Fabius to meet him at Tibur on a certain day. And then having issued proclamation that those whose towns or castles were unfortified should quit them and assemble in places of security; that all the inhabitants of that tract through which Hannibal was about to march, should remove from the country, having first burnt their buildings and spoiled their fruits, that there might not be a supply of any thing; he himself set out on the Flaminian road to meet the consul and his army; and when he saw in the distance the marching body on the Tiber, near Ocriculum, and the consul with the cavalry advancing to him, he sent a beadle to acquaint the consul that he must meet the dictator without the lictors. When he had obeyed his command, and their meeting had exhibited a striking display of the majesty of the dictatorship before the citizens and allies, who, from its antiquity, had now almost forgotten that authority; a letter arrived from the city, stating that the ships of burden, conveying provisions from Ostia into Spain to the army, had been captured by the Carthaginian fleet off the port of Cossa. The consul, therefore, was immediately ordered to proceed to Ostia, and, having manned the ships at Rome or Ostia with soldiers and sailors, to pursue the enemy, and protect the coasts of Italy. Great numbers of men were levied at Rome, sons of freed-men even, who had children, and were of the military age, had taken the oath. Of these troops levied in the city, such as were under thirty-five were put on board ships, the rest were left to protect the city.

## 12

The dictator, having received the troops of the consul from Fulvius Flaccus, his lieutenant-general, marching through the Sabine territory, arrived at Tibur on the day which he had appointed the new-raised troops to assemble. Thence he went to Praeneste, and cutting across the country, came out in the Latin way, whence he led his troops towards the enemy, reconnoitering the road with the utmost diligence; not intending to expose himself to hazard any where, except as far as necessity compelled him. The day he first pitched his camp in sight of the enemy, not far from Arpi, the Carthaginian, without delay, led out his troops, and forming his line gave an opportunity of fighting: but when he found all still with the enemy, and his camp free from tumult and disorder, he returned to his camp, saying indeed tauntingly, "That even the spirit of the Romans, inherited from Mars, was at length subdued; that they were warred down and had manifestly given up all claim to valour and renown:" but burning inwardly with stifled vexation because he would have to encounter a general by no means like Flaminius and Sempronius; and because the Romans, then at length schooled by their misfortunes, had sought a general a match for Hannibal; and that now he had no longer to fear the headlong violence, but the deliberate prudence of the dictator. Having not yet experienced his constancy, he began to provoke and try his temper, by frequently shifting his camp and laying waste the territories of the allies before his eyes: and one while he withdrew out of sight at quick march, another while he halted suddenly, and concealed himself in some winding of the road, if possible to entrap him on his descending into the plain. Fabius kept marching his troops along the high grounds, at a

moderate distance from the enemy, so as neither to let him go altogether nor yet to encounter him. The troops were kept within the camp, except so far as necessary wants compelled them to quit it; and fetched in food and wood not by small nor rambling parties. An outpost of cavalry and light-armed troops, prepared and equipped for acting in cases of sudden alarm, rendered every thing safe to their own soldiers, and dangerous to the scattered plunderers of the enemy. Nor was his whole cause committed to general hazard; while slight contests, of small importance in themselves, commenced on safe ground, with a retreat at hand, accustomed the soldiery, terrified by their former disasters, now at length to think less meanly either of their prowess or good fortune. But he did not find Hannibal a greater enemy to such sound measures than his master of the horse, who was only prevented from plunging the state into ruin by his inferiority in command. Presumptuous and precipitate in his measures, and unbridled in his tongue, first among a few, then openly and publicly, he taunted him with being sluggish instead of patient, spiritless instead of cautious; falsely imputing to him those vices which bordered on his virtues; and raised himself by means of depressing his superiors, which, though a most iniquitous practice, has become more general from the too great successes of many.

### 13

Hannibal crosses over from the Hirpini into Samnium; lays waste the territory of Beneventum; takes the town of Telesia; and purposely irritates the dictator, if perchance he could draw him down to a battle on the plain, exasperated by so many indignities and disasters inflicted on his allies. Among the multitude of allies of Italian extraction, who had been captured by Hannibal at the Trasimene, and dismissed, were three Campanian horsemen, who had even at that time been bribed by many presents and promises from Hannibal to win over the affections of their countrymen to him. These, bringing him word that he would have an opportunity of getting possession of Capua, if he brought his army into the neighbourhood in Campania, induced Hannibal to quit Samnium for Campania; though he hesitated, fluctuating between confidence and distrust, as the affair was of more importance than the authorities. He dismissed them, repeatedly charging them to confirm their promises by acts, and ordering them to return with a greater number, and some of their leading men. Hannibal himself orders his guide to conduct him into the territory of Casinum, being certified by persons acquainted with the country, that if he seized that pass he would deprive the Romans of a passage by which they might get out to the assistance of their allies. But his Punic accent, ill adapted to the pronunciation of Latin names, caused the guide to understand Casilinum, instead of Casinum; and leaving his former course, he descends through the territory of Allifae, Calatia, and Cales, into the plain of Stella, where, seeing the country enclosed on all sides by mountains and rivers, he calls the guide to him, and asks him where in the world he was? when he replied, that on that day he would lodge at Casilinum: then at length the error was discovered, and that Casinum lay at a great distance in another direction. Having scourged the guide with rods and crucified him, in order to strike terror into all others, he fortified a camp, and sent Maharbal with the cavalry into the Falernian territory to pillage. This depredation reached as far as the waters of Sinuessa; the Numidians caused destruction to a vast extent, but flight and consternation through a still wider space. Yet not even the terror of these things, when all around was consuming in the flames of war, could shake the fidelity of the allies; for this manifest reason, because they lived under a temperate and mild government: nor

were they unwilling to submit to those who were superior to them, which is the only bond of fidelity.

#### 14

But when the enemy's camp was pitched on the Vulturnus, and the most delightful country in Italy was being consumed by fire, and the farm-houses, on all hands, were smoking from the flames, whilst Fabius led his troops along the heights of Mount Massicus, then the strife had nearly been kindled anew, for they had been quiet for a few days, because, as the army had marched quicker than usual, they had supposed that the object of this haste was to save Campania from devastation; but when they arrived at the extreme ridge of Mount Massicus, and the enemy appeared under their eyes, burning the houses of the Falernian territory, and of the settlers of Sinuessa, and no mention made of battle, Minucius exclaims, "Are we come here to see our allies butchered, and their property burned, as a spectacle to be enjoyed? and if we are not moved with shame on account of any others, are we not on account of these citizens, whom our fathers sent as settlers to Sinuessa, that this frontier might be protected from the Samnite foe: which now not the neighbouring Samnite wastes with fire, but a Carthaginian foreigner, who has advanced even thus far from the remotest limits of the world, through our dilatoriness and inactivity? What! are we so degenerate from our ancestors as tamely to see that coast filled with Numidian and Moorish foes, along which our fathers considered it a disgrace to their government that the Carthaginian fleets should cruise? We, who erewhile, indignant at the storming of Saguntum, appealed not to men only, but to treaties and to gods, behold Hannibal scaling the walls of a Roman colony unmoved. The smoke from the flames of our farm-houses and lands comes into our eyes and faces; our ears ring with the cries of our weeping allies, imploring us to assist them oftener than the gods, while we here are leading our troops, like a herd of cattle, through shady forests and lonely paths, enveloped in clouds and woods. If Marcus Furius had resolved to recover the city from the Gauls, by thus traversing the tops of mountains and forests, in the same manner as this modern Camillus goes about to recover Italy from Hannibal, who has been sought out for our dictator in our distress, on account of his unparalleled talents, Rome would be the possession of the Gauls; and I fear lest, if we are thus dilatory, our ancestors will so often have preserved it only for the Carthaginians and Hannibal; but that man and true Roman, on the very day on which intelligence was brought him to Veii, that he was appointed dictator, on the authority of the fathers and the nomination of the people, came down into the plain, though the Janiculum was high enough to admit of his sitting down there, and viewing the enemy at a distance, and on that very day defeated the Gallic legions in the middle of the city, in the place where the Gallic piles are now, and on the following day on the Roman side of Gabii. What many years after this, when we were sent under the yoke at the Caudine forks by the Samnite foe, did Lucius Papirius Cursor take the yoke from the Roman neck and place it upon the proud Samnites, by traversing the heights of Samnium? or was it by pressing and besieging Luceria, and challenging the victorious enemy? A short time ago, what was it that gave victory to Caius Lutatius but expedition? for on the day after he caught sight of the enemy he surprised and overpowered the fleet, loaded with provisions, and encumbered of itself by its own implements and apparatus. It is folly to suppose that the war can be brought to a conclusion by sitting still, or by prayers, the troops must be armed and led down into the plain, that you may engage man to man. The Roman power has grown to its present height by courage and activity, and not by such dilatory measures as these,

which the cowardly only designate as cautious." A crowd of Roman tribunes and knights poured round Minucius, while thus, as it were, haranguing, his presumptuous expressions reached the ears of the common soldiers, and had the question been submitted to the votes of the soldiers, they showed evidently that they would have preferred Minucius to Fabius for their general.

## 15

Fabius, keeping his attention fixed no less upon his own troops than on the enemy, first shows that his resolution was unconquered by the former. Though he well knew that his procrastination was disapproved, not only in his own camp, but by this time even at Rome, yet, inflexibly adhering to the same line of policy, he delayed through the remainder of the summer, in order that Hannibal, devoid of all hope of a battle, which he so earnestly desired, might now look out for a place for winter quarters, because that district was one of present, but not constant, supply, consisting, as it did, of plantations and vineyards, and all places planted luxurious rather than useful produce. This intelligence was to Fabius by his scouts. When he felt convinced that he would return by the same narrow pass through which he had entered the Falernian territory, he occupied Mount Callicula and Casilinum with a pretty strong guard. Which city, intersected by the river Volturnus, divides the Falernian and Campanian territories. He himself leads back his troops along the same heights, having sent Lucius Hostilius Mancinus with four hundred of the allied cavalry to reconnoitre; who being one of the crowd of youths who had often heard the master of the horse fiercely haranguing, at first advanced after the manner of a scout, in order that he might observe the enemy in security; and when he saw the Numidians scattered widely throughout the villages, having gotten an opportunity, he also slew a few of them. But from that moment his mind was engrossed with the thoughts of a battle, and the injunctions of the dictator were forgotten, who had charged him, when he had advanced as far as he could with safety, to retreat before he came within the enemy's view. The Numidians, party after party, skirmishing and retreating, drew the general almost to their camp, to the fatigue of his men and horses. Then Karthalo, who had the command of the cavalry, charging at full speed, and having put them to flight before he came within a dart's throw, pursued them for five miles almost in a continuous course. Mancinus, when he saw that the enemy did not desist from the pursuit, and that there was no hope of escape, having encouraged his troops, turned back to the battle though inferior in every kind of force. Accordingly he himself, and the choicest of his cavalry, being surrounded, are cut to pieces. The rest in disorderly retreat fled first to Cales, and thence to the dictator, by ways almost impassable. It happened that on that day Minucius had formed a junction with Fabius, having been sent to secure with a guard the pass above Tarracina, which, contracted into a narrow gorge, overhangs the sea, in order that Hannibal might not be able to get into the Roman territory by the Appian way's being unguarded. The dictator and master of the horse, uniting their forces, lead them down into the road through which Hannibal was about to march his troops. The enemy was two miles from that place.

## 16

The following day the Carthaginians filled the whole road between the two camps with his troops in marching order; and though the Romans had taken their stand immediately under their rampart, having a decidedly superior position, yet the Carthaginian came up with his light horse and, with a view to provoke the enemy,

carried on a kind of desultory attack, first charging and then retreating. The Roman line remained in its position. The battle was slow and more conformable to the wish of the dictator than of Hannibal. On the part of the Romans there fell two hundred, on the part of the enemy eight hundred. It now began to appear that Hannibal was hemmed in, the road to Casilinum being blockaded; and that while Capua, and Samnium, and so many wealthy allies in the rear of the Romans might supply them with provisions, the Carthaginian, on the other hand, must winter amid the rocks of Formiae and the sands and hideous swamps of Liternum. Nor did it escape Hannibal that he was assailed by his own arts; wherefore, since he could not escape by way of Casilinum, and since it was necessary to make for the mountains, and pass the summit of Callicula, lest in any place the Romans should attack his troops while enclosed in valleys; having hit upon a stratagem calculated to deceive the sight, and excite terror from its appearance, by means of which he might baffle the enemy, he resolved to come up by stealth to the mountains at the commencement of night. The preparation of his wily stratagem was of this description. Torches, collected from every part of the country, and bundles of rods and dry cuttings, are fastened before the horns of oxen, of which, wild and tame, he had driven away a great number among other plunder of the country: the number of oxen was made up to nearly two thousand. To Hasdrubal was assigned the task of driving to the mountains that herd, after having set fire to their horns, as soon as ever it was dark; particularly, if he could, over the passes beset by the enemy.

## 17

As soon as it was dark the camp was moved in silence; the oxen were driven a little in advance of the standards. When they arrived at the foot of the mountains and the narrow passes, the signal is immediately given for setting fire to their horns and driving them violently up the mountains before them. The mere terror excited by the flame, which cast a glare from their heads, and the heat now approaching the quick and the roots of their horns, drove on the oxen as if goaded by madness. By which dispersion, on a sudden all the surrounding shrubs were in a blaze, as if the mountains and woods had been on fire; and the unavailing tossing of their heads quickening the flame, exhibited an appearance as of men running to and fro on every side. Those who had been placed to guard the passage of the wood, when they saw fires on the tops of the mountains, and some over their own heads, concluding that they were surrounded, abandoned their post; making for the tops of the mountains in the direction in which the fewest fires blazed, as being the safest course; however they fell in with some oxen which had strayed from their herds. At first, when they beheld them at a distance, they stood fixed in amazement at the miracle, as it appeared to them, of creatures breathing fire; afterwards, when it showed itself to be a human stratagem, then, forsooth, concluding that there was an ambuscade, as they are hurrying away in flight, with increased alarm, they fall in also with the light-armed troops of the enemy. But the night, when the fear was equally shared, kept them from commencing the battle till morning. Meanwhile Hannibal, having marched his whole army through the pass, and having cut off some of the enemy in the very defile, pitches his camp in the country of Allifae.

## 18

Fabius perceived this tumult, but concluding that it was a snare, and being disinclined for a battle, particularly by night, kept his troops within the works. At break of day a battle took place under the summit of the mountain, in which the Romans, who were considerably superior in numbers, would have easily overpowered the light-armed of

the enemy, cut off as they were from their party, had not a cohort of Spaniards, sent back by Hannibal for that very purpose, reached the spot. That body being more accustomed to mountains, and being more adapted, both from the agility of their limbs and also from the character of their arms, to skirmishing amid rocks and crags, easily foiled, by their manner of fighting, an enemy loaded with arms, accustomed to level ground and the steady kind of fighting. Separating from a contest thus by no means equal, they proceeded to their camps; the Spaniards almost all untouched; the Romans having lost a few. Fabius also moved his camp, and passing the defile, took up a position above Allifae, in a strong and elevated place. Then Hannibal, pretending to march to Rome through Samnium, came back as far as the Peligni, spreading devastation. Fabius led his troops along the heights midway between the army of the enemy and the city of Rome; neither avoiding him altogether, nor coming to an engagement. From the Peligni the Carthaginian turned his course, and going back again to Apulia, reached Geronium, a city deserted by its inhabitants from fear, as a part of its walls had fallen down together in ruins. The dictator formed a completely fortified camp in the territory of Larinum, and being recalled thence to Rome on account of some sacred rites, he not only urged the master of the horse, in virtue of his authority, but with advice and almost with prayers, that he would trust rather to prudence than fortune; and imitate him as a general rather than Sempronius and Flaminius; that he would not suppose that nothing had been achieved by having worn out nearly the whole summer in baffling the enemy; that physicians too sometimes gained more by rest than by motion and action. That it was no small thing to have ceased to be conquered by an enemy so often victorious, and to have taken breath after successive disasters. Having thus unavailingly admonished the master of the horse, he set out for Rome.

## 19

In the beginning of the summer in which these events occurred, the war commenced by land and sea in Spain also. To the number of ships which he had received from his brother, equipped and ready for action, Hasdrubal added ten. The fleet of forty ships he delivered to Himilco: and thus setting out from Carthage, kept his ships near the land, while he led his army along the shore, ready to engage with whichever part of his forces the enemy might fall in with. Cneius Scipio, when he heard that the enemy had quitted his winter quarters, at first formed the same plan; but afterwards, not daring to engage him by land, from a great rumour of fresh auxiliaries, he advances to meet him with a fleet of thirty-five ships, having put some chosen soldiers on board. Setting out from Tarraco, on the second day, he reached a convenient station, ten miles from the mouth of the Iberus. Two ships of the Massilians, sent forward from that place reconnoitering, brought word back that the Carthaginian fleet was stationed in the mouth of the river, and that the camp was pitched upon the bank. In order, therefore, to overpower them while off their guard and incautious, by a universal and wide-spread terror, he weighed anchor and advanced. In Spain there are several towers placed in high situations, which they employ both as watch-towers and as places of defence against pirates. From them first, a view of the ships of the enemy having been obtained, the signal was given to Hasdrubal; and a tumult arose in the camp, and on land sooner than on the ships and at sea; the dashing of the oars and other nautical noises not being yet distinctly heard, nor the promontories disclosing the fleet. Upon this, suddenly one horseman after another, sent out by Hasdrubal, orders those who were strolling upon the shore or resting quietly in their tents, expecting any thing rather than the enemy and a battle on that day, immediately to embark and take up arms: that the Roman fleet was now a short

distance from the harbour. The horsemen, despatched in every direction, delivered these orders; and presently Hasdrubal himself comes up with the main army. All places resound with noises of various kinds; the soldiers and rowers hurrying together to the ships, rather like men running away from the land than marching to battle. Scarcely had all embarked, when some, unfastening the hawsers, are carried out against the anchors; others cut their cables, that nothing might impede them; and by doing every thing with hurry and precipitation, the duties of mariners were impeded by the preparations of the soldiers, and the soldiers were prevented from taking and preparing for action their arms, by the bustle of the mariners. And now the Roman was not only approaching, but had drawn up his ships for the battle. The Carthaginians, therefore, thrown into disorder, not more by the enemy and the battle than by their own tumult, having rather made an attempt at fighting than commenced a battle, turned their fleet for flight; and as the mouth of the river which was before them could not be entered in so broad a line, and by so many pressing in at the same time, they ran their ships on shore in every part. And being received, some in the shallows, and others on the dry shore, some armed and some unarmed, they escaped to their friends, who were drawn up in battle-array over the shore. Two Carthaginian ships were captured and four sunk on the first encounter.

## 20

The Romans, though the enemy was master of the shore, and they saw armed troops lining the whole bank, promptly pursuing the discomfited fleet of the enemy, towed out into the deep all the ships which had not either shattered their prows by the violence with which they struck the shore, or set their keels fast in the shallows. They captured as many as twenty-five out of forty. Nor was that the most splendid result of their victory: but they became masters of the whole sea on that coast by one slight battle; advancing, then, with their fleet to Honosca, and making a descent from the ships upon the coast, when they had taken the city by storm and pillaged it, they afterwards made for Carthage: then devastating the whole surrounding country, they, lastly, set fire also to the buildings contiguous to the wall and gates. Thence the fleet laden with plunder, arrived at Longuntica, where a great quantity of oakum for naval purposes had been collected by Hasdrubal: of this, taking away as much as was sufficient for their necessities, they burnt all the rest. Nor did they only sail by the prominent coasts of the continent, but crossed over into the island Ebusus; where, having with the utmost exertion, but in vain, carried on operations against the city, which is the capital of the island, for two days, when they found that time was wasted to no purpose upon a hopeless task, they turned their efforts to the devastation of the country; and having plundered and fired several villages, and acquired a greater booty than they had obtained on the continent, they retired to their ships, when ambassadors from the Baliares came to Scipio to sue for peace. From this place the fleet sailed back, and returned to the hither parts of the province, whither ambassadors of all the people who dwell on the Iberus, and of many people in the most distant parts of Spain, assembled. But the number of states who really became subject to the authority and dominion of the Romans, and gave hostages, amounted to upwards of one hundred and twenty. The Roman therefore, relying sufficiently on his land forces also, advanced as far as the pass of Castulo. Hasdrubal retired into Lusitania, and nearer the ocean.

## 21

After this, it seemed probable that the remainder of the summer would be peaceful; and so it would have been with regard to the Punic enemy: but besides that the tempers of

the Spaniards themselves are naturally restless, and eager for innovation, Mandonius, together with Indibilis, who had formerly been petty prince of the Ilergetes, having stirred up their countrymen, came to lay waste the peaceful country of the Roman allies, after the Romans had retired from the pass to the sea-coast. A military tribune with some light-armed auxiliaries being sent against these by Scipio, with a small effort put them all to the rout, as being but a disorderly band: some having been captured and slain, a great portion of them were deprived of their arms. This disturbance, however, brought back Hasdrubal, who was retiring to the ocean, to protect his allies on this side the Iberus. The Carthaginian camp was in the territory of Ilercao, the Roman camp at the New Fleet, when unexpected intelligence turned the war into another quarter. The Celtiberians, who had sent the chief men of their country as ambassadors to the Romans, and had given them hostages, aroused by a message from Scipio, take up arms and invade the province of the Carthaginians with a powerful army; take three towns by storm; and after that, encountering Hasdrubal himself in two battles with, splendid success, slew fifteen thousand and captured four thousand, together with many military standards.

## 22

This being the state of affairs in Spain, Publius Scipio came into his province, having been sent thither by the senate, his command being continued to him after his consulate, with thirty long ships, eight thousand soldiers, and a large importation of provisions. That fleet, swelled to an enormous size by a multitude of transports, being descried at a distance, entered safe the port of Tarraco, to the great joy of the citizens and allies. Landing his troops there, Scipio set out and formed a junction with his brother, and thenceforward they prosecuted the war with united courage and counsels. While the Carthaginians, therefore, were occupied with the Celtiberian war, they promptly crossed the Iberus, and not seeing any enemy, pursue their course to Saguntum; for it was reported that the hostages from every part of Spain, having been consigned to custody, were kept in the citadel of that place under a small guard. That pledge alone checked the affections of all the people of Spain, which were inclined towards an alliance with the Romans; lest the guilt of their defection should be expiated with the blood of their children. One man, by a stratagem more subtle than honourable, liberated the Spaniards from this restraint. There was at Saguntum a noble Spaniard, named Abelux, hitherto faithful to the Carthaginians, but now (such are for the most part the dispositions of barbarians) had changed his attachment with fortune; but considering that a deserter going over to enemies without the betraying of something valuable, would be looked upon only as a stigmatized and worthless individual, was solicitous to render as great a service as possible to his new confederates. Having turned over in his mind, then, the various means which, under the favour of fortune, he might employ, in preference to every other, he applied himself to the delivering up of the hostages; concluding that this one thing, above all others, would gain the Romans the friendship of the Spanish chieftains. But since he knew that the guards of the hostages would do nothing without the authority of Bostar, the governor, he addresses himself with craft to Bostar himself. Bostar had his camp without the city, just upon the shore, in order to preclude the approach of the Romans from that quarter. He informs him, taken aside to a secret place, and as if uninformed, in what position affairs were: "That hitherto fear had withheld the minds of the Spaniards to them, because the Romans were at a great distance: that now the Roman camp was on this side the Iberus, a secure fortress and asylum for such as desired a change, that therefore those whom

fear could not bind should be attached by kindness and favour." When Bostar, in astonishment, earnestly asked him, what sudden gift of so much importance that could be, he replied, "Send back the hostages to their states: this will be an acceptable boon, privately to their parents, who possess the greatest influence in their respective states, and publicly to the people. Every man wishes to have confidence reposed in him; and confidence reposed generally enforces the fidelity itself. The office of restoring the hostages to their homes, I request for myself; that I may enhance my project by the trouble bestowed, and that I may add as much value as I can to a service in its own intrinsic nature so acceptable." When he had persuaded the man, who was not cunning as compared with Carthaginian minds in general, having gone secretly and by night to the outposts of the enemy, he met with some auxiliary Spaniards; and having been brought by them into the presence of Scipio, he explains what brought him. Pledges of fidelity having been given and received, and the time and place for delivering the hostages having been appointed, he returns to Saguntum. The following day he spent with Bostar, in taking his commands for effecting the business; having so arranged it, that he should go by night, in order that he might escape the observation of the enemy, he was dismissed; and awakening the guards of the youths at the hour agreed upon with them, set out and led them, as if unconsciously, into a snare prepared by his own deceit. They were brought to the Roman camp, and every thing else respecting the restoration of the hostages was transacted as had been agreed upon with Bostar, and in the same course as if the affair had been carried on in the name of the Carthaginians. But the favour of the Romans was somewhat greater than that of the Carthaginians would have been in a similar case; for misfortune and fear might have seemed to have softened them, who had been found oppressive and haughty in prosperity. The Roman, on the contrary, on his first arrival, having been unknown to them before, had begun with an act of clemency and liberality: and Abelux, a man of prudence, did not seem likely to have changed his allies without good cause. Accordingly all began, with great unanimity, to meditate a revolt; and hostilities would immediately have commenced, had not the winter intervened, which compelled the Romans, and the Carthaginians also, to retire to shelter.

## 23

Such were the transactions in Spain also during the second summer of the Punic war; while in Italy the prudent delay of Fabius had procured the Romans some intermission from disasters; which conduct, as it kept Hannibal disturbed with no ordinary degree of anxiety, for it proved to him that the Romans had at length selected a general who would carry on the war with prudence, and not in dependence on fortune; so was it treated with contempt by his countrymen, both in the camp and in the city; particularly after that a battle had been fought during his absence from the temerity of the master of the horse, in its issue, as I may justly designate it, rather joyful than successful. Two causes were added to augment the unpopularity of the dictator: one arising out of a stratagem and artful procedure of Hannibal; for the farm of the dictator having been pointed out to him by deserters, he ordered that the fire and sword and every outrage of enemies should be restrained from it alone, while all around were levelled with the ground; in order that it might appear to have been the term of some secret compact: the other from an act of his own, at first perhaps suspicious, because in it he had not waited for the authority of the senate, but in the result turning unequivocally to his highest credit, with relation to the exchange of prisoners: for, as was the case in the first Punic war, an agreement had been made between the Roman and Carthaginian generals, that

whichever received more prisoners than he restored, should give two pounds and a half of silver for every man. And when the Roman had received two hundred and forty-seven more than the Carthaginian, and the silver which was due for them, after the matter had been frequently agitated in the senate, was not promptly supplied, because he had not consulted the fathers, he sent his son Quintus to Rome and sold his farm, uninjured by the enemy, and thus redeemed the public credit at his own private expense. Hannibal lay in a fixed camp before the walls of Geronium, which city he had captured and burnt, leaving only a few buildings for the purpose of granaries: thence he was in the habit of sending out two-thirds of his forces to forage; with the third part kept in readiness, he himself remained on guard, both as a protection to his camp, and for the purpose of looking out, if from any quarter an attack should be made upon his foragers.

## 24

The Roman army was at that time in the territory of Larinum. Minucius, the master of the horse, had the command of it; the dictator, as was before mentioned, having gone to the city. But the camp, which had been pitched in an elevated and secure situation, was now brought down into the plain; plans of a bolder character, agreeably with the temper of the general, were in agitation; and either an attack was to be made upon the scattered foragers, or upon the camp now left with an inconsiderable guard. Nor did it escape the observation of Hannibal, that the plan of the war had been changed with the general, and that the enemy would act with more boldness than counsel. Hannibal himself too, which one would scarcely credit, though the enemy was near, despatched a third part of his troops to forage, retaining the remaining two-thirds in the camp. After that he advanced his camp itself nearer to the enemy, to a hill within the enemy's view, nearly two miles from Geronium; that they might be aware that he was on the alert to protect his foragers if any attack should be made upon them. Then he discovered an eminence nearer to, and commanding the very camp of the Romans: and because if he marched openly in the day-time to occupy it, the enemy would doubtless anticipate him by a shorter way, the Numidians having been sent privately in the night, took possession of it. These, occupying this position, the Romans, the next day, despising the smallness of their numbers, dislodge, and transfer their camp thither themselves. There was now, therefore, but a very small space between rampart and rampart, and that the Roman line had almost entirely filled; at the same time the cavalry, with the light infantry sent out against the foragers through the opposite part of the camp, effected a slaughter and flight of the scattered enemy far and wide. Nor dared Hannibal hazard a regular battle; because with so few troops, that he would scarcely be able to protect his camp if attacked. And now he carried on the war (for part of his army was away) according to the plans of Fabius, by sitting still and creating delays. He had also withdrawn his troops to their former camp, which was before the walls of Geronium. Some authors affirm that they fought in regular line, and with encountering standards; that in the first encounter the Carthaginian was driven in disorder quite to his camp; but that, a sally thence having been suddenly made all at once, the Romans in their turn became alarmed; that after that the battle was restored by the arrival of Numerius Decimius the Samnite; that this man, the first in family and fortune, not only in Bovianum, whence he came, but in all Samnium, when conducting by command of the dictator to the camp eight thousand infantry and five hundred horse, having shown himself on the rear of Hannibal, seemed to both parties to be a fresh reinforcement coming with Quintus Fabius from Rome; that Hannibal, fearing also some ambuscade, withdrew his troops; and that the Roman, aided by the Samnite, pursuing him, took by

storm two forts on that day; that six thousand of the enemy were slain, and about five thousand of the Romans; but that though the loss was so nearly equal, intelligence was conveyed to Rome of a signal victory; and a letter from the master of the horse still more presumptuous.

## 25

These things were very frequently discussed, both in the senate and assemblies. When the dictator alone, while joy pervaded the city, attached no credit to the report or letter; and granting that all were true, affirmed that he feared more from success than failure; then Marcus Metilius, a Plebeian tribune, declares that such conduct surely could not be endured. That the dictator, not only when present was an obstacle to the right management of the affair, but also being absent from the camp, opposed it still when achieved; that he studiously dallied in his conduct of the war, that he might continue the longer in office, and that he might have the sole command both at Rome and in the army. Since one of the consuls had fallen in battle, and the other was removed to a distance from Italy, under pretext of pursuing a Carthaginian fleet; and the two praetors were occupied in Sicily and Sardinia, neither of which provinces required a praetor at this time. That Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, was almost put under a guard, lest he should see the enemy, and carry on any warlike operation. That therefore, by Hercules, not only Samnium, which had now been yielded to the Carthaginians, as if it had been land beyond the Iberus, but the Campanian, Calenian, and Falernian territories had been devastated, while the dictator was sitting down at Casilinum, protecting his own farm with the legions of the Roman people: that the army, eager for battle, as well as the master of the horse, were kept back almost imprisoned within the rampart: that their arms were taken out of their hands, as from captured enemies: at length, as soon as ever the dictator had gone away, having marched out beyond their rampart, that they had routed the enemy and put him to flight. On account of which circumstances, had the Roman commons retained their ancient spirit, that he would have boldly proposed to them to annul the authority of Quintus Fabius; but now he would bring forward a moderate proposition, to make the authority of the master of the horse and the dictator equal; and that even then Quintus Fabius should not be sent to the army, till he had substituted a consul in the room of Caius Flaminius. The dictator kept away from the popular assemblies, in which he did not command a favourable hearing, and even in the senate he was not heard with favourable ears, when his eloquence was employed in praising the enemy, and attributing the disasters of the last two years to the temerity and unskilfulness of the generals; and when he declared that the master of the horse ought to be called to account for having fought contrary to his injunction. That "if the supreme command and administration of affairs were intrusted to him, he would soon take care that men should know, that to a good general fortune was not of great importance; that prudence and conduct governed every thing; that it was more glorious for him to have saved the army at a crisis, and without disgrace, than to have slain many thousands of the enemy." Speeches of this kind having been made without effect, and Marcus Atilius Regulus created consul, that he might not be present to dispute respecting the right of command, he withdrew to the army on the night preceding the day on which the proposition was to be decided. When there was an assembly of the people at break of day, a secret displeasure towards the dictator, and favour towards the master of the horse, rather possessed their minds, than that men had not sufficient resolution to advise a measure which was agreeable to the public; and though favour carried it, influence was wanting to the bill. One man indeed was found who

recommended the law, Caius Terentius Varro, who had been praetor in the former year, sprung not only from humble but mean parentage. They report that his father was a butcher, the retailer of his own meat, and that he employed this very son in the servile offices of that trade.

## 26

This young man, when a fortune left him by his father, acquired in such a traffic, had inspired him with the hope of a higher condition, and the gown and forum were the objects of his choice, by declaiming vehemently in behalf of men and causes of the lowest kind, in opposition to the interest and character of the good, first came to the notice of the people, and then to offices of honour. Having passed through the offices of quaestor, plebeian, and curule aedile, and, lastly, that of praetor; when now he raised his mind to the hope of the consulship, he courted the gale of popular favour by maligning the dictator, and received alone the credit of the decree of the people. All men, both at Rome and in the army, both friends and foes, except the dictator himself, considered this measure to have been passed as an insult to him; but the dictator himself bore the wrong which the infuriated people had put upon him, with the same gravity with which he endured the charges against him which his enemies laid before the multitude; and receiving the letter containing a decree of the senate respecting the equalization of the command while on his journey, satisfied that an equal share of military skill was not imparted together with the equal share of command, he returned to the army with a mind unsubdued alike by his fellow-citizens and by the enemy.

## 27

But Minucius, who, in consequence of his success and the favour of the populace, was scarcely endurable before now especially, unrestrained by shame or moderation, boasted not more in having conquered Hannibal than Quintus Fabius. "That he, who had been sought out in their distress as the only general, and as a match for Hannibal; that he, an event which no record of history contains, was by the order of the people placed upon an equal footing with himself,--a superior with an inferior officer, a dictator with a master of the horse,--in that very city wherein the masters of the horse are wont to crouch and tremble at the rods and axes of the dictator. With such splendour had his valour and success shone forth. That he therefore would follow up his own good fortune, though the dictator persisted in his delay and sloth; measures condemned alike by the sentence of gods and men." Accordingly, on the first day on which he met Quintus Fabius, he intimated "that the first point to be settled was the manner in which they should employ the command thus equalized. That he was of opinion that the best plan would be for them to be invested with the supreme authority and command either on alternate days, or, if longer intervals were more agreeable, for any determinate periods; in order that the person in command might be a match for the enemy, not only in judgment, but in strength, if any opportunity for action should occur." Fabius by no means approved of this proposition: he said, "that Fortune would have at her disposal all things which the rashness of his colleague had; that his command had been shared with him, and not taken away; that he would never, therefore, willingly withdraw from conducting the war, in whatever post he could with prudence and discretion: nor would he divide the command with him with respect to times or days, but that he would divide the army, and that he would preserve, by his own measures, so much as he could, since it was not allowed him to save the whole." Thus he carried it, that, as was the custom of consuls, they should divide the legions between them: the first and fourth fell to the lot

of Minucius, the second and third to Fabius. They likewise divided equally between them the cavalry, the auxiliaries of the allies and of the Latin name. The master of the horse was desirous also that they should have separate camps.

## 28

From this Hannibal derived a twofold joy, for nothing which was going on among the enemy escaped him, the deserters revealing many things, and he himself examining by his own scouts. For he considered that he should be able to entrap the unrestrained temerity of Minucius by his usual arts, and that half the force of the sagacity of Fabius had vanished. There was an eminence between the camps of Minucius and the Carthaginians, whoever occupied it would evidently render the position of his enemy less advantageous. Hannibal was not so desirous of gaining it without a contest, though that were worth his while, as to bring on a quarrel with Minucius, who, he well knew, would at all times throw himself in his way to oppose him. All the intervening ground was at first sight unavailable to one who wished to plant an ambush, because it not only had not any part that was woody, but none even covered with brambles, but in reality formed by nature to cover an ambush, so much the more, because no such deception could be apprehended in a naked valley and there were in its curvatures hollow rocks, such that some of them were capable of containing two hundred armed men. Within these recesses, five thousand infantry and cavalry are secreted, as many as could conveniently occupy each. Lest, however, in any part, either the motion of any one of them thoughtlessly coming out, or the glittering of their arms, should discover the stratagem in so open a valley, by sending out a few troops at break of day to occupy the before-mentioned eminence, he diverts the attention of the enemy. Immediately, on the first view of them, the smallness of their number was treated with contempt, and each man began to request for himself the task of dislodging the enemy. The general himself, among the most headstrong and absurd, calls to arms to go and seize the place, and inveighs against the enemy with vain presumption and menaces. First, he despatches his light-armed, after that his cavalry, in a close body, lastly, perceiving that succours were also being sent to the enemy, he marches with his legions drawn up in order of battle. Hannibal also, sending band after band, as the contest increased, as aids to his men when distressed, had now completed a regular army, and a battle was fought with the entire strength of both sides. First, the light infantry of the Romans, approaching the eminence, which was preoccupied, from the lower ground, being repulsed and pushed down, spread a terror among the cavalry, which was marching up also and fled back to the standards of the legions: the line of infantry alone stood fearless amidst the panic-struck; and it appeared that they would by no means have been inferior to the enemy, had it been a regular and open battle, so much confidence did the successful battle a few days before inspire. But the troops in ambush created such confusion and alarm, by charging them on both flanks and on their rear, that no one had spirit enough left to fight, or hope enough to try to escape.

## 29

Then Fabius, first having heard the shout of the terrified troops, and then having gotten a view of their disordered line, exclaims, "It is so; and no sooner than I feared, has adverse fortune overtaken temerity. Equalled to Fabius in command, he sees that Hannibal is superior to him in courage and in fortune. But another will be the time for reproaches and resentment. Now advance your standards beyond the rampart: let us wrest the victory from the enemy, and a confession of their error from our

countrymen." A great part of the troops having been now slain, and the rest looking about for a way to escape; the army of Fabius showed itself on a sudden for their help, as if sent down from heaven. And thus, before he came within a dart's throw or joined battle, he both stayed his friends from a precipitate flight and the enemy from excessive fierceness of fighting. Those who had been scattered up and down, their ranks being broken, fled for refuge from every quarter to the fresh army; those who had fled together in parties, turning upon the enemy, now forming a circle, retreat slowly, now concentrating themselves, stand firm. And now the vanquished and the fresh army had nearly formed one line, and were bearing their standards against the enemy, when the Carthaginians sounded a retreat; Hannibal openly declaring that though he had conquered Minucius, he was himself conquered by Fabius. The greater part of the day having been thus consumed with varying success, Minucius calling together his soldiers, when they had returned to the camp, thus addressed them: "I have often heard, soldiers, that he is the greatest man who himself counsels what is expedient, and that he who listens to the man who gives good advice is the second, but that he who neither himself is capable of counselling, and knows not how to obey another, is of the lowest order of mind. Since the first place of mind and talent has been denied us, let us strive to obtain the second and intermediate kind, and while we are learning to command, let us prevail upon ourselves to submit to a man of prudence. Let us join camps with Fabius, and, carrying our standards to his pavilion, when I have saluted him as my parent, which he deserves on account of the service he has rendered us and of his dignity; you, my soldiers, shall salute those men as patrons, whose arms and right-hands just now protected you: and if this day has conferred nothing else upon us, it hath at least conferred upon us the glory of possessing grateful hearts."

### 30

The signal being given, there was a general call to collect the baggage: then setting out, and proceeding in order of march to the dictator's camp, they excited at once the surprise of the dictator himself and all around him. When the standards were planted before the tribunal, the master of the horse, advancing before the rest, having saluted Fabius as father, and the whole body of his troops having, with one voice, saluted the soldiers who surrounded him as patrons, said, "To my parents, dictator, to whom I have just now equalled you, only in name, as far as I could express myself, I am indebted for my life only; to you I owe both my own preservation and that of all these soldiers. That order of the people, therefore, with which I have been oppressed rather than honoured, I first cancel and annul, and (may it be auspicious to me and you, and to these your armies, to the preserved and the preserver,) I return to your authority and auspices, and restore to you these standards and these legions, and I entreat you that, being reconciled, you would order that I may retain the mastership of the horse, and that these soldiers may each of them retain their ranks." After that hands were joined, and when the assembly was dismissed, the soldiers were kindly and hospitably invited by those known to them and unknown: and that day, from having been a little while ago gloomy in the extreme, and almost accursed, was turned into a day of joy. At Rome, the report of the action was conveyed thither, and was afterwards confirmed, not less by letters from the common soldiers of both armies, than from the generals themselves, all men individually extolled Maximus to the skies. His renown was equal with Hannibal, and his enemies the Carthaginians and then at length they began to feel that they were engaged in war with Romans, and in Italy. For the two preceding years they entertained so utter a contempt for the Roman generals and soldiers, that they could scarcely

believe that they were waging war with the same nation which their fathers had reported to them as being so formidable. They relate also, that Hannibal said, as he returned from the field that at length that cloud, which was used to settle on the tops of the mountains, had sent down a shower with a storm.

### 31

While these events occur in Italy, Cneius Servilius Geminus, the consul, having sailed round the coast of Sardinia and Corsica with a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships, and received hostages from both places, crossed over into Africa, and before he made a descent upon the continent, having laid waste the island of Meninx, and received from the inhabitants of Cercina ten talents of silver, in order that their fields too might not be burnt and pillaged, he approached the shores of Africa, and landed his troops. Thence the soldiers were led out to plunder, and the crews scattered about just as if they were plundering uninhabited islands and thus, carelessly falling upon an ambuscade, when they were surrounded--the ignorant of the country by those acquainted with it, the straggling by those in close array, they were driven back to their ships in ignominious flight, and with great carnage. As many as one thousand men, together with Sempionius Blaesus, the quaestor, having been lost, the fleet hastily setting sail from the shore, which was crowded with the enemy, proceeded direct for Italy, and was given up at Lilybaeum to Titus Otacilius, the praetor, that it might be taken back to Rome by his lieutenant, Publius Suia. The consul himself, proceeding through Sicily on foot, crossed the strait into Italy, summoned, as well as his colleague, Marcus Atilius, by a letter from Quintus Fabius, to receive the armies from him, as the period of his command, which was six months, had nearly expired. Almost all the annalists record that Fabius conducted the war against Hannibal, as dictator Caelius also writes, that he was the first dictator created by the people. But it has escaped Caelius and all the others that Cneius Servilius, the consul, who was then a long way from home in Gaul, which was his province, was the only person who possessed the right of appointing a dictator, and that as the state, terrified by the disasters which had just befallen it, could not abide the delay, it had recourse to the determination that the people should create a prodictator, that his subsequent achievements, his singular renown as a general, and his descendants, who exaggerated the inscription of his statue, easily brought it about that he should be called dictator, instead of prodictator.

### 32

The consuls, Atilius and Geminus Servilius, having received, the former the army of Fabius, the latter that of Minucius, and fortified their winter quarters in good time, (it was the close of the autumn,) carried on the war with the most perfect unanimity, according to the plans of Fabius. In many places they fell upon the troops of Hannibal when out on foraging excursions, availing themselves of the opportunity, and both harassing their march and intercepting the stragglers. They did not come to the chance of a general battle, which the enemy tried by every artifice to bring about. And Hannibal was so straitened by the want of provisions, that had he not feared in retiring the appearance of flight, he would have returned to Gaul, no hope being left of being able to subsist an army in those quarters, if the ensuing consuls should carry on the war upon the same plan. The war having been arrested in its progress at Geronium, the winter interrupting it, ambassadors from Naples came to Rome. They carried into the senate-house forty golden goblets, of great weight, and spoke to this effect. "That they knew the treasury of the Romans was exhausted by the war, and since the war was carried on

alike in defence of the cities and the lands of the allies, and of the empire and city of Rome, the capital and citadel of Italy, that the Neapolitans thought it but fair that they should assist the Roman people with whatever gold had been left them by their ancestors as well for the decoration of their temples as for the relief of misfortune. If they had thought that there was any resource in themselves, that they would have offered it with the same zeal. That the Roman fathers and people would render an acceptable service to them, if they would consider all the goods of the Neapolitans as their own, and if they would think them deserving, that they should accept a present at their hands, rendered valuable and of consequence rather by the spirit and affection of those who gave it with cheerfulness, than by its intrinsic worth." Thanks were given to the ambassadors for their munificence and attention, and the goblet of least weight was accepted.

### 33

During the same days a Carthaginian spy, who had escaped for two years, was apprehended at Rome, and his hands having been cut off, was let go: and twenty-five slaves were crucified for forming a conspiracy in the Campus Martius; his liberty was given to the informer, and twenty thousand *asses* of the heavy standard. Ambassadors were also sent to Philip, king of the Macedonians, to demand Demetrius of Pharia, who, having been vanquished in war had fled to him. Others were sent to the Ligurians, to expostulate with them for having assisted the Carthaginians with their substance and with auxiliaries; and, at the same time, to take a near view of what was going on amongst the Boii and Insubrians. Ambassadors were also sent to the Illyrians to king Pineus, to demand the tribute, the day of payment of which had passed; or if he wished to postpone the day, to receive hostages. Thus, though an arduous war was on their shoulders, no attention to any one concern in any part of the world, however remote, escapes the Romans. It was made a matter of superstitious fear also, that the temple of Concord, which Lucius Manlius, the praetor, had vowed in Gaul two years ago, on occasion of a mutiny, had not been contracted for to that day. Accordingly, Cneius Pupius and Caeso Quinctius Flaminius, created *duumviri* by Marcus Aemilius, the city praetor, for that purpose, contract for the building a temple in the citadel. By the same praetor a letter was sent to the consuls, agreeably to a decree of the senate, to the effect that, if they thought proper, one of them should come to Rome to elect consuls; and that he would proclaim the election for whatever day they might name. To this it was replied by the consuls, that they could not leave the enemy without detriment to the public; that it would be better, therefore, that the election should be held by an *interrex*, than that one of the consuls should be called away from the war. It appeared more proper to the fathers, that a dictator should be nominated by a consul, for the purpose of holding the election. Lucius Veturius Philo was nominated, who chose Manius Pomponius Matho master of the horse. These having been created with some defect, they were ordered to give up their appointment on the fourteenth day; and the state came to an *interregnum*.

### 34

To the consuls the authority was continued for a year longer. Caius Claudius Centho, son of Appius, and then Publius Cornelius Asina, were appointed *interreges* by the fathers. During the *interregnum* of the latter the election was held with a violent contest between the patricians and the people, Caius Terentius Varro, whom, as a man of their own order, commended to their favour by inveighing against the patricians and by other popular arts; who had acquired celebrity by maligning others, by undermining the

influence of Fabius, and bringing into contempt the dictatorial authority, the commons strove to raise to the consulship. The patricians opposed him with all their might, lest men, by inveighing against them, should come to be placed on an equality with them. Quintus Boebius Herennius, a plebeian tribune, and kinsman of Caius Terentius, by criminating not only the senate, but the augurs also, for having prevented the dictator from completing the election, by the odium cast upon them, conciliated favour to his own candidate. He asserted, "that Hannibal had been brought into Italy by the nobility, who had for many years been desirous of a war. That by the fraudulent machinations of the same persons the war had been protracted, whereas it might have been brought to a conclusion. That it had appeared that the war could be maintained with an army consisting of four legions in all, from Marcus Minucius's having fought with success in the absence of Fabius. That two legions had been exposed to be slain by the enemy, and were afterwards rescued from absolute destruction, in order that that man might be saluted as father and patron, who had deprived them of victory before he delivered them from defeat. That subsequently the consuls, pursuing the plans of Fabius, had protracted the war, whereas it was in their power to have put a period to it. That this was an agreement made by the nobility in general; nor would they ever have the war concluded till they had created a consul really plebeian; that is, a new man: for that plebeians who had attained nobility were now initiated into the mysteries, and had begun to look down with contempt upon plebeians, from the moment they ceased to be despised by the patricians. Who was not fully aware that their end and object was, that an interregnum should be formed, in order that the elections might be under the influence of the patricians? That both the consuls had that in view in tarrying with the army: and that afterwards a dictator having been nominated to hold the election contrary to their wishes, they had carried it, as it were, by storm, that the augurs should declare the dictator informally elected. That they therefore had gotten an interregnum; but one consulate was surely in the hands of the Roman people. Thus the people would have that at their own unbiassed disposal, and that they would confer it on that man who would rather conquer in reality than lengthen the term of his command."

### 35

When the people had been inflamed by these harangues, though there were three patrician candidates for the consulship, Publius Cornelius Merenda, Lucius Manlius Vulso, and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, two of plebeian families, who had been ennobled, Caius Atilius Serranus and Quintus Aelius Paetus, one of whom was pontiff, the other an augur, Terentius alone was created consul, that the comitia for choosing his colleague might be in his own management. Then the nobles, finding that the competitors whom they had set up were not strong enough, though he strenuously refused for a long time, prevail upon Aemilius Paulus, who was strongly opposed to the people, to become a candidate. He had been consul before with Marcus Livius, and from the condemnation of his colleague, and almost of himself, had come off scathed. On the next day of the election, all who had opposed Varro withdrawing, he is given to the consul rather as a match to oppose him than as a colleague. Afterwards the assembly for the election of praetors was held, and Manius Pomponius Matho and Publius Furius Philus were chosen. The city lot for the administration of justice at Rome fell to the lot of Pomponius; between Roman citizens and foreigners, to Philus. Two praetors were added, Marcus Claudius Marcellus for Sicily, and Lucius Postumius for Gaul. These were all appointed in their absence; nor was an honour which he had not previously borne committed to any one of them, except the consul Terentius, several brave and able men

having been passed over, because, at such a juncture, it did not appear advisable that a new office should be committed to any one.

### 36

The forces also were augmented. But how great was the augmentation of infantry and cavalry authors vary so much, that I scarcely dare positively assert. Some state, that ten thousand soldiers were levied as a reinforcement; others, four fresh legions, that there might be eight legions in service. It is said also, that the complement of the legion was increased in respect both to foot and horse, one thousand foot and one hundred horse being added to each, so that each might contain five thousand foot and three hundred horse; and that the allies furnished twice as many cavalry, and an equal number of infantry. Some authorities affirm that there were eighty-seven thousand two hundred soldiers in the Roman camp when the battle of Cannae was fought. There is no dispute, that the war was prosecuted with greater energy and spirit than during former years, because the dictator had given them a hope that the enemy might be subdued. Before, however, the new-raised legions marched from the city, the decemviri were ordered to have recourse to and inspect the sacred volumes, on account of persons having been generally alarmed by extraordinary prodigies; for intelligence was brought, that it had rained stones on the Aventine at Rome and at Aricia at the same time. That among the Sabines, statues had sweated blood copiously, and at Caere the waters had flowed warm, from a fountain. The latter prodigy excited a greater degree of alarm, because it had frequently occurred. In a street called the Arched Way, near the Campus Martius, several men were struck by lightning and killed. These prodigies were expiated according to the books. Ambassadors from Paestum brought some golden goblets to Rome; they were thanked, as the Neapolitans were, but the gold was not accepted.

### 37

During the same time a fleet from Hiero arrived at Ostia with a large cargo of supplies. The Syracusan ambassadors, on being introduced into the senate, delivered this message: "That king Hiero was so much affected at the slaughter announced to him of Caius Flaminius the consul and his troops, that he could not have been more distressed at any disasters which could have befallen himself or his own kingdom; and accordingly, though he was well aware that the greatness of the Roman people was almost more admirable in adversity than prosperity, he had nevertheless sent every thing which good and faithful allies are wont to contribute to assist the operations of war, which he earnestly implored the conscript fathers not to refuse to accept. First of all, for the sake of the omen, they had brought a golden statue of Victory, of three hundred pounds' weight, which they begged them to accept, keep by them, and hold as their own peculiar and lasting possession. That they had also brought three hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and two hundred thousand of barley, that there might be no want of provisions, and that as much more as might be necessary they would convey, as a supply, to whatever place they might appoint. He knew that the Roman people employed no legionary troops or cavalry who were not Romans, or of the Latin confederacy, that he had seen foreign auxiliary as well as native light-armed troops in the Roman camps, he had, therefore, sent one thousand archers and slingers, a suitable force against the Bahares and Moors, and other nations which fought with missile weapons" To these presents they added also advice "That the praetor to whose lot the province of Sicily had fallen, should pass a fleet over to Africa, that the enemy also might have a war in their own country, and that less liberty should be afforded them of sending reinforcements to

Hannibal" The senate thus replied to the king. "That Hiero was a good man and an admirable ally, and that from the time he first formed a friendship with the Roman people he had uniformly cultivated a spirit of fidelity, and had munificently assisted the Roman cause at all times and in every place. That this was, as it ought to be, a cause of gratitude to the Roman people. That the Roman people had not accepted gold which had been brought them also from certain states, though they felt gratitude for the act. The Victory and the omen," they said, "they would accept, and would assign and dedicate to that goddess, as her abode, the Capitol, the temple of Jupiter, the best and greatest of gods, hoping that, consecrated in that fortress of the city of Rome, she would continue there firm and immovable, kind and propitious to the Roman people." The slingers, archers, and corn were handed over to the consuls. To the fleet which Titus Otacilius the proprietor had in Sicily, twenty-five quinqueremes were added, and permission was given him, if he thought it for the interest of the state to pass over into Africa.

### 38

The levy completed, the consuls waited a few days, till the allies of the Latin confederacy arrived. At this time the soldiers were bound by an oath, which had never before been the case, dictated by the military tribunes, that they would assemble at the command of the consuls, and not depart without orders; for up to that time the military oath only had been employed; and further, when the soldiers met to divide into decuries or centuries, the cavalry being formed into decuries and the infantry into centuries, all swore together, amongst themselves, of their own accord, that they would not depart or quit their ranks for flight or fear, except for the purpose of taking up or fetching a weapon, and either striking an enemy or saving a countryman. This, from being a voluntary compact among the soldiers themselves, was converted into the legal compulsion of an oath by the tribunes. Before the standards were moved from the city, the harangues of Varro were frequent and furious, protesting that the war had been invited into Italy by the nobles, and that it would continue fixed in the bowels of the state if it employed any more such generals as Fabius; that he would bring the war to conclusion on the very day he got sight of the enemy. His colleague Paulus made but one speech, on the day before they set out from the city, which was more true than gratifying to the people, in which nothing was said severely against Varro, except this only. "That he wondered how any general, before he knew any thing of his own army, or that of the enemy, the situation of the places, or the nature of the country, even now while in the city, and with the gown on, could tell what he must do when in arms, and could even foretell the day on which he would fight standard to standard with the enemy. That, for his own part, he would not, before the time arrived, prematurely anticipate those measures which circumstances imposed on men, rather than men on circumstances. He could only wish that those measures which were taken with due caution and deliberation might turn out prosperously. That temerity, setting aside its folly, had hitherto been also unsuccessful." This obviously appeared, that he would prefer safe to precipitate counsels; but that he might persevere the more constantly in this, Quintus Fabius Maximus is reported to have thus addressed him on his departure.

### 39

"If you either had a colleague like yourself, Lucius Aemilius, which is what I should prefer, or you were like your colleague, an address from me would be superfluous. For were you both good consuls, you would do every thing for the good of the state from your own sense of honour, even without my saying a word: and were you both bad

consuls, you would neither receive my words into your ears, nor my counsels into your minds. As the case now is, looking at your colleague and yourself, a man of such character, my address will be solely to you; who, I feel convinced, will prove yourself a good man and a worthy citizen in vain, if the state on the other hand should halt. Pernicious counsels will have the same authority and influence as those which are sound. For you are mistaken, Lucius Paulus, if you imagine that you will have a less violent contest with Caius Terentius than with Hannibal. I know not whether the former, your opponent, or the latter, your open enemy, be the more hostile. With the latter you will have to contend in the field only; with the former, at every place and time. Hannibal, moreover, you have to oppose with your own horse and foot; while Varro will head your own soldiers against you. Let Caius Flaminius be absent from your thoughts, even for the omen's sake. Yet he only began to play the madman's consul, in his province, and at the head of the army. This man is raving before he put up for the consulship, afterwards while canvassing for it, and now having obtained it, before he has seen the camp or the enemy. And he who by talking largely of battles and marshalled armies, even now excites such storms among the citizens with their gowns on, what do you think he will effect among the youth in arms, where words are followed forthwith by acts? But be assured, if this man, as he protests he will, shall immediately engage the enemy either I am unacquainted with military affairs, with this kind of war, and the character of the enemy, or another place will become more celebrated than the Trasimenus by our disaster. Neither is this the season for boasting while I am addressing one man; and besides, I have exceeded the bounds of moderation in despising rather than in courting fame. But the case is really this. The only way of conducting the war against Hannibal is that which I adopted: nor does the event only, that instructor of fools, demonstrate it, but that same reasoning which has continued hitherto, and will continue unchangeable so long as circumstances shall remain the same. We are carrying on war in Italy, in our own country, and our own soil. All around us are countrymen and allies in abundance. With arms, men, horses, and provisions, they do and will assist us. Such proofs of their fidelity have they given in our adversity. Time, nay, everyday makes us better, wiser, and firmer. Hannibal, on the contrary, is in a foreign, a hostile land, amidst all hostile and disadvantageous circumstances, far from his home, far from his country; he has peace neither by land nor sea: no cities, no walls receive him: he sees nothing any where which he can call his own: he daily lives by plunder. He has now scarcely a third part of that army which he conveyed across the Iberus. Famine has destroyed more than the sword; nor have the few remaining a sufficient supply of provisions. Do you doubt, therefore, whether by remaining quiet we shall not conquer him who is daily sinking into decrepitude? who has neither provisions nor money? How long before the walls of Geronium, a miserable fortress of Apulia, as if before the walls of Carthage--? But not even in your presence will I boast. See how Cneius Servilius and Atilius, the last consuls, fooled him. This is the only path of safety, Lucius Paulus, which your countrymen will render more difficult and dangerous to you than their enemies will. For your own soldiers will desire the same thing as those of the enemy: Varro, a Roman consul, and Hannibal, a Carthaginian general, will wish the same thing. You alone must resist two generals: and you will resist them sufficiently if you stand firm against the report and the rumours of men; if neither the empty glory of your colleague, and the unfounded calumnies against yourself, shall move you. They say that truth too often suffers, but is never destroyed. He who despises fame will have it genuine. Let them call you coward instead of cautious, dilatory instead of considerate, unwarlike instead of an expert general. I would rather that a sagacious enemy should

fear you, than that foolish countrymen should commend you. A man who hazards all things Hannibal will despise, him who does nothing rashly he will fear. And neither do I advise that nothing should be done; but that in what you do, reason should guide you, and not fortune. All things will be within your own power, and your own. Be always ready armed and on the watch, and neither be wanting when a favourable opportunity presents itself, nor give any favourable opportunity to the enemy. All things are clear and sure to the deliberate man. Precipitation is improvident and blind."

#### 40

The address of the consul in reply was by no means cheerful, admitting that what he said was true, rather than easy to put in practice. He said, "That to him, as dictator, his master of the horse was unbearable: what power or influence could a consul have against a factious and intemperate colleague? That he had in his former consulate escaped a popular conflagration not without being singed: his prayer was, that every thing might happen prosperously; but if, on the contrary, any misfortune should occur, that he would rather expose his life to the weapons of the enemy, than to the votes of his incensed countrymen." Directly after this discourse, it is related that Paulus set out, escorted by the principal senators. The plebeian consul attended his own plebeian party, more distinguished by their numbers than respectability. When they had arrived at the camp, the old and new troops being united, they formed two distinct camps, so that the new and smaller one might be the nearer to Hannibal, and the old one might contain the greater part, and all the choicest of the troops. They then sent to Rome Marcus Atilius, the consul of the former year, who alleged his age in excuse. They appoint Geminus Servilius to the command of a Roman legion, and two thousand of the allied infantry and cavalry in the lesser camp. Hannibal, although he perceived that the forces of the enemy were augmented by one-half, was yet wonderfully rejoiced at the arrival of the consuls; for he had not only nothing remaining of the provisions which he daily acquired by plunder, but there was not even any thing left which he could seize, the corn in all the surrounding country having been collected into fortified cities, when the country was too unsafe; so that, as was afterwards discovered, there scarcely remained corn enough for ten days, and the Spaniards would have passed over to the enemy, through want of food, if the completion of that time had been awaited.

#### 41

But fortune afforded materials also to the headstrong and precipitate disposition of the consul, for in checking the plundering parties a battle having taken place, of a tumultuary kind, and occasioned rather by a disorderly advance of the soldiers, than by a preconcerted plan, or by the command of the general, the contest was by no means equal with the Carthaginians. As many as one thousand seven hundred of them were slain, but not more than one hundred of the Romans and allies. The consul Paulus, however, who was in command on that day, (for they held the command on alternate days,) apprehending an ambuscade, restrained the victorious troops in their headstrong pursuit; while Varro indignantly vociferated, that the enemy had been allowed to slip out of their hands, and that the war might have been terminated had not the pursuit been stopped. Hannibal was not much grieved at that loss; nay, rather he felt convinced, that the temerity of the more presumptuous consul, and of the soldiers, particularly the fresh ones, would be lured by the bait; and besides, all the circumstances of the enemy were as well known to him as his own: that dissimilar and discordant men were in command; that nearly two-thirds of the army consisted of raw recruits. Accordingly,

concluding that he now had both a time and place adapted for an ambush, on the following night he led his troops away with nothing but their arms, leaving the camp filled with all their effects, both public and private. His infantry drawn up he conceals on the left, on the opposite side of the adjoining hills; his cavalry on the right; his baggage in an intermediate line he leads over the mountains through a valley, in order that he might surprise the enemy when busy in plundering the camp, deserted, as they would imagine, by its owners, and when encumbered with booty. Numerous fires were left in the camp, to produce a belief that his intention was to keep the consuls in their places by the appearance of a camp, until he could himself escape to a greater distance, in the same manner as he had deceived Fabius the year before.

## 42

When it was day, the outpost withdrawn first occasioned surprise, then, on a nearer approach, the unusual stillness. At length, the desertion being manifest, there is a general rush to the pavilions of the consuls, of those who announced the flight of the enemy so precipitate, that they left their camp, with their tents standing; and, that their flight might be the more secret, that numerous fires were left. Then a clamour arose that they should order the standards to be advanced, and lead them in pursuit of the enemy, and to the immediate plunder of the camp. The other consul too was as one of the common soldiers. Paulus again and again urged, that they should see their way before them, and use every precaution. Lastly, when he could no longer withstand the sedition and the leader of the sedition, he sends Marius Statilius, a prefect, with a Lucanian troop, to reconnoitre, who, when he had ridden up to the gates, ordered the rest to stay without the works, and entered the camp himself, attended by two horsemen. Having carefully examined every thing, he brings back word that it was manifestly a snare: that fires were left in that part of the camp which faced the enemy: that the tents were open, and that all their valuables were left exposed: that in some places he had seen silver carelessly thrown about the passages, as if laid there for plunder. This intelligence, which it was hoped would deter their minds from greediness, inflamed them; and the soldiers clamorously declaring, that unless the signal was given they would advance without their leaders, they by no means wanted one, for Varro instantly gave the signal for marching. Paulus, whom, unwilling from his own suggestions to move, the chickens had not encouraged by their auspices, ordered the unlucky omen to be reported to his colleague, when he was now leading the troops out of the gate. And though Varro bore it impatiently, yet the recent fate of Flaminius, and the recorded naval defeat of Claudius, the consul in the first Punic war, struck religious scruples into his mind. The gods themselves (it might almost be said) rather postponed than averted the calamity which hung over the Romans; for it fell out by mere accident, that when the soldiers did not obey the consul who ordered them to return to the camp, two slaves, one belonging to a horseman of Formiae, the other to one of Sidicinum, who had been cut off by the Numidians among a party of foragers, when Servilius and Atilius were consuls, had escaped on that day to their masters: and being brought into the presence of the consuls, inform them that the whole army of Hannibal was lying in ambush on the other side of the adjoining mountains. The seasonable arrival of these men restored the consuls to their authority, when the ambition of one of them had relaxed his influence with the soldiers, by an undignified compliance.<sup>43</sup> Hannibal, perceiving that the Romans had been indiscreetly prompted rather than rashly carried to a conclusion, returned to his camp without effecting any thing, as his stratagem was discovered. He could not remain there many days, in consequence of the scarcity of corn; and,

moreover, not only among the soldiers, who were mixed up of the off-scouring of various nations, but even with the general himself, day by day new designs arose: for, first, when there had been murmuring of the soldiers, and then an open and clamorous demand of their arrears of pay, and a complaint first of the scarcity of provisions, and lastly of famine; and there being a report that the mercenaries, particularly the Spanish, had formed a plan of passing over to the enemy, it is affirmed that Hannibal himself too sometimes entertained thoughts of flying into Gaul, so that, having left all his infantry, he might hurry away with his cavalry. Such being the plans in agitation, and such the state of feeling in the camp, he resolved to depart thence into the regions of Apulia, which were warmer, and therefore earlier in the harvest. Thinking also, that the farther he retired from the enemy, the more difficult would desertion be to the wavering. He set out by night, having, as before, kindled fires, and leaving a few tents to produce an appearance; that a fear of an ambuscade, similar to the former, might keep the Romans in their places. But when intelligence was brought by the same Lucanian Statilius, who had reconnoitred every place on the other side the mountains, and beyond the camp, that the enemy was seen marching at a distance, then plans began to be deliberated on about pursuing him. The consuls persisted in the same opinions they ever entertained; but nearly all acquiesced with Varro, and none with Paulus except Servilius, the consul of the former year. In compliance with the opinion of the majority, they set out, under the impulse of destiny, to render Cannae celebrated by a Roman disaster. Hannibal had pitched his camp near that village, with his back to the wind Vulturinus, which, in those plains which are parched with drought, carries with it clouds of dust. This circumstance was not only very advantageous to the camp, but would be a great protection to them when they formed their line; as they, with the wind blowing only on their backs, would combat with an enemy blinded with the thickly blown dust.

#### 44

When the consuls, employing sufficient diligence in exploring the road in pursuit of the Carthaginian, had arrived at Cannae, where they had the enemy in the sight of them, having divided their forces, they fortified two camps with nearly the same interval as before, at Geronium. The river Aufidus, which flowed by both the camps, afforded approach to the watering parties of each, as opportunity served, though not without contest. The Romans in the lesser camp, however, which was on the other side the Aufidus, were more freely furnished with water, because the further bank had no guard of the enemy. Hannibal, entertaining a hope that the consuls would not decline a battle in this tract, which was naturally adapted to a cavalry engagement, in which portion of his forces he was invincible, formed his line, and provoked the enemy by a skirmishing attack with his Numidians. Upon this the Roman camp began again to be embroiled by a mutiny among the soldiers, and the disagreement of the consuls: since Paulus instanced to Varro the temerity of Sempronius and Flaminius; while Varro pointed to Fabius, as a specious example to timid and inactive generals. The latter called both gods and men to witness, "that no part of the blame attached to him that Hannibal had now made Italy his own, as it were, by right of possession; that he was held bound by his colleague; that the swords and arms were taken out of the hands of the indignant soldiers who were eager to fight." The former declared, "that if any disaster should befall the legions thus exposed and betrayed into an ill-advised and imprudent battle, he should be exempt from any blame, though the sharer of all the consequences. That he must take care that their hands were equally energetic in the battle whose tongues were so forward and impetuous."

## 45

While time is thus consumed in altercation rather than deliberating, Hannibal, who had kept his troops drawn up in order of battle till late in the day, when he had led the rest of them back into the camp, sends Numidians across the river to attack a watering party of the Romans from the lesser camp. Having routed this disorderly band by shouting and tumult, before they had well reached the opposite bank, they advanced even to an outpost which was before the rampart, and near the, very gates of the camp. It seemed so great an indignity, that now even the camp of the Romans should be terrified by a tumultuary band of auxiliaries, that this cause alone kept back the Romans from crossing the river forthwith, and forming their line, that the chief command was on that day held by Paulus. Accordingly Varro, on the following day, on which it was his turn to hold the command, without consulting his colleague, displayed the signal for battle, and forming his troops, led them across the river. Paulus followed, because he could better disapprove of the proceeding, than withhold his assistance. Having crossed the river, they add to their forces those which they had in the lesser camp; and thus forming their line, place the Roman cavalry in the right wing, which was next the river; and next them the infantry: at the extremity of the left wing the allied cavalry; within them the allied infantry, extending to the centre, and contiguous to the Roman legions. The darters, and the rest of the light-armed auxiliaries, formed the van. The consuls commanded the wings; Terentius the left, Aemilius the right. To Geminus Sevilius was committed the charge of maintaining the battle in the centre.

## 46

Hannibal, at break of day, having sent before him the Baliares and other light-armed troops, crossed the river, and placed his troops in line of battle, as he had conveyed them across the river. The Gallic and Spanish cavalry he placed in the left wing, opposite the Roman cavalry: the right wing was assigned to the Numidian cavalry, the centre of the line being strongly formed by the infantry, so that both extremities of it were composed of Africans, between which Gauls and Spaniards were placed. One would suppose the Africans were for the most part Romans, they were so equipped with arms captured at the Trebia, and for the greater part at the Trasimenus. The shields of the Gauls and Spaniards were of the same shape; their swords unequal and dissimilar. The Gauls had very long ones, without points. The Spaniards, who were accustomed to stab more than to cut their enemy, had swords convenient from their shortness, and with points. The aspect of these nations in other respects was terrific, both as to the appearance they exhibited and the size of their persons. The Gauls were naked above the navel: the Spaniards stood arrayed in linen vests resplendent with surprising whiteness, and bordered with purple. The whole amount of infantry standing in battle-array was forty thousand, of cavalry ten. The generals who commanded the wings were on the left Hasdrubal, on the right Maharbal: Hannibal himself, with his brother Mago, commanded the centre. The sun very conveniently shone obliquely upon both parties; the Romans facing the south, and the Carthaginians the north; either placed so designedly, or having stood thus by chance. The wind, which the inhabitants of the district call the Vulturnus, blowing violently in front of the Romans, prevented their seeing far by rolling clouds of dust into their faces.

## 47

The shout being raised, the auxiliaries charged, and the battle commenced in the first place with the light-armed troops: then the left wing, consisting of the Gallic and

Spanish cavalry, engages with the Roman right wing, by no means in the manner of a cavalry battle; for they were obliged to engage front to front; for as on one side the river, on the other the line of infantry hemmed them in, there was no space left at their flanks for evolution, but both parties were compelled to press directly forward. At length the horses standing still, and being crowded together, man grappling with man, dragged him from his horse. The contest now came to be carried on principally on foot. The battle, however, was more violent than lasting; and the Roman cavalry being repulsed, turn their backs. About the conclusion of the contest between the cavalry, the battle between the infantry commenced. At first the Gauls and Spaniards preserved their ranks unbroken, not inferior in strength or courage: but at length the Romans, after long and repeated efforts, drove in with their even front and closely compacted line, that part of the enemy's line in the form of a wedge, which projected beyond the rest, which was too thin, and therefore deficient in strength. These men, thus driven back and hastily retreating, they closely pursued; and as they urged their course without interruption through this terrified band, as it fled with precipitation, were borne first upon the centre line of the enemy; and lastly, no one opposing them, they reached the African reserved troops. These were posted at the two extremities of the line, where it was depressed; while the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniards were placed, projected a little. When the wedge thus formed being driven in, at first rendered the line level, but afterwards, by the pressure, made a curvature in the centre, the Africans, who had now formed wings on each side of them, surrounded the Romans on both sides, who incautiously rushed into the intermediate space; and presently extending their wings, enclosed the enemy on the rear also. After this the Romans, who had in vain finished one battle, leaving the Gauls and Spaniards, whose rear they had slaughtered, in addition commence a fresh encounter with the Africans, not only disadvantageous, because being hemmed in they had to fight against troops who surrounded them, but also because, fatigued, they fought with those who were fresh and vigorous.

#### 48

Now also in the left wing of the Romans, in which the allied cavalry were opposed to the Numidians, the battle was joined, which was at first languid, commencing with a stratagem on the part of the Carthaginians. About five hundred Numidians, who, besides their usual arms, had swords concealed beneath their coats of mail, quitting their own party, and riding up to the enemy under the semblance of deserters, with their bucklers behind them, suddenly leap down from their horses; and, throwing down their bucklers and javelins at the feet of their enemies, are received into their centre, and being conducted to the rear, ordered to remain there; and there they continued until the battle became general. But afterwards, when the thoughts and attention of all were occupied with the contest, snatching up the shields which lay scattered on all hands among the heaps of slain, they fell upon the rear of the Roman line, and striking their backs and wounding their hams, occasioned vast havoc, and still greater panic and confusion. While in one part terror and flight prevailed, in another the battle was obstinately persisted in, though with little hope. Hasdrubal, who was then commanding in that quarter, withdrawing the Numidians from the centre of the army, as the conflict with their opponents was slight, sends them in pursuit of the scattered fugitives, and joining the Africans, now almost weary with slaying rather than fighting the Spanish and Gallic infantry.

#### 49

On the other side of the field, Paulus, though severely wounded from a sling in the very commencement of the battle, with a compact body of troops, frequently opposed himself to Hannibal, and in several quarters restored the battle, the Roman cavalry protecting him; who, at length, when the consul had not strength enough even to manage his horse, dismounted from their horses. And when some one brought intelligence that the consul had ordered the cavalry to dismount, it is said that Hannibal observed, "How much rather would I that he delivered them to me in chains." The fight maintained by the dismounted cavalry was such as might be expected, when the victory was undoubtedly on the side of the enemy, the vanquished preferring death in their places to flight; and the conquerors, who were enraged at them for delaying the victory, butchering those whom they could not put to flight. They at length, however, drove the few who remained away, worn out with exertion and wounds. After that they were all dispersed, and such as could, sought to regain their horses for flight. Cneius Lentulus, a military tribune, seeing, as he rode by, the consul sitting upon a stone and covered with blood, said to him: "Lucius Aemilius! the only man whom the gods ought to regard as being guiltless of this day's disaster, take this horse, while you have any strength remaining, and I am with you to raise you up and protect you. Make not this battle more calamitous by the death of a consul. There is sufficient matter for tears and grief without this addition." In reply the consul said: "Do thou indeed go on and prosper, Cneius Servilius, in your career of virtue! But beware lest you waste in bootless commiseration the brief opportunity of escaping from the hands of the enemy. Go and tell the fathers publicly, to fortify the city of Rome, and garrison it strongly before the victorious enemy arrive: and tell Quintus Fabius individually, that Lucius Aemilius lived, and now dies, mindful of his injunctions. Allow me to expire amid these heaps of my slaughtered troops, that I may not a second time be accused after my consulate, or stand forth as the accuser of my colleague, in order to defend my own innocence by criminating another." While finishing these words, first a crowd of their flying countrymen, after that the enemy, came upon them; they overwhelm the consul with their weapons, not knowing who he was: in the confusion his horse rescued Lentulus. After that they fly precipitately. Seven thousand escaped to the lesser camp, ten to the greater, about two thousand to the village itself of Cannae who were immediately surrounded by Carthalo and the cavalry, no fortifications protecting the village. The other consul, whether by design or by chance, made good his escape to Venusia with about seventy horse, without mingling with any party of the flying troops. Forty thousand foot, two thousand seven hundred horse, there being an equal number of citizens and allies, are said to have been slain. Among both the quaestors of the consuls, Lucius Atilius and Lucius Furius Bibaculus; twenty-one military tribunes; several who had passed the offices of consul, praetor, and aedile; among these they reckon Cneius Servilius Germinus, and Marcus Minucius, who had been master of the horse on a former year, and consul some years before: moreover eighty, either senators, or who had borne those offices by which they might be elected into the senate, and who had voluntarily enrolled themselves in the legions. Three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry are said to have been captured in that battle.

## 50

Such is the battle of Cannae, equal in celebrity to the defeat at the Allia: but as it was less important in respect to those things which happened after it, because the enemy did not follow up the blow, so was it more important and more horrible with respect to the slaughter of the army; for with respect to the flight at the Allia, as it betrayed the city, so

it preserved the army. At Cannae, scarcely seventy accompanied the flying consul: almost the whole army shared the fate of the other who died. The troops collected in the two camps being a half-armed multitude without leaders, those in the larger send a message to the others, that they should come over to them at night, when the enemy was oppressed with sleep, and wearied with the battle, and then, out of joy, overpowered with feasting: that they would go in one body to Canusium. Some entirely disapproved of that advice. "For why," said they, "did not those who sent for them come themselves, since there would be equal facility of forming a junction? Because, evidently, all the intermediate space was crowded with the enemy, and they would rather expose the persons of others to so great a danger than their own." Others did not so much disapprove, as want courage to fulfil the advice. Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, a military tribune, exclaims, "Would you rather, then, be captured by the most rapacious and cruel enemy, and have a price set upon your heads, and have your value ascertained by men who will ask whether you are Roman citizens or Latin confederates, in order that from your miseries and indignities honour may be sought for another? Not you, at least, if you are the fellow-citizens of Lucius Aemilius, the consul who preferred an honourable death to a life of infamy, and of so many brave men who lie heaped around him. But, before the light overtakes us and more numerous bodies of the enemy beset the way, let us break through those disorderly and irregular troops who are making a noise at our gates. By the sword and courage, a road may be made through enemies, however dense. In a wedge we shall make our way through this loose and disjointed band, as if nothing opposed us. Come along with me therefore, ye who wish the safety of yourselves and the state." Having thus said, he draws his sword, and forming a wedge, goes through the midst of the enemy; and as the Numidians discharged their javelins on their right side, which was exposed, they transferred their shields to the right hand, and thus escaped, to the number of six hundred, to the greater camp; and setting out thence forthwith, another large body having joined them, arrived safe at Canusium. These measures were taken by the vanquished, according to the impulse of their tempers, which his own disposition or which accident gave to each, rather than in consequence of any deliberate plan of their own, or in obedience to the command of any one.

## 51

When all others, surrounding the victorious Hannibal, congratulated him, and advised that, having completed so great a battle, he should himself take the remainder of the day and the ensuing night for rest, and grant it to his exhausted troops; Maharbal, prefect of the cavalry, who was of opinion that no time should be lost, said to him, "Nay, rather, that you may know what has been achieved by this battle, five days hence you shall feast in triumph in the Capitol. Follow me: I will go first with the cavalry, that they may know that I am arrived before they know of me as approaching." To Hannibal this project appeared too full of joy, and too great for his mind to embrace it and determine upon it at the instant. Accordingly, he replied to Maharbal, that "he applauded his zeal, but that time was necessary to ponder the proposal." Upon this Maharbal observed, "Of a truth the gods have not bestowed all things upon the same person. You know how to conquer, Hannibal; but you do not know how to make use of your victory." That day's delay is firmly believed to have been the preservation of the city and the empire. On the following day, as soon as it dawned, they set about gathering the spoils and viewing the carnage, which was shocking, even to enemies. So many thousands of Romans were lying, foot and horse promiscuously, according as accident had brought them together, either in the battle or in the flight. Some, whom their wounds, pinched by the morning

cold, had roused, as they were rising up, covered with blood, from the midst of the heaps of slain, were overpowered by the enemy. Some too they found lying alive with their thighs and hams cut who, laying bare their necks and throats, bid them drain the blood that remained in them. Some were found with their heads plunged into the earth, which they had excavated; having thus, as it appeared, made pits for themselves, and having suffocated themselves by overwhelming their faces with the earth which they threw over them. A living Numidian, with lacerated nose and ears, stretched beneath a lifeless Roman who lay upon him, principally attracted the attention of all; for when his hands were powerless to grasp his weapon, turning from rage to madness, he had died in the act of tearing his antagonist with his teeth.

## 52

The spoils having been gathered for a great part of the day, Hannibal leads his troops to storm the lesser camp, and, first of all, interposing a trench, cuts it off from the river. But as the men were fatigued with toil, watching, and wounds, a surrender was made sooner than he expected. Having agreed to deliver up their arms and horses, on condition that the ransom of every Roman should be three hundred denarii, for an ally two hundred, for a slave one hundred, and that on payment of that ransom they should be allowed to depart with single garments, they received the enemy into the camp, and were all delivered into custody, the citizens and allies being kept separate. While the time is being spent there, all who had strength or spirit enough, to the number of four thousand foot and two hundred horse, quitted the greater camp and arrived at Canusium; some in a body, others widely dispersed through the country, which was no less secure a course: the camp itself was surrendered to the enemy by the wounded and timid troops, on the same terms as the other was. A very great booty was obtained; and with the exception of the men and horses, and what silver there was which was for the most part on the trappings of the horses; for they had but very little in use for eating from, particularly in campaign; all the rest of the booty was given up to be plundered. Then he ordered the bodies of his own troops to be collected for burial. They are said to have been as many as eight thousand of his bravest men. Some authors relate, that the Roman consul also was carefully searched for and buried. Those who escaped to Canusium, being received by the people of that place within their walls and houses only, were assisted with corn, clothes, and provisions for their journey, by an Apulian lady, named Busa, distinguished for her family and riches; in return for which munificence, the senate afterwards, when the war was concluded, conferred honours upon her.

## 53

But, though there were four military tribunes there, Fabius Maximus of the first legion, whose father had been dictator the former year; and of the second legion, Lucius Publicius Bibulus and Publius Cornelius Scipio; and of the third legion, Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had been aedile the last year; by the consent of all, the supreme command was vested in Publius Scipio, then a very young man, and Appius Claudius. To these, while deliberating with a few others on the crisis of their affairs, Publius Furius Philus, the son of a man of consular dignity, brings intelligence, "That it was in vain that they cherished hopes which could never be realized: that the state was despaired of, and lamented as lost. That certain noble youths, the chief of whom was Lucius Caecilius Metellus, turned their attention to the sea and ships, in order that, abandoning Italy, they might escape to some king." When this calamity, which was not only dreadful in itself, but new, and in addition to the numerous disasters they had sustained, had struck

them motionless with astonishment and stupor; and while those who were present gave it as their opinion that a council should be called to deliberate upon it, young Scipio, the destined general of this war, asserts, "That it is not a proper subject for deliberation: that courage and action, and not deliberation, were necessary in so great a calamity. That those who wished the safety of the state would attend him forthwith in arms; that in no place was the camp of the enemy more truly, than where such designs were meditated." He immediately proceeds, attended by a few, to the lodging of Metellus; and finding there the council of youths of which he had been apprized, he drew his sword over the heads of them, deliberating, and said, "With sincerity of soul I swear that neither will I myself desert the cause of the Roman republic, nor will I suffer any other citizen of Rome to desert it. If knowingly I violate my oath, then, O Jupiter, supremely great and good, mayest thou visit my house, my family, and my fortune with perdition the most horrible! I require you, Lucius Caecilius, and the rest of you who are present, to take this oath; and let the man who shall not take it be assured, that this sword is drawn against him." Terrified, as though they were beholding the victorious Hannibal, they all take the oath, and deliver themselves to Scipio to be kept in custody.

#### 54

During the time in which these things were going on at Canusium, as many as four thousand foot and horse, who had been dispersed through the country in the flight, came to Venusia, to the consul. These the Venusini distributed throughout their families, to be kindly entertained and taken care of; and also gave to each horseman a gown, a tunic, and twenty-five denarii; and to each foot soldier ten denarii, and such arms as they wanted; and every other kind of hospitality showed them, both publicly and privately: emulously striving that the people of Venusia might not be surpassed by a woman of Canusium in kind offices. But the great number of her guests rendered the burden more oppressive to Busa, for they amounted now to ten thousand men. Appius and Scipio, having heard that the other consul was safe, immediately send a messenger to inquire how great a force of infantry and cavalry he had with him, and at the same time to ask, whether it was his pleasure that the army should be brought to Venusia, or remain at Canusium. Varro himself led over his forces to Canusium. And now there was some appearance of a consular army, and they seemed able to defend themselves from the enemy by walls, if not by arms. At Rome intelligence had been received, that not even these relics of their citizens and allies had survived, but that the two consuls, with their armies, were cut to pieces, and all their forces annihilated. Never when the city was in safety was there so great a panic and confusion within the walls of Rome. I shall therefore shrink from the task, and not attempt to relate what in describing I must make less than the reality. The consul and his army having been lost at the Trasimenus the year before, it was not one wound upon another which was announced, but a multiplied disaster, the loss of two consular armies, together with the two consuls: and that now there was neither any Roman camp, nor general nor soldiery: that Apulia and Samnium, and now almost the whole of Italy, were in the possession of Hannibal. No other nation surely would not have been overwhelmed by such an accumulation of misfortune. Shall I compare with it the disaster of the Carthaginians, sustained in a naval battle at the islands Aegates, dispirited by which they gave up Sicily and Sardinia, and thenceforth submitted to become tributary and stipendiary? Or shall I compare with it the defeat in Africa under which this same Hannibal afterwards sunk? In no respect are they comparable, except that they were endured with less fortitude.

#### 55

Publius Furius Philus and Manius Pomponius, the praetors, assembled the senate in the curia hostilia, that they might deliberate about the guarding of the city; for they doubted not but that the enemy, now their armies were annihilated, would come to assault Rome, the only operation of the war which remained. Unable to form any plan in misfortunes, not only very great, but unknown and undefined, and while the loud lamentations of the women were resounding, and nothing was as yet made known, the living and the dead alike being lamented in almost every house; such being the state of things, Quintus Fabius gave it as his opinion, "That light horsemen should be sent out on the Latin and Appian ways, who, questioning those they met, as some would certainly be dispersed in all directions from the flight, might bring back word what was the fate of the consuls and their armies; and if the gods, pitying the empire, had left any remnant of the Roman name where these forces were; whither Hannibal had repaired after the battle, what he was meditating; what he was doing, or about to do. That these points should be searched out and ascertained by active youths. That it should be the business of the fathers, since there was a deficiency of magistrates, to do away with the tumult and trepidation in the city; to keep the women from coming into public, and compel each to abide within her own threshold; to put a stop to the lamentations of families; to obtain silence in the city; to take care that the bearers of every kind of intelligence should be brought before the praetors; that each person should await at home the bearer of tidings respecting his own fortune: moreover, that they should post guards at the gates, to prevent any person from quitting the city; and oblige men to place their sole hopes of safety in the preservation of the walls and the city. That when the tumult had subsided the fathers should be called again to the senate-house, and deliberate on the defence of the city."

## 56

When all had signified their approbation of this opinion, and after the crowd had been removed by the magistrates from the forum, and the senators had proceeded in different directions to allay the tumult; then at length a letter is brought from the consul Terentius, stating, "That Lucius Aemilius, the consul, and his army were slain; that he himself was at Canusium, collecting, as it were after a shipwreck, the remains of this great disaster; that he had nearly ten thousand irregular and unorganized troops. That the Carthaginian was sitting still at Cannae, bargaining about the price of the captives and the other booty, neither with the spirit of a conqueror nor in the style of a great general." Then also the losses of private families were made known throughout the several houses; and so completely was the whole city filled with grief, that the anniversary sacred rite of Ceres was intermitted, because it was neither allowable to perform it while in mourning, nor was there at that juncture a single matron who was not in mourning. Accordingly, lest the same cause should occasion the neglect of other public and private sacred rites, the mourning was limited to thirty days, by a decree of the senate. Now when the tumult in the city was allayed, an additional letter was brought from Sicily, from Titus Otacilius, the propraetor, stating, "that the kingdom of Hiero was being devastated by the Carthaginian fleet: and that, being desirous of affording him the assistance he implored, he received intelligence that another Carthaginian fleet was stationed at the Aegates, equipped and prepared; in order that when the Carthaginians had perceived that he was gone away to protect the coast of Syracuse, they might immediately attack Lilybaeum and other parts of the Roman province; that he therefore needed a fleet, if they wished him to protect the king their ally, and Sicily."

## 57

The letters of the consul and the propraetor having been read, they resolved that Marcus Claudius, who commanded the fleet stationed at Ostia, should be sent to the army to Canusium; and a letter be written to the consul, to the effect that, having delivered the army to the praetor, he should return to Rome the first moment he could, consistently with the interest of the republic. They were terrified also, in addition to these disasters, both with other prodigies, and also because two vestal virgins, Opimia and Floronia, were that year convicted of incontinence; one of whom was, according to custom, buried alive at the Colline gate; the other destroyed herself. Lucius Cantilius, secretary of the pontiff, whom they now call the lesser pontiffs, who had debauched Floronia, was beaten by rods in the comitium, by order of the chief pontiff, so that he expired under the stripes. This impiety being converted into a prodigy, as is usually the case when happening in the midst of so many calamities, the decemviri were desired to consult the sacred books. Quintus Fabius Pictor was also sent to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle by what prayers and offerings they might appease the gods, and what termination there would be to such great distresses. Meanwhile certain extraordinary sacrifices were performed, according to the directions of the books of the fates; among which a Gallic man and woman, and a Greek man and woman, were let down alive in the cattle market, into a place fenced round with stone, which had been already polluted with human victims, a rite by no means Roman. The gods being, as they supposed, sufficiently appeased, Marcus Claudius Marcellus sends from Ostia to Rome, as a garrison for the city, one thousand five hundred soldiers, which he had with him, levied for the fleet. He himself sending before him a marine legion, (it was the third legion,) under the command of the military tribunes, to Teanum Sidicinum, and delivering the fleet to Publius Furius Philus, his colleague, after a few days, proceeded by long marches to Cannisium. Marcus Junius, created dictator on the authority of the senate, and Titus Sempronius, master of the horse, proclaiming a levy, enrol the younger men from the age of seventeen, and some who wore the toga praetexta: of these, four legions and a thousand horse were formed. They send also to the allies and the Latin confederacy, to receive the soldiers according to the terms of the treaty. They order that arms, weapons, and other things should be prepared; and they take down from the temples and porticoes the old spoils taken from the enemy. They adopted also another and a new form of levy, from the scarcity of free persons, and from necessity: they armed eight thousand stout youths from the slaves, purchased at the public expense, first inquiring of each whether he was willing to serve. They preferred this description of troops, though they had the power of redeeming the captives at a less expense.

## 58

For Hannibal, after so great a victory at Cannae, being occupied with the cares of a conqueror, rather than one who had a war to prosecute, the captives having been brought forward and separated, addressed the allies in terms of kindness, as he had done before at the Trebia and the lake Trasimenus, and dismissed them without a ransom; then he addressed the Romans too, who were called to him, in very gentle terms: "That he was not carrying on a war of extermination with the Romans, but was contending for honour and empire. That his ancestors had yielded to the Roman valour; and that he was endeavouring that others might be obliged to yield, in their turn, to his good fortune and valour together. Accordingly, he allowed the captives the liberty of ransoming themselves, and that the price per head should be five hundred denarii for a horseman, three hundred for a foot soldier, and one hundred for a slave." Although

some addition was made to that sum for the cavalry, which they stipulated for themselves when they surrendered, yet they joyfully accepted any terms of entering into the compact. They determined that ten persons should be selected, by their own votes, who might go to Rome to the senate; nor was any other guarantee of their fidelity taken than that they should swear that they would return. With these was sent Carthalo, a noble Carthaginian, who might propose terms, if perchance their minds were inclined towards peace. When they had gone out of the camp, one of their body, a man who had very little of the Roman character, under pretence of having forgotten something, returned to the camp, for the purpose of freeing himself from the obligation of his oath, and overtook his companions before night. When it was announced that they had arrived at Rome, a lictor was despatched to meet Carthalo, to tell him, in the words of the dictator, to depart from the Roman territories before night.

## 59

An audience of the senate was granted by the dictator to the delegates of the prisoners. The chief of them, Marcus Junius, thus spoke: "There is not one of us, conscript fathers, who is not aware that there never was a nation which held prisoners in greater contempt than our own. But unless our own cause is dearer to us than it should be, never did men fall into the hands of the enemy who less deserved to be disregarded than we do; for we did not surrender our arms in the battle through fear; but having prolonged the battle almost till night-fall, while standing upon heaps of our slaughtered countrymen, we betook ourselves to our camp. For the remainder of the day and during the following night, although exhausted with exertion and wounds, we protected our rampart. On the following day, when, beset by the enemy, we were deprived of water, and there was no hope of breaking through the dense bands of the enemy; and, moreover, not considering it an impiety that any Roman soldier should survive the battle of Cannae, after fifty thousand of our army had been butchered; then at length we agreed upon terms on which we might be ransomed and let off; and our arms, in which there was no longer any protection, we delivered to the enemy. We had been informed that our ancestors also had redeemed themselves from the Gauls with gold, and that though so rigid as to the terms of peace, had sent ambassadors to Tarentum for the purpose of ransoming the captives. And yet both the fight at the Allia with the Gauls, and at Heraclea with Pyrrhus, was disgraceful, not so much on account of the loss as the panic and flight. Heaps of Roman carcasses cover the plains of Cannae; nor would any of us have survived the battle, had not the enemy wanted the strength and the sword to slay us. There are, too, some of us, who did not even retreat in the field; but being left to guard the camp, came into the hands of the enemy when it was surrendered. For my part, I envy not the good fortune or condition of any citizen or fellow-soldier, nor would I endeavour to raise myself by depressing another: but not even those men who, for the most part, leaving their arms, fled from the field, and stopped not till they arrived at Venusia or Canusium; not even those men, unless some reward is due to them on account of their swiftness of foot and running, would justly set themselves before us, or boast that there is more protection to the state in them than in us. But you will both find them to be good and brave soldiers, and us still more zealous, because, by your kindness, we have been ransomed and restored to our country. You are levying from every age and condition: I hear that eight thousand slaves are being armed. We are no fewer in number; nor will the expense of redeeming us be greater than that of purchasing these. Should I compare ourselves with them, I should injure the name of Roman. I should think also, conscript fathers, that in deliberating on such a measure, it

ought also to be considered, (if you are disposed to be over severe, which you cannot do from any demerit of ours,) to what sort of enemy you would abandon us. Is it to Pyrrhus, for instance, who treated us, when his prisoners, like guests; or to a barbarian and Carthaginian, of whom it is difficult to determine whether his rapacity or cruelty be the greater? If you were to see the chains, the squalid appearance, the loathsomeness of your countrymen, that spectacle would not, I am confident, less affect you, than if, on the other hand, you beheld your legions prostrate on the plains of Cannae. You may behold the solicitude and the tears of our kinsmen, as they stand in the lobby of your senate-house, and await your answer. When they are in so much suspense and anxiety in behalf of us, and those who are absent, what think you must be our own feelings, whose lives and liberty are at stake? By Hercules! should Hannibal himself, contrary to his nature, be disposed to be lenient towards us, yet we should not consider our lives worth possessing, since we have seemed unworthy of being ransomed by you. Formerly, prisoners dismissed by Pyrrhus, without ransom, returned to Rome; but they returned in company with ambassadors, the chief men of the state, who were sent to ransom them. Would I return to my country, a citizen, and not considered worth three hundred denarii? Every man has his own way of thinking, conscript fathers. I know that my life and person are at stake. But the danger which threatens my reputation affects me most, if we should go away rejected and condemned by you; for men will never suppose that you grudged the price of our redemption."

## 60

When he had finished his address, the crowd of persons in the comitium immediately set up a loud lamentation, and stretched out their hands to the senate, imploring them to restore to them their children, their brothers, and their kinsmen. Their fears and affection for their kindred had brought the women also with the crowd of men in the forum. Witnesses being excluded, the matter began to be discussed in the senate. There being a difference of opinion, and some advising that they should be ransomed at the public charge, others, that the state should be put to no expense, but that they should not be prevented redeeming themselves at their own cost; and that those who had not the money at present should receive a loan from the public coffer, and security given to the people by their sureties and properties; Titus Manlius Torquatus, a man of primitive, and, as some considered, over-rigorous severity, being asked his opinion, is reported thus to have spoken: "Had the deputies confined themselves to making a request, in behalf of those who are in the hands of the enemy, that they might be ransomed, I should have briefly given my opinion, without inveighing against any one. For what else would have been necessary but to admonish you, that you ought to adhere to the custom handed down from your ancestors, a precedent indispensable to military discipline. But now, since they have almost boasted of having surrendered themselves to the enemy, and have claimed to be preferred, not only to those who were captured by the enemy in the field, but to those also who came to Venusia and Canusium, and even to the consul Terentius himself; I will not suffer you to remain in ignorance of things which were done there. And I could wish that what I am about to bring before you, were stated at Canusium, before the army itself, the best witness of every man's cowardice or valour; or at least that one person, Publius Sempronius, were here, whom had they followed as their leader, they would this day have been soldiers in the Roman camp, and not prisoners in the power of the enemy. But though the enemy was fatigued with fighting, and engaged in rejoicing for their victory, and had, the greater part of them, retired into their camp, and they had the night at their disposal for making a sally, and

as they were seven thousand armed troops, might have forced their way through the troops of the enemy, however closely arrayed; yet they neither of themselves attempted to do this, nor were willing to follow another. Throughout nearly the whole night Sempronius ceased not to admonish and exhort them, while but few of the enemy were about the camp, while there was stillness and quiet, while the night would conceal their design, that they would follow him; that before daybreak they might reach places of security, the cities of their allies. If as Publius Decius, the military tribune in Samnium, said, within the memory of our grandfathers; if he had said, as Calpurnius Flamma, in the first Punic war, when we were youths, said to the three hundred volunteers, when he was leading them to seize upon an eminence situated in the midst of the enemy: LET US DIE, SOLDIERS, AND BY OUR DEATHS RESCUE THE SURROUNDED LEGIONS FROM AMBUSCADE;--if Publius Sempronius had said thus, he would neither have considered you as Romans nor men, had no one stood forward as his companion in so valorous an attempt. He points out to you the road that leads not to glory more than to safety; he restores you to your country, your parents, your wives and children. Do you want courage to effect your preservation? What would you do if you had to die for your country? Fifty thousand of your countrymen and allies on that very day lay around you slain. If so many examples of courage did not move you, nothing ever will. If so great a carnage did not make life less dear, none ever will. While in freedom and safety, show your affection for your country; nay, rather do so while it is your country, and you its citizens. Too late you now endeavour to evince your regard for her when degraded, disfranchised from the rights of citizens, and become the slaves of the Carthaginians. Shall you return by purchase to that degree which you have forfeited by cowardice and neglect? You did not listen to Sempronius, your countryman, when he bid you take arms and follow him; but a little after you listened to Hannibal, when he ordered your arms to be surrendered, and your camp betrayed. But why do I charge those men with cowardice, when I might tax them with villany? They not only refused to follow him who gave them good advice, but endeavoured to oppose and hold him back, had not some men of the greatest bravery, drawing their swords, removed the cowards. Publius Sempronius, I say, was obliged to force his way through a band of his countrymen, before he burst through the enemy's troops. Can our country regret such citizens as these, whom if all the rest resembled, she would not have one citizen of all those who fought at Cannae? Out of seven thousand armed men, there were six hundred who had courage to force their way, who returned to their country free, and in arms; nor did forty thousand of the enemy successfully oppose them. How safe, think you, would a passage have been for nearly two legions? Then you would have had this day at Canusium, conscript fathers, twenty thousand bold and faithful. But now how can these men be called faithful and good citizens, (for they do not even call themselves brave,) except any man suppose that they showed themselves such when they opposed those who were desirous of forcing their way through the enemy? or, unless any man can suppose, that they do not envy those men their safety and glory acquired by valour, when they must know that their timidity and cowardice were the cause of their ignominious servitude? Skulking in their tents they preferred to wait for the light and the enemy together, when they had an opportunity of sallying forth during the silence of the night. But though they had not courage to sally forth from the camp, had they courage to defend it strenuously? Having endured a siege for several days and nights, did they protect their rampart by their arms, and themselves by their rampart? At length, having dared and suffered every extremity, every support of life being gone, their strength exhausted with famine, and unable to hold their arms, were they subdued

by the necessities of nature rather than by arms? At sunrise, the enemy approached the rampart: before the second hour, without hazarding any contest, they delivered up their arms and themselves. Here is their military service for you during two days. When they ought to have stood firm in array and fight on, then they fled back into their camp; when they ought to have fought before their rampart, they delivered up their camp: good for nothing, either in the field or the camp. I redeem you. When you ought to sally from the camp, you linger and hesitate; and when you ought to stay and protect your camp in arms, you surrender the camp, your arms, and yourselves to the enemy. I am of opinion, conscript fathers, that these men should no more be ransomed, than that those should be surrendered to Hannibal, who sallied from the camp through the midst of the enemy, and, with the most distinguished courage, restored themselves to their country."

## 61

After Manlius had thus spoken, notwithstanding the captives were related to many even of the senators, besides the practice of the state, which had never shown favour to captives, even from the remotest times, the sum of money also influenced them: for they were neither willing to drain the treasury, a large sum of money having been already issued for buying and arming slaves to serve in the war, nor to enrich Hannibal, who, according to report, was particularly in want of this very thing. The sad reply, that the captives would not be ransomed, being delivered, and fresh grief being added to the former on account of the loss of so many citizens, the people accompanied the deputies to the gate with copious tears and lamentations. One of them went home, because he had evaded his oath by artfully returning to the camp. But when this was known and laid before the senate, they all resolved that he should be apprehended and conveyed to Hannibal by guards, furnished by the state. There is another account respecting the prisoners, that ten came first, and that, the senate hesitating whether they should be admitted into the city or not, they were admitted, on the understanding that they should not have an audience of the senate. That when these staid longer than the expectation of all, three more came, Scribonius, Calpurnius, and Manlius. That then at length a tribune of the people, a relation of Scribonius, laid before the senate the redemption of the captives, and that they resolved that they should not be ransomed. That the three last deputies returned to Hannibal, and the ten former remained, because they had evaded their oath, having returned to Hannibal after having set out, under pretence of learning afresh the names of the captives. That a violent contest took place in the senate, on the question of surrendering them, and that those who thought they ought to be surrendered were beaten by a few votes, but that they were so branded by every kind of stigma and ignominy by the ensuing censors, that some of them immediately put themselves to death, and the rest, for all their life afterwards, not only shunned the forum, but almost the light and publicity. You can more easily wonder that authors differ so much than determine what is the truth. How much greater this disaster was than any preceding, even this is a proof, that such of the allies as had stood firm till that day then began to waver, for no other cause certainly but that they despaired of the empire. The people who revolted to the Carthaginians were these: the Atellani, Calatini, the Hirpini, some of the Apulians, the Samnites, except the Pentrians, all the Bruttians, and the Lucanians. Besides these the Surrentinians, and almost the whole coast possessed by the Greeks, the people of Tarentum, Metapontum, Croton, the Locrians, and all Cisalpine Gaul. Yet not even these losses and defections of their allies so shook the firmness of the Romans, that any mention of peace was made among them, either before the arrival of the consul at Rome, or after he came thither, and renewed the

memory of the calamity they had suffered. At which very juncture, such was the magnanimity of the state, that the consul, as he returned after so severe a defeat, of which he himself was the principal cause, was met in crowds of all ranks of citizens, and thanks bestowed because he had not despaired of the republic, in whose case, had he been a Carthaginian commander, no species of punishment would have been spared.

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# Book XXIII

## B.C. 216-215

*The Campanians revolt to Hannibal. Mago is sent to Carthage to announce the victory of Cannae. Hanno advises the Carthaginian senate to make peace with the Romans, but is overborne by the Barcine faction. Claudius Marcellus the praetor defeats Hannibal at Nola. Hannibal's army is enervated in mind and body by luxurious living at Capua. Casilinum is besieged by the Carthaginians, and the inhabitants reduced to the last extremity of famine. A hundred and ninety-seven senators elected from the equestrian order. Lucius Postumius is, with his army, cut off by the Gauls. Cneius and Publius Scipio defeat Hasdrubal in Spain, and gain possession of that country. The remains of the army, defeated at Cannae, are sent off to Sicily, there to remain until the termination of the war. An alliance is formed between Philip, king of Macedon, and Hannibal. Sempronius Gracchus defeats the Campanians. Successes of Titus Manlius in Sardinia he takes Hasdrubal the general, Mago, and Hanno prisoners. Claudius Marcellus again defeats the army of Hannibal at Nola, and the hopes of the Romans are revived as to the results of the war.*

### 1

After the battle of Cannae, Hannibal, having captured and plundered the Roman camp, had immediately removed from Apulia into Samnium; invited into the territory of the Hirpini by Statius, who promised that he would surrender Compsa. Tiebius, a native of Compsa, was conspicuous for rank among his countrymen; but a faction of the Mopsii kept him down--a family of great influence through the favour of the Romans. After intelligence of the battle of Cannae, and a report of the approach of Hannibal, circulated by the discourse of Trebius, the Mopsian party had retired from the city; which was thus given up to the Carthaginian without opposition, and a garrison received into it. Leaving there all his booty and baggage, and dividing his forces, he orders Mago to receive under his protection the cities of that district which might revolt from the Romans, and to force to defection those which might be disinclined. He himself, passing through the territory of Campania, made for the lower sea, with the intention of assaulting Naples, in order that he might be master of a maritime city. As soon as he entered the confines of the Neapolitan territory, he placed part of his Numidians in ambush, wherever he could find a convenient spot; for there are very many hollow roads and secret windings: others he ordered to drive before them the booty they had collected from the country, and, exhibiting it to the enemy, to ride up to the gates of the city. As they appeared to be few in number and in disorder, a troop of horse sallied out against them, which was cut off, being drawn into an ambuscade by the others, who purposely retreated: nor would one of them have escaped, had not the sea been near, and some vessels, principally such as are used in fishing, observed at a short distance from the shore, afforded an escape for those who could swim. Several noble youths, however, were captured and slain in that affair. Among whom, Hegeas, the commander of the cavalry, fell when pursuing the retreating enemy too eagerly. The sight of the walls, which were not favourable to a besieging force, deterred the Carthaginian from storming the city.

### 2

Thence he turned his course to Capua, which was wantoning under a long course of prosperity, and the indulgence of fortune: amid the general corruption, however, the most conspicuous feature was the extravagance of the commons, who exercised their liberty without limit. Pacuvius Calavius had rendered the senate subservient to himself and the commons, at once a noble and popular man, but who had acquired his influence by dishonourable intrigues. Happening to hold the chief magistracy during the year in which the defeat at the Trasimenus occurred, and thinking that the commons, who had long felt the most violent hostility to the senate, would attempt some desperate measure, should an opportunity for effecting a change present itself; and if Hannibal should come into that quarter with his victorious army, would murder the senators and deliver Capua to the Carthaginians; as he desired to rule in a state preserved rather than subverted (for though depraved he was not utterly abandoned), and as he felt convinced that no state could be preserved if bereaved of its public council, he adopted a plan by which he might preserve the senate and render it subject to himself and the commons. Having assembled the senate, he prefaced his remarks by observing, "that nothing would induce him to acquiesce in a plan of defection from the Romans, were it not absolutely necessary; since he had children by the daughter of Appius Claudius, and had a daughter at Rome married to Livius: but that a much more serious and alarming matter threatened them, than any consequences which could result from such a measure. For that the intention of the commons was not to abolish the senate by revolting to the Carthaginians, but to murder the senators, and deliver the state thus destitute to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. That it was in his power to rescue them from this danger, if they would resign themselves to his care, and, forgetting their political dissensions, confide in him." When, overpowered with fear, they all put themselves under his protection, he proceeded: "I will shut you up in the senate-house, and pretending myself to be an accomplice in the meditated crime, I will, by approving measures which I should in vain oppose, find out a way for your safety. For the performance of this take whatever pledge you please." Having given his honour, he went out; and having ordered the house to be closed, placed a guard in the lobby that no one might enter or leave it without his leave.

### 3

Then assembling the people, he thus addressed them: "What you have so often wished for, Campanians, the power of punishing an unprincipled and detestable senate, you now have, not at your own imminent peril, by riotously storming the houses of each, which are guarded and garrisoned with slaves and dependants, but free and without danger. Take them all, shut up in the senate-house, alone and unarmed; nor need you do any thing precipitately or blindly. I will give you the opportunity of pronouncing upon the life or death of each, that each may suffer the punishment he has deserved. But, above all, it behoves you so to give way to your resentment, as considering that your own safety and advantage are of greater importance. For I apprehend that you hate these particular senators, and not that you are unwilling to have any senate at all; for you must either have a king, which all abominate, or a senate, which is the only course compatible with a free state. Accordingly you must effect two objects at the same time; you must remove the old senate and elect a new one. I will order the senators to be summoned one by one, and I shall put it to you to decide whether they deserve to live or die: whatever you may determine respecting each shall be done; but before you execute your sentence on the culprit, you shall elect some brave and strenuous man as a fresh senator to supply his place." Upon this he took his seat, and, the names having been

thrown together into an urn, he ordered that the name which had the lot to fall out first should be proclaimed, and the person brought forward out of the senate-house. When the name was heard, each man strenuously exclaimed that he was a wicked and unprincipled fellow, and deserved to be punished. Pacuvius then said, "I perceive the sentence which has been passed on this man; now choose a good and upright senator in the room of this wicked and unprincipled one." At first all was silence, from the want of a better man whom they might substitute; afterwards, one of them, laying aside his modesty, nominating some one, in an instant a much greater clamour arose; while some denied all knowledge of him, others objected to him at one time on account of flagitious conduct, at another time on account of his humble birth, his sordid circumstances, and the disgraceful nature of his trade and occupation. The same occurred with increased vehemence with respect to the second and third senators, so that it was evident that they were dissatisfied with the senator himself, but had not any one to substitute for him; for it was of no use that the same persons should be nominated again, to no other purpose than to hear of their vices, and the rest were much more mean and obscure than those who first occurred to their recollection. Thus the assembly separated, affirming that every evil which was most known was easiest to be endured, and ordering the senate to be discharged from custody.

#### 4

Pacuvius, having thus rendered the senators more subservient to himself than to the commons by the gift of their lives, ruled without the aid of arms, all persons now acquiescing. Henceforward the senators, forgetful of their rank and independence, flattered the commons; saluted them courteously; invited them graciously; entertained them with sumptuous feasts; undertook those causes, always espoused that party, decided as judges in favour of that side, which was most popular, and best adapted to conciliate the favour of the commons. Now, indeed, every thing was transacted in the senate as if it had been an assembly of the people. The Capuans, ever prone to luxurious indulgence not only from natural turpitude, but from the profusion of the means of voluptuous enjoyment which flowed in upon them, and the temptations of all the luxuries of land and sea; at that time especially proceeded to such a pitch of extravagance in consequence of the obsequiousness of the nobles and the unrestrained liberty of the commons, that their lust and prodigality had no bounds. To a disregard for the laws, the magistrates, and the senate, now, after the disaster of Cannae, was added a contempt for the Roman government also, for which there had been some degree of respect. The only obstacles to immediate revolt were the intermarriages which, from a remote period, had connected many of their distinguished and influential families with the Romans; and, which formed the strongest bond of union, that while several of their countrymen were serving in the Roman armies, particularly three hundred horsemen, the flower of the Campanian nobility, had been selected and sent by the Romans to garrison the cities of Sicily.

#### 5

The parents and relations of these men with difficulty obtained that ambassadors should be sent to the Roman consul. The consul, who had not yet set out for Canusium, they found at Venusia with a few half-armed troops, an object of entire commiseration to faithful, but of contempt to proud and perfidious allies, like the Campanians. The consul too increased their contempt of himself and his cause, by too much exposing and exhibiting the disastrous state of his affairs; for when the ambassadors had delivered

their message, which was, that the senate and people of Capua were distressed that any adverse event should have befallen the Romans, and were promising every assistance in prosecuting the war, he observed, "In bidding us order you to furnish us with all things which are necessary for the war, Campanians, you have rather observed the customary mode of addressing allies, than spoken suitably to the present posture of our affairs; for hath anything been left us at Cannae, so that, as if we possessed that, we can desire what is wanting to be supplied by our allies? Can we order a supply of infantry, as if we had any cavalry? Can we say we are deficient in money, as if that were the only thing we wanted? Fortune has not even left us anything which we can add to. Our legions, cavalry, arms, standards, horses, men, money, provisions, all perished either in the battle, or in the two camps which were lost the following day. You must, therefore, Campanians, not assist us in the war, but almost take it upon yourselves in our stead. Call to mind how formerly at Saticula we received into our protection and defended your ancestors, when dismayed and driven within their walls; terrified not only by their Samnite but Sidicinian enemies; and how we carried on, with varying success, through a period of almost a century, a war with the Samnites, commenced on your account. Add to this, that when you gave yourselves up to us we granted you an alliance on equal terms, that we allowed you your own laws, and lastly, what before the disaster at Cannae was surely a privilege of the highest value, we bestowed the freedom of our city on a large portion of you, and held it in common with you. It is your duty, therefore, Campanians, to look upon this disaster which has been suffered as your own, and to consider that our common country must be protected. It is not a Samnite or Tuscan foe we are engaged with, so that the empire taken from us might still continue in Italy. A Carthaginian enemy draws after him from the remotest regions of the world, from the straits of the ocean and the pillars of Hercules, a body of soldiers who are not even natives of Africa, destitute of all laws, and of the condition and almost of the language of men. Savage and ferocious from nature and habit, their general has rendered them still more so, by forming bridges and works with heaps of human bodies; and, what the tongue can scarcely utter, by teaching them to live on human flesh. What man, provided he were born in any part of Italy, would not abominate the idea of seeing and having for his masters these men, nourished with such horrid food, whom even to touch were an impiety; of fetching laws from Africa and Carthage; and of suffering Italy to become a province of the Moors and Numidians? It will be highly honourable, Campanians, that the Roman empire, sinking under this disastrous defeat, should be sustained and restored by your fidelity and your strength. I conceive that thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse may be raised in Campania. You have already abundance of money and corn. If your zeal corresponds with your means, neither will Hannibal feel that he has been victorious, nor the Romans that they have been defeated."

## 6

After the consul had thus spoken, the ambassadors were dismissed; and as they were returning home, one of them, named Vibius Virius, observed, "that the time had arrived at which the Campanians might not only recover the territory once injuriously taken away by the Romans, but also possess themselves of the sovereignty of Italy. For they might form a treaty with Hannibal on whatever terms they pleased; and there could be no question but that after Hannibal, having put an end to the war, had himself retired victorious into Africa, and had withdrawn his troops, the sovereignty of Italy would be left to the Campanians." All assenting to Vibius, as he said this, they framed their report of the embassy so that all might conclude that the Roman power was annihilated.

Immediately the commons and the major part of the senate turned their attention to revolt. The measure, however, was postponed for a few days at the instigation of the elder citizens. At last, the opinion of the majority prevailed, that the same ambassadors who had gone to the Roman consul should be sent to Hannibal. I find in certain annals, that before this embassy proceeded, and before they had determined on the measure of revolting, ambassadors were sent by the Campanians to Rome, requiring that one of the consuls should be elected from Campania if they wished assistance to the Roman cause. That from the indignation which arose, they were ordered to be removed from the senate-house, and a lictor despatched to conduct them out of the city and command them to lodge that day without the Roman frontier. But as this request is too much like that which the Latins formerly made, and as Coelius and other writers had, not without reason, made no mention of it, I have not ventured to vouch for its truth.

## 7

The ambassadors came to Hannibal and concluded a treaty of peace with him on the terms, "That no Carthaginian commander should have any authority over a Campanian citizen, nor any Campanian serve in war or perform any office against his will: that Capua should have her own laws and her own magistrates: that the Carthaginian should give to the Campanians three hundred captives selected by themselves, who might be exchanged for the Campanian horse who were serving in Sicily." Such were the stipulations: but in addition to them, the Campanians perpetrated the following atrocities; for the commons ordered that the prefects of the allies and other citizens of Rome should be suddenly seized, while some of them were occupied with military duties, others engaged in private business, and be shut up in the baths, as if for the purpose of keeping them in custody, where, suffocated with heat and vapour, they might expire in a horrid manner. Decius Magius, a man who wanted nothing to complete his influence except a sound mind on the part of his countrymen, had resisted to the uttermost the execution of these measures, and the sending of the embassy to Hannibal, and when he heard that a body of troops was sent by Hannibal, bringing back to their recollection, as examples, the haughty tyranny of Pyrrhus and the miserable slavery of the Tarentines, he at first openly and loudly protested that the troops should not be admitted, then he urged either that they should expel them when received, or, if they had a mind to expiate, by a bold and memorable act, the foul crime they had committed in revolting from their most ancient and intimate allies, that leaving slain the Carthaginian troops they should give themselves back to the Romans. These proceedings, having been reported to Hannibal, for they were not carried on in secret, he at first sent persons to summon Magius into his presence at his camp, then, on his vehemently refusing to come, on the ground that Hannibal had no authority over a Campanian, the Carthaginian, excited with rage, ordered that the man should be seized and dragged to him in chains, but afterwards, fearing lest while force was employed some disturbance might take place, or lest, from excitement of feeling, some undesigned collision might occur, he set out himself from the camp with a small body of troops, having sent a message before him to Marius Blossius, the praetor of Campania, to the effect, that he would be at Capua the next day. Marius calling an assembly, issued an order that they should go out and meet Hannibal in a body, accompanied by their wives and children. This was done by all, not only with obedience, but with zeal, with the full agreement of the common people, and with eagerness to see a general rendered illustrious by so many victories. Decius Magius neither went out to meet him, nor kept himself in private, by which course he might seem to indicate fear from a consciousness

of demerit, he promenaded in the forum with perfect composure, attended by his son and a few dependants, while all the citizens were in a bustle to go to see and receive the Carthaginian. Hannibal, on entering the city, immediately demanded an audience of the senate; when the chief men of the Campanians, beseeching him not to transact any serious business on that day, but that he would cheerfully and willingly celebrate a day devoted to festivity in consequence of his own arrival, though naturally extremely prone to anger, yet, that he might not deny them any thing at first, he spent a great part of the day in inspecting the city.

## 8

He lodged at the house of the Ninii Celeres, Stenius and Pacuvius, men distinguished by their noble descent and their wealth. Thither Pacuvius Calavius, of whom mention has already been made, who was the head of the party which had drawn over the state to the Carthaginian cause, brought his son, a young man, whom he had forced from the side of Decius Magius, in conjunction with whom he had made a most determined stand for the Roman alliance in opposition to the league with the Carthaginians; nor had the leaning of the state to the other side, or his father's authority, altered his sentiments. For this youth his father procured pardon from Hannibal, more by prayers than by clearing him. Hannibal, overcome by the entreaties and tears of his father, even gave orders that he should be invited with his father to the banquet; to which entertainment he intended to admit no Campanian besides his hosts, and Jubellius Taurea, a man distinguished in war. They began to feast early in the day, and the entertainment was not conformable to the Carthaginian custom, or to military discipline, but as might be expected in a city and in a house both remarkable for luxury, was furnished with all the allurements of voluptuousness. Perolla, the son of Calavius, was the only person who could not be won either by the solicitations of the masters of the house, or those which Hannibal sometimes employed. The youth himself pleaded ill health as an apology, while his father urged as an excuse the disturbed state of his mind, which was not surprising. About sunset, Calavius, who had gone out from the banquet, was followed by his son; and when they had arrived at a retired place, (it was a garden at the back part of the house,) he said, "I have a plan to propose to you, my father, by which we shall not only obtain pardon from the Romans for our crime, in that we revolted from them to the Carthaginian, but shall be held in much higher esteem, than we Campanians ever have been." When the father inquired with surprise what that plan could be, he threw back his gown off his shoulder and exposed to view his side, which was girt with a sword. "Forthwith will I ratify the alliance with Rome with the blood of Hannibal. I was desirous that you should be informed of it first, in case you might prefer to be absent while the deed is performing."

## 9

On hearing and seeing which the old man, as though he were actually present at the transactions which were being named to him, wild with fear, exclaimed, "I implore, I beseech you, my son, by all the ties which unite children to parents, that you will not resolve to commit and to suffer every thing that is horrible before the eyes of a father. Did we but a few hours ago, swearing by every deity, and joining right hands, pledge our fidelity to Hannibal, that immediately on separating from the conference we should arm against him the hands which were employed as the sacred pledges of our faith? Do you rise from the hospitable board to which as one of three of the Campanians you have been admitted by Hannibal, that you may ensanguine that very board with the blood of

your host. Could I conciliate Hannibal to my son, and not my son to Hannibal? But let nothing be held sacred by you, neither our pledges, nor the sense of religion, nor filial duty; let the most horrid deeds be dared, if with guilt they bring not ruin upon us. Will you singly attack Hannibal? What will that numerous throng of freemen and slaves be doing? What the eyes of all intent on him alone? What those so many right hands? Will they be torpid amidst your madness? Will you be able to bear the look of Hannibal himself, which armed hosts cannot sustain, from which the Roman people shrink with horror? And though other assistance be wanting, will you have the hardihood to strike me when I oppose my body in defence of Hannibal's? But know that through my breast you must strike and transfix him. Suffer yourself to be deterred from your attempt here, rather than to be defeated there. May my entreaties prevail with you, as they did for you this day." Upon this, perceiving the youth in tears, he threw his arms around him, and kissing him affectionately, ceased not his entreaties until he prevailed upon him to lay aside his sword and give his promise that he would do no such thing. The young man then observed, "I will indeed pay to my father the debt of duty which I owe to my country, but I am grieved for you on whom the guilt of having thrice betrayed your country rests; once when you sanctioned the revolt from the Romans; next when you advised the alliance with Hannibal; and thirdly, this day, when you are the delay and impediment of the restoration of Capua to the Romans. Do thou, my country, receive this weapon, armed with which in thy behalf I would fain have defended this citadel, since a father wrests it from me." Having thus said, he threw the sword into the highway over the garden wall, and that the affair might not be suspected, himself returned to the banquet.

## 10

The next day an audience of a full senate was given to Hannibal, when the first part of his address was full of graciousness and benignity, in which he thanked the Campanians for having preferred his friendship to an alliance with the Romans, and held out among his other magnificent promises "that Capua should soon become the capital of all Italy, and that the Romans as well as the other states should receive laws from it. That there was, however, one person who had no share in the Carthaginian friendship and the alliance formed with him, Decius Magius, who neither was nor ought to be called a Campanian. Him he requested to be surrendered to him, and that the sense of the senate should be taken respecting his conduct, and a decree passed in his presence." All concurred in this proposition, though a great many considered him as a man undeserving such severe treatment; and that this proceeding was no small infringement of their liberty to begin with. Leaving the senate-house, the magistrate took his seat on the consecrated bench, ordered Decius Magius to be apprehended, and to be placed by himself before his feet to plead his cause. But he, his proud spirit being unsubdued, denied that such a measure could be enforced agreeably to the conditions of the treaty; upon which he was ironed, and ordered to be brought into the camp before a lictor. As long as he was conducted with his head uncovered, he moved along earnestly haranguing and vociferating to the multitude which poured around him on all sides. "You have gotten that liberty, Campanians, which you seek; in the middle of the forum, in the light of day, before your eyes, I, a man second to none of the Campanians, am dragged in chains to suffer death. What greater outrage could have been committed had Capua been captured? Go out to meet Hannibal, decorate your city to the utmost, consecrate the day of his arrival, that you may behold this triumph over a fellow-citizen." As the populace seemed to be excited by him, vociferating these things, his

head was covered, and he was ordered to be dragged away more speedily without the gate. Having been thus brought to the camp, he was immediately put on board a ship and sent to Carthage, lest if any commotion should arise at Capua on account of the injustice of the proceeding, the senate also should repent of having given up a leading citizen; and lest if an embassy were sent to request his restoration, he must either offend his new allies by refusing their first petition, or, by granting it, be compelled to retain at Capua a promoter of sedition and disturbance. A tempest drove the vessel to Cyrenae, which was at that time under the dominion of kings. Here flying for refuge to the statue of king Ptolemy, he was conveyed thence in custody to Alexandria to Ptolemy; and having instructed him that he had been thrown into chains by Hannibal, contrary to the law of treaties, he was liberated and allowed to return to whichever place he pleased, Rome or Capua. But Magius said, that Capua would not be a safe place for him, and that Rome, at a time when there was war between the Romans and Capuans, would be rather the residence of a deserter than a guest. That there was no place that he should rather dwell in, than in the dominions of him whom he esteemed an avenger and the protector of his liberty.

## 11

While these things were carrying on, Quintus Fabius Pictor, the ambassador, returned from Delphi to Rome, and read the response of the oracle from a written copy. In it both the gods were mentioned, and in what manner supplication should be made. It then stated, "If you do thus, Romans, your affairs will be more prosperous and less perplexed; your state will proceed more agreeably to your wishes; and the victory in the war will be on the side of the Roman people. After that your state shall have been restored to prosperity and safety, send a present to the Pythian Apollo out of the gains you have earned, and pay honours to him out of the plunder, the booty, and the spoils. Banish licentiousness from among you." Having read aloud these words, translated from the Greek verse, he added, that immediately on his departure from the oracle, he had paid divine honours to all these deities with wine and frankincense; and that he was ordered by the chief priest of the temple, that, as he had approached the oracle and performed the sacred ceremonies decorated with a laurel crown, so he should embark wearing the crown, and not put it off till he had arrived at Rome. That he had executed all these injunctions with the most scrupulous exactness and diligence, and had deposited the garland on the altar of Apollo at Rome. The senate decreed that the sacred ceremonies and supplications enjoined should be carefully performed with all possible expedition. During these events at Rome and in Italy, Mago, the son of Hamilcar, had arrived at Carthage with the intelligence of the victory at Cannae. He was not sent direct from the field of battle by his brother, but was detained some days in receiving the submission of such states of the Bruttii as were in revolt. Having obtained an audience of the senate he gave a full statement of his brother's exploits in Italy: "That he had fought pitched battles with six generals, four of whom were consuls, two a dictator and master of the horse, with six consular armies; that he had slain above two hundred thousand of the enemy, and captured above fifty thousand. That out of the four consuls he had slain two; of the two remaining, one was wounded, the other, having lost his whole army, had fled from the field with scarcely fifty men; that the master of the horse, an authority equal to that of consul, had been routed and put to flight; that the dictator, because he had never engaged in a pitched battle, was esteemed a matchless general; that the Bruttii, the Apulians, part of the Samnites and of the Lucanians had revolted to the Carthaginians. That Capua, which was the capital not only of Campania, but after the

ruin of the Roman power by the battle of Cannae, of Italy also, had delivered itself over to Hannibal. That in return for these so many and so great victories, gratitude ought assuredly to be felt and thanks returned to the immortal gods."

## 12

Then, in proof of this such joyful news, he ordered the golden rings to be poured out in the vestibule of the senate-house, of which there was such a heap that some have taken upon themselves to say that on being measured they filled three pecks and a half. The statement has obtained and is more like the truth, that there were not more than a peck. He then added, by way of explanation, to prove the greater extent of the slaughter, that none but knights, and of these the principal only, wore that ornament. The main drift of his speech was, "that the nearer the prospect was of bringing the war to a conclusion, the more should Hannibal be aided by every means, for that the seat of war was at a long distance from home and in the heart of the enemy's country. That a great quantity of corn was consumed and money expended; and that so many pitched battles, as they had annihilated the armies of the enemy, had also in some degree diminished the forces of the victor. That a reinforcement therefore ought to be sent; and money for the pay, and corn for the soldiers who had deserved so well of the Carthaginian name." After this speech of Mago's, all being elated with joy, Himilco, a member of the Barcine faction, conceiving this a good opportunity for inveighing against Hanno, said to him, "What think you now, Hanno? do you now also regret that the war against the Romans was entered upon? Now urge that Hannibal should be given up; yes, forbid the rendering of thanks to the immortal gods amidst such successes; let us hear a Roman senator in the senate-house of the Carthaginians." Upon which Hanno replied, "I should have remained silent this day, conscript fathers, lest, amid the general joy, I should utter any thing which might be too gloomy for you. But now, to a senator, asking whether I still regret the undertaking of the war against the Romans, if I should forbear to speak, I should seem either arrogant or servile, the former of which is the part of a man who is forgetful of the independence of others, the latter of his own. I may answer therefore to Himilco, that I have not ceased to regret the war, nor shall I cease to censure your invincible general until I see the war concluded on some tolerable terms; nor will any thing except a new peace put a period to my regret for the loss of the old one. Accordingly those achievements, which Mago has so boastingly recounted, are a source of present joy to Himilco and the other adherents of Hannibal; to me they may become so; because successes in war, if we have a mind to make the best use of fortune, will afford us a peace on more equitable terms; for if we allow this opportunity to pass by, on which we have it in our power to appear to dictate rather than to receive terms of peace, I fear lest even this our joy should run into excess, and in the end prove groundless. However, let us see of what kind it is even now. I have slain the armies of the enemy, send me soldiers. What else would you ask if you had been conquered? I have captured two of the enemy's camps, full, of course, of booty and provisions; supply me with corn and money. What else would you ask had you been plundered and stripped of your camp? And that I may not be the only person perplexed, I could wish that either Himilco or Mago would answer me, for it is just and fair that I also should put a question, since I have answered Himilco. Since the battle at Cannae annihilated the Roman power, and it is a fact that all Italy is in a state of revolt; in the first place, has any one people of the Latin confederacy come over to us? In the next place, has any individual of the five and thirty tribes deserted to Hannibal?" When Mago had answered both these questions in

the negative, he continued: "there remains then still too large a body of the enemy. But I should be glad to know what degree of spirit and hope that body possesses."

### 13

Mago declaring that he did not know; "Nothing," said he, "is easier to be known. Have the Romans sent any ambassadors to Hannibal to treat of peace? Have you, in short, ever heard that any mention has been made of peace at Rome?" On his answering these questions also in the negative: "We have upon our hands then, said he, a war as entire as we had on the day on which Hannibal crossed over into Italy. There are a great many of us alive now who remember how fluctuating the success was in the former Punic war. At no time did our affairs appear in so prosperous a condition as they did before the consulship of Caius Lutatius and Aulus Posthumius. In the consulship of Caius Lutatius and Aulus Posthumius we were completely conquered at the islands Aegates. But if now, as well as then, (oh! may the gods avert the omen!) fortune should take any turn, do you hope to obtain that peace when we shall be vanquished which no one is willing to grant now we are victorious. I have an opinion which I should express if any one should advise with me on the subject of proffering or accepting terms of peace with the enemy; but with respect to the supplies requested by Mago, I do not think there is any necessity to send them to a victorious army; and I give it as my opinion that they should far less be sent to them, if they are deluding us by groundless and empty hopes." But few were influenced by the harangue of Hanno, for both the jealousy which he entertained towards the Barcine family, made him a less weighty authority; and men's minds being taken up with the present exultation, would listen to nothing by which their joy could be made more groundless, but felt convinced, that if they should make a little additional exertion the war might be speedily terminated. Accordingly a decree of the senate was made with very general approbation, that four thousand Numidians should be sent as a reinforcement to Hannibal, with four hundred elephants and many talents of silver. Moreover, the dictator was sent forward into Spain with Mago to hire twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, to recruit the armies in Italy and Spain.

### 14

But these resolutions, as generally happens in the season of prosperity, were executed in a leisurely and slothful manner. The Romans, in addition to their inborn activity of mind, were prevented from delaying by the posture of their affairs. For the consul was not wanting in any business which was to be done by him; and the dictator, Marcus Junius Pera, after the sacred ceremonies were concluded, and after having, as is usual, proposed to the people that he might be allowed to mount his horse; besides the two legions which had been enlisted by the consuls in the beginning of the year, and besides the cohorts collected out of the Picenian and Gallic territories, descended to that last resort of the state when almost despaired of, and when propriety gives place to utility, and made proclamation, that of such persons as had been guilty of capital crimes or were in prison on judgment for debt, those who would serve as soldiers with him, he would order to be released from their liability to punishment and their debts. These six thousand he armed with the Gallic spoils which were carried in the procession at the triumph of Caius Flaminius. Thus he marched from the city at the head of twenty-five thousand men. Hannibal, after gaining Capua, made a second fruitless attempt upon the minds of the Neapolitans, partly by fear and partly by hope: and then marched his troops across into the territory of Nola: not immediately in a hostile attitude, for he did not despair of a voluntary surrender, yet intending to omit nothing which they could

suffer or fear, if they delayed the completion of his hopes. The senate, and especially the principal members of it, persevered faithfully in keeping up the alliance with the Romans; the commons, as usual, were all inclined to a change in the government and to espouse the cause of Hannibal, placing before their minds the fear lest their fields should be devastated, and the many hardships and indignities which must be endured in a siege; nor were there wanting persons who advised a revolt. In this state of things, when a fear took possession of the senate, that it would be impossible to resist the excited multitude if they went openly to work, devised a delay of the evil by secret simulation. They pretended that they were agreeable to the revolt to Hannibal; but that it was not settled on what terms they should enter into the new alliance and friendship. Thus having gained time, they promptly sent ambassadors to the Roman praetor, Marcellus Claudius, who was at Casilinum with his army, and informed him what a critical situation Nola was in; that the fields were already in the possession of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and that the city soon would be, unless succour were sent; that the senate, by conceding to the commons that they would revolt when they pleased, had caused them not to hasten too much to revolt. Marcellus, after bestowing high commendations on the Nolans, urged them to protract the business till his arrival by means of the same pretences; in the mean time, to conceal what had passed between them, as well as all hope of succour from the Romans. He himself marched from Casilinum to Calatia, and thence crossing the Volturnus, and passing through the territories of Saticula and Trebula, pursuing his course along the mountains above Suessula, he arrived at Nola.

## 15

On the approach of the Roman praetor, the Carthaginians retired from the territory of Nola and marched down to the sea close upon Naples, eager to get possession of a maritime town to which there would be a safe course for ships from Africa. But hearing that Naples was held by a Roman prefect, Marcus Junius Silanus, who had been invited thither by the Neapolitans themselves, he left Naples as he had left Nola, and directed his course to Nuceria, which he at length starved into capitulation, after having besieged it for a considerable time, often by open force, and often by soliciting to no purpose sometimes the commons, at other times the nobles; agreeing that they should depart with single garments and without arms. Then, as wishing to appear from the beginning to show lenity to all the inhabitants of Italy except the Romans, he proposed rewards and honours to those who might remain with him, and would be willing to serve with him. He retained none, however, by the hopes he held out; they all dispersed in different directions throughout the cities of Campania, wherever either hospitable connexions or the casual impulse of the mind directed them, but principally to Nola and Naples. About thirty senators, including as it happened all of the first rank, made for Capua; but being shut out thence, because they had closed their gates on Hannibal, they betook themselves to Cumae. The plunder of Nuceria was, given to the soldiery, the city sacked and burned. Marcellus continued to hold possession of Nola, relying not more from confidence in his own troops than from the favourable disposition of the leading inhabitants. Apprehensions were entertained of the commons, particularly Lucius Bantius, whose having been privy to an attempt at defection, and dread of the Roman praetor, stimulated sometimes to the betrayal of his country, at others, should fortune fail him in that undertaking, to desertion. He was a young man of vigorous mind, and at that time enjoying the greatest renown of almost any of the allied cavalry. Found at Cannae half dead amid a heap of slain, Hannibal had sent him home, after having had

him cured, with the kindest attention, and even with presents. In gratitude for this favour, he had conceived a wish to put Nola under the power and dominion of the Carthaginian; but his anxiety and solicitude for effecting a change did not escape the notice of the praetor. However, as it was necessary that he should be either restrained by penal inflictions or conciliated by favours, he preferred attaching to himself a brave and strenuous ally, to depriving the enemy of him; and summoning him into his presence, in the kindest manner said, "that the fact that he had many among his countrymen who were jealous of him, might be easily collected from the circumstance that not one citizen of Nola had informed him how many were his splendid military exploits. But that it was impossible for the valour of one who served in the Roman camp to remain in obscurity; that many who had served with him had reported to him how brave a man he was, how often and what dangers he had encountered for the safety and honour of the Roman people; and how in the battle of Cannae he had not given over fighting till, almost bloodless, he was buried under a heap of men, horses, and arms which fell upon him. Go on then," says he, "and prosper in your career of valour, with me you shall receive every honour and every reward, and the oftener you be with me, the more you shall find it will be to your honour and emolument." He presented the young man, delighted with these promises, with a horse of distinguished beauty, ordered the quaestor to give him five hundred denarii, and commanded the lictors to allow him to approach him whenever he might please.

## 16

The violent spirit of the youth was so much soothed by the courteous treatment of Marcellus, that thenceforward no one of the allies displayed greater courage or fidelity in aiding the Roman cause. Hannibal being now at the gates, for he had moved his camp back again from Nuceria to Nola, and the commons beginning to turn their attention to revolt afresh, Marcellus, on the approach of the enemy, retired within the walls; not from apprehension for his camp, but lest he should give an opportunity for betraying the city, which too many were anxiously watching for. The troops on both sides then began to be drawn up; the Romans before the walls of Nola, the Carthaginians before their own camp. Hence arose several battles of small account between the city and the camp, with varying success, as the generals were neither willing to check the small parties who inconsiderately challenged the enemy, nor to give the signal for a general engagement. While the two armies continued to be thus stationed day after day, the chief men of the Nolans informed Marcellus, that conferences were held by night between the commons of Nola and the Carthaginians; and that it was fixed, that, when the Roman army had gone out at the gates, they should make plunder of their baggage and packages, then close the gates and post themselves upon the walls, in order that when in possession of the government and the city, they might then receive the Carthaginian instead of the Roman. On receiving this intelligence Marcellus, having bestowed the highest commendations on the senators, resolved to hazard the issue of a battle before any commotion should arise within the city. He drew up his troops in three divisions at the three gates which faced the enemy; he gave orders that the baggage should follow close by, that the servants, sutlers' boys, and invalids should carry palisades; at the centre gate he stationed the choicest of the legionary troops and the Roman cavalry, at the two gates on either side, the recruits, the light-armed, and the allied cavalry. The Nolans were forbidden to approach the walls and gates, and the troops designed for a reserve were set over the baggage, lest while the legions were engaged in the battle an attack should be made upon it. Thus arranged they were

standing within the gates. Hannibal, who had waited with his troops drawn up in battle-array, as he had done for several days, till the day was far advanced, at first was amazed that neither the Roman army marched out of the gates, nor any armed man was to be seen on the walls, but afterwards concluding that the conferences had been discovered, and that they were quiet through fear, he sent back a portion of his troops into the camp, with orders to bring into the front line, with speed, every thing requisite for assaulting the city; satisfied that if he urged them vigorously while they were indisposed to action, the populace would excite some commotion in the city. While, in the van, the troops were running up and down in a hurried manner in discharge of their several duties, and the line was advancing up to the gates, suddenly throwing open the gate, Marcellus ordered that the signal should be given, and a shout raised, and that first the infantry and after them the cavalry should burst forth upon the enemy with all possible impetuosity. They had occasioned abundant terror and confusion in the centre of the enemy's line, when, at the two side gates, the lieutenant-generals, Publius Valerius Flaccus and Caius Aurelius, sallied forth upon the wings. The servants, suttlers' boys, and the other multitude appointed to guard the baggage, joined in the shout, so that they suddenly exhibited the appearance of a vast army to the Carthaginians, who despised chiefly their paucity of numbers. For my own part I would not take upon me to assert what some authors have declared, that two thousand eight hundred of the enemy were slain, and that the Romans lost not more than five hundred. Whether the victory was so great or not; it is certain that a very important advantage, and perhaps the greatest during the war, was gained on that day: for not to be vanquished by Hannibal was then a more difficult task to the victorious troops, than to conquer him afterwards.

## 17

When Hannibal, all hope of getting possession of Nola being lost, had retired to Acerrae, Marcellus, having closed the gates and posted guards in different quarters to prevent any one from going out, immediately instituted a judicial inquiry in the forum, into the conduct of those who had been secretly in communication with the enemy. He beheaded more than seventy who were convicted of treason, and ordered their foods to be confiscated to the Roman state; and then committing the government to the senate, set out with all his forces, and, pitching a camp, took up a position above Suessula. The Carthaginian, having at first endeavoured to win over the people of Acerrae to a voluntary surrender, but finding them resolved, makes preparations for a siege and assault. But the people of Acerrae had more spirit than power. Despairing therefore, of the defence of the city, when they saw their walls being circumvallated, before the lines of the enemy were completed, they stole off in the dead of night through the opening in the works, and where the watches had been neglected; and pursuing their course through roads and pathless regions, accordingly as design or mistake directed each, made their escape to those towns of Campania which they knew had not renounced their fidelity. After Acerrae was plundered and burnt, Hannibal, having received intelligence that the Roman dictator with the new-raised legions was seen at some distance from Casilinum, and fearing lest, the camp of the enemy being so near, something might occur at Capua, marched his army to Casilinum. At that time Casilinum was occupied by five hundred Praenestines, with a few Romans and Latins, whom the news of the defeat at Cannae had brought to the same place. These men setting out from home too late, in consequence of the levy at Praeneste not being completed at the appointed day, and arriving at Casilinum before the defeat was known there, where they united themselves with other troops, Romans and allies, were proceeding thence in a

tolerably large body, but the news of the battle at Cannae them back to Casilinum. Having spent several days there in evading and concerting plots, in fear themselves and suspected by the Campanians, and having now received certain information that the revolt of Capua and the reception of Hannibal were in agitation, they put the townsmen to the sword by night, and seized upon the part of the town on this side the Vulturnus, for it is divided by that river. Such was the garrison the Romans had at Casilinum; to these was added a cohort of Perusians, in number four hundred and sixty, who had been driven to Casilinum by the same intelligence which had brought the Praenestines a few days before. They formed a sufficient number of armed men for the defence of walls of so limited extent, and protected on one side by the river. The scarcity of corn made them even appear too numerous.

## 18

Hannibal having now advanced within a short distance of the place, sent forward a body of Getulians under a commander named Isalca, and orders them in the first place, if an opportunity of parley should be given, to win them over by fair words, to open the gates, and admit a garrison; but, if they persisted in obstinate opposition, to proceed to action, and try if in any part he could force an entrance into the city. When they had approached the walls, because silence prevailed there appeared a solitude; and the barbarian, supposing that they had retired through fear, made preparation for forcing the gates and breaking away the bars, when, the gates being suddenly thrown open, two cohorts, drawn up within for that very purpose, rushed forth with great tumult, and made a slaughter of the enemy. The first party being thus repulsed, Maharbal was sent with a more powerful body of troops; but neither could even he sustain the sally of the cohorts. Lastly, Hannibal, fixing his camp directly before the walls, prepared to assault this paltry city and garrison, with every effort and all his forces, and having completely surrounded the city with a line of troops, lost a considerable number of men, including all the most forward, who were shot from the walls and turrets, while he pressed on and provoked the enemy. Once he was very near cutting them off, by throwing in a line of elephants, when aggressively sallying forth, and drove them in the utmost confusion into the town; a good many, out of so small a number, having been slain. More would have fallen had not night interrupted the battle. On the following day, the minds of all were possessed with an ardent desire to commence the assault, especially after a golden mural crown had been promised, and the general himself had reproached the conquerors of Saguntum with the slowness of their siege of a little fort situated on level ground; reminding them, each and all, of Cannae, Trasimenus, and Trebia. They then began to apply the vineae and to spring mines: nor was any measure, whether of open force or stratagem, unemployed against the various attempts of the enemy. These allies of the Romans erected bulwarks against the vineae, cut off the mines of the enemy by cross-mines, and met their efforts both covertly and openly, till, at last, shame compelled Hannibal to desist from his undertaking; and, fortifying a camp in which he placed a small guard, that the affair might not appear to have been abandoned, he retired into winter quarters to Capua. There he kept, under cover, for the greater part of the winter, that army, which, though fortified by frequent and continued hardships against every human ill, had yet never experienced or been habituated to prosperity. Accordingly, excess of good fortune and unrestrained indulgence were the ruin of men whom no severity of distress had subdued; and so much the more completely, in proportion to the avidity with which they plunged into pleasures to which they were unaccustomed. For sleep, wine, feasting, women, baths, and ease, which custom

rendered more seductive day by day, so completely unnerved both mind and body, that from henceforth their past victories rather than their present strength protected them; and in this the general is considered by those who are skilled in the art of war to have committed a greater error than in not having marched his troops to Rome forthwith from the field of Cannae: for his delay on that occasion might be considered as only to have postponed his victory, but this mistake to have bereaved him of the power of conquering. Accordingly, by Hercules, as though he marched out of Capua with another army, it retained in no respect any of its former discipline; for most of the troops returned in the embrace of harlots; and as soon as they began to live under tents, and the fatigue of marching and other military labours tried them, like raw troops, they failed both in bodily strength and spirit. From that time, during the whole period of the summer campaign, a great number of them slunk away from the standards without furloughs, while Capua was the only retreat of the deserters.

## 19

However, when the rigour of winter began to abate, marching his troops out of their winter quarters he returned to Casilinum; where, although there had been an intermission of the assault, the continuance of the siege had reduced the inhabitants and the garrison to the extremity of want. Titus Sempronius commanded the Roman camp, the dictator having gone to Rome to renew the auspices. The swollen state of the Vulturnus and the entreaties of the people of Nola and Acerrae, who feared the Campanians if the Roman troops should leave them, kept Marcellus in his place; although desirous himself also to bring assistance to the besieged. Gracchus, only maintaining his post near Casilinum, because he had been enjoined by the dictator not to take any active steps during his absence, did not stir; although intelligence was brought from Casilinum which might easily overcome every degree of patience. For it appeared that some had precipitated themselves from the walls through famine and that they were standing unarmed upon the walls, exposing their undefended bodies to the blows of the missile weapons. Gracchus, grieved at the intelligence, but not daring to fight contrary to the injunctions of the dictator, and yet aware that he must fight if he openly attempted to convey in provisions, and having no hope of introducing them clandestinely, collected corn from all parts of the surrounding country, and filling several casks sent a message to the magistrate to Casilinum, directing that they might catch the casks which the river would bring down. The following night, while all were intent upon the river, and the hopes excited by the message from the Romans, the casks sent came floating down the centre of the stream, and the corn was equally distributed among them all. This was repeated the second and third day; they were sent off and arrived during the same night; and hence they escaped the notice of the enemy's guards. But afterwards, the river, rendered more than ordinarily rapid by continual rains, drove the casks by a cross current to the bank which the enemy were guarding; there they were discovered sticking among the osiers which grew along the banks; and, it being reported to Hannibal, from that time the watches were kept more strictly, that nothing sent to the city by the Vulturnus might escape notice. However, nuts poured out at the Roman camp floated down the centre of the river to Casilinum, and were caught with hurdles. At length they were reduced to such a degree of want, that they endeavoured to chew the thongs and skins which they tore from their shields, after softening them in warm water; nor did they abstain from mice or any other kind of animals. They even dug up every kind of herb and root from the lowest mounds of their wall; and when the enemy had ploughed over all the ground producing herbage which was without the

wall, they threw in turnip seed, so that Hannibal exclaimed, Must I sit here at Casilinum even till these spring up? and he, who up to that time had not lent an ear to any terms, then at length allowed himself to be treated with respecting the ransom of the free persons. Seven ounces of gold for each person were agreed upon as the price; and then, under a promise of protection, they surrendered themselves. They were kept in chains till the whole of the gold was paid, after which they were sent back to Cumae, in fulfilment of the promise. This account is more credible than that they were slain by a body of cavalry, which was sent to attack them as they were going away. They were for the most part Praenestines. Out of the five hundred and seventy who formed the garrison, almost one half were destroyed by sword or famine; the rest returned safe to Praeneste with their praetor Manicius, who had formerly been a scribe. His statue placed in the forum at Praeneste, clad in a coat of mail, with a gown on, and with the head covered, formed an evidence of this account; as did also three images with this legend inscribed on a brazen plate, "Manicius vowed these in behalf of the soldiers who were in the garrison at Casilinum." The same legend was inscribed under three images placed in the temple of Fortune.

## 20

The town of Casilinum was restored to the Campanians, strengthened by a garrison of seven hundred soldiers from the army of Hannibal, lest on the departure of the Carthaginian from it, the Romans should assault it. To the Praenestine soldiers the Roman senate voted double pay and exemption from military service for five years. On being offered the freedom of the state, in consideration of their valor, they would not make the exchange. The account of the fate of the Perusians is less clear, as no light is thrown upon it by any monument of their own, or any decree of the Romans. At the same time the Petelini, the only Bruttian state which had continued in the Roman alliance, were attacked not only by the Carthaginians, who were in possession of the surrounding country, but also by the rest of the Bruttian states, on account of their having adopted a separate policy. The Petelini, unable to bear up against these distresses, sent ambassadors to Rome to solicit aid, whose prayers and entreaties (for on being told that they must themselves take measures for their own safety, they gave themselves up to piteous lamentations in the vestibule of the senate-house) excited the deepest commiseration in the fathers and the people. On the question being proposed a second time to the fathers by Manius Pomponius, the praetor, after examining all the resources of the empire, they were compelled to confess that they had no longer any protection for their distant allies, and bid them return home, and having done every thing which could be expected from faithful allies, as to what remained to take measures for their own security in the present state of fortune. On the result of this embassy being reported to the Petelini, their senate was suddenly seized with such violent grief and dismay, that some advised that they should run away wherever each man could find an asylum, and abandon the city. Some advised, that as they were deserted by their ancient allies, they should unite themselves with the rest of the Bruttian states, and through them surrender themselves to Hannibal. The opinion however which prevailed was that of those who thought that nothing should be done in haste and rashly, and that they should take the whole matter into their consideration again. The next day, when they had cooled upon it, and their trepidation had somewhat subsided, the principal men carried their point that they should collect all their property out of the fields, and fortify the city and the walls.

## 21

Much about the same time letters were brought from Sicily and Sardinia. That of Titus Otacilius the propraetor was first read in the senate. It stated that Lucius Furius the praetor had arrived at Lilybaeum from Africa with his fleet. That he himself, having been severely wounded, was in imminent danger of his life; that neither pay nor corn was punctually furnished to the soldiers or the marines; nor were there any resources from which they could be furnished. That he earnestly advised that such supplies should be sent with all possible expedition; and that, if it was thought proper, they should send one of the new praetors to succeed him.

Nearly the same intelligence respecting corn and pay was conveyed in a letter from Aulus Cornelius Mammula, the propraetor, from Sardinia. The answer to both was, that there were no resources from whence they could be supplied, and orders were given to them that they should themselves provide for their fleets and armies. Titus Otacilius having sent ambassadors to Hiero, the only source of assistance the Romans had, received as much money as was wanting to pay the troops and a supply of corn for six months. In Sardinia, the allied states contributed liberally to Cornelius. The scarcity of money at Rome also was so great, that on the proposal of Marcus Minucius, plebeian tribune, a financial triumvirate was appointed, consisting of Lucius Aemilius Papus, who had been consul and censor, Marcus Atilius Regulus, who had been twice consul, and Lucius Scribonius Libo, who was then plebeian tribune. Marcus and Caius Atilius were also created a duumvirate for dedicating the temple of Concord, which Lucius Manlius had vowed when praetor. Three pontiffs were also created, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, in the room of Publius Scantinius deceased, and of Lucius Aemilius Paulus the consul, and of Quintus Aelius Paetus, who had fallen in the battle of Cannae.

## 22

The fathers having repaired, as far as human counsels could effect it, the other losses from a continued series of unfortunate events, at length turned their attention on themselves, on the emptiness of the senate-house, and the paucity of those who assembled for public deliberation. For the senate-roll had not been reviewed since the censorship of Lucius Aemilius and C. Flaminius, though unfortunate battles, during a period of five years, as well as the private casualties of each, had carried off so many senators. Manius Pomponius, the praetor, as the dictator was now gone to the army after the loss of Casilinum, at the earnest request of all, brought in a bill upon the subject. When Spurius Carvilius, after having lamented in a long speech not only the scantiness of the senate, but the fewness of citizens who were eligible into that body, with the design of making up the numbers of the senate and uniting more closely the Romans and the Latin confederacy, declared that he strongly advised that the freedom of the state should be conferred upon two senators from each of the Latin states, if the Roman fathers thought proper, who might be chosen into the senate to supply the places of the deceased senators. This proposition the fathers listened to with no more equanimity than formerly to the request when made by the Latins themselves. A loud and violent expression of disapprobation ran through the whole senate-house. In particular, Manlius reminded them that there was still existing a man of that stock, from which that consul was descended who formerly threatened in the Capitol that he would with his own hand put to death any Latin senator he saw in that house. Upon which Quintus Fabius Maximus said, "that never was any subject introduced into the senate at a juncture more unseasonable than the present, when a question had been touched upon which would still further irritate the minds of the allies, who were already

hesitating and wavering in their allegiance. That that rash suggestion of one individual ought to be annihilated by the silence of the whole body; and that if there ever was a declaration in that house which ought to be buried in profound and inviolable silence, surely that above all others was one which deserved to be covered and consigned to darkness and oblivion, and looked upon as if it had never been made." This put a stop to the mention of the subject. They determined that a dictator should be created for the purpose of reviewing the senate, and that he should be one who had been a censor, and was the oldest living of those who had held that office. They likewise gave orders that Caius Terentius, the consul, should be called home to nominate a dictator; who, leaving his troops in Apulia, returned to Rome with great expedition; and, according to custom, on the following night nominated Marcus Fabius Buteo dictator, for six months, without a master of the horse, in pursuance of the decree of the senate.

### 23

He having mounted the rostrum attended by the lictors, declared, that he neither approved of there being two dictators at one time, which had never been done before, nor of his being appointed dictator without a master of the horse; nor of the censorian authority being committed to one person, and to the same person a second time; nor that command should be given to a dictator for six months, unless he was created for active operations. That he would himself restrain within proper bounds those irregularities which chance, the exigencies of the times, and necessity had occasioned. For he would not remove any of those whom the censors Flaminius and Aemilius had elected into the senate; but would merely order that their names should be transcribed and read over, that one man might not exercise the power of deciding and determining on the character and morals of a senator; and would so elect in place of deceased members, that one rank should appear to be preferred to another, and not man to man. The old senate-roll having been read, he chose as successors to the deceased, first those who had filled a curule office since the censorship of Flaminius and Aemilius, but had not yet been elected into the senate, as each had been earliest created. He next chose those who had been aediles, plebeian tribunes, or quaestors; then of those who had never filled the office of magistrate, he selected such as had spoils taken from an enemy fixed up at their homes, or had received a civic crown. Having thus elected one hundred and seventy-seven senators, with the entire approbation of his countrymen, he instantly abdicated his office, and, bidding the lictors depart, he descended from the rostrum as a private citizen, and mingled with the crowd of persons who were engaged in their private affairs, designedly wearing away this time, lest he should draw off the people from the forum for the purpose of escorting him home. Their zeal, however, did not subside by the delay, for they escorted him to his house in great numbers. The consul returned to the army the ensuing night, without acquainting the senate, lest he should be detained in the city on account of the elections.

### 24

The next day, on the proposition of Manius Pomponius the praetor, the senate decreed that a letter should be written to the dictator, to the effect, that if he thought it for the interest of the state, he should come, together with the master of the horse and the praetor, Marcus Marcellus, to hold the election for the succeeding consuls, in order that the fathers might learn from them in person in what condition the state was, and take measures according to circumstances. All who were summoned came, leaving lieutenant-generals to hold command of the legions. The dictator, speaking briefly and

modestly of himself, attributed much of the glory Of the campaign to the master of the horse, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. He then gave out the day for the comitia, at which the consuls created were Lucius Posthumius in his absence, being then employed in the government of the province of Gaul, for the third time, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was then master of the horse and curule aedile. Marcus Valerius Laevinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and Quintus Mucius Scaevola, were then created praetors. After the election of the magistrates, the dictator returned to his army, which was in winter quarters at Teanum, leaving his master of the horse at Rome, to take the sense of the fathers relative to the armies to be enlisted and embodied for the service of the year, as he was about to enter upon the magistracy after a few days. While busily occupied with these matters, intelligence arrived of a fresh disaster--fortune crowding into this year one calamity after another--that Lucius Posthumius, consul elect, himself with all his army was destroyed in Gaul. He was to march his troops through a vast wood, which the Gauls called Litana. On the right and left of his route, the natives had sawed the trees in such a manner that they continued standing upright, but would fall when impelled by a slight force. Posthumius had with him two Roman legions, and besides had levied so great a number of allies along the Adriatic Sea, that he led into the enemy's country twenty-five thousand men. As soon as this army entered the wood, the Gauls, who were posted around its extreme skirts, pushed down the outermost of the sawn trees, which falling on those next them, and these again on others which of themselves stood tottering and scarcely maintained their position, crushed arms, men, and horses in an indiscriminate manner, so that scarcely ten men escaped. For, most of them being killed by the trunks and broken boughs of trees, the Gauls, who beset the wood on all sides in arms killed the rest, panic-struck by so unexpected a disaster. A very small number, who attempted to escape by a bridge, were taken prisoners, being intercepted by the enemy who had taken possession of it before them. Here Posthumius fell, fighting with all his might to prevent his being taken. The Boii having cut off his head, carried it and the spoils they stole off his body, in triumph into the most sacred temple they had. Afterwards they cleansed the head according to their custom, and having covered the skull with chased gold, used it as a cup for libations in their solemn festivals, and a drinking cup for their high priests and other ministers of the temple. The spoils taken by the Gauls were not less than the victory. For though great numbers of the beasts were crushed by the falling trees, yet as nothing was scattered by flight, every thing else was found strewed along the whole line of the prostrate band.

## 25

The news of this disaster arriving, when the state had been in so great a panic for many days, that the shops were shut up as if the solitude of night reigned through the city; the senate gave it in charge to the aediles to go round the city, cause the shops to be opened, and this appearance of public affliction to be removed. Then Titus Sempronius, having assembled the senate, consoled and encouraged the fathers, requesting, "that they who had sustained the defeat at Cannae with so much magnanimity would not now be cast down with less calamities. That if their arms should prosper, as he hoped they would, against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, the war with the Gauls might be suspended and deferred without hazard. The gods and the Roman people would have it in their power to revenge the treachery of the Gauls another time. That they should now deliberate about the Carthaginian foe, and the forces with which the war was to be prosecuted." He first laid before them the number of foot and horse, as well citizens as allies, that were

in the dictator's army. Then Marcellus gave an account of the amount in his. Those who knew were asked what troops were in Apulia with Caius Terentius Varro the consul. But no practicable plan could be devised for raising consular armies sufficient to support so important a war. For this reason, notwithstanding a just resentment irritated them, they determined that Gaul should be passed over for that year. The dictator's army was assigned to the consul; and they ordered such of the troops of Marcellus's army as had fled from Cannae, to be transported into Sicily, to serve there as long as the war continued in Italy. Thither, likewise, were ordered to be sent as unfit to serve with him, the weakest of the dictator's troops, no time of service being appointed, but the legal number of campaigns. The two legions in the city were voted to the other consul who should be elected in the room of Posthumius; and they resolved that he should be elected as soon as the auspices would permit. Besides, two legions were immediately to be recalled from Sicily, out of which the consul, to whom the city legions fell, might take what number of men he should have occasion for. The consul Caius Terentius Varro was continued in his command for one year, without lessening the army he had for the defence of Apulia.

## 26

During these transactions and preparations in Italy, the war in Spain was prosecuted with no less vigour; but hitherto more favourably to the Romans. The two generals had divided their troops, so that Cneius acted by land, and Publius by sea. Hasdrubal, general of the Carthaginians, sufficiently trusting to neither branch of his forces, kept himself at a distance from the enemy, secured by the intervening space and the strength of his fortifications, until, after much solicitation, four thousand foot and five hundred horse were sent him out of Africa as a reinforcement. At length, inspired with fresh hopes, he moved nearer the enemy; and himself also ordered a fleet to be equipped and prepared for the protection of the islands and sea-coasts. In the very onset of renewing the war, he was greatly embarrassed by the desertion of the captains of his ships, who had ceased to entertain a sincere attachment towards the general and the Carthaginian cause, ever since they were severely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet in a cowardly manner at the Iberus. These deserters had raised an insurrection among the Tartessians, and at their instigation some cities had revolted; they had even taken one by force. The war was now turned from the Romans into that country, which he entered in a hostile manner, and resolved to attack Galbus, a distinguished general of the Tartessians, who with a powerful army kept close within his camp, before the walls of a city which had been captured but a few days before. Accordingly, he sent his light-armed troops in advance to provoke the enemy to battle, and part of his infantry to ravage the country throughout in every direction, and to cut off stragglers. There was a skirmish before the camp, at the same time that many were killed and put to flight in the fields. But having by different routes returned to their camp, they so quickly shook off all fear, that they had courage not only to defend their lines, but challenge the enemy to fight. They sallied out, therefore, in a body from the camp, dancing according to their custom. Their sudden boldness terrified the enemy, who a little before had been the assailants. Hasdrubal therefore drew off his troops to a tolerably steep eminence, and secured further by having a river between it and the enemy. Here the parties of light-armed troops which had been sent in advance, and the horse which had been dispersed about, he called in to join him. But not thinking himself sufficiently secured by the eminence or the river, he fortified his camp completely with a rampart. While thus fearing and feared alternately, several skirmishes occurred, in which the Numidian

cavalry were not so good as the Spanish, nor the Moorish darters so good as the Spanish targetteers, who equalled them in swiftness, but were superior to them in strength and courage.

## 27

The enemy seeing they could not, by coming up to Hasdrubal's camp, draw him out to a battle, nor assault it without great difficulty, stormed Asena, whither Hasdrubal, on entering their territories, had laid up his corn and other stores. By this they became masters of all the surrounding country. But now they became quite ungovernable, both when on march and within their camp.

Hasdrubal, therefore, perceiving their negligence, which, as usual, was the consequence of success, after having exhorted his troops to attack them while they were straggling and without their standards, came down the hill, and advanced to their camp in order of battle. On his approach being announced in a tumultuous manner, by men who fled from the watchposts and advanced guards, they shouted to arms; and as each could get his arms, they rushed precipitately to battle, without waiting for the word, without standards, without order, and without ranks. The foremost of them were already engaged, while some were running up in parties, and others had not got out of their camp. However, at first, the very boldness of their attack terrified the enemy. But when they charged their close ranks with their own which were thin, and were not able to defend themselves for want of numbers, each began to look out for others to support him; and being repulsed in all quarters they collected themselves in form of a circle, where being so closely crowded together, body to body, armour to armour, that they had not room to wield their arms, they were surrounded by the enemy, who continued to slaughter them till late in the day. A small number, having forced a passage, made for the woods and hills. With like consternation, their camp was abandoned, and next day the whole nation submitted. But they did not continue long quiet, for immediately upon this, Hasdrubal received orders from Carthage to march into Italy with all expedition. The report of which, spreading over Spain, made almost all the states declare for the Romans. Accordingly he wrote immediately to Carthage, to inform them how much mischief the report of his march had produced. "That if he really did leave Spain, the Romans would be masters of it all before he could pass the Iberus. For, besides that he had neither an army nor a general whom he could leave to supply his place, so great were the abilities of the Roman generals who commanded there, that they could scarcely be opposed with equal forces. If, therefore, they had any concern for preserving Spain, they ought to send a general with a powerful army to succeed him. To whom, however prosperous all things might prove, yet the province would not be a position of ease."

## 28

Though this letter made at first a great impression on the senate, yet, as their interest in Italy was first and most important, they did not at all alter their resolution in relation to Hasdrubal and his troops. However, they despatched Himilco with a complete army, and an augmented fleet, to preserve and defend Spain both by sea and land. When he had conveyed over his land and naval forces, he fortified a camp; and having drawn his ships upon dry land, and surrounded them with a rampart, he marched with a chosen body of cavalry, with all possible expedition; using the same caution when passing through people who were wavering, and those who were actually enemies; and came up with Hasdrubal. As soon as he had informed him of the resolutions and orders of the senate,

and in his turn been thoroughly instructed in what manner to prosecute the war in Spain, he returned to his camp; his expedition more than any thing else saving him, for he quitted every place before the people could conspire. Before Hasdrubal quitted his position he laid all the states in subjection to him under contribution. He knew well that Hannibal purchased a passage through some nations; that he had no Gallic auxiliaries but such as were hired; and that if he had undertaken so arduous a march without money, he would scarcely have penetrated so far as the Alps. For this reason, having exacted the contributions with great haste, he marched down to the Iberus. As soon as the Roman generals got notice of the Carthaginian senate's resolution, and Hasdrubal's march, they gave up every other concern, and uniting their forces, determined to meet him and oppose his attempt. They reflected, that when it was already so difficult to make head against Hannibal alone in Italy, there would be an end of the Roman empire in Spain, should Hasdrubal join him with a Spanish army. Full of anxiety and care on these accounts, they assembled their forces at the Iberus, and crossed the river; and after deliberating for some time whether they should encamp opposite to the enemy, or be satisfied with impeding his intended march by attacking the allies of the Carthaginians, they made preparations for besieging a city called Ibera, from its contiguity to the river, which was at that time the wealthiest in that quarter. When Hasdrubal perceived this, instead of carrying assistance to his allies, he proceeded himself to besiege a city which had lately placed itself under the protection of the Romans; and thus the siege which was now commenced was given up by them, and the operations of the war turned against Hasdrubal himself.

## 29

For a few days they remained encamped at a distance of five miles from each other, not without skirmishes, but without going out to a regular engagement. At length the signal for battle was given out on both sides on one and the same day, as though by concert, and they marched down into the plain with all their forces. The Roman army stood in triple line; a part of the light troops were stationed among the first line, the other half were received behind the standards, the cavalry covering the wings. Hasdrubal formed his centre strong with Spaniards, and placed the Carthaginians in the right wing, the Africans and hired auxiliaries in the left. His cavalry he placed before the wings, attaching the Numidians to the Carthaginian infantry, and the rest to the Africans. Nor were all the Numidians placed in the right wing, but such as taking two horses each into the field are accustomed frequently to leap full armed, when the battle is at the hottest, from a tired horse upon a fresh one, after the manner of vaulters: such was their own agility, and so docile their breed of horses. While they stood thus drawn up, the hopes entertained by the generals on both sides were pretty much upon an equality; for neither possessed any great superiority, either in point of the number or quality of the troops. The feelings of the soldiers were widely different. Their generals had, without difficulty, induced the Romans to believe, that although they fought at a distance from their country, it was Italy and the city of Rome that they were defending. Accordingly, they had brought their minds to a settled resolution to conquer or die; as if their return to their country had hinged upon the issue of that battle. The other army consisted of less determined men; for they were principally Spaniards, who would rather be vanquished in Spain, than be victorious to be dragged into Italy. On the first onset, therefore, ere their javelins had scarcely been thrown, their centre gave ground, and the Romans pressing on with great impetuosity, turned their backs. In the wings the battle proceeded with no less activity; on one side the Carthaginians, on the other the Africans,

charged vigorously, while the Romans, in a manner surrounded, were exposed to a twofold attack. But when the whole of the Roman troops had united in the centre, they possessed sufficient strength to compel the wings of the enemy to retire in different directions; and thus there were two separate battles, in both of which the Romans were decidedly superior, as after the defeat of the enemy's centre they had the advantage both in the number and strength of their troops. Vast numbers were slain on this occasion; and had not the Spaniards fled precipitately from the field ere the battle had scarce begun, very few out of the whole army would have survived. There was very little fighting of the cavalry, for as soon as the Moors and Numidians perceived that the centre gave way, they fled immediately with the utmost precipitation, leaving the wings uncovered, and also driving the elephants before them. Hasdrubal, after waiting the issue of the battle to the very last, fled from the midst of the carnage with a few attendants. The Romans took and plundered the camp. This victory united with the Romans whatever states of Spain were wavering, and left Hasdrubal no hope, not only of leading an army over into Italy, but even of remaining very safely in Spain. When these events were made generally known at Rome by letters from the Scipios, the greatest joy was felt, not so much for the victory, as for the stop which was put to the passage of Hasdrubal into Italy.

### 30

While these transactions were going on in Spain, Petilia, in Bruttium, was taken by Himilco, an officer of Hannibal's, several months after the siege of it began. This victory cost the Carthaginians much blood and many wounds, nor did any power more subdue the besieged than that of famine; for after having consumed their means of subsistence, derived from fruits and the flesh of every kind of quadrupeds, they were at last compelled to live upon skins found in shoemakers' shops, on herbs and roots, the tender barks of trees, and berries gathered from brambles: nor were they subdued until they wanted strength to stand upon the walls and support their arms. After gaining Petilia, the Carthaginian marched his forces to Consentia, which being less obstinately defended, he compelled to surrender within a few days. Nearly about the same time, an army of Bruttians invested Croton, a Greek city, formerly powerful in men and arms, but at the present time reduced so low by many and great misfortunes, that less than twenty thousand inhabitants of all ages remained. The enemy, therefore, easily got possession of a city destitute of defenders: of the citadel alone possession was retained, into which some of the inhabitants fled from the midst of the carnage during the confusion created by the capture of the city. The Locrians too revolted to the Bruttians and Carthaginians, the populace having been betrayed by the nobles. The Rhegians were the only people in that quarter who continued to the last in faithful attachment to the Romans, and in the enjoyment of their independence. The same alteration of feeling extended itself into Sicily also; and not even the family of Hiero altogether abstained from defection; for Gelo, his oldest son, conceiving a contempt for his father's old age, and, after the defeat of Cannae, for the alliance with Rome, went over to the Carthaginians; and he would have created a disturbance in Sicily, had he not been carried off, when engaged as arming the people and soliciting the allies, by a death so seasonable that it threw some degree of suspicion even upon his father. Such, with various result, were the transactions in Italy, Africa, Sicily, and Spain during this year. At the close of the year, Quintus Fabius Maximus requested of the senate, that he might be allowed to dedicate the temple of Venus Erycina, which he had vowed when dictator. The senate decreed, that Tiberius Sempronius, the consul elect, as soon as ever he had

entered upon his office, should propose to the people, that they should create Quintus Fabius duumvir, for the purpose of dedicating the temple. Also, in honour of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who had been consul twice and augur, his three sons, Lucius, Marcus, and Quintus exhibited funeral games and twenty-two pairs of gladiators for three days in the forum. The curule aediles, Caius Laetorius, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus consul elect, who during his aedileship had been master of the horse, celebrated the Roman games, which were repeated for three days. The plebeian games of the aediles, Marcus Aurelius Cotta and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, were thrice repeated. At the conclusion of the third year of the Punic war, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus the consul entered upon his office on the ides of March. Of the praetors, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who had before been consul and censor, had by lot the city jurisdiction; Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the foreign. Sicily fell to the lot of Appius Claudius Pulcher; Sardinia to Quintus Mucius Scaevola. The people ordered that Marcus Marcellus should be in command as proconsul, because he was the only Roman general who had been successful in his operations in Italy since the defeat at Cannae.

### 31

The senate decreed, the first day they deliberated in the Capitol, that double taxes should be imposed for that year, one moiety of which should be immediately levied, as a fund from which pay might be given forthwith to all the soldiers, except those who had been at Cannae. With regard to the armies they decreed, that Tiberius Sempronius the consul should appoint a day for the two city legions to meet at Cales, whence these legions should be conveyed into the Claudian camp above Suenula. That the legions which were there, and they consisted principally of the troops which had fought at Cannae, Appius Claudius Pulcher, the praetor, should transport into Sicily; and that those in Sicily should be removed to Rome. Marcus Claudius Marcellus was sent to the army, which had been ordered to meet at Cales on a certain day, with orders to march the city legions thence to the Claudian camp. Titus Metilius Croto, lieutenant-general, was sent by Appius Claudius Pulcher to receive the old army and remove it into Sicily. People at first had expected in silence that the consul would hold an assembly for the election of a colleague, but afterwards perceiving that Marcus Marcellus, whom they wished above all others to be consul this year, on account of his brilliant success during his praetorship, was removed to a distant quarter, as it were on purpose, a murmuring arose in the senate-house, which the consul perceiving, said "Conscript fathers, it was conducive to the interest of the state, both that Marcus Marcellus should go into Campania to make the exchange of the armies, and that the assembly should not be proclaimed before he had returned thence after completing the business with which he was charged, in order that you might have him as consul whom the situation of the republic required and yourselves prefer." Thus nothing was said about the assembly till Marcellus returned. Meanwhile Quintus Fabius Maximus and Titus Otacilius Crassus were created duumvirs for dedicating temples, Otacilius to Mens, Fabius to Venus Erycina. Both are situated in the Capitol, and separated by one channel. It was afterwards proposed to the people, to make Roman citizens of the three hundred Campanian horsemen who had returned to Rome after having faithfully served their period, and also that they should be considered to have been citizens of Cumae from the day before that on which the Campanians had revolted from the Roman people. It had been a principal inducement to this proposition, that they themselves said they knew not to what people they belonged, having left their former country, and being not yet admitted into that to which they had returned. After Marcellus returned from the army,

an assembly was proclaimed for electing one consul in the room of Lucius Posthumius. Marcellus was elected with the greatest unanimity, and was immediately to enter upon his office, but as it thundered while he entered upon it, the augurs were summoned, who pronounced that they considered the creation formal, and the fathers spread a report that the gods were displeased, because on that occasion, for the first time, two plebeians had been elected consuls. Upon Marcellus's abdicating his office, Fabius Maximus, for the third time, was elected in his room. This year the sea appeared on fire; at Sinuessa a cow brought forth a horse foal; the statues in the temple of Juno Sospita Lanuvium flowed down with blood; and a shower of stones fell in the neighbourhood of that temple: on account of which shower the nine days' sacred rite was celebrated, as is usual on such occasions, and the other prodigies were carefully expiated.

### 32

The consuls divided the armies between them. The army which Marcus Junius the dictator had commanded fell to the lot of Fabius. To that of Sempronius fell the volunteer slaves, with twenty-five thousand of the allies. To Marcus Valerius the praetor were assigned the legions which had returned from Sicily. Marcus Claudius, proconsul, was sent to that army which lay above Suessula for the protection of Nola. The praetors set out for Sicily and Sardinia. The consuls issued a proclamation, that as often as they summoned a senate, the senators and those who had a right to give their opinion in the senate, should assemble at the Capuan gate. The praetors who were charged with the administration of justice, fixed their tribunals in the public fish market; there they ordered sureties to be entered into, and here justice was administered this year. Meanwhile news was brought to Carthage, from which place Mago, Hannibal's brother, was on the point of carrying over into Italy twelve thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, twenty elephants, and a thousand talents of silver, under a convoy of sixty men of war, that the operations of the war had not succeeded in Spain, and that almost all the people in that province had gone over to the Romans. There were some who were for sending Mago with that fleet and those forces into Spain, neglecting Italy, when an unexpected prospect of regaining Sardinia broke upon them. They were informed, that "the Roman army there was small, that Aulus Cornelius, who had been praetor there, and was well acquainted with the province, was quitting it, and that a new one was expected. Moreover, that the minds of the Sardinians were now wearied with the long continuance of rule; and that during the last year it had been exercised with severity and rapacity. That the people were weighed down with heavy taxes, and an oppressive contribution of corn: that there was nothing wanting but a leader to whom they might revolt." This secret embassy had been sent by the nobles, Hampsicora being the chief contriver of the measure, who at that time was first by far in wealth and influence. Disconcerted and elated almost at the same time by these accounts, they sent Mago with his fleet and forces into Spain, and selecting Hasdrubal as general for Sardinia, assigned to him about as large a force as to Mago. At Rome, the consuls, after transacting what was necessary to be done in the city now prepared themselves for the war. Tiberius Sempronius appointed a day for his soldiers to assemble at Sinuessa; and Quintus Fabius also, having first consulted the senate, issued a proclamation, that all persons should convey corn from the fields into fortified towns, before the calends of June next ensuing: if any neglected to do so he would lay waste his lands, sell his slaves by auction, and burn his farm-houses. Not even the praetors, who were created for the purpose of administering justice, were allowed an exemption from military employments. It was resolved that Valerius the praetor should go into Apulia, to receive the army from

Terentius, and that, when the legions from Sicily had arrived, he should employ them principally for the protection of that quarter. That the army of Terentius should be sent into Sicily, with some one of the lieutenant-generals. Twenty-five ships were given to Marcus Valerius, to protect the sea-coast between Brundisium and Tarentum. An equal number was given to Quintus Fulvius, the city praetor, to protect the coasts in the neighbourhood of the city. To Caius Terentius, the proconsul, it was given in charge to press soldiers in the Picenian territory, and to protect that part of the country; and Titus Otacilius Crassus, after he had dedicated the temple of Mens in the Capitol, was invested with command, and sent into Sicily to take the conduct of the fleet.

### 33

On this contest, between the two most powerful people in the world, all kings and nations had fixed their attention. Among them Philip, king of the Macedonians, regarded it with greater anxiety, in proportion as he was nearer to Italy, and because he was separated from it only by the Ionian Sea. When he first heard that Hannibal had crossed the Alps, as he was rejoiced that a war had arisen between the Romans and the Carthaginians, so while their strength was yet undetermined, he felt doubtful which he should rather wish to be victorious. But after the third battle had been fought and the third victory had been on the side of the Carthaginians, he inclined to fortune, and sent ambassadors to Hannibal. These, avoiding the harbours of Brundisium and Tarentum, because they were occupied by guards of Roman ships, landed at the temple of Juno Lacinia. Thence passing through Apulia, on their way to Capua, they fell in with the Roman troops stationed to protect the country, and were conveyed to Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the praetor, who lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Luceria. Here Xenophanes, who was at the head of the embassy, fearlessly stated, that he was sent by King Philip to conclude a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Roman people, and that he had commissions to the Roman consuls, senate, and people. The praetor, highly delighted with this new alliance with a distinguished potentate, amidst the desertions of her old allies, courteously entertained these enemies as guests, and furnished them with persons to accompany them carefully to point out the roads, and inform them what places, and what passes, the Romans or the enemy occupied. Xenophanes passing through the Roman troops came into Campania, whence, by the shortest way, he entered the camp of Hannibal, and concluded a treaty of alliance and friendship with him on the following terms: That "King Philip, with as large a fleet as he could, (and it was thought he could make one of two hundred ships,) should pass over into Italy, and lay waste the sea-coast, that he should carry on the war by land and sea with all his might; when the war was concluded, that all Italy, with the city of Rome itself, should be the property of the Carthaginians and Hannibal, and that all the booty should be given up to Hannibal. That when Italy was completely subdued they should sail into Greece, and carry on war with such nations as the king pleased. That the cities on the continent and the islands which border on Macedonia, should belong to Philip, and his dominions."

### 34

A treaty was concluded between the Carthaginian general and the ambassadors, upon nearly these terms; and Gisgo, Bostar, and Mago were sent as ambassadors with them to receive the ratification of the king in person. They arrived at the same place, near the temple of Juno Lacinia, where the vessel lay concealed in a creek. Setting out thence, when they had got into the open sea, they were descried by the Roman fleet, which was

guarding the coasts of Calabria. Publius Valerius Flaccus having sent fly-boats to pursue and bring back the ship, the king's party at first attempted to fly; but afterwards, finding that they were overmatched in swiftness, they delivered themselves up to the Romans, and were brought to the commander of the fleet. Upon being asked by him who they were, whence they came, and whither they were going, Xenophanes, having once been pretty successful, made up a fictitious story and said, "that he was sent from Philip to the Romans; that he had succeeded in reaching Marcus Valerius, to whom alone he had safe access; that he was unable to make his way through Campania, which was beset with the troops of the enemy." But afterwards the Carthaginian dress and manners excited suspicions of the messengers of Hannibal, and when interrogated, their speech betrayed them; then on their companions being removed to separate places, and intimidated by threats, even a letter from Hannibal to Philip was discovered, and the agreement made between the king of the Macedonians and the Carthaginian. These points having been ascertained, the best course appeared to be, to convey the prisoners and their companions as soon as possible to the senate at Rome, or to the consuls, wheresoever they might be; for this service five of the fastest sailing vessels were selected, and Lucius Valerius Antias sent in command of them, with orders to distribute the ambassadors through all the ships separately, and take particular care that they should hold no conversation or consultation with each other. About the same time Aulus Cornelius Mammula, on his return from the province of Sardinia, made a report of the state of affairs in the island; that every body contemplated war and revolt; that Quintus Mucius who succeeded him, being on his arrival affected by the unwholesomeness of the air and water, had fallen into a disorder rather lingering than dangerous, and would for a long time be incapable of sustaining the violent exertion of the war; that the army there, though strong enough for the protection of a province in a state of tranquillity, was, nevertheless, not adequate to the maintenance of the war which seemed to be about to break out. Upon which the fathers decreed, that Quintus Fulvius Flaccus should enlist five thousand foot and four hundred horse, and take care that the legion thus formed should be transported as soon as possible into Sardinia, and send invested with command whomsoever he thought fit to conduct the business of the war until Mucius had recovered. For this service Titus Manlius Torquatus was sent; he had been twice consul and censor, and had subdued the Sardinians during his consulate. Nearly about the same time a fleet sent from Carthage to Sardinia under the conduct of Hasdrubal, surnamed the Bald, having suffered from a violent tempest, was driven upon the Balearian islands, where a good deal of time was lost in refitting the ships, which were hauled on shore, so much were they damaged, not only in their rigging but also in their hulls.

### 35

As the war was carried on in Italy with less vigour since the battle of Cannae, the strength of one party having been broken, and the energy of the other relaxed, the Campanians of themselves made an attempt to subjugate Cumae, at first by soliciting them to revolt from the Romans, and when that plan did not succeed, they contrived an artifice by which to entrap them. All the Campanians had a stated sacrifice at Hamae. They informed the Cumans that the Campanian senate would come there, and requested that the Cuman senate should also be present to deliberate in concert, in order that both people might have the same allies and the same enemies; they said that they would have an armed force there for their protection, that there might be no danger from the Romans or Carthaginians. The Cumans, although they suspected treachery, made no

objection, concluding that thus the deception they meditated might be concealed. Meanwhile Tiberius Sempronius, the Roman consul, having purified his army at Sinuessa, where he had appointed a day for their meeting, crossed the Vulturnus, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Liternum. As his troops were stationed here without any employment, he compelled them frequently to go through their exercise, that the recruits, which consisted principally of volunteer slaves, might accustom themselves to follow the standards, and know their own centuries in battle. While thus engaged, the general was particularly anxious for concord, and therefore enjoined the lieutenant-generals and the tribunes that "no disunion should be engendered among the different orders, by casting reproaches on any one on account of his former condition. That the veteran soldier should be content be placed on an equal footing with the tiro, the free-man with the volunteer slave; that all should consider those men sufficiently respectable in point of character and birth, to whom the Roman people had intrusted their arms and standards; that the measures which circumstances made it necessary to adopt, the same circumstances also made it necessary to support when adopted." This was not more carefully prescribed by the generals than observed by the soldiers; and in a short time the minds of all were united in such perfect harmony, that the condition from which each became a soldier was almost forgotten. While Gracchus was thus employed, ambassadors from Cumas brought him information of the embassy which had come to them from the Campanians, a few days before, and the answer they had given them; that the festival would take place in three days from that time; that not only the whole body of their senate, but that the camp and the army of the Campanians would be there. Gracchus having directed the Cumans to convey every thing out of their fields into the town, and to remain within their walls, marched himself to Cumae, on the day before that on which the Campanians were to attend the sacrifice. Hamae was three miles distant from his position. The Campanians had by this time assembled there in great numbers according to the plan concerted; and not far off Marius Alfius, Medixtuticus, which is the name of the chief magistrate of the Campanians, lay encamped in a retired spot with fourteen thousand armed men, considerably more occupied in making preparation for the sacrifice and in concerting the stratagem to be executed during it, than in fortifying his camp or any other military work. The sacrifice at Hamae lasted for three days. It was a nocturnal rite, so arranged as to be completed before midnight. Gracchus, thinking this the proper time for executing his plot, placed guards at the gates to prevent any one from carrying out intelligence of his intentions; and having compelled his men to employ the time from the tenth hour in taking refreshment and sleep, in order that they might be able to assemble on a signal given as soon as it was dark. He ordered the standards to be raised about the first watch, and marching in silence, reached Hamae at midnight; where, finding the Campanian camp in a neglected state, as might be expected during a festival, he assaulted it at every gate at once; some he butchered while stretched on the ground asleep, others as they were returning unarmed after finishing the sacrifice. In the tumultuous action of this night more than two thousand men were slain, together with the general himself, Marius Alfius, and thirty-four military standards were captured.

### 36

Gracchus, having made himself master of the enemy's camp with the loss of less than a hundred men, hastily returned to Cumae, fearful of an attack from Hannibal, who lay encamped above Capua on Tifata; nor did his provident anticipation of the future deceive him; for as soon as intelligence was brought to Capua of this loss, Hannibal,

concluding that he should find at Hamae this army, which consisted for the most part of recruits and slaves, extravagantly elated with its success, despoiling the vanquished and collecting booty, marched by Capua at a rapid pace, ordering those Campanians whom he met in their flight to be conducted to Capua under an escort, and the wounded to be conveyed in carriages. He found at Hamae the camp abandoned by the enemy, where there was nothing to be seen but the traces of the recent carnage, and the bodies of his allies strewn in every part. Some advised him to lead his troops immediately thence to Cumae, and assault the town. Though Hannibal desired, in no ordinary degree, to get possession of Cumae at least, as a maritime town, since he could not gain Neapolis; yet as his soldiers had brought out with them nothing besides their arms on their hasty march, he retired to his camp on Tifata. But, wearied with the entreaties of the Campanians, he returned thence to Cumae the following day, with every thing requisite for besieging the town; and having thoroughly wasted the lands of Cumae, pitched his camp a mile from the town, in which Gracchus had stayed more because he was ashamed to abandon, in such an emergency, allies who implored his protection and that of the Roman people, than because he felt confidence in his army. Nor dared the other consul, Fabius, who was encamped at Cales, lead his troops across the Vulturnus, being employed at first in taking new auspices, and afterwards with the prodigies which were reported one after another; and while expiating these, the aruspices answered that they were not easily atoned.

### 37

While these causes detained Fabius, Sempronius was besieged, and now works were employed in the attack. Against a very large wooden tower which was brought up to the town, the Roman consul raised up another considerably higher from the wall itself; for he had made use of the wall, which was pretty high of itself, as a platform, placing strong piles as supports. From this the besieged at first defended their walls and city, with stones, javelins, and other missiles; but lastly, when they perceived the tower advanced into contact with the wall they threw upon it a large quantity of fire, making use of blazing fire-brands; and while the armed men were throwing themselves down from the tower in great numbers, in consequence of the flames thus occasioned, the troops sallying out of the town at two gates at once, routed the enemy, and drove them back to their camp; so that the Carthaginians that day were more like persons besieged than besiegers. As many as one thousand three hundred of the Carthaginians were slain, and fifty-nine made prisoners, having been unexpectedly overpowered, while standing careless and unconcerned near the walls and on the outposts, fearing any thing rather than a sally. Gracchus sounded a retreat, and withdrew his men within the walls, before the enemy could recover themselves from the effects of this sudden terror. The next day Hannibal, supposing that the consul, elated with his success, would engage him in a regular battle, drew up his troops in battle-array between the camp and the city; but finding that not a man was removed from the customary guard of the town, and that nothing was hazarded upon rash hopes, he returned to Tifata without accomplishing any thing. At the same time that Cumae was relieved from siege, Tiberius Sempronius, surnamed Longus, fought successfully with the Carthaginian general, Hanno, at Grumentum in Lucania. He slew above two thousand of the enemy, losing two hundred and eighty of his own men. He took as many as forty-one military standards. Hanno, driven out of the Lucanian territory, drew back among the Bruttii. Three towns belonging to the Hirpinians, which had revolted from the Romans, were regained by force by the praetor, Marcus Valerius, Vercellius and Sicilius, the authors of the revolt,

were beheaded; above a thousand prisoners sold by auction; and the rest of the booty having been given up to the soldiery, the army was marched back to Luceria.

### 38

While these things were taking place in Lucania and Hirpinia, the five ships, which were conveying to Rome the captured ambassadors of the Macedonians and Carthaginians, after passing round the whole coast of Italy from the upper to the lower sea, were sailing by Cumae, when, it not being known whether they belonged to enemies or allies, Gracchus despatched some ships from his fleet to meet them. When it was ascertained, in the course of their mutual inquiries that the consul was at Cumae, the ships put in there, the captives were brought before the consul, and their letters placed in his hands. The consul, after he had read the letters of Philip and Hannibal, sent them all, sealed up, to the senate by land, ordering that the ambassadors should be conveyed thither by sea. The ambassadors and the letters arriving at Rome nearly on the same day, and on examination the answers of the ambassadors corresponding with the contents of the letters, at first intense anxiety oppressed the fathers, on seeing what a formidable war with Macedonia threatened them, when with difficulty bearing up against the Punic war; yet so far were they from sinking under their calamities, that they immediately began to consider how they might divert the enemy from Italy, by commencing hostilities themselves. After ordering the prisoners to be confined in chains, and selling their attendants by public auction, they decreed, that twenty more ships should be got ready, in addition to the twenty-five ships which Publius Valerius Flaccus had been appointed to command. These being provided and launched, and augmented by the five ships which had conveyed the captive ambassadors to Rome, a fleet of fifty ships set sail from Ostia to Tarentum. Publius Valerius was ordered to put on board the soldiers of Varro, which Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, commanded at Tarentum; and, with this fleet of fifty ships, not only to protect the coast of Italy, but also to make inquiry respecting the Macedonian war. If the plans of Philip corresponded with his letter, and the discoveries made by his ambassadors, he was directed to acquaint the praetor, Marcus Valerius, with it, who, leaving Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, in command of the army, and going to Tarentum to the fleet, was to cross over to Macedonia with all speed, and endeavour to detain Philip in his own dominions. The money which had been sent into Sicily to Appius Claudius, to be repaid to Hiero, was assigned for the support of the fleet and the maintenance of the Macedonian war. This money was conveyed to Tarentum, by Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, and with it Hiero sent two hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and a hundred thousand of barley.

### 39

While the Romans were engaged in these preparations and transactions, the captured ship, which formed one of those which had been sent to Rome, made its escape on the voyage and returned to Philip; from which source it became known that the ambassadors with their letters had been made prisoners. Not knowing, therefore, what had been agreed upon between Hannibal and his ambassadors, or what proposals they were to have brought back to him, he sent another embassy with the same instructions. The ambassadors sent to Hannibal were Heraclitus, surnamed Scotinus, Crito of Beraea, and Sositheus of Magnesia; these successfully took and brought back their commissions, but the summer had passed before the king could take any step or make any attempt. Such an influence had the capture of one vessel, together with the ambassadors, in deferring a war which threatened the Romans. Fabius crossed the Vulturnus, after

having at length expiated the prodigies, and both the consuls prosecuted the war in the neighbourhood of Capua. Fabius regained by force the towns Comulteria, Trebula, and Saticula, which had revolted to the Carthaginians; and in them were captured the garrisons of Hannibal and a great number of Campanians. At Nola, as had been the case the preceding year, the senate sided with the Romans, the commons with Hannibal; and deliberations were held clandestinely on the subject of massacring the nobles and betraying the city; but to prevent their succeeding in their designs, Fabius marched his army between Capua and the camp of Hannibal on Tifata, and sat down in the Claudian camp above Suessula, whence he sent Marcus Marcellus, the proconsul, with those forces which he had under him, to Nola for its protection.

#### 40

In Sardinia also the operations of the war, which had been intermitted from the time that Quintus Mucius, the praetor, had been seized with a serious illness, began to be conducted by Titus Manlius, the praetor. Having hauled the ships of war on shore at Carale, and armed his mariners, in order that he might prosecute the war by land, and received the army from the praetor, he made up the number of twenty-two thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. Setting out for the territory of the enemy with these forces of foot and horse, he pitched his camp not far from the camp of Hampsicora. It happened that Hampsicora was then gone among the Sardinians, called Pelliti, in order to arm their youth, whereby he might augment his forces. His son, named Hiostus, had the command of the camp, who coming to an engagement, with the presumption of youth, was routed and put to flight. In that battle as many as three thousand of the Sardinians were slain, and about eight hundred taken alive. The rest of the army at first wandered in their flight through the fields and woods, but afterwards all fled to a city named Cornus, the capital of that district, whither there was a report that their general had fled; and the war in Sardinia would have been brought to a termination by that battle, had not the Carthaginian fleet under the command of Hasdrubal, which had been driven by a storm upon the Balearian islands, come in seasonably for inspiring a hope of renewing the war. Manlius, after hearing of the arrival of the Punic fleet, returned to Carale, which afforded Hampsicora an opportunity of forming a junction with the Carthaginian. Hasdrubal, having landed his forces and sent back his fleet to Carthage, set out under the guidance of Hampsicora, to lay waste the lands of the allies of the Romans; and he would have proceeded to Carale, had not Manlius, meeting him with his army, restrained him from this wide-spread depredation. At first their camps were pitched opposite to each other, at a small distance; afterwards skirmishes and slight encounters took place with varying success; lastly, they came down into the field and fought a regular pitched battle for four hours. The Carthaginians caused the battle to continue long doubtful, for the Sardinians were accustomed to yield easily; but at last, when the Sardinians fell and fled on all sides around them, the Carthaginians themselves were routed. But as they were turning their backs, the Roman general, wheeling round that wing with which he had driven back the Sardinians, intercepted them, after which it was rather a carnage than a battle. Two thousand of the enemy, Sardinians and Carthaginians together, were slain, about three thousand seven hundred captured, with twenty-seven military standards.

#### 41

Above all, the general, Hasdrubal, and two other noble Carthaginians having been made prisoners, rendered the battle glorious and memorable; Mago, who was of the Barcine

family, and nearly related to Hannibal, and Hanno, the author of the revolt of the Sardinians, and without doubt the instigator of this war. Nor less did the Sardinian generals render that battle distinguished by their disasters; for not only was Hiostus, son of Hampsicora, slain in the battle, but Hampsicora himself flying with a few horse, having heard of the death of his son in addition to his unfortunate state, committed suicide by night, lest the interference of any person should prevent the accomplishment of his design. To the other fugitives the city of Cornus afforded a refuge, as it had done before; but Manlius, having assaulted it with his victorious troops, regained it in a few days. Then other cities also which had gone over to Hampsicora and the Carthaginians, surrendered themselves and gave hostages, on which having imposed a contribution of money and corn, proportioned to the means and delinquency of each, he led back his troops to Carale. There launching his ships of war, and putting the soldiers he had brought with him on board, he sailed to Rome, reported to the fathers the total subjugation of Sardinia, and handed over the contribution of money to the quaestors, of corn to the aediles, and the prisoners to the praetor Fulvius. During the same time, as Titus Otacilius the praetor, who had sailed over with a fleet of fifty ships from Lilybaeum to Africa, and laid waste the Carthaginian territory, was returning thence to Sardinia, to which place it was reported that Hasdrubal had recently crossed over from the Baleares, he fell in with his fleet on its return to Africa; and after a slight engagement in the open sea, captured seven ships with their crews. Fear dispersed the rest far and wide, not less effectually than a storm. It happened also, at the same time, that Bomilcar arrived at Locri with soldiers sent from Carthage as a reinforcement, bringing with him also elephants and provisions. In order to surprise and overpower him, Appius Claudius, having hastily led his troops to Messana, under pretext of making the circuit of the province, crossed over to Locri, the tide being favourable. Bomilcar had by this time left the place, having set out for Bruttium to join Hanno. The Locrians closed their gates against the Romans, and Appius Claudius returned to Rome without achieving any thing, by his strenuous efforts. The same summer Marcellus made frequent excursions from Nola, which he was occupying with a garrison, into the lands of the Hirpini and Caudine Samnites, and so destroyed all before him with fire and sword, that he renewed in Samnium the memory of her ancient disasters.

#### 42

Ambassadors were therefore despatched from both nations at the same time to Hannibal, who thus addressed the Carthaginian: "Hannibal, we carried on hostilities with the Roman people, by ourselves and from our own resources, as long as our own arms and our own strength could protect us. Our confidence in these failing, we attached ourselves to king Pyrrhus. Abandoned by him, we accepted of a peace, dictated by necessity, which we continued to observe up to the period when you arrived in Italy, through a period of almost fifty years. Your valour and good fortune, not more than your unexampled humanity and kindness displayed towards our countrymen, whom, when made prisoners, you restored to us, so attached us to you, that while you our friend were in health and safety, we not only feared not the Romans, but not even the anger of the gods, if it were lawful so to express ourselves. And yet, by Hercules, you not only being in safety and victorious, but on the spot, (when you could almost hear the shrieks of our wives and children, and see our buildings in flames,) we have suffered, during this summer, such repeated devastations, that Marcellus, and not Hannibal, would appear to have been the conqueror at Cannae; while the Romans boast that you had strength only to inflict a single blow; and having as it were left your sting, now lie torpid.

For near a century we waged war with the Romans, unaided by any foreign general or army; except that for two years Pyrrhus rather augmented his own strength by the addition of our troops, than defended us by his. I will not boast of our successes, that two consuls and two consular armies were sent under the yoke by us, nor of any other joyful and glorious events which have happened to us. We can tell of the difficulties and distresses we then experienced, with less indignation than those which are now occurring. Dictators, those officers of high authority, with their masters of horse, two consuls with two consular armies, entered our borders, and, after having reconnoitred and posted reserves, led on their troops in regular array to devastate our country. Now we are the prey of a single propraetor, and of one little garrison, for the defence of Nola. Now they do not even confine themselves to plundering in companies, but, like marauders, range through our country from one end to the other, more unconcernedly than if they were rambling through the Roman territory. And the reason is this, you do not protect us yourself, and the whole of our youth, which, if at home, would keep us in safety, is serving under your banners. We know nothing either of you or your army, but we know that it would be easy for the man who has routed and dispersed so many Roman armies, to put down these rambling freebooters of ours, who roam about in disorder to whatsoever quarter the hope of booty, however groundless, attracts them. They indeed will be the prey of a few Numidians, and a garrison sent to us will also dislodge that at Nola, provided you do not think those men undeserving that you should protect them as allies, whom you have esteemed worthy of your alliance."

#### 43

To this Hannibal replied, "that the Hirpini and Samnites did every thing at once: that they both represented their sufferings, solicited succours, and complained that they were undefended and neglected. Whereas, they ought first to have represented their sufferings, then to have solicited succours; and lastly, if those succours were not obtained, then, at length, to make complaint that assistance had been implored without effect. That he would lead his troops not into the fields of the Hirpini and Samnites, lest he too should be a burthen to them, but into the parts immediately contiguous, and belonging to the allies of the Roman people, by plundering which, he would enrich his own soldiers, and cause the enemy to retire from them through fear. With regard to the Roman war, if the battle of Trasimenus was more glorious than that at Trebia, and the battle of Cannae than that of Trasimenus, that he would eclipse the fame of the battle of Cannae by a greater and more brilliant victory." With this answer, and with munificent presents, he dismissed the ambassadors. Having left a pretty large garrison in Tifata, he set out with the rest of his troops to go to Nola. Thither came Hanno from the Bruttii with recruits and elephants brought from Carthage. Having encamped not far from the place, every thing, upon examination, was found to be widely different from what he had heard from the ambassadors of the allies. For Marcellus was doing nothing, in such a way that he could be said to have committed himself rashly either to fortune or to the enemy. He had gone out on plundering expeditions, having previously reconnoitred, planted strong guards, and secured a retreat; the same caution was observed and the same provisions made, as if Hannibal were present. At this time, when he perceived the enemy on the approach, he kept his forces within the walls, ordered the senators of Nola to patrol the walls, and explore on all hands what was doing among the enemy. Of these Herennius Bassus and Herius Petrius, having been invited by Hanno, who had come up to the wall, to a conference, and gone out with the permission of Marcellus, were thus addressed by him, through an interpreter. After extolling the valour and good fortune of

Hannibal, and vilifying the majesty of the Roman people, which he represented as sinking into decrepitude with their strength; he said, "but though they were on an equality in these respects, as once perhaps they were, yet they who had experienced how oppressive the government of Rome was towards its allies, and how great the clemency of Hannibal, even towards all his prisoners of the Italian name, were bound to prefer the friendship and alliance of the Carthaginians to those of the Romans." If both the consuls with their armies were at Nola, still they would no more be a match for Hannibal than they had been at Cannae, much less would one praetor with a few raw soldiers be able to defend it. It was a question which concerned themselves more than Hannibal whether he should take possession of Nola as captured or surrendered, for that he would certainly make himself master of it, as he had done with regard to Capua and Nuceria, and what difference there was between the fate of Capua and Nuceria, the Nolans themselves, situated as they were nearly midway between them, were well aware. He said he was unwilling to presage the evils which would result to the city if taken by force, but would in preference pledge himself that if they would deliver up Nola, together with Marcellus and his garrison, no other person than themselves should dictate the conditions on which they should come into the friendship and alliance of Hannibal.

#### 44

To this Herennius Bassus replied, that, "a friendship had subsisted now for many years between the Romans and the Nolans, which neither party up to that day regretted; and even had they been disposed to change their friends upon a change of fortune, it was now too late to change; had they intended to surrender themselves to Hannibal, they should not have called a Roman garrison to their aid: that all fortunes both were now and should to the last be shared with those who had come to their protection." This conference deprived Hannibal of the hope of gaining Nola by treachery; he therefore completely invested the city, in order that he might attack the walls in every part at once. Marcellus, when he perceived that he had come near to the walls, having drawn up his troops within the gate, sallied forth with great impetuosity; several were knocked down and slain on the first charge: afterwards the troops running up to those who were engaged, and their forces being thus placed on an equality? the battle began to be fierce; nor would there have been many actions equally memorable, had not the combatants been separated by a shower of rain attended with a tremendous storm. On that day, after having engaged in a slight contest, and with inflamed minds, they retired, the Romans to the city, the Carthaginians to their camp. Of the Carthaginians, however, there fell from the shock of the first sally not more than thirty, of the Romans not one. The rain continued without intermission through the whole night, until the third hour of the following day, and therefore, though both parties were eager for the contest, they nevertheless kept themselves within their works for that day. On the third day Hannibal sent a portion of his troops into the lands of the Nolans to plunder. Marcellus perceiving this, immediately led out his troops and formed for battle, nor did Hannibal decline fighting. The interval between the city and the camp was about a mile. In that space, and all the country round Nola consists of level ground, the armies met. The shout which was raised on both sides, called back to the battle, which had now commenced, the nearest of those cohorts which had gone out into the fields to plunder. The Nolans too joined the Roman line. Marcellus having highly commended them, desired them to station themselves in reserve, and to carry the wounded out of the field but not take part in the battle, unless they should receive a signal from him.

## 45

It was a doubtful battle; the generals exerting themselves to the utmost in exhorting, and the soldiers in fighting Marcellus urged his troops to press vigorously on men who had been vanquished but three days before, who had been put to flight at Cumae only a few days ago, and who had been driven from Nola the preceding year by himself, as general, though with different troops. He said, "that all the forces of the enemy were not in the field; that they were rambling about the country in plundering parties, and that even those who were engaged, were enfeebled with Campanian luxury, and worn out with drunkenness, lust, and every kind of debauchery, which they had been indulging in through the whole winter. That the energy and vigour had left them, that the strength of mind and body had vanished, by which the Pyrenees and the tops of the Alps had been passed. That those now engaged were the remains of those men, with scarcely strength to support their arms and limbs. That Capua had been a Cannae to Hannibal; that there his courage in battle, his military discipline, the fame he had already acquired, and his hopes of future glory, were extinguished." While Marcellus was raising the spirits of his troops by thus inveighing against the enemy, Hannibal assailed them with still heavier reproaches. He said, "he recognised the arms and standards which he had seen and employed at Trebia and Trasimenus, and lastly at Cannae; but that he had indeed led one sort of troops into winter quarters at Capua, and brought another out. Do you, whom two consular armies could never withstand, with difficulty maintain your ground against a Roman lieutenant-general, and a single legion with a body of auxiliaries? Does Marcellus now a second time with impunity assail us with a band of raw recruits and Nolan auxiliaries? Where is that soldier of mine, who took off the head of Caius Flaminius, the consul, after dragging him from his horse? Where is the man who slew Lucius Paulus at Cannae? Is it that the steel hath lost its edge? or that your right hands are benumbed? or what other miracle is it? You who, when few, have been accustomed to conquer numbers, now scarce maintain your ground, the many against the few. Brave in speech only, you were wont to boast that you would take Rome by storm if you could find a general to lead you. Lo! here is a task of less difficulty. I would have you try your strength and courage here. Take Nola, a town situated on a plain, protected neither by river nor sea; after that, when you have enriched yourselves with the plunder and spoils of that wealthy town, I will either lead or follow you whithersoever you have a mind."

## 46

Neither praises nor reproaches had any effect in confirming their courage. Driven from their ground in every quarter, while the Romans derived fresh spirits, not only from the exhortations of their general, but from the Nolans, who, by their acclamations in token of their good wishes, fed the flame of battle, the Carthaginians turned their backs, and were driven to their camp, which the Roman soldiers were eager to attack; but Marcellus led them back to Nola, amidst the great joy and congratulations even from the commons, who hitherto had been more favourable to the Carthaginians. Of the enemy more than five thousand were slain on that day, six hundred made prisoners, with nineteen military standards and two elephants. Four elephants were killed in the battle. Of the Romans less than a thousand were killed. The next day was employed by both parties in burying their dead, under a tacit truce. Marcellus burnt the spoils of the enemy, in fulfilment of a vow to Vulcan. On the third day after, on account of some pique, I suppose, or in the hope of more advantageous service, one thousand two hundred and seventy-two horsemen, Numidians and Spaniards, deserted to Marcellus. The Romans had frequently availed themselves of their brave and faithful service in that

war. After the conclusion of the war, portions of land were given to the Spaniards in Spain, to the Numidians in Africa, in consideration of their valour. Having sent Hanno back from Nola to the Bruttians with the troops with which he had come, Hannibal went himself into winter quarters in Apulia, and took up a position in the neighbourhood of Arpi. Quintus Fabius, as soon as he heard that Hannibal was set out into Apulia, conveyed corn, collected from Nola and Naples, into the camp above Suessula; and having strengthened the fortifications and left a garrison sufficient for the protection of the place during the winter, moved his camp nearer to Capua, and laid waste the Campanian lands with fire and sword; so that at length the Campanians, though not very confident in their strength, were obliged to go out of their gates and fortify a camp in the open space before the city. They had six thousand armed men, the infantry, unfit for action. In their cavalry they had more strength. They therefore harassed the enemy by attacking them with these. Among the many distinguished persons who served in the Campanian cavalry was one Cerrinus Jubellius, surnamed Taurea. Though of that extraction, he was a Roman citizen, and by far the bravest horseman of all the Campanians, insomuch that when he served under the Roman banners, there was but one man, Claudius Asellus, a Roman, who rivalled him in his reputation as a horseman. Taurea having for a long time diligently sought for this man, riding up to the squadrons of the enemy, at length having obtained silence, inquired where Claudius Asellus was, and asked why, since he had been accustomed to dispute about their merit in words, he would not decide the matter with the sword, and if vanquished give him *spolia opima*, or if victorious take them.

#### 47

Asellus, who was in the camp, having been informed of this, waited only to ask the consul leave to depart from the ordinary course and fight an enemy who had challenged him. By his permission, he immediately put on his arms, and riding out beyond the advanced guards called on Taurea by name, and bid him come to the encounter when he pleased. By this time the Romans had gone out in large bodies to witness the contest, and the Campanians had crowded not only the rampart of the camp, but the walls of the city to get a view of it. After a flourish of expressions of mutual defiance, they spurred on their horses with their spears pointed. Then evading each other's attacks, for they had free space to move in, they protracted the battle without a wound. Upon this the Campanian observed to the Roman, "This will be only a trial of skill between our horses and not between horsemen, unless we ride them down from the plain into this hollow way. There, as there will be no room for retiring, we shall come to close quarters." Almost quicker than the word, Claudius leaped into the hollow way. Taurea, bold in words more than in reality, said, "Never be the ass in the ditch;" an expression which from this circumstance became a common proverb among rustics. Claudius having rode up and down the way to a considerable distance, and again come up into the plain without meeting his antagonist, after reflecting in reproachful terms on the cowardice of the enemy, returned in triumph to the camp, amidst great rejoicing and congratulation. To the account of this equestrian contest, some histories add a circumstance which is certainly astonishing, how true it is, is an open matter of opinion that Claudius, when in pursuit of Taurea, who fled back to the city, rode in at one of the gates of the enemy which stood open and made his escape unhurt through another, the enemy being thunderstruck at the strangeness of the circumstance.

#### 48

The camps were then undisturbed, the consul even moved his camp back, that the Campanians might complete their sowing, nor did he do any injury to the lands till the blades in the corn-fields were grown sufficiently high to be useful for forage. This he conveyed into the Claudian camp above Suessula, and there erected winter quarters. He ordered Marcus Claudius, the proconsul, to retain at Nola a sufficient force for the protection of the place, and send the rest to Rome, that they might not be a burthen to their allies nor an expense to the republic. Tiberius Gracchus also, having led his legions from Cumae to Luceria in Apulia, sent Marcus Valerius, the praetor, thence to Brundisium with the troops which he had commanded at Luceria, with orders to protect the coast of the Sallentine territory, and make provisions with regard to Philip and the Macedonian war. At the close of the summer, the events of which I have described, letters arrived from Publius and Cneius Scipio, stating the magnitude and success of their operations in Spain, but that the army was in want of money, clothing, and corn, and that then crews were in want of every thing. With regard to the pay, they said, that if the treasury was low, they would adopt some plan by which they might procure it from the Spaniards, but that the other supplies must certainly be sent from Rome, for otherwise neither the army could be kept together nor the province preserved. When the letters were read, all to a man admitted that the statement was correct, and the request reasonable, but it occurred to their minds, what great forces they were maintaining by land and sea, and how large a fleet must soon be equipped if a war with Macedon should break out, that Sicily and Sardinia, which before the war had wielded a revenue, were scarcely able to maintain the troops which protected those provinces, that the expenses were supplied by a tax, that both the number of the persons who contributed this tax was diminished by the great havoc made in their armies at the Trasimenus and Cannae, and the few who survived, if they were oppressed with multiplied impositions, would perish by a calamity of a different kind. That, therefore, if the republic could not subsist by credit, it could not stand by its own resources. It was resolved, therefore, that Fulvius, the praetor, should present himself to the public assembly of the people, point out the necessities of the state, and exhort those persons who had increased their patrimonies by farming the public revenues, to furnish temporary loans for the service of that state, from which they had derived their wealth, and contract to supply what was necessary for the army in Spain, on the condition of being paid the first when there was money in the treasury. These things the praetor laid before the assembly, and fixed a day on which he would let on contract the furnishing the army in Spain with clothes and corn, and with such other things as were necessary for the crews.

#### 49

When the day arrived, three companies, of nineteen persons, came forward to enter into the contract; but they made two requests: one was, that they should be exempt from military service while employed in that revenue business; the second was, that the state should bear all losses of the goods they shipped, which might arise either from the attacks of the enemy or from storms. Having obtained both their requests, they entered into the contract, and the affairs of the state were conducted by private funds. This character and love of country uniformly pervaded all ranks. As all the engagements were entered into with magnanimity, so were they fulfilled with the strictest fidelity; and the supplies were furnished in the same manner as formerly, from an abundant treasury. At the time when these supplies arrived, the town of Illiturgi was being besieged by Hasdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar the son of Bomilcar, on account of its having

gone over to the Romans. Between these three camps of the enemy, the Scipios effected an entrance into the town of their allies, after a violent contest and great slaughter of their opponents, and introduced some corn, of which there was a scarcity; and after exhorting the townsmen to defend their walls with the same spirit which they had seen displayed by the Roman army fighting in their behalf, led on their troops to attack the largest of the camps, in which Hasdrubal had the command. To this camp the two other generals of the Carthaginians with their armies came, seeing that the great business was to be done there. They therefore sallied from the camp and fought. Of the enemy engaged there were sixty thousand; of the Romans about sixteen; the victory, however, was so decisive, that the Romans slew more than their own number of the enemy, and captured more than three thousand, with nearly a thousand horses and fifty-nine military standards, five elephants having been slain in the battle. They made themselves masters of the three camps on that day. The siege of Illiturgi having been raised, the Carthaginian armies were led away to the siege of Intibili; the forces having been recruited out of that province, which was, above all others, fond of war, provided there was any plunder or pay to be obtained, and at that time had an abundance of young men. A second regular engagement took place, attended with the same fortune to both parties; in which above three thousand of the enemy were slain, more than two thousand captured, together with forty-two standards and nine elephants. Then, indeed, almost all the people of Spain came over to the Romans, and the achievements in Spain during that summer were much more important than those in Italy.

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# Book XXIV

## B.C. 215-213

*Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, whose grandfather Hiero had been a faithful ally of Rome, revolts to the Carthaginians, and for his tyranny is put to death by his subjects. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the proconsul, defeats the Carthaginians under Hanno at Beneventum chiefly by the services of the slaves in his army, whom he subsequently liberated. Claudius Marcellus, the consul, besieges Syracuse. War is declared against Philip, king of Macedon, he is routed by night at Apollonia and retreats into Macedonia. This war is intrusted to Valerius the praetor. Operations of the Scipios against the Carthaginians in Spain. Syphax, king of the Numidians, is received into alliance by the Romans, and is defeated by Masinissa, king of the Massillians, who fought on the side of the Carthaginians. The Celtiberians joined the Romans, and their troops having been taken into pay, mercenary soldiers for the first time served in a Roman camp.*

### 1

On his return from Campania into Bruttium, Hanno, with the assistance and under the guidance of the Bruttians, made an attempt upon the Greek cities; which were the more disposed to continue in alliance with the Romans, because they perceived that the Bruttians, whom they feared and hated, had taken part with the Carthaginians. The first place attempted was Rhegium, where several days were spent without effect. Meanwhile the Locrians hastily conveyed from the country into the city, corn, wood, and other things necessary for their use, as also that no booty might be left for the enemy. The number of persons which poured out of every gate increased daily, till at length those only were left in the city whose duty it was to repair the walls and gates, and to collect weapons in the fortresses. Against this mixed multitude, composed of persons of all ages and ranks, while rambling through the country, and for the most part unarmed, Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, sent out his cavalry, who, having been forbidden to hurt any one, only interposed their squadrons, so as to cut them off from the city when dispersed in flight. The general himself, having posted himself upon an eminence which commanded a view of the country and the city, ordered a cohort of Bruttians to approach the walls, call out the leaders of the Locrians to a conference, and promising them the friendship of Hannibal, exhort them to deliver up the city. At first the Bruttians were not believed in any thing they stated in the conference, but afterwards, when the Carthaginian appeared on the hills, and a few who had fled back to the city brought intelligence that all the rest of the multitude were in the power of the enemy, overcome with fear, they said they would consult the people. An assembly of the people was immediately called, when, as all the most fickle of the inhabitants were desirous of a change of measures and a new alliance, and those whose friends were cut off by the enemy without the city, had their minds bound as if they had given hostages, while a few rather silently approved of a constant fidelity than ventured to support the opinion they approved, the city was surrendered to the Carthaginians, with an appearance of perfect unanimity. Lucius Atilius, the captain of the garrison, together with the Roman soldiers who were with him, having been privately led down to the port, and put on board a ship, that they might be conveyed to Rhegium, Hamilcar and the Carthaginians were received into the city on condition that an alliance should be formed on equal

terms; which condition, when they had surrendered, the Carthaginian had very nearly not performed, as he accused them of having sent away the Roman fraudulently, while the Locrians alleged that he had spontaneously fled. A body of cavalry went in pursuit of the fugitives, in case the tide might happen to detain them in the strait, or might carry the ships to land. The persons whom they were in pursuit of they did not overtake, but they descried some ships passing over the strait from Messina to Rhegium. These contained Roman troops sent by the praetor, Claudius, to occupy the city with a garrison. The enemy therefore immediately retired from Rhegium. At the command of Hannibal, peace was concluded with the Locrians on these terms: that "they should live free under their own laws; that the city should be open to the Carthaginians, the harbour in the power of the Locrians. That their alliance should rest on the principle, that the Carthaginian should help the Locrian and the Locrian the Carthaginian in peace and war."

## 2

Thus the Carthaginian troops were led back from the strait, while the Bruttians loudly complained that Locri and Rhegium, cities which they had fixed in their minds that they should have the plundering of, they had left untouched. Having therefore levied and armed fifteen thousand of their own youth, they set out by themselves to lay siege to Croto, which was also a Greek city, and on the coast, believing that they would obtain a great accession to their power, if they could get possession of a city upon the sea-coast, which had a port and was strongly defended by walls. This consideration annoyed them, that they neither could venture on the business without calling in the Carthaginians to their assistance, lest they should appear to have done any thing in a manner unbecoming allies, and on the other hand, lest, if the Carthaginian general should again show himself to have been rather an umpire of peace than an auxiliary in war, they should fight in vain against the liberty of Croto, as before in the affair of the Locrians. The most advisable course, therefore, appeared to be, that ambassadors should be sent to Hannibal, and that a stipulation should be obtained from him that Croto, when reduced, should be in possession of the Bruttians. Hannibal replied, that it was a question which should be determined by persons on the spot, and referred them to Hanno, from whom they could obtain no decisive answer. For they were unwilling that so celebrated and opulent a city should be plundered, and were in hopes that if the Bruttians should attack it, while the Carthaginians did not ostensibly approve or assist in the attack, the inhabitants would the more readily come over to them. The Crotonians were not united either in their measures or wishes. All the states of Italy were infected with one disease, as it were, the commons dissented from the nobles, the senate favouring the Romans, while the commons endeavoured to draw the states over to the Carthaginians. A deserter announced to the Bruttii that such a dissension prevailed in the city, that Aristomachus was the leader of the commons, and the adviser of the surrender of the city, that the city was of wide extent and thinly inhabited, that the walls in every part were in ruins, that it was only here and there that the guards and watches were kept by senators, and that wherever the commons kept guard, there an entrance lay open. Under the direction and guidance of the deserter, the Bruttians completely invested the city, and being received into it by the commons, got possession of every part, except the citadel, on the first assault. The nobles held the citadel, which they had taken care beforehand to have ready as a refuge against such an event. In the same place Aristomachus took refuge, as though he had advised the surrender of the city to the Carthaginians, and not to the Bruttians.

## 3

The wall of the city of Croto in circuit extended through a space of twelve miles, before the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy. After the devastation occasioned by that war, scarcely half the city was inhabited. The river which had flowed through the middle of the town, now ran on the outside of the parts which were occupied by buildings, and the citadel was at a distance from the inhabited parts. Six miles from this celebrated city stood the temple of Juno Lacinia, more celebrated even than the city itself, and venerated by all the surrounding states. Here was a grove fenced with a dense wood and tall fir trees, with rich pastures in its centre, in which cattle of every kind, sacred to the goddess, fed without any keeper; the flocks of every kind going out separately and returning to their folds, never being injured, either from the lying in wait of wild beasts, or the dishonesty of men. These flocks were, therefore, a source of great revenue, from which a column of solid gold was formed and consecrated; and the temple became distinguished for its wealth also, and not only for its sanctity. Some miracles are attributed to it, as is generally the case with regard to such remarkable places. Rumour says that there is an altar in the vestibule of the temple, the ashes of which are never moved by any wind. But the citadel of Croto, overhanging the sea on one side, on the other, which looks towards the land, was protected formerly by its natural situation only, but was afterwards surrounded by a wall. It was in this part that Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, took it by stratagem, approaching by way of some rocks which faced from it. This citadel, which was considered sufficiently secure, was now occupied by the nobles of Croto, the Bruttians, in conjunction even with their own commons, besieging them. The Bruttians, however, perceiving at length that it was impossible to take the citadel by their own efforts, compelled by necessity, implored the aid of Hanno. He endeavoured to bring the Crotonians to surrender, under an agreement that they should allow a colony of Bruttians to settle there; so that their city, desolate and depopulated by wars, might recover its former populousness: but not a man besides Aristomachus did he move; they affirmed, that "they would die sooner than, mixing with Bruttians, be turned to the rites, manners, and laws, and soon the language also of others." Aristomachus alone, since he was neither able to persuade them to surrender, nor could obtain an opportunity for betraying the citadel as he had betrayed the city, deserted to Hanno. A short time afterwards ambassadors of Locri, entering the citadel with the permission of Hanno, persuaded them to allow themselves to be removed to Locri, and not resolve to hazard extremities. They had already obtained leave from Hannibal to do this, by ambassadors sent for this purpose. Accordingly, Croto was evacuated, and the inhabitants were conducted to the sea, where they embarked; and the whole multitude removed to Locri. In Apulia, Hannibal and the Romans did not rest even during the winter. The consul Sempronius wintered at Luceria, Hannibal not far from Arpi. Slight engagements took place between them, accordingly as either side had an opportunity or advantage; by which the Roman soldiery were improved, and became daily more guarded and more secure against stratagems.

## 4

In Sicily, the death of Hiero, and the transfer of the government to his grandson, Hieronymus, had completely altered all things with regard to the Romans. Hieronymus was but a boy, as yet scarcely able to bear liberty, still less sovereign power. His guardians and friends gladly observed in him a disposition which might be easily plunged into every kind of vice; which Hiero foreseeing, is said to have formed an intention, in the latter part of his long life, of leaving Syracuse free, lest the sovereignty

which had been acquired and established by honourable means, should be made a sport of and fall into ruin, under the administration of a boy. This plan of his his daughters strenuously opposed, who anticipated that the boy would enjoy the name of royalty, but that the administration of all affairs would be conducted by themselves and their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, for these were left the principal of his guardians. It was not an easy task for a man in his ninetieth year, beset night and day by the winning artifices of women, to disenthral his judgment, and to consult only the good of the state in his domestic affairs. Accordingly, all he did was to leave fifteen guardians over his son, whom he entreated, on his death-bed, to preserve inviolate that alliance with the Romans, which he had himself cultivated for fifty years, and to take care that the young king should, above all things, tread in the steps of his father, and in that course of conduct in which he had been educated. Such were his injunctions. On the death of the king, the will was brought forward by the guardians, and the young king, who was now about fifteen, introduced into the public assembly, where a few persons, who had been placed in different parts on purpose to raise acclamations, expressed their approbation of the will; while all the rest were overwhelmed with apprehensions, in the destitute condition of the state, which had lost as it were its parent. The funeral of the king was then performed, which was honoured more by the love and affection of his citizens than the attentions of his kindred. Andranodorus next effected the removal of the other guardians, giving out that Hieronymus had now attained the years of manhood, and was competent to assume the government; and thus, by voluntarily resigning the guardianship which he shared with several others, united the powers of all in himself.

## 5

It would scarcely have been easy even for any good and moderate king, succeeding one so deeply rooted in their affections as Hiero was, to obtain the favour of the Syracusans. But Hieronymus, forsooth, as if he was desirous of exciting regret for the loss of his grandfather by his own vices, showed, immediately on his first appearance, how completely every thing was changed. For those who for so many years had seen Hiero and his son Gelon differing from the rest of the citizens neither in the fashion of their dress nor any other mark of distinction, now beheld the purple, the diadem, and armed guards, and their king sometimes proceeding from his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, according to the custom of the tyrant Dionysius. This costliness in equipage and appearance was accompanied by corresponding contempt of everybody, capricious airs, insulting expressions, difficulty of access, not to strangers only, but even to his guardians also, unheard of lusts, inhuman cruelty. Terror so great took possession of every body therefore, that some of his guardians, either by a voluntary death, or by exile, anticipated the tenor of his inflictions. Three of those persons to whom alone belonged a more familiar access to the palace, Andranodorus and Zoippus, sons-in-law of Hiero, and one Thraso, were not much attended to upon other subjects, but the two former exerting themselves in favour of the Carthaginians, while Thraso argued for the Roman alliance, they sometimes engaged the attention of the young king by their zeal and earnestness. It was at this time that a conspiracy formed against the life of the tyrant was discovered by a certain servant, of the same age as Hieronymus, who from his very childhood had associated with him on entirely familiar terms. The informer was able to name one of the conspirators, Theodotus, by whom he himself had been solicited. He was immediately seized, and delivered to Andranodorus to be subjected to torture, when, without hesitation, he confessed as to himself, but concealed his

accomplices. At last, when racked with every species of torture, beyond the power of humanity to bear, pretending to be overcome by his sufferings, he turned his accusation from the guilty to the innocent, and feigned that Thraso was the originator of the plot, without whose able guidance, he said, they never would have been bold enough to attempt so daring a deed, he threw the guilt upon such innocent men, near the king's person, as appeared to him to be the most worthless, while fabricating his story amid groans and agonies. The naming of Thraso gave the highest degree of credibility to the story in the mind of the tyrant. Accordingly he was immediately given up to punishment, and others were added who were equally innocent. Not one of the conspirators, though their associate in the plot was for a long time subjected to torture, either concealed himself or fled, so great was their confidence in the fortitude and fidelity of Theodotus, and so great was his firmness in concealing their secret.

## 6

Thus on the removal of Thraso, who formed the only bond which held together the alliance with the Romans, immediately affairs clearly indicated defection. Ambassadors were sent to Hannibal, who sent back in company with a young man of noble birth named Hannibal, Hippocrates and Epicyles, natives of Carthage, and of Carthaginian extraction on their mother's side, but whose grandfather was an exile from Syracuse. Through their means an alliance was formed between Hannibal and the tyrant of Syracuse; and, with the consent of Hannibal, they remained with the tyrant. As soon as Appius Claudius, the praetor, whose province Sicily was, had received information of these events, he sent ambassadors to Hieronymus; who, upon stating that the object of their mission was to renew the alliance which had subsisted between the Romans and his grandfather, were heard and dismissed in an insulting manner, Hieronymus asking them sneeringly, "how they had fared at the battle of Cannae? for that the ambassadors of Hannibal stated what could hardly be credited." He said, "he wished to know the truth, in order that before he made up his mind, he might determine which he should espouse as offering the better prospect." The Romans replied, that they would return to him when he had learned to receive embassies with seriousness; and, after having cautioned, rather than requested him, not rashly to change his alliance, they withdrew. Hieronymus sent ambassadors to Carthage, to conclude a league in conformity with the alliance with Hannibal. It was settled in the compact, that after they had expelled the Romans from Sicily, (which would speedily be effected if the Carthaginians sent ships and troops,) the river Himera, which divides the island in nearly equal portions, should be the limit of the Carthaginian and Syracusan dominions. Afterwards, puffed up by the flattery of those persons who bid him be mindful, not of Hiero only, but of king Pyrrhus, his maternal grandfather, he sent another embassy, in which he expressed his opinion that equity required that the whole of Sicily should be conceded to him, and that the dominion of Italy should be acquired as the peculiar possession of the Carthaginians. This levity and inconstancy of purpose in a hot-headed youth, did not excite their surprise, nor did they reprove it, anxious only to detach him from the Romans.

## 7

But every thing conspired to hurry him into perdition. For having sent before him Hippocrates and Epicyles with two thousand armed men, to make an attempt upon those cities which were occupied by Roman garrisons, he himself also proceeded to Leontium with all the remaining troops, which amounted to fifteen thousand foot and horse, when the conspirators (who all happened to be in the army) took possession of

an uninhabited house, which commanded a narrow way, by which the king was accustomed to go to the forum. The rest stood here prepared and armed, waiting for the king to pass by. One of them, by name Dinomenes, as he was one of the body-guards, had the task assigned him of keeping back the crowd behind in the narrow way, upon some pretext, when the king approached the door. All was done according to the arrangement. Dinomenes having delayed the crowd, by pretending to lift up his foot and loosen a knot which was too tight, occasioned such an interval, that an attack being made upon the king, as he passed by unattended by his guards, he was pierced with several wounds before any assistance could be brought. When the shout and tumult was heard, some weapons were discharged on Dinomenes, who now openly opposed them; he escaped from them, however, with only two wounds. The body-guard, as soon as they saw the king prostrate, betook themselves to flight. Of the assassins, some proceeded to the forum to the populace, who were rejoiced at the recovery of their liberty; others to Syracuse to anticipate the measures of Andranodorus and the rest of the royal party. Affairs being in this uncertain state, Appius Claudius perceiving a war commencing in his neighbourhood, informed the senate by letter, that Sicily had become reconciled to the Carthaginians and Hannibal. For his own part, in order to frustrate the designs of the Syracusans, he collected all his forces on the boundary of the province and the kingdom. At the close of this year, Quintus Fabius, by the authority of the senate, fortified and garrisoned Puteoli, which, during the war, had begun to be frequented as an emporium. Coming thence to Rome to hold the election, he appointed the first day for it which could be employed for that purpose, and, while on his march, passed by the city and descended into the Campus Martius. On that day, the right of voting first having fallen by lot on the junior century of the Anien tribe, they appointed Titus Otacilius and Marcus Aemilius Regillus, consuls, when Quintus Fabius, having obtained silence, delivered the following speech:

## 8

"If we had either peace in Italy, or had war with such an enemy that the necessity to be careful was less urgent than it is, I should consider that man as wanting in respect for your liberty, who would at all impede that zealous desire which you bring with you into the Campus Martius, of conferring honours on whom you please. But since during the present war, and with the enemy we have now to encounter, none of our generals have ever committed an error which has not been attended with most disastrous consequences to us, it behoves you to use the same circumspection in giving your suffrages for the creation of consuls, which you would exert were you going armed into the field of battle. Every man ought thus to say to himself I am nominating a consul who is to cope with the general Hannibal. In the present year, at Capua, when Jubellius Taurea, the most expert horseman of the Campanians, gave a challenge, Claudius Asellus, the most expert among the Roman horsemen, was pitted against him. Against the Gaul who at a former period gave a challenge on the bridge of the Amo, our ancestors sent Titus Manlius, a man of resolute courage and great strength. It was for the same reason, I cannot deny it, that confidence was placed in Marcus Valerius, not many years ago, when he took arms against a Gaul who challenged him to combat in a similar manner. In the same manner as we wish to have our foot and horse more powerful, but if that is impracticable, equal in strength to the enemy, so let us find out a commander who is a match for the general of the enemy. Though we should select the man as general whose abilities are greater than those of any other in the nation, yet still he is chosen at a moment's warning, his office is only annual; whereas he will have to

cope with a veteran general who has continued in command without interruption, unfettered by any restrictions either of duration or of authority, which might prevent him from executing or planning every thing according as the exigencies of the war shall require. But with us the year is gone merely in making preparations, and when we are only commencing our operations. Having said enough as to what sort of persons you ought to elect as consuls, it remains that I should briefly express my opinion of those on whom the choice of the prerogative century has fallen. Marcus Aemilius Regillus is flamen of Quirinus, whom we can neither send abroad nor retain at home without neglecting the gods or the war. Otacilius is married to my sister's daughter, and has children by her, but the favours you have conferred upon me and my ancestors, are not such as that I should prefer private relationship to the public weal. Any sailor or passenger can steer the vessel in a calm sea, but when a furious storm has arisen, and the vessel is hurried by the tempest along the troubled deep, then there is need of a man and pilot. We are not sailing on a tranquil sea, but have already well nigh sunk with repeated storms, you must therefore employ the utmost caution and foresight in determining who shall sit at the helm. Of you, Titus Otacilius, we have had experience in a business of less magnitude, and, certainly you have not given us any proof that we ought to confide to you affairs of greater moment. The fleet which you commanded this year we fitted out for three objects: to lay waste the coast of Africa, to protect the shores of Italy, but, above all, to prevent the conveyance of reinforcements with pay and provisions from Carthage to Hannibal. Now if Titus Otacilius has performed for the state, I say not all, but any one of these services, make him consul. But if, while you had the command of the fleet supplies of whatever sort were conveyed safe and untouched to Hannibal, even as though he had no enemy on the sea, if the coast of Italy has been more infested this year than that of Africa, what can you have to urge why you should be preferred before all others as the antagonist of Hannibal? Were you consul, we should give it as our opinion that a dictator should be appointed in obedience to the example of our ancestors. Nor could you feel offended that some one in the Roman nation was deemed superior to you in war. It concerns yourself more than any one else, Titus Otacilius, that there be not laid upon your shoulders a burthen under which you would fall. I earnestly exhort you, that with the same feelings which would influence you if standing armed for battle, you were called upon suddenly to elect two generals, under whose conduct and auspices you were to fight, you would this day elect your consuls, to whom your children are to swear allegiance, at whose command they are to assemble, and under whose protection and care they are to serve. The Trasimene Lake and Cannae are melancholy precedents to look back upon, but form useful warnings to guard against similar disasters. Crier, call back the younger century of the Aemilii to give their votes again."

## 9

Titus Otacilius, vociferating in the most furious manner, that his object was to continue in the consulship, the consul ordered the lictors to go to him, and as he had not entered the city, but had proceeded directly without halting from his march to the Campus Martius, admonished him that the axes were in the fasces which were carried before him. The prerogative century proceeded to vote a second time, when Quintus Fabius Maximus for the fourth time, and Marcus Marcellus for the third time, were created consuls. The other centuries voted for the same persons without any variation. One praetor, likewise, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, was re-elected; the other new ones who were chosen, were Titus Otacilius Crassus a second time, Quintus Fabius, son of the consul,

who was at that time curule aedile, and Publius Cornelius Lentulus. The election of the praetors completed, a decree of the senate was passed, that Quintus Fulvius should have the city department out of the ordinary course, and that he in preference to any other should command in the city while the consuls were absent in the war. Great floods happened twice during this year, and the Tiber overflowed the fields, with great demolition of houses and destruction of men and cattle. In the fifth year of the second Punic war Quintus Fabius Maximus for the fourth time, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus for the third time, entering upon their office, drew the attention of the state upon them in a more than ordinary degree, for there had not been two such consuls now for many years. The old men observed, that thus Maximus Rullus and Publius Decius were declared consuls for conducting the Gallic war; that thus afterwards Papirius and Carvilius were appointed to that office against the Samnites, the Bruttians, and the Lucanian with the Tarentine people. Marcellus, who was with the army, was created consul in his absence; to Fabius, who was present and held the election himself, the office was continued. The critical state of affairs, the exigencies of the war, and the danger which threatened the state, prevented any one from looking narrowly into the precedent, or suspecting that the consul was actuated by an excessive love of command; on the contrary, they applauded his magnanimity in that when he knew the state was in want of a general of the greatest ability, and that he was himself confessedly such an one, he thought less of the personal odium which might arise out of the transaction, than of the good of the state.

## 10

On the day on which the consuls entered on their office, the senate was assembled in the Capitol, and in the first place a decree was passed to the effect that the consuls should draw lots, and settle between themselves which should hold the election for the creation of censors, before they proceeded to join the army. Next, all those who had the command of armies were continued in their offices, and ordered to remain in their provinces; Tiberius Gracchus at Luceria, where he was with an army of volunteer slaves; Caius Terentius Varro in the Picenian, and Manius Pomponius in the Gallic territory. Of the praetors of the former year, it was settled that Quintus Mucius should have the government of Sardinia as propraetor, Marcus Valerius the command of the sea-coast near Brundisium, watchful against all the movements of Philip, king of the Macedonians. To Publius Cornelius Lentulus, the praetor, the province of Sicily was assigned. Titus Otacilius received the same fleet which he had employed the year before against the Carthaginians. Many prodigies were reported to have happened this year, which increased in proportion as they were believed by the credulous and superstitious. That crows had built a nest within the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium; that a green palm-tree had taken fire in Apulia; that a pool at Mantua, formed by the overflowing of the river Mincius, had assumed the appearance of blood; that it had rained chalk at Cales, and blood at Rome in the cattle market; that a fountain under ground in the Istrian street had discharged so violent a stream of water, that rolling along with the impetuosity of a torrent, it carried away the butts and casks which were near it; that the public court in the Capitol had been struck by lightning; also the temple of Vulcan in the Campus Martius, a nut-tree in the Sabine territory, a wall and gate at Gabii. Now other miracles were published: that the spear of Mars at Praeneste moved forward of its own accord; that in Sicily an ox had spoken; that a child in the womb of its mother cried out *Io Triumphe!* in the country of the Marrucinians; at Spoletum, that a woman was transformed into a man; at Hadria, that an altar, with appearances as of men

surrounding it in white clothing, was seen in the heavens. Nay, even in the city of Rome itself, after a swarm of bees had been seen in the forum, some persons roused the citizens to arms, affirming that they saw armed legions on the Janiculum; but those who were on the Janiculum at the time, declared that they had seen no person there besides the usual cultivators of the hill. These prodigies were expiated by victims of the larger kind, according to the response of the aruspices; and a supplication was ordered to all the deities who had shrines at Rome.

## 11

The ceremonies which were intended to propitiate the gods being completed, the consuls took the sense of the senate on the state of the nation, the conduct of the war, what troops should be employed, and where they were severally to act. It was resolved that eighteen legions should be engaged in the war; that the consuls should take two each; that two should be employed in each of the provinces of Gaul, Sicily, and Sardinia; that Quintus Fabius, the praetor, should have the command of two in Apulia, and Tiberius Gracchus of two legions of volunteer slaves in the neighbourhood of Luceria; that one each should be left for Caius Terentius, the proconsul, for Picenum, and to Marcus Valerius for the fleet off Brundisium, and two for the protection of the city. To complete this number of legions six fresh ones were to be enlisted, which the consuls were ordered to raise as soon as possible; and also to prepare the fleet, so that, together with the ships which were stationed off the coasts of Calabria, it might amount that year to one hundred and fifty men of war. The levy completed, and the hundred new ships launched, Quintus Fabius held the election for the creation of censors, when Marcus Atilius Regulus and Publius Furius Philus were chosen. A rumour prevailing that war had broken out in Sicily, Titus Otacilius was ordered to proceed thither with his fleet; but as there was a deficiency of sailors, the consuls, in conformity with a decree of the senate, published an order that those persons who themselves or whose fathers had been rated in the censorship of Lucius Aemilius and Caius Flaminius, at from fifty to one hundred thousand *asses*, or whose property had since reached that amount, should furnish one sailor and six months' pay; from one to three hundred thousand, three sailors with a year's pay; from three hundred thousand to a million, five sailors; above one million, seven sailors; that senators should furnish eight sailors with a year's pay. The sailors furnished according to this proclamation being armed and equipped by their masters, embarked with cooked provisions for thirty days. Then first it happened that the Roman fleet was manned at the expense of individuals.

## 12

These unusually great preparations alarmed the Campanians particularly, lest the Romans should commence the year's campaign with the siege of Capua. They therefore sent ambassadors to Hannibal, to implore him to bring his army to Capua, and tell him that new armies were levying at Rome for the purpose of besieging it; and that there was not any city the defection of which had excited more hostile feelings. As they announced this with so much fear, Hannibal concluded he must make haste lest the Romans should get there before him; and setting out from Arpi, took up his position in his old camp at Tifata, above Capua. Leaving his Numidians and Spaniards for the protection both of the camp and Capua, he went down thence with the rest of his troops to the lake Avernus on the pretence of performing sacrifice, but in reality to make an attempt upon Puteoli and the garrison in it. Maximus, on receiving intelligence that Hannibal had set out from Arpi, and was returning to Campania, went back to his army,

pursuing his journey without intermission by night or by day. He also ordered Tiberius Gracchus to bring up his troops from Luceria to Beneventum, and Quintus Fabius the praetor, the son of the consul, to go to Luceria in the room of Gracchus. At the same time the two praetors set out for Sicily, Publius Cornelius to join his army, Otacilius to take the command of the sea-coast and the fleet; the rest also proceeded to their respective provinces, and those who were continued in command remained in the same countries as in the former year.

### 13

While Hannibal was at the lake Avernus, five noble youths came to him from Tarentum. They had been made prisoners partly at the lake Trasimenus, and partly at Cannae, and had been sent home by the Carthaginian with the same civility which he had shown towards all the Roman allies. They stated to him that, impressed with gratitude for his favours, they had succeeded in inducing a large portion of the Tarentine youth to prefer his alliance and friendship to that of the Romans; and that they were sent by their countrymen as ambassadors to request Hannibal to bring his forces nearer to Tarentum; that if his standards and camp were within sight of Tarentum, that city would be delivered into his hands without delay; that the commons were under the influence of the youth, and the state of Tarentum in the hands of the commons. Hannibal after bestowing the highest commendations upon them, and loading them with immense promises, bid them return home to mature their plans, saying that he would be there in due time. With these hopes, the Tarentines were dismissed. Hannibal had himself conceived the strongest desire of getting possession of Tarentum. He saw that it was a city opulent and celebrated, on the coast, and lying conveniently over against Macedonia. And that as the Romans were in possession of Brundisium, king Philip would make for this port if he crossed over into Italy. Having completed the sacrifice for which he came, and during his stay there laid waste the territory of Cumae as far as the promontory of Misenum, he suddenly marched his troops thence to Puteoli to surprise the Roman garrison there. It consisted of six thousand men, and the place was secured not only by its natural situation, but by works also. The Carthaginian having waited there three days, and attempted the garrison in every quarter, without any success, proceeded thence to devastate the territory of Naples, influenced by resentment more than the hope of getting possession of the place. The commons of Nola, who had been long disaffected to the Romans and at enmity with their own senate, moved into the neighbouring fields on his approach; and in conformity with this movement ambassadors came to invite Hannibal to join them, bringing with them a positive assurance that the city would be surrendered to him. The consul, Marcellus, who had been called in by the nobles, anticipated their attempt. In one day he had reached Suessula from Cales, though the river Volturnus had delayed him crossing; and from thence the ensuing night introduced into Nola for the protection of the senate, six thousand foot and three hundred horse. The dilatoriness of Hannibal was in proportion to the expedition which the consul used in every thing he did in order to preoccupy Nola. Having twice already made the attempt unsuccessfully, he was slower to place confidence in the Nolans.

### 14

During the same time, the consul, Fabius, came to attempt Casilinum, which was occupied by a Carthaginian garrison; and, as if by concert, Hanno approached Beneventum on one side from the Bruttians, with a large body of foot and horse, while

on the other side Gracchus approached it from Luceria. The latter entered the town first. Then, hearing that Hanno had pitched his camp three miles from the city, at the river Calor, and from thence was laying waste the country, he himself marched without the walls, and pitching his camp about a mile from the enemy, harangued his soldiers. The legions he had consisted for the most part of volunteer slaves, who chose rather to earn their liberty silently by another year's service, than demand it openly. The general, however, on quitting his winter quarters, had perceived that the troops murmured, asking when the time would arrive that they should serve as free citizens. He had written to the senate, stating not so much what they wanted as what they had deserved; he said they had served him with fidelity and courage up to that day, and that they wanted nothing but liberty, to bring them up to the model of complete soldiers. Permission was given him to act in the business as he thought for the interest of the state, and, accordingly, before he engaged with the enemy, he declared that the time was now arrived for obtaining that liberty which they had so long hoped for; that on the following day he should fight a pitched battle on a level and open plain, in which the contest would be decided by valour only, without any fear of ambuscade. The man who should bring back the head of an enemy, he would instantly order to be set free; but that he would punish, in a manner suited to a slave, the man who should quit his post; that every man's fortune was in his own hands; that not he himself alone would authorize their enfranchisement, but the consul, Marcus Marcellus, and the whole body of the fathers, who, on being consulted by him on the subject, had left the matter to his disposal. He then read the letter of the consul and the decree of the senate, on which they raised a general shout of approbation, demanded to be led to battle, and vehemently urged him to give the signal forthwith. Gracchus broke up the assembly, after proclaiming the battle for the following day. The soldiers, highly delighted, particularly those whose enfranchisement was to be the reward of one day's prowess, employed the remaining time in getting ready their arms.

## 15

The next day, as soon as the trumpets began to sound, they were the first to assemble at the general's tent, armed and ready for action. When the sun had risen, Gracchus led out his troops to the field of battle; nor did the enemy delay to engage him. His troops consisted of seventeen thousand infantry, principally Bruttians and Lucanians, with twelve hundred horse, among which were very few Italians, almost all the rest being Numidians and Moors. The contest was fierce and protracted. For four hours neither side had the advantage, nor did any other circumstance more impede the Romans, than that the heads of their enemies were made the price of their liberty. For when each man had gallantly slain his enemy, first, he lost time in cutting off his head, which was done with difficulty amid the crowd and confusion, and secondly, all the bravest troops ceased to be engaged in fight, as their right hands were employed in holding the heads; and thus the battle was left to be sustained by the inactive and cowardly. But when the military tribunes reported to Gracchus that the soldiers were employed not in wounding any of the enemy who were standing, but in mangling those who were prostrate, their right hands being occupied in holding the heads of men instead of their swords, he promptly ordered a signal to be given that they should throw down the heads and charge the enemy; that they had given evident and signal proofs of valour, and that the liberty of such brave men was certain. Then the fight was revived, and the cavalry also were sent out against the enemy. The Numidians engaging them with great bravery, and the contest between the cavalry being carried on with no less spirit than

that between the infantry, the victory again became doubtful; when, the generals on both sides vilifying their opponents, the Roman saying, that their enemies were Bruttians and Lucanians, who had been so often vanquished and subjugated by their ancestors; the Carthaginian, that the troops opposed to them were Roman slaves, soldiers taken out of a workhouse; at last Gracchus exclaimed, that his men had no ground to hope for liberty unless the enemy were routed and put to flight that day.

## 16

These words at length kindled their courage so effectually, and renewing the shout, as if suddenly changed into other men, they bore down upon the enemy with such impetuosity that they could not longer be withstood. First, of the Carthaginians who stood before the standards; then the standards were thrown into disorder; and lastly the whole line was compelled to give way. They then turned their backs downright, and fled precipitately to their camp with such terror and consternation, that not a man made stand in the gates or on the rampart; while the Romans, who pursued them so close as to form almost a part of their body commenced the battle anew, enclosed within the rampart of the enemy. Here the battle was more bloody as the combatants had less room to move, from the narrowness of the place in which they fought. The prisoners too assisted; for snatching up swords in the confusion, and forming themselves into a body, they slew the Carthaginians in the rear and prevented their flight. Thus less than two thousand men out of so large an army, and those principally cavalry, effected their escape with their commander, all the rest were slain or taken prisoners. Thirty-eight standards were taken. Of the victors about two thousand fell. All the booty except that of the prisoners was given up to the soldiery. Such cattle also as the owners should identify within thirty days was excepted. When they returned to their camp loaded with spoil, about four thousand of the volunteer slaves who had fought with less spirit, and had not joined in breaking into the enemy's camp, through fear of punishment, took possession of a hill not far from the camp. Being brought down thence the next day by a military tribune, it happened that they arrived during an assembly of the soldiers which Gracchus had called. At this assembly the proconsul, having first rewarded the veteran soldiers with military presents, according to the valour displayed, and the service rendered by each man in the engagement, then observed, with respect to the volunteer slaves, that he would rather that all should be praised by him whether deserving it or not, than that any one should be chastised on that day. I bid you, said he, all be free, and may the event be attended with advantage, happiness, and prosperity to the state and to yourselves. These words were followed by the most cordial acclamations, the soldiers sometimes embracing and congratulating one another, at other times lifting up their hands to heaven, and praying that every blessing might attend the Roman people, and Gracchus in particular; when Gracchus addressed them thus: "Before I had placed you all on an equal footing with respect to the enjoyment of liberty, I was unwilling to affix any marks by which the brave and dastardly soldier might be distinguished. But now the pledge given by the state being redeemed, lest all distinction between courage and cowardice should disappear, I shall order that the names of those persons be laid before me, who, conscious of their dastardly conduct in the battle, have lately seceded. I shall have them cited before me, when I shall bind them by an oath, that none of them, except such as shall have the plea of sickness, will, so long as they serve, take either meat or drink in any other posture than standing. This penalty you will bear with patience when you reflect that it is impossible your cowardice could be marked with a slighter stigma." He then gave the signal for packing up the baggage; and the soldiers, sporting and

jesting as they drove and carried their booty, returned to Beneventum in so playful a mood, that they appeared to be returning, not from the field of battle, but from a feast celebrated on some remarkable holiday. All the Beneventans pouring out in crowds to meet them at the gate, embraced, congratulated, and invited the troops to entertainments. They had all prepared banquets in the courts of their houses, to which they invited the soldiers, and of which they entreated Gracchus to allow them to partake. Gracchus gave permission, with the proviso that they should feast in the public street. Each person brought every thing out before his door. The volunteers feasted with caps of liberty on their heads, or filleted with white wool; some reclining at the tables, others standing, who at once partook of the repast, and waited upon the rest. It even seemed a fitting occasion that Gracchus, on his return to Rome, should order a picture representing the festivities of that day to be executed in the temple of Liberty, which his father caused to be built on the Aventine out of money arising from fines, and which his father also dedicated.

## 17

While these events occurred at Beneventum, Hannibal having laid waste the territory of Naples, moved his camp to Nola. The consul, as soon as he was aware of his approach, sent for Pemponius the propraetor, with the troops he had in the camp above Suessula; and then prepared to meet the enemy and to make no delay in fighting. He sent out Caius Claudius Nero in the dead of night with the main strength of the cavalry, through the gate which was farthest removed from the enemy, with orders to make a circuit so as not to be observed, and then slowly to follow the enemy as they moved along, and as soon as he perceived the battle begun, to charge them on the rear. Whether Nero was prevented from executing these orders by mistaking the route, or from the shortness of the time, is doubtful. Though he was absent when the battle was fought, the Romans had unquestionably the advantage; but as the cavalry did not come up in time, the plan of the battle which had been agreed upon was disconcerted and Marcellus, not daring to follow the retiring enemy, gave the signal for retreat when his soldiers were conquering More than two thousand of the enemy are said, however, to have fallen on that day; of the Romans, less than four hundred. Nero, after having fruitlessly wearied both men and horses, through the day and night, without even having seen the enemy, returned about sunset; when the consul went so far in reprimanding him as to assert, that he had been the only obstacle to their retorting on the enemy the disaster sustained at Cannae. The following day the Roman came into the field, but the Carthaginian, beaten even by his own tacit confession, kept within his camp. Giving up all hope of getting possession of Nola, a thing never attempted without loss, during the silence of the night of the third day he set out for Tarentum, which he had better hopes of having betrayed to him.

## 18

Nor were the Roman affairs administered with less spirit at home than in the field. The censors being freed from the care of letting out the erection of public works, from the low state of the treasury, turned their attention to the regulation of men's morals, and the chastisement of vices which sprung up during the war, in the same manner as constitutions broken down by protracted disease, generate other maladies. In the first place, they cited those persons who, after the battle of Cannae, were said to have formed a design of abandoning the commonwealth, and leaving Italy. The chief of these was Lucius Caecilius Metellus, who happened to be then quaestor. In the next place, as neither he nor the other persons concerned were able to exculpate themselves on being

ordered to make their defence, they pronounced them guilty of having used words and discourse prejudicial to the state, that a conspiracy might be formed for the abandonment of Italy. After them were cited those persons who showed too much ingenuity in inventing a method of discharging the obligation of their oath, namely, such of the prisoners as concluded that the oath which they had sworn to return, would be fulfilled by their going back privately to Hannibal's camp, after setting out on their journey. Such of these and of the above-mentioned as had horses at the public expense were deprived of them, and all were degraded from their tribes and disfranchised. Nor was the attention of the censors confined to the regulation of the senate and the equestrian order. They erased from the lists of the junior centuries the names of all who had not served during the last four years, unless they were regularly exempted, or were prevented by sickness. Those too, amounting to more than two thousand names, were numbered among the disfranchised, and were all degraded. To this more gentle stigma affixed by the censors, a severe decree of the senate was added, to the effect that all those whom the censor had stigmatized, should serve on foot, and be sent into Sicily to join the remains of the army of Cannae, a class of soldiers whose time of service was not to terminate till the enemy was driven out of Italy. The censors, in consequence of the poverty of the treasury, having abstained from receiving contracts for the repairs of the sacred edifices, the furnishing of curule horses, and similar matters, the persons who had been accustomed to attend auctions of this description, came to the censors in great numbers, and exhorted them to "transact all their business and let out the contracts in the same manner as if there were money in the treasury. That none of them would ask for money out of the treasury before the war was concluded." Afterwards the owners of those slaves whom Tiberius Sempronius had manumitted at Beneventum, came to them, stating that they were sent for by the public bankers, to receive the price of their slaves, but that they would not accept of it till the war was concluded. This disposition on the part of the commons to sustain the impoverished treasury having manifested itself, the property of minors first, and then the portions of widows, began to be brought in; the persons who brought them being persuaded, that their deposit would no where be more secure and inviolable than under the public faith. If any thing was bought or laid in for the widows and minors, an order upon the quaestor was given for it. This liberality in individuals flowed from the city into the camp also, insomuch that no horseman or centurion would accept of his pay, and those who would accept it were reproached with the appellation of mercenary men.

## 19

Quintus Fabius, the consul, was encamped before Casilinum, which was occupied by a garrison of two thousand Campanians and seven hundred of the soldiers of Hannibal. The commander was Staius Metius, who was sent there by Cneius Magius Atellanus, who was that year Medixtuticus and was arming the slaves and people without distinction, in order to assault the Roman camp, while the consul was intently occupied in the siege of Casilinum. None of these things escaped Fabius. He therefore sent to his colleague at Nola, "That another army was requisite, which might be opposed to the Campanians, while the siege of Casilinum was going on; that either he should come himself, leaving a force sufficient for the protection of Nola, or if the state of Nola required him to stay there, in consequence of its not being yet secure against the attempts of Hannibal, that he should summon Tiberius Gracchus, the proconsul, from Beneventum." On this message, Marcellus, leaving two thousand troops in garrison at Nola, came to Casilinum with the rest of his forces; and at his arrival the Campanians,

who were already in motion, desisted from their operations. Thus the siege of Casilinum was commenced by the two consuls. But as the Roman soldiers received many wounds as they rashly approached the walls, and as they did not succeed satisfactorily in their attempts. Fabius gave it as his opinion that this, which was a small matter, though as difficult as more important ones, should be abandoned, and that they should retire from the place, as affairs of greater moment were pressing. Marcellus, however, succeeded in persuading him that they should not go away with their object unaccomplished, observing that as there were many objects which great generals should not attempt, so when once attempted they should not be abandoned, because the mere report in either case would have important consequences. Upon this the vineae and all kinds of military works and engines were applied; in consequence of which, the Campanians entreated Fabius to allow them to retire to Capua in safety; when a few of them having come out of the town, Marcellus took possession of the gate through which they passed, and first slew all indiscriminately who were near the gate, and then rushing in, the slaughter commenced in the town also. About fifty of the Campanians, who at first came out of the city, having fled for refuge to Fabius, arrived safe at Capua under his protection. Thus Casilinum was captured on an accidental opportunity which occurred during the conferences and delay of those who were soliciting protection. The prisoners, both those who were Campanians and those who were Hannibal's soldiers, were sent to Rome, where they were shut up in a prison. The crowd of townsmen was distributed among the neighbouring people to be kept in custody.

## 20

At the same time that the consuls retired from Casilinum, their object having been accomplished, Gracchus, who was in Lucania, sent, under a prefect of the allies, some cohorts which he had levied in that country to ravage the lands of the enemy. These, as they were straggling in a careless manner, Hanno surprising, retorted upon his enemy a defeat not much less disastrous than he had himself received at Beneventum, and then hastily retired to the territory of the Bruttians, lest Gracchus should overtake him. Of the consuls, Marcellus returned to Nola, whence he had come, Fabius proceeded to Samnium to waste the lands, and recover by force the cities which had revolted. The Samnites of Caudium suffered the severest devastation; their fields were laid waste by fire for a wide extent, and both men and cattle were conveyed away as booty. The towns of Compulteria, Telesia, Compsa, Melae, Fulfulae, and Orbitanium, were taken by storm. Blandae, belonging to the Lucanians, and Aecae to the Apulians, were taken after a siege. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were captured or slain in these towns, and three hundred and seventy deserters recovered; who, being sent to Rome by the consul, were all of them beaten with rods in the comitium, and thrown down from the rock. Such were the achievements of Fabius within the space of a few days. Ill health detained Marcellus from active operations at Nola. The town of Accua also was taken by storm, during the same period, by the praetor Quintus Fabius, whose province was the neighbourhood of Luceria; he also fortified a stationary camp at Ardonea. While the Romans were thus employed in different quarters, Hannibal had reached Tarentum, utterly destroying every thing whichsoever way he went. In the territory of Tarentum, the troops at length began to march in a peaceable manner. There nothing was violated, nor did they ever go out of the road; it was evident that this was done not from the moderation of the soldiery, or their general, but to conciliate the affections of the Tarentines. However, on advancing almost close to the walls without perceiving any movement, which he expected would occur on the sight of his vanguard, he pitched his

camp about a mile off the city. Three days before the arrival of Hannibal, Marcus Livius, who had been sent by Marcus Valerius, the propraetor, commanding the fleet at Brundisium, had enlisted the young nobility of Tarentum, and stationing guards at every gate, and round the walls, wherever circumstances made it necessary, had kept such a strict watch both by day and night, as to give no opportunity for making any attempt either to the enemy or doubtful allies. On this account several days were consumed there to no purpose, when Hannibal, as none of those who had come to him at the lake Avernus, either came themselves or sent any letter or message, perceiving that he had carelessly followed delusive promises, moved his camp thence. Even after this he did not offer any violence to the Tarentine territory, not quitting the hope of shaking their allegiance to the Romans, though his simulated lenity had hitherto been of no advantage to him; but as soon as he came to Salapia he collected stores of corn there from the Metapontine and Heracleian lands; for midsummer was now past, and the situation pleased him as a place for winter quarters. From hence the Moors and Numidians were detached to plunder the territory of Sallentum, and the neighbouring woods of Apulia, from which not much booty of any other sort was obtained, but principally droves of horses, four thousand of which were distributed among his horsemen to be broken.

## 21

The Romans, since a war by no means to be despised was springing up in Sicily, and the death of the tyrant had furnished the Syracusans with more enterprising leaders, rather than changed their attachment to the Carthaginian cause, or the state of their minds, decreed that province to Marcus Marcellus, one of their consuls. After the assassination of Hieronymus, at first a tumult had taken place among the soldiery in the territory of the Leontines. They exclaimed furiously that the manes of the king should be appeased with the blood of the conspirators. Afterwards the frequent repetition of the word liberty, which was restored to them, a word so delightful to the ear, the hopes they had conceived of largesses from the royal treasury, and of serving in future under better generals, the relation of the horrid crimes and more horrid lusts of the tyrant, effected such an alteration in their sentiments, that they suffered to lie unburied the corpse of the king, whom a little before they regretted. As the rest of the conspirators remained behind, in order to keep the army on their side, Theodotus and Sosis, mounted on the king's horses, rode off to Syracuse with all possible speed, that they might surprise the king's party, while unacquainted with all that had occurred. But they were anticipated not only by report, than which nothing is swifter in such affairs, but also by a messenger who was one of the royal servants. In consequence, Andranodorus had occupied with strong garrisons the Insula and the citadel, and every other convenient part which he could. After sunset, when it was now growing dark, Theodotus and Sosis rode in by the Hexapylum, and displayed the royal vest stained with blood, and the ornament of the king's head; then passing through the Tycha, and calling the people at once to liberty and arms, bid them assemble in the Achradina. Some of the multitude ran out into the streets, some stood in the porches of their houses, while others looked out from the roofs and windows, and inquired what was the matter. Every part of the city was filled with lights and noises of various kinds. Assemblies of armed men were formed in the open spaces. Those who had no arms tore down from the temple of the Olympian Jupiter the spoils of the Gauls and Illyrians, which had been presented to Hiero by the Roman people, and hung up there by him; at the same time offering up prayers to Jupiter, that he would willingly, and without feeling offence, lend those consecrated

weapons to those who were arming themselves in defence of their country, of the temples of their gods, and their liberty. This multitude was also joined by the watches which were stationed through the principal quarters of the city. In the island, Andranodorus, among other places, secured the public granaries by a garrison. This place, which was enclosed by a wall of stones hewn square, and built up on high, after the manner of a citadel, was occupied by a body of youth, who had been appointed to garrison it, and these sent messengers to the Achradina, to give information that the granaries and the corn were in the power of the senate.

## 22

At break of day the whole populace, armed and unarmed, assembled at the senate-house in the Achradina: where from the altar of Concord, which stood there, one of the nobles, named Polyænus, delivered a liberal and temperate address. He said, that "men who had experienced servitude and contumely, were enraged against an evil which was well known, but that the Syracusans had rather heard from their fathers than seen with their own eyes the disasters which civil discord introduces." He said, "he commended them for the alacrity with which they had taken arms; but that he should commend them more if they should abstain from using them unless compelled by extreme necessity. At present he advised that ambassadors should be sent to Andranodorus, to charge him to submit to the direction of the senate and the people, to throw open the gates of the island, and withdraw the garrison. If he resolved to usurp the sovereignty of which he had been appointed guardian, that he would recommend that their liberty be recovered more energetically from Andranodorus than it had been from Hieronymus." From this assembly ambassadors were despatched. The senate began now to meet, which though during the reign of Hiero it had continued to be the public council of the state, from the time of his death up to the present had never been assembled or consulted upon any subject. When the ambassadors came to Andranodorus, he was himself moved by the unanimous opinion of his countrymen, by their having possession of other parts of the city, and by the fact that the strongest part of the island was betrayed and placed in the hands of others; but his wife, Demarata, the daughter of Hiero, still swelling with the pride of royalty and female presumption, called him out from the presence of the ambassadors, and reminded him of the expression so often repeated by the tyrant Dionysius, "that a man ought only to relinquish sovereign power when dragged by the feet, and not while sitting on horseback. That it was an easy thing, at any moment one pleased, to give up possession of grandeur, but that to create and obtain them was difficult and arduous. That he should obtain from the ambassadors a little time to deliberate, and to employ it in fetching the soldiers from the Leontines; to whom, if he promised the royal treasure, every thing would be at his disposal." This advice, suggested by a woman, Andranodorus neither entirely rejected nor immediately adopted, considering it the safer way to the attainment of power to temporize for the present. Accordingly he told the ambassadors to carry word back, that he should act subserviently to the senate and the people. The next day, as soon as it was light, he threw open the gates of the island, and came into the forum of the Achradina; then mounting the altar of Concord, from which Polyænus had delivered his harangue the day before, he commenced a speech by soliciting pardon for his delay. "He had kept the gates closed," he said, "not as separating his own from the public interest, but from fear as to where the carnage would stop when once the sword was drawn; whether they would be satisfied with the blood of the tyrant, which was sufficient for their liberty, or whether all who were connected with the court, by consanguinity, affinity, or any

offices, would, as implicated in another's guilt, be butchered. After he perceived that those who had liberated their country were desirous of preserving it when liberated, and that the counsels of all were directed towards the public good, he had not hesitated to restore to his country his own person and every thing else which had been committed to his honour and guardianship, since the person who had intrusted him with them had fallen a victim to his own madness." Then turning to the persons who had killed the tyrant, and calling on Theodotus and Sosis by name, he said, "You have performed a memorable deed, but believe me, your glory is only beginning, not yet perfected; and there still remains great danger lest the enfranchised state should be destroyed, if you do not provide for its tranquillity and harmony."

## 23

At the conclusion of this speech, he laid the keys of the gates and of the royal treasure at their feet; and on that day, retiring from the assembly in the highest spirits, they made supplication with their wives and children at all the temples of the gods. On the following day an assembly was held for the election of praetors. Andranodorus was created among the first; the rest consisted for the most part of the destroyers of the tyrant; two of these, Sopater and Dinomenes, they appointed in their absence. These, on hearing of what had passed at Syracuse, conveyed thither the royal treasure which was at Leontini, and put it into the hands of quaestors appointed for that purpose. The treasure also in the island and the Achradina was delivered to them, and that part of the wall which formed too strong a separation between the island and the other parts of the city, was demolished by general consent. Every thing else which was done was in conformity with this inclination of their minds to liberty. Hippocrates and Epicyles, on hearing of the death of the tyrant, which Hippocrates had wished to conceal even by putting the messenger to death, being deserted by the soldiery, returned to Syracuse, as that appeared the safest course under present circumstances; but lest if they appeared there in common they should become objects of suspicion, and looked upon as persons who were seeking an opportunity of effecting some change, they in the first place addressed themselves to the praetors and then through them to the senate. They declared, that "they were sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, as to a friend and ally; that they had obeyed the orders of that man whom their general wished them to obey; that they desired to return to Hannibal; but as the journey would not be safe, as armed Romans were ranging at large through the whole of Sicily, that they requested to be furnished with some escort which might convey them in safety to Locri in Italy; and that thus they would confer a great obligation upon Hannibal, with little trouble." The request was easily obtained, for they were desirous of getting rid of these generals of the king, who were skilled in war, and at once necessitous and enterprising. But they did not exert themselves so as to effect what they desired with the requisite speed. Meanwhile these young men, who were of a military turn and accustomed to the soldiers, employed themselves in circulating charges against the senate and nobles, sometimes in the minds of the soldiers themselves, sometimes of the deserters, of which the greater part were Roman sailors, at other times of men belonging to the lowest order of the populace, insinuating, that "what they were secretly labouring and contriving to effect, was to place Syracuse under the dominion of the Romans with the pretence of a renewed alliance, and then that faction and the few promoters of the alliance would be supreme."

## 24

The crowds of persons disposed to hear and credit these insinuations which flowed into Syracuse from every quarter increased daily, and afforded hopes, not only to Epicydes but to Andranodorus also, of effecting a revolution. The latter, wearied at length by the importunities of his wife, who warned him, "that now was the favourable time for seizing the government, while every thing was in confusion in consequence of liberty being recent and not yet regularly established; while a soldiery supported by the royal pay was to be met with, and while generals sent by Hannibal and accustomed to the soldiery might forward the attempt;" he communicated his design with Themistus, who had married the daughter of Gelon, and a few days afterwards incautiously disclosed it to a certain tragic actor, named Ariston, to whom he was in the habit of committing other secrets. He was a man of reputable birth and fortune, nor did his profession disgrace them, for among the Greeks no pursuit of that kind was considered dishonourable. He therefore discovered the plot to the praetors, from a conviction that his country had a superior claim upon his fidelity. These having satisfied themselves that his statement was not false by indubitable proofs, took the advice of the elder senators, and with their sanction, having placed a guard at the doors, slew Themistus and Andranodorus as soon as they had entered the senate-house. A disturbance arising in consequence of this act, which, as none but the praetors knew the cause of it, wore an appearance of atrocity, the praetors, having at length procured silence, introduced the informer into the senate-house; and after he had in a regular manner detailed to the senate every particular, showing that the conspiracy owed its origin to the marriage of Harmonia, the daughter of Gelon, with Themistus; that the African and Spanish auxiliaries had been prepared to murder the praetors and others of the nobility; that it had been given out that their goods were to be the booty of the assassins; that already a band of mercenaries accustomed to obey the command of Andranodorus had been procured for the reoccupation of the island; and having then distinctly represented to them the several parts which the persons implicated in the transaction were performing, and having brought under their view the entire plot prepared for execution with men and arms; it seemed to the senate that they had fallen as justly as Hieronymus had. A shout was raised before the senate-house by a crowd of people variously disposed and uncertain of the facts; but as they were conducting themselves in a furious and menacing manner, the bodies of the conspirators in the vestibule of the senate-house restrained them with such alarm, that they silently followed the more discreet part of the commons to an assembly. Sopater was the person commissioned by the senate and his colleague to explain the affair.

## 25

Treating them as if they stood upon their trial, he began with their past lives; and insisted that Andranodorus and Themistus were the authors of every act of iniquity and impiety which had been perpetrated since the death of Hiero. "For what," said he, "did the boy Hieronymus ever do of his own accord? What could he do who had scarce as yet arrived at puberty? His tutors and guardians had ruled, while the odium rested on another. Therefore they ought to have been put to death either before Hieronymus or with him. Nevertheless those men, deservedly marked out for death, had attempted fresh crimes after the decease of the tyrant; first openly, when, closing the gates of the island, Andranodorus declared himself heir to the throne, and kept that as proprietor which he had held only in the capacity of guardian; afterwards, when betrayed by those who were in the island and blockaded by the whole body of the citizens who held the Achradina, he endeavoured to obtain, by secret and artful means, that sovereignty

which he had in vain attempted openly; whom not even benefits and honorary distinction could move, for even this conspirator against the liberty of his country was created praetor among her liberators. But that wives of royal blood had infected them with this thirst for royalty, one having married the daughter of Hiero, the other the daughter of Gelon." On hearing these words, a shout arose from every part of the assembly, that "none of these women ought to live, and that not one of the royal family should be left alive." Such is the nature of the populace; they are either cringing slaves or haughty tyrants. They know not how with moderation to spurn or to enjoy that liberty which holds the middle place; nor are there generally wanting ministers, the panders to their resentment, who incite their eager and intemperate minds to blood and carnage. Thus, on the present occasion, the praetors instantly proposed the passing of a decree, which was consented to almost before it was proposed, that all the royal family should be put to death; and persons despatched for the purpose by the praetors, put to death Demarata, the daughter of Hiero, and Harmonia, the daughter of Gelon, the wives of Andranodorus and Themistus.

## 26

There was a daughter of Hiero, named Heraclea, the wife of Zoippus, who, having been sent by Hieronymus as ambassador to king Ptolemy, had become a voluntary exile. As soon as she was apprized that they were coming to her also, she fled for refuge into the chapel to the household gods, accompanied by her two virgin daughters, with dishevelled hair, and other marks of wretchedness. In addition to this, she had recourse to prayers also; she implored them "by the memory of her father, Hiero, and her brother, Gelon, that they would not suffer her, a guiltless person, to be consumed by their hatred of Hieronymus. That all that she had derived from his reign was the exile of her husband. That neither did she enjoy the same advantages as her sister while Hieronymus was alive, nor was her cause the same as hers now he was dead. What? Though her sister would have shared the throne with Andranodorus, had he succeeded in his designs, she must have been in servitude with the rest. Can any one doubt, that if information should be conveyed to Zoippus that Hieronymus had been put to death, and that Syracuse was free, he would instantly embark and return to his native land. But how are all human hopes deceived! His wife and children are struggling for their lives in his native land, now blessed with liberty! In what manner standing in the way of liberty or the laws? What danger could arise to any one from them, from a solitary, and in a manner, widowed woman and girls living in a state of orphanage? But perhaps it will be granted that no danger is to be apprehended from them, but alleged that the whole royal family is detested. If this were the case, she entreated that they would banish them far from Syracuse and Sicily, and order them to be conveyed to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father." Seeing that their ears and minds were unimpressed, and that certain of them were drawing their swords to prevent a fruitless consumption of time, she gave over entreating for herself, and began to implore them to "spare, at least, her daughters, at an age which even exasperated enemies spared." She entreated them "that they would not, in their revenge on tyrants, themselves imitate the crimes which were odious to them." While thus employed, they dragged her from the sanctuary and murdered her; and after that they fell upon the virgins, who were sprinkled with the blood of their mother; who, distracted alike by fear and grief, and as if seized with madness, rushed out of the chapel with such rapidity, that had there been an opening by which they might have escaped into the street, they would have filled the city with confusion. As it was, they several times made their escape through the midst of

so many armed men with their persons uninjured in the contracted space which the house afforded, and extricated themselves from their grasp, though they had to disengage themselves from so many and such strong hands; but at length enfeebled by wounds, and after covering every place with blood, they fell down lifeless. This murder, piteous as it was in itself, was rendered still more so by its happening that a short time after it a message arrived that they should not be killed, as the minds of the people were now turned to compassion. This compassion then gave rise to a feeling of anger, because so much haste had been shown in carrying the punishment into effect, and because no opportunity was left for relenting or retracing the steps of their passion. The multitude therefore gave vent to their indignation, and demanded an election to supply the places of Andranodorus and Themistus, for both of them had been praetors; an election by no means likely to be agreeable to the praetors.

## 27

The day was fixed for the election, when, to the surprise of all, one person from the extremity of the crowd nominated Epicycles, and then another from the same quarter nominated Hippocrates. Afterwards the voices in favour of these persons increased with the manifest approbation of the multitude. The assembly was one of a heterogeneous character, consisting not only of the commons, but a crowd of soldiers, with a large admixture even of deserters, who were desirous of innovation in every thing. The praetors, at first, concealed their feelings, and were for protracting the business; but at length, overcome by the general opinion, and apprehensive of a sedition, they declared them the praetors. These did not, however, immediately openly avow their sentiments, though they were chagrined that ambassadors had been sent to Appius Claudius to negotiate a ten days' truce, and that on obtaining this, others were sent to treat for the renewal of the old alliance. The Romans, with a fleet of a hundred ships, were then stationed at Murgantia, waiting the issue of the commotion raised at Syracuse by the death of the tyrants, and to what their recent acquisition of liberty would impel the people. Meanwhile, the Syracusan ambassadors were sent by Appius Claudius to Marcellus on his coming into Sicily, and Marcellus having heard the conditions of peace, and being of opinion that matters might be brought to a settlement, himself also sent ambassadors to Syracuse to treat with the praetors in person on the renewal of the alliance. But now by no means the same state of quiet and tranquillity existed there. Hippocrates and Epicycles, their fears being removed, after that intelligence had arrived that a Carthaginian fleet had put in at Pachynum, complained sometimes to the mercenary soldiers, at other times to the deserters, that Syracuse was being betrayed to the Romans. And when Appius began to station his ships at the mouth of the port, in order to inspire the other party with courage, their false insinuations appeared to receive great corroboration; and on the first impulse, the populace had even run down in a disorderly manner to prevent them from disembarking.

## 28

While affairs were in this unsettled state, it was resolved to call an assembly; in which, when some leaned to one side and some to the other, and an insurrection being on the point of breaking out, Apollonides, one of the nobles, delivered a speech fraught with salutary advice, considering the critical state of affairs: "Never," he said, "had a state a nearer prospect of safety and annihilation. For if they would all unanimously espouse the cause either of the Romans or the Carthaginians, there could be no state whose condition would be more prosperous and happy; but if they pulled different ways, the

war between the Romans and Carthaginians would not be more bloody than that which would take place between the Syracusans themselves, in which both the contending parties would have their forces, their troops, and their generals, within the same walls. Every exertion ought therefore to be made that all might think alike. Which alliance would be productive of the greater advantages, was a question of quite a secondary nature, and of less moment; though the authority of Hiero ought to be followed in preference to that of Hieronymus in the selection of allies, and a friendship of which they had had a happy experience through a space of fifty years, ought to be chosen rather than one now untried and formerly unfaithful. That it ought also to have some weight in their deliberations, that peace with the Carthaginians might be refused in such a manner as not immediately, at least, to have a war with them, while with the Romans they must forthwith have either peace or war." The less of party spirit and warmth appeared in this speech the greater weight it had. A military council also was united with the praetors and a chosen body of senators; the commanders of companies also, and the praefects of the allies, were ordered to consult conjointly. After the question had been agitated with great warmth, at length, as there appeared to be no means of carrying on a war with the Romans, it was resolved that a treaty of peace should be formed, and that ambassadors should be sent with those from Rome to ratify the same.

## 29

Not many days intervened before ambassadors came from the Leontines, requesting troops to protect their frontiers; an embassy which appeared to afford a very favourable opportunity for disencumbering the city of a turbulent and disorderly rabble, and for removing their leaders to a distance. The praetor, Hippocrates, was ordered to lead the deserters thither. Many of the mercenary auxiliaries accompanying them made them number four thousand armed men. This expedition gave great delight both to those who were sent and those who sent them, for to the former an opportunity was afforded of change which they had long desired, while the latter were rejoiced because they considered that a kind of sink of the city had been drained off. But they had, as it were, only relieved a sick body for a time, that it might afterwards fall into a more aggravated disease. For Hippocrates began to ravage the adjoining parts of the Roman province, at first by stealthy excursions, but afterwards, when Appies had sent a body of troops to protect the lands of the allies, he made an attack with all his forces upon the guard posted over against him, and slew many. Marcellus, when informed of this, immediately sent ambassadors to Syracuse, who said that the faith of the treaty had been broken, and that there would never be wanting a cause for hostilities, unless Hippocrates and Epicyles were removed not only from Syracuse, but far from all Sicily. Epicyles, lest by being present he should be arraigned for the offence committed by his absent brother, or should be wanting on his own part in stirring up a war, proceeded himself also to the Leontines; and seeing that they were already sufficiently exasperated against the Romans, he endeavoured to detach them from the Syracusans also. His argument was, that the terms on which they had formed a treaty of peace with the Romans were, that whatever people had been subject to their kings should be placed under their dominion; and that now they were not satisfied with liberty unless they could also exercise kingly power and dominion over others. The answer, therefore, he said, which they ought to send back was, that the Leontines also considered themselves entitled to liberty, either on the ground that the tyrant fell in the streets of their city, or that there the shout was first raised for liberty; and that they were the persons who, abandoning the king's generals, flocked to Syracuse. That, therefore, either that article must be expunged from

the treaty, or that that term of it would not be admitted. They easily persuaded the multitude; and when the ambassadors of Syracuse complained of the slaughter of the Roman guard, and ordered that Hippocrates and Epicydes should depart either to Locri or any other place they pleased, provided they quitted Sicily, a reply was made to them in a haughty manner, "that they had neither placed themselves at the disposal of the Syracusans to make a peace for them with the Romans, nor were they bound by the treaties of other people." This answer the Syracusans laid before the Romans, declaring at the same time that "the Leontines were not under their control, and that, therefore, the Romans might make war on them without violating the treaty subsisting between them; that they would also not be wanting in the war, provided that when brought again under subjection, they should form a part of their dominion, agreeably to the conditions of the peace."

### 30

Marcellus marched with his entire forces against Leontini, having sent for Appius also, in order that he might attack it in another quarter; when, such was the ardour of the troops in consequence of the indignation they felt at the Roman guards being put to the sword during the negotiations for a peace, that they took the town by storm on the first assault. Hippocrates and Epicydes, perceiving that the enemy were getting possession of the walls and breaking open the gates, retired with a few others into the citadel, from which they fled unobserved during the night to Herbessus. The Syracusans, who had marched from home with eight thousand troops, were met at the river Myla by a messenger, who informed them that the city was taken. The rest which he stated was a mixture of truth and falsehood; he said that there had been an indiscriminate massacre of the soldiers and the townsmen, and that he did not think that one person who had arrived at puberty had survived; that the town had been pillaged, and the property of the rich men given to the troops. On receiving such direful news the army halted; and while all were under violent excitement, the generals, Sosis and Dinomenes, consulted together as to the course to be taken. The scourging and beheading of two thousand deserters had given to this false statement a plausibility which excited alarm; but no violence was offered to any of the Leontine or other soldiers after the city was taken; and every man's property was restored to him, with the exception only of such as was destroyed in the first confusion which attended the capture of the city. The troops, who complained of their fellow-soldiers having been betrayed and butchered, could neither be induced to proceed to Leontini, nor wait where they were for more certain intelligence. The praetors, perceiving their minds disposed to mutiny, but concluding that their violence would not be of long continuance, if those who had led them on to such folly were removed, led the troops to Megara, whence they themselves with a few horsemen proceeded to Herbessus, under the expectation of having the city betrayed to them in the general consternation; but being disappointed in this attempt, they resolved to resort to force, and moved their camp from Megara on the following day, in order to attack Herbessus with all their forces. Hippocrates and Epicydes having formed the design of putting themselves into the hands of the soldiers, who were for the most part accustomed to them, and were now incensed at the report of the massacre of their comrades, not so much as a safe measure on the first view of it as that it was their only course, now that all hope was cut off, went out to meet the army. It happened that the troops which marched in the van were six hundred Cretans, who had been engaged in the service of Hieronymus under their command, and were under obligation to Hannibal, having been captured at the Trasimenus among the Roman auxiliaries, and

dismissed by him. Hippocrates and Epicycles, recognising them by their standards and the fashion of their armour, held out olive branches, and the fillets usually worn by suppliants, and implored them to receive them into their ranks, protect them when received, and not betray them to the Syracusans, by whom they themselves would soon be delivered up to the Romans to be butchered.

### 31

But the Cretans with one accord called out to them to be of good courage; that they would share every fortune with them. During this conversation, the vanguard had halted, and the march was delayed; nor had the cause of the delay as yet reached the generals. After the report had spread that Hippocrates and Epicycles were there, and a voice was heard through the whole army, which showed evidently that the troops were pleased at their arrival, the praetors immediately galloped to the front, and earnestly asked "what was the meaning of that violation of discipline, which the Cretans had committed in holding conference with the enemy, and allowing them to mingle with their ranks without the authority of the praetors." They ordered Hippocrates to be seized and thrown into chains. On hearing which such a clamour was raised, first by the Cretans and then by the rest, that it was quite evident if they proceeded farther that they would have cause to fear. In this state of anxiety and perplexity, they gave orders to march back to Megara, whence they had set out, and sent messengers to Syracuse, to give information of their present condition. Hippocrates added a deception, seeing that the minds of the troops were disposed to entertain every suspicion. Having sent some Cretans to lie in wait in the roads, he read a letter he pretended had been intercepted, but which he had written himself. The address was: "The praetors of Syracuse to the consul Marcellus." After the customary wishing of health, it stated "that he had acted duly and properly in sparing none of the Leontines, but that the cause of all the mercenary troops was the same, and that Syracuse would never be tranquil while there were any foreign auxiliaries in the city or in the army. That it was therefore necessary that he should endeavour to get into his power those who were encamped at Megara, with their praetors, and by punishing them, at length restore Syracuse to liberty." After this letter had been read, they ran to seize their arms in every direction, with so great a clamour, that the praetors, in the utmost consternation, rode away to Syracuse during the confusion. The mutiny, however, was not quelled even by their flight, but an attack was made upon the Syracusan soldiers; nor would any one have escaped their violence, had not Hippocrates and Epicycles opposed the resentment of the multitude, not from pity or any humane motive, but lest they should cut off all hope of effecting their return; and that they might have the soldiers, both as faithful supporters of their cause, and as hostages, and conciliate to themselves their relatives and friends, in the first place by so great an obligation, and in the next by reason of the pledge. Having also experienced that the populace could be excited by any cause, however groundless or trifling, they procured a soldier of the number of those who were besieged at Leontini, whom they suborned to carry a report to Syracuse, corresponding with that which had been falsely told at the Myla; and by vouching for what he stated, and relating as matters which he had seen, those things of which doubts were entertained, to kindle the resentment of the people.

### 32

This man not only obtained credit with the commons, but being introduced into the senate-house, produced an impression upon the senate also. Some men of no small

authority openly declared, that it was very fortunate that the rapacity and cruelty of the Romans had been made apparent in the case of the Leontines; that if they had entered Syracuse, they would have committed the same or even more horrible acts, as there the temptations to rapacity would have been greater. All, therefore, advised that the gates should be closed and the city guarded, but not the same persons were objects of fear or hatred to all alike. Among the soldiers of every kind, and a great part of the people, the Roman name was hated. The praetors, and a few of the nobles, though enraged by the fictitious intelligence, rather directed their cautions against a nearer and more immediate evil. Hippocrates and Epicycles were now at the Hexapylum; and conversations were taking place, fomented by the relatives of the native soldiers who were in the army, touching the opening of the gates, and the allowing their common country to be defended from the violence of the Romans. One of the doors of the Hexapylum was now thrown open, and the troops began to be taken in at it, when the praetors interposed; and first by commands and menaces, then by advice, they endeavoured to deter them from their purpose, and last of all, every other means proving ineffectual, forgetful of their dignity, they tried to move them by prayers, imploring them not to betray their country to men heretofore the satellites of the tyrant, and now the corrupters of the army. But the ears of the excited multitude were deaf to all these arguments, and the exertions made from within to break open the gates, were not less than those without; the gates were all broken open, and the whole army received into the Hexapylum. The praetors, with the youth of the city, fled into the Achradina; the mercenary soldiers and deserters, with all the soldiers of the late king who were at Syracuse, joined the forces of the enemy. The Achradina also was therefore taken on the first assault, and all the praetors, except such as escaped in the confusion, were put to the sword. Night put an end to the carnage. On the following day the slaves were invited to liberty, and those bound in prison were released; after which this mixed rabble created Hippocrates and Epicydes their praetors, and thus Syracuse, when for a brief period the light of liberty had shone on it, relapsed into her former state of servitude.

### 33

The Romans, on receiving information of these events, immediately moved their camp from Leontini to Syracuse. It happened at this time that ambassadors were sent by Appius in a quinquereme, to make their way through the harbour. A quadrireme was sent in advance, which was captured as soon as it entered the mouth of the harbour, and the ambassadors with difficulty made their escape. And now not only the laws of peace but of war also were not regarded, when the Roman army pitched their camp at Olympium, a temple of Jupiter, a mile and a half from the city. From which place also it was thought proper that ambassadors should be sent forward; these were met by Hippocrates and Epicydes with their friends without the gate, to prevent their entering the city. The Roman, who was appointed to speak, said that "he did not bring war, but aid and assistance to the Syracusans, not only to such as, escaping from the midst of the carnage, fled to the Romans for protection, but to those also, who, overpowered by fear, were submitting to a servitude more shocking, not only than exile, but than death. Nor would the Romans suffer the horrid murder of their friends to go unavenged. If, therefore, those who had taken refuge with them were allowed to return to their country with safety, the authors of the massacre delivered up, and the Syracusans reinstated in the enjoyment of their liberty and laws, there would be no necessity for arms; but if these things were not done, they would direct their arms unceasingly

against those who delayed them, whoever they might be." Epicydes replied, that "if they had been commissioned with any message for them, they would have given them an answer; and when the government of Syracuse was in the hands of those persons to whom they were come, they might visit Syracuse again. If they should commence hostilities, they would learn by actual experience that it was by no means the same thing to besiege Syracuse and Leontini." With this he left the ambassadors and closed the gate. The siege of Syracuse then commenced by sea and land at the same time; by land on the side of the Hexapylum; by sea on the side of the Achradina, the wall of which is washed by its waves; and as the Romans felt a confidence that as they had taken Leontini by the terror they occasioned on the first assault, they should be able in some quarter to effect an entrance into a city so desert, and diffused over so large an extent of ground, they brought up to the walls every kind of engine for besieging cities.

### 34

And an attempt made with so much energy would have succeeded, had it not been for one person then at Syracuse. That person was Archimedes, a man of unrivalled skill in observing the heavens and the stars, but more deserving of admiration as the inventor and constructor of warlike engines and works, by means of which, with a very slight effort, he turned to ridicule what the enemy effected with great difficulty. The wall which ran along unequal eminences, most of which were high and difficult of access, some low and open to approach along level vales, he furnished with every kind of warlike engine, as seemed suitable to each particular place. Marcellus attacked from the quinqueremes the wall of the Achradina, which, as before stated, was washed by the sea. From the other ships the archers and slingers and light infantry, whose weapon is difficult to be thrown back by the unskilful, allowed scarce any person to remain upon the wall unwounded. These, as they required room for the discharge of their missiles, kept their ships at a distance from the wall. Eight more quinqueremes joined together in pairs, the oars on their inner sides being removed, so that side might be placed to side, and which forming as it were ships, were worked by means of the oars on the outer sides, carried turrets built up in stories, and other engines employed in battering walls. Against this naval armament, Archimedes placed on different parts of the walls engines of various dimensions. Against the ships which were at a distance he discharged stones of immense weight. Those which were nearer he assailed with lighter, and therefore more numerous missiles. Lastly, in order that his own men might heap their weapons upon the enemy, without receiving any wounds themselves, he perforated the wall from the top to the bottom with a great number of loop-holes, about a cubit in diameter, through which some with arrows, others with scorpions of moderate size, assailed the enemy without being seen. Certain ships which came nearer to the walls in order to get within the range of the engines, he placed upon their sterns, raising up their prows by throwing upon them an iron grapple, attached to a strong chain, by means of a tolleno which projected from the wall, and overhung them, having a heavy counterpoise of lead which forced back the lever to the ground; then the grapple being suddenly disengaged, the ship falling as it were from the wall, was, by these means, to the utter consternation of the mariners, dashed in such a manner against the water, that even if it fell back in an erect position it took in a great quantity of water. Thus the attack by sea was foiled, and their whole efforts were directed to an attack by land with all their forces. But on this side also the place was furnished with a similar array of engines of every kind, procured at the expense of Hiero, who had given his attention to this object through a course of many years, and constructed by the unrivalled abilities of Archimedes. The nature of the

place also assisted them; for the rock which formed the foundation of the wall was for the most part so steep, that not only materials discharged from engines, but such as were rolled down by their own gravity, fell upon the enemy with great force; the same cause rendered the approach to the city difficult, and the footing unsteady. Wherefore, a council being held, it was resolved, since every attempt was frustrated, to abstain from assaulting the place, and keeping up a blockade, only to cut off the provisions of the enemy by sea and land.

### 35

Meanwhile, Marcellus, who had set out with about a third part of the army, to recover the towns which, during the commotion, had gone over to the Carthaginians, regained Helorus and Herbessus by voluntary surrender. Megara, which he took by storm, he demolished and plundered, in order to terrify the rest, but particularly the Syracusans. Much about the same time, Himilco, who had kept his fleet for a long time at the promontory of Pachynus, landed twenty-five thousand infantry, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants, at Heraclea, which they call Minoa. This force was much greater than that which he had before on board his fleet at Pachynus. But after Syracuse was seized by Hippocrates, he proceeded to Carthage, where, being aided by ambassadors from Hippocrates, and a letter from Hannibal, who said that now was the time to recover Sicily with the highest honour, while his own advice given in person had no small influence, he had prevailed upon the Carthaginians to transport into Sicily as large a force as possible, both of foot and horse. Immediately on his arrival he retook Heraclea, and within a few days after Agrigentum; and in the other states which sided with the Carthaginians, such confident hopes were kindled of driving the Romans out of Sicily, that at last even those who were besieged at Syracuse took courage; and thinking that half their forces would be sufficient for the defence of the city, they divided the business of the war between them in such a manner, that Epicydes superintended the defence of the city, while Hippocrates, in conjunction with Himilco, prosecuted the war against the Roman consul. The latter, having passed by night through the intervals between the posts, with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse, was pitching a camp near the city Acrillae, when Marcellus came upon them, while engaged in raising the fortifications, on his return from Agrigentum, which was already occupied by the enemy, having failed in his attempt to get there before the enemy by expeditious marching, Marcellus calculated upon any thing rather than meeting with a Syracusan army at that time and place; but still through fear of Himilco and the Carthaginians, for whom he was by no means a match with the forces he had with him, he was marching with all possible circumspection, and with his troops so arranged, as to be prepared for any thing which might occur.

### 36

It happened that the caution he had observed with intent to guard him against the Carthaginians, proved useful against the Sicilians. Having caught them in disorder and dispersed, employed in forming their camp, and for the most part unarmed, he cut off all their infantry. Their cavalry, having commenced a slight engagement, fled to Acrae with Hippocrates. This battle having checked the Sicilians in their purpose of revolting from the Romans, Marcellus returned to Syracuse, and a few days after Himilco, being joined by Hippocrates, encamped on the river Anapus, about eight miles distant from that place. Nearly about the same time, fifty-five ships of war of the Carthaginians, with Bomilcar as commander of the fleet, put into the great harbour of Syracuse from the sea,

and a Roman fleet of thirty quinqueremes landed the first legion at Panormus; and so intent were both the contending powers upon Sicily, that the seat of war might seem to have been removed from Italy. Himilco, who thought that the Roman legion which had been landed at Panormus, would doubtless fall a prey to him on its way to Syracuse, was mistaken in his road; for the Carthaginian marched through the inland parts of the country, while the legion, keeping along the coast, and attended by the fleet, came up with Appius Claudius, who had advanced to Pachynum with a part of his forces to meet it. Nor did the Carthaginians delay longer at Syracuse. Bomilcar, who at the same time that he did not feel sufficient confidence in his naval strength, as the Romans had a fleet more than double his number, was aware that delay which could be attended with no good effect, would only increase the scarcity of provisions among the allies by the presence of his troops, sailed out into the deep, and crossed over into Africa. Himilco, who had in vain followed Marcellus to Syracuse, to see if he could get any opportunity of engaging him before he was joined by larger forces, failing in this object, and seeing that the enemy were secured at Syracuse, both by their fortifications and the strength of their forces, to avoid wasting time in sitting by as an idle spectator of the siege of his allies, without being able to do any good, marched his troops away, in order to bring them up wherever the prospect of revolt from the Romans might invite him, and wherever by his presence he might inspire additional courage in those who espoused his interest. He first got possession of Murgantia, the Roman garrison having been betrayed by the inhabitants themselves. Here a great quantity of corn and provisions of every kind had been laid up by the Romans.

### 37

To this revolt the minds of other states also were stimulated; and the Roman garrisons were now either driven out of the citadels, or treacherously given up and overpowered. Enna, which stood on an eminence lofty and of difficult ascent on all sides, was impregnable on account of its situation, and had besides in its citadel a strong garrison commanded by one who was very unlikely to be overreached by treachery, Lucius Pinarius, a man of vigorous mind, who relied more on the measures he took to prevent treachery, than on the fidelity of the Sicilians; and at that time particularly the intelligence he had received of so many cities being betrayed, and revolting, and of the massacre of the garrisons, had made him solicitous to use every precaution. Accordingly, by day and night equally, every thing was kept in readiness, and every place furnished with guards and watches, the soldiery being continually under arms and at their posts. But when the principal men in Enna, who had already entered into a covenant with Himilco to betray the garrison, found that they could get no opportunity of circumventing the Roman, they resolved to act openly. They urged, that "the city and the citadel ought to be under their control, as they had formed an alliance with the Romans on the understanding that they were to be free, and had not been delivered into their custody as slaves. That they therefore thought it just that the keys of the gates should be restored to them. That their honour formed the strongest tie upon good allies, and that the people and senate of Rome would entertain feelings of gratitude towards them if they continued in friendship with them of their own free will, and not by compulsion." The Roman replied, that "he was placed there by his general to protect the place; that from him he had received the keys of the gates and the custody of the citadel, trusts which he held not subject to his own will, nor that of the inhabitants of Enna, but to his who committed them to him. That among the Romans, for a man to quit his post was a capital offence, and that parents had sanctioned that law by the death even of

their own children. That the consul Marcellus was not far off; that they might send ambassadors to him, who possessed the right and liberty of deciding." But they said, they would certainly not send to him, and solemnly declared, that as they could not obtain their object by argument, they would seek some means of asserting their liberty. Pinarius upon this observed, "that if they thought it too much to send to the consul, still they would, at least, grant him an assembly of the people, that it might be ascertained whether these denunciations came from a few, or from the whole state." An assembly of the people was proclaimed for the next day, with the general consent.

### 38

After this conference, he returned into the citadel, and assembling his soldiers, thus addressed them: "Soldiers, I suppose you have heard in what manner the Roman garrisons have been betrayed and cut off by the Sicilians of late. You have escaped the same treachery, first by the kindness of the gods, and secondly by your own good conduct, in unremittingly standing and watching under arms. I wish the rest of our time may be passed without suffering or committing dreadful things. This caution, which we have hitherto employed, has been directed against covert treachery, but not succeeding in this as they wished, they now publicly and openly demand back the keys of the gates; but as soon as we shall have delivered them up, Enna will be instantly in the hands of the Carthaginians, and we shall be butchered under circumstances more horrid than those with which the garrison of Murgantia were massacred. I have with difficulty procured a delay of one night for deliberation, that I might employ it in acquainting you with the danger which threatens you. At daybreak they intend holding a general assembly for the purpose of criminating me, and stirring up the people against you; tomorrow, therefore, Enna will be inundated either with your blood, or that of its own inhabitants. If they are beforehand with you, you will have no hope left, but if you anticipate their proceedings, you will have no danger. Victory will belong to that side which shall have drawn the sword first. You shall all, therefore, full armed, attentively wait the signal. I shall be in the assembly, and by talking and disputing will spin out the time till every thing shall be ready. When I shall have given the signal with my gown, then, mind me raising a shout on all sides rush upon the multitude, and fell all before you with the sword, taking care that no one survive from whom either force or fraud can be apprehended. You, mother Ceres and Proserpine, I entreat, and all ye other gods, celestial and infernal, who frequent this city and these consecrated lakes and groves, that you would lend us your friendly and propitious aid, as we adopt this measure not for the purpose of inflicting, but averting injury. I should exhort you at greater length my soldiers, if you were about to fight with armed men, men unarmed and off their guard, you will slay to satiety. The consul's camp too is near, so that nothing can be apprehended from Himilco and the Carthaginians'."

### 39

Being allowed to retire immediately after this exhortation, they employed themselves in taking refreshment. The next day they stationed themselves some in one place and others in another, to block up the streets, and shut up the ways by which the townsmen might escape, the greater part of them stationing themselves upon and round the theatre, as they had been accustomed before also to be spectators of the assemblies. When the Roman praefect, having been brought into the presence of the people by the magistrates, said, that the power and authority of deciding the question appertained to the consul, and not to him, repeating for the most part what he had urged the day

before, first of all a small number, and then more, desired him to give up the keys, but afterwards all with one consent demanded it, and when he hesitated and delayed, threatened him furiously, and seemed as though they would not further delay violent extremities then the praefect gave the signal agreed upon with his gown and the soldiers, who had been long anxiously waiting the signal, and in readiness, raising a shout, ran down, some of them from the higher ground, upon the rear of the assembly while others blocked up the passages leading out of the crowded theatre. The people of Enna thus shut up in the pit were put to the sword, being heaped one upon another not only in consequence of the slaughter, but also from their own efforts to escape, for some scrambling over the heads of others, and those that were unhurt falling upon the wounded, and the living upon the dead, they were accumulated together. Thence they ran in every direction throughout the city, when nothing was any where to be seen but flight and bloodshed, as though the city had been captured, for the rage of the soldiery was not less excited in putting to the sword an unarmed rabble, than it would have been had the heat of battle and an equality of danger stimulated it. Thus possession of Enna was retained, by an act which was either atrocious or unavoidable. Marcellus did not disapprove of the deed, and gave up the plunder of the place to the soldiery, concluding that the Sicilians, deterred by this example, would refrain from betraying their garrisons. As this city was situated in the heart of Sicily, and was distinguished both on account of the remarkable strength of its natural situation, and because every part of it was rendered sacred by the traces it contained of the rape of Proserpine of old, the news of its disaster spread though the whole of Sicily in nearly one day, and as people considered that by this horrid massacre violence had been done not only to the habitations of men, but even of the gods, then indeed those who even before this event were in doubt which side they should take, revolted to the Carthaginians Hippocrates and Himilco, who had in vain brought up their troops to Enna at the invitation of the traitors, retired thence, the former to Murgantia, the latter to Agrigentum. Marcellus retrograded into the territory of Leontium, and after collecting a quantity of corn and other provisions in his camp there, left a small body of troops to protect it, and then went to carry on the siege of Syracuse. Appius Claudius having been allowed to go from thence to Rome to put up for the consulship, he appointed Titus Quintus Crispinus to command the fleet and the old camp in his room. He himself fortified his camp, and built huts for his troops at a distance of five miles from Hexapylum, at a place called Leon. These were the transactions in Sicily up to the beginning of the winter.

#### 40

The same summer the war with king Philip, as had been before suspected, broke out. Ambassadors from Oricum came to Marcus Valerius, the praetor, who was directing his fleet around Brundisium and the neighbouring coasts of Calabria, with intelligence, that Philip had first made an attempt upon Apollonia, having approached it by sailing up the river with a hundred and twenty barks with two banks of oars; after that, not succeeding so speedily as he had hoped, that he had brought up his army secretly to Oricum by night; which city, as it was situated on a plain, and was not secured either by fortifications or by men and arms, was overpowered at the first assault. At the same time that they delivered this intelligence, they entreated him to bring them succour, and repel that decided enemy of the Romans by land or by a naval force, since they were attacked for no other cause than that they lay over against Italy. Marcus Valerius, leaving Publius Valerius lieutenant-general charged with the protection of that quarter, set sail with his fleet equipped and prepared, having put on board of ships of burthen

such soldiers as there was not room for in the men of war, and reached Oricum on the second day; and as that city was occupied by a slight garrison, which Philip had left on his departure thence, he retook it without much opposition. Here ambassadors came to him from Apollonia, stating that they were subjected to a siege because they were unwilling to revolt from the Romans, and that they would not be able any longer to resist the power of the Macedonians, unless a Roman force were sent for their protection. Having undertaken to perform what they wished, he sent two thousand chosen armed men in ships of war to the mouth of the river, under the command of Quintus Naevius Crista, praefect of the allies, a man of enterprise, and experienced in military affairs. Having landed his troops, and sent back the ships to join the rest of the fleet at Oricum, whence he had come, he marched his troops at a distance from the river, by a way not guarded at all by the king's party, and entered the city by night, so that none of the enemy perceived him. During the following day they remained quiet, to afford time for the praefect to inspect the youth of Apollonia, together with the arms and resources of the city. Having derived considerable confidence from a review and inspection of these, and at the same time discovering from scouts the supineness and negligence which prevailed among the enemy, he marched out of the city during the dead of night without any noise, and entered the camp of the enemy, which was in such a neglected and exposed state, that it was quite clear that a thousand men had passed the rampart before any one perceived them, and that had they abstained from putting them to the sword, they might have penetrated to the royal pavilion. The killing of those who were nearest the gate aroused the enemy; and in consequence, they were all seized with such alarm and dismay, that not only none of the rest attempted to take arms or endeavour to expel the enemy from the camp, but even the king himself, betaking himself to flight, in a manner half naked and just as he was when roused from his sleep, hurried away to the river and his ships in a garb scarcely decent for a private soldier, much less for a king. Thither also the rest of the multitude fled with the utmost precipitation. Little less than three thousand men were slain or made prisoners in the camp; considerably more, however, were captured than slain. The camp having been plundered, the Apollonians removed into their city the catapults, ballistas, and other engines which had been got together for the purpose of assaulting their city, for the protection of their walls, in case at any time a similar conjuncture should arise; all the rest of the plunder which the camp afforded was given up to the Romans. Intelligence of these events having been carried to Oricum, Marcus Valerius immediately brought his fleet to the mouth of the river, that the king might not attempt to make his escape by ship. Thus Philip, having lost all hope of being able to cope with his enemies by land or sea, and having either hauled on shore or burnt his ships, made for Macedonia by land, his troops being for the most part unarmed and despoiled of their baggage. The Roman fleet, with Marcus Valerius, wintered at Oricum.

#### 41

The same year the war was prosecuted in Spain with various success; for before the Romans crossed the Iberus, Mago and Hasdrubal had routed an immense army of Spaniards; and the farther Spain would have revolted from the Romans, had not Publius Cornelius, hastily crossing the Iberus with his army, given a seasonable stimulus to the wavering resolutions of his allies by his arrival among them. The Romans first encamped at a place called the High Camp, which is remarkable for the death of the great Hamilcar. It was a fortress strongly defended by works, and thither they had previously conveyed corn; but as the whole circumjacent country was full of enemy's

troops, and the Roman army on its march had been charged by the cavalry of the enemy without being able to take revenge upon them, two thousand men, who either loitered behind or had strayed through the fields, having been slain, the Romans quitted this place to get nearer to a friendly country, and fortified a camp at the mount of Victory. To this place came Cneius Scipio with all his forces, and Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, and a third Carthaginian general, with a complete army, all of whom took up a position opposite the Roman camp and on the other side the river. Publius Scipio, going out with some light troops to take a view of the surrounding country, was observed by the enemy; and he would have been overpowered in the open plain, had he not seized an eminence near him. Here too he was closely invested, but was rescued from the troops which environed him by the arrival of his brother. Castulo, a city of Spain, so strong and celebrated, and so closely connected with the Carthaginians, that Hannibal had taken a wife from it, revolted to the Romans. The Carthaginians commenced the siege of Illiturgi, because there was a Roman garrison in it; and it seemed that they would carry the place, chiefly in consequence of a lack of provisions. Cneius Scipio, setting out with a legion lightly equipped, in order to bring succour to his allies and the garrison, entered the city, passing between the two camps of the enemy, and slaying a great number of them. The next day also he sallied out and fought with equal success. Above twelve thousand were slain in the two battles, more than a thousand made prisoners, and thirty-six military standards captured. In consequence of this they retired from Illiturgi. After this the siege of Bigerra, a city which was also in alliance with the Romans, was commenced by the Carthaginians; but Scipio coming up, raised the siege without experiencing any opposition.

#### 42

The Carthaginians then removed their camp to Munda, whither the Romans speedily followed them. Here a pitched battle was fought, which lasted almost four hours; and while the Romans were carrying all before them in the most glorious manner, the signal for retreat was sounded, because the thigh of Cneius Scipio had been transfixed with a javelin. The soldiers round about him were thrown into a state of great alarm, lest the wound should be mortal. However, there was no doubt but that if they had not been prevented by the intervention of this accident, they might have taken the Carthaginian camp that day. By this time, not only the men, but the elephants, were driven quite up to the rampart; and even upon the top of it nine and thirty elephants were pierced with spears. In this battle, too, as many as twelve thousand are said to have been slain, nearly three thousand captured, with fifty-seven military standards. The Carthaginians retired thence to the city Auringis, whither the Romans followed them, in order to take advantage of their terror. Here Scipio again fought them, having been carried into the field in a small litter; the victory was decisive; but not half so many of the enemy were slain as before, because fewer survived to fight. But this family, which possessed a natural talent at renewing war and restoring its effects, in a short time recruited their army, Mago having been sent by his brother to press soldiers, and assumed courage to try the issue of a fresh struggle. Though the soldiers were for the most part different, yet as they fought in a cause which had so often been unsuccessful within the space of a few days, they carried into the field the same state of mind as those which had been engaged before, and the issue of the battle was similar. More than eight thousand were slain, not much less than a thousand captured, with fifty-eight military standards. The greater part of the spoils had belonged to the Gauls, consisting of golden chains and bracelets in great numbers. Also two distinguished Gallic petty princes, whose names were

Moenicaptus and Civismarus, fell in this battle. Eight elephants were captured and three slain. When affairs went on so prosperously in Spain, the Romans began to feel ashamed that Saguntum, on account of which the war had originated, should continue for now the eighth year in the power of the enemy. Accordingly, having expelled by force the Carthaginian garrison, they retook that town, and restored it to such of the ancient inhabitants as had survived the fury of the war. The Turditanians also, who had been the cause of the war between that people and the Carthaginians, they reduced under their power, sold them as slaves, and razed their city.

#### 43

Such were the achievements in Spain during the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Marcus Claudius. At Rome, as soon as the new plebeian tribunes entered upon their office, Lucius Metellus, a plebeian tribune, immediately appointed a day for impeaching the censors, Publius Furius and Marcus Atilius, before the people. In the preceding year, when he was quaestor, they had deprived him of his horse, removed him from his tribe, and disfranchised him, on account of the conspiracy entered into at Cannae to abandon Italy. But being aided by the other nine tribunes, they were forbidden to answer while in office, and were discharged. The death of Publius Furius prevented their completing the lustrum. Marcus Atilius abdicated his office. An assembly for the election of consuls was held by Quintus Fabius Maximus. The consuls elected were Quintus Fabius Maximus, son of the consul, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus a second time, both being absent. The praetors appointed were Marcus Atilius, and the two curule aediles, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, together with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. It is recorded, that the scenic games were this year, for the first time, celebrated for four days by the curule aediles. The aedile Tuditanus was the man who made his way through the midst of the enemy at Cannae when all the rest were paralysed with fear, in consequence of that dreadful calamity. As soon as the elections were completed, the consuls elect having been summoned to Rome, at the instance of Quintus Fabius, the consul, entered upon their office, and took the sense of the senate respecting the war, their own provinces as well as those of the praetors, and also respecting the armies to be employed, and which each of them was to command.

#### 44

The provinces and armies were thus distributed: the prosecution of the war with Hannibal was given to the consuls, and of the armies, one which Sempronius himself had commanded, and another which the consul Fabius had commanded, each consisting of two legions. Marcus Aemilius, the praetor, who had the foreign jurisdiction, was to have Luceria as his province, with the two legions which Quintus Fabius, then consul, had commanded as praetor, his colleague, Marcus Atilius, the city praetor, undertaking the duties of his office. The province of Ariminum fell to the lot of Publius Sempronius, that of Suessula to Cneius Fulvius, with two legions each likewise; Fulvius taking with him the city legions; Tuditanus receiving his from Manius Pomponius. The following generals were continued in command, and their provinces assigned to them thus: to Marcus Claudius, so much of Sicily as lay within the limits of the kingdom of Hiero; to Lentulus, the proprætor, the old province in that island; to Titus Otacilius, the fleet; no additional troops were assigned to them. Marcus Valerius had Greece and Macedonia, with the legion and the fleet which he had there; Quintus Mucius had Sardinia, with his old army, consisting of two legions; Caius Terentius, Picenum, with one legion which he then commanded. Besides, orders were given to enlist two legions for the city, and

twenty thousand men from the allies. With these leaders and these forces did they fortify the Roman empire against the many wars which had either actually broken out, or were suspected at one and the same time. After enlisting the city legions and raising troops to make up the numbers of the others, the consuls, before they quitted the city, expiated the prodigies which were reported. A wall and a gate had been struck by lightning; and at Aricia even the temple of Jupiter had been struck by lightning. Other illusions of the eyes and ears were credited as realities. An appearance as of ships had been seen in the river at Tarracina, when there were none there. A clashing of arms was heard in the temple of Jupiter Vicilinus, in the territory of Compsa; and a river at Amiternum had flowed bloody. These prodigies having been expiated according to a decree of the pontiffs, the consuls set out, Sempronius for Lucania, Fabius for Apulia. The father of the latter came into the camp at Suessula, as his lieutenant-general; and when the son advanced to meet him, the lictors, out of respect for his dignity, went on in silence. The old man rode past eleven of the fasces, when the consul ordered the lictor nearest to him to take care and he called to him to dismount; then at length dismounting, he exclaimed, "I wished to try, my son, whether you were duly sensible that you are a consul."

#### 45

To this camp came Dasias Altinius of Arpi privately and by night, attended by three slaves, with a promise that if he should receive a reward for it, he would engage to betray Arpi to them. Fabius having laid the matter before a council, some were of opinion that "he ought to be scourged and put to death as a deserter, as a man of unstable mind, and a common enemy to both sides; who, after the defeat at Cannae, had gone over to Hannibal and drawn Arpi into revolt, as if it were right that a man's fidelity should vary according to the fluctuations of fortune; and who now, when the Roman cause, contrary to his hopes and wishes, was as it were rising up again, would seem to aggravate his baseness by recompensing those whom he had formerly betrayed, by fresh betrayal. That a man whose custom it was to espouse one side, while his heart was on another, was unworthy of confidence as an ally, and contemptible as an enemy; that he ought to be made a third example to deserters, in addition to the betrayers of Falerii and Pyrrhus." On the other hand, Fabius, the father of the consul, observed, that "forgetful of circumstances, men were apt to exercise a free judgment on every question in the heat of war, as in time of peace; for though in the present instance that which ought rather to form the object of their endeavours and to occupy their thoughts, is by what means it may be brought about that none of the allies may revolt from the Roman people, yet that they never think of; but, on the contrary, they urge that an example ought to be made of any who might repent and look back upon their former alliance. But if it is allowable to forsake the Romans, and not allowable to return to them, who can doubt but that in a short time the Romans, deserted by their allies, will see every state in Italy united in leagues with the Carthaginians. Not, however, that he was of opinion that any confidence was to be reposed in Altinius, but he would invent some middle course of proceeding. Treating him neither as an enemy nor as a friend for the present, his wish was, that he should be kept during the war in some city whose fidelity could be relied on, at a short distance from the camp, in a state of easy restraint; and that when the war was concluded, they should then deliberate whether he more deserved to be punished for his former defection, or pardoned for his present return." The opinion of Fabius was approved of. Altinius was bound in chains and given into custody, together with his companions, and a large quantity of gold which he brought with him was

ordered to be kept for him. He was kept at Cales, where, during the day, he was unconfined, but attended by guards who locked him up at night. He was first missed and inquired for at his house at Arpi. but afterwards, when the report of his absence had spread through the city, a violent sensation was excited, as if they had lost their leader, and, from the apprehension of some attempt to alter the present state of things, messengers were immediately despatched to Hannibal. With this the Carthaginian was far from being displeased, both because he had long regarded the man himself with suspicion, as one of doubtful fidelity, and because he had now been lucky enough to get a pretext for possessing himself of the property of so wealthy a person. But that the world might suppose that he had yielded to resentment more than to avarice, he added cruelty to rapacity; for he summoned his wife and children to the camp, and after having made inquiry, first, respecting the flight of Altinius, and then, touching the quantity of gold and silver which was left at his house, and informed himself on all these points, he burned them alive.

#### 46

Fabius, setting out from Suessula, first set about the siege of Arpi; and having pitched his camp about half a mile from it, he took a near view of the site and walls of the city, and resolved to attack it, in preference, in that quarter where it was most secured by works, and where the least care was taken in guarding it. After getting all things together which could be of use in besieging a city, he selected the most efficient of the centurions out of the whole army, placing them under the command of tribunes of approved valour, and giving them six hundred soldiers, a number which was thought sufficient for the purpose. These he ordered to bring the scaling ladders to the place which he had marked out, as soon as the signal of the fourth watch had sounded. In this part there was a low and narrow gate, opening into a street which was little frequented, and which led through a deserted part of the city. He ordered them, after scaling the wall, to proceed to this gate, and break down the bars on the inside by force, and when they were in possession of that part of the city, to give a signal with a cornet, that the rest of the troops might be brought up, observing that he would have every thing prepared and ready. These orders were executed promptly, and that which seemed likely to impede their operations, served more than any thing to conceal them. A shower of rain, which came on suddenly at midnight, compelled the guards and watches to slip away from their posts and take shelter in the houses; and the noise of the shower, which was somewhat copious, at first prevented their hearing that which was made by the men in breaking open the gate. Afterwards, when it fell upon the ear more gently and uniformly, it lulled a great number of the men to sleep. After they had secured possession of the gate, they placed cornet-players in the street at equal distances, and desired them to sound, in order to call the consul. This being done according to the plan previously agreed upon, the consul ordered the troops to march, and a little before daylight entered the city through the broken gate.

#### 47

Then at length the enemy were roused, the shower was now subsiding, and daylight coming on. Hannibal had a garrison of about five thousand armed men in the city, and the inhabitants themselves had three thousand men in arms; these the Carthaginians placed in front against the enemy, to guard against any treachery on their rear. The fight was carried on at first in the dark, and in the narrow streets, the Romans having seized not only the streets, but the houses also nearest the gate, that they might not be struck

or wounded by any thing discharged at them from above. Some of the Arpinians and Romans recognised each other, which led to conversations, in which the Romans asked them, what it was they meant? for what offence on the part of the Romans, or what service on that of the Carthaginians, they, who were Italians, made war in favour of foreigners and barbarians, against their ancient allies the Romans, and endeavoured to render Italy tributary and stipendiary to Africa? The Arpinians urged in excuse of themselves, that in ignorance of all the circumstances, they had been sold to the Carthaginians by their nobility, and that they were kept in a state of thralldom and oppression by the few. A beginning having been made, greater numbers on both sides entered into conversation; and at length the praetor of Arpi was brought by his countrymen before the consul, and after exchanging assurances in the midst of the standards and the troops, the Arpinians suddenly turned their arms against the Carthaginians, in favour of the Romans. Some Spaniards also, little less than a thousand in number, after only stipulating with the consul that the Carthaginian garrison might be allowed to march out unhurt, passed over to the consul. The gates were therefore thrown open for the Carthaginians; and being allowed to go out unmolested, in conformity with the stipulation, they joined Hannibal in Salapia. Thus was Arpi restored to the Romans, without the loss of a life, except that of one man, who was formerly a traitor, and recently a deserter. The Spaniards were ordered to receive a double allowance of provisions, and on very many occasions the republic availed itself of their brave and faithful services. While one of the consuls was in Apulia, and the other in Lucania, a hundred and twelve Campanian noblemen, having gone out of Capua, with the permission of the magistrates, under pretence of collecting booty from the enemy's lands, came into the Roman camp, which lay above Suessula. They told the soldiers, forming the vanguard, that they wished to speak with the praetor. Cneius Fulvius commanded the camp; who, on being informed of the circumstance, ordered ten of them to be brought into his presence unarmed; and after hearing their request, (and all they asked was, that when the Romans should recover Capua, their property might be restored to them,) they were all received under his protection. The other praetor, Sempronius Tuditanus, took by force the town of Aternum; more than seven thousand were captured, with a considerable quantity of coined brass and silver. A dreadful fire happened at Rome, which continued for two nights and a day; every thing was burnt to the ground between the Salinae and the Carmental gate, with the Aequimaelium and the Jugarian street. In the temples of Fortune, Mater Matuta, and Hope, which latter stood without the gate, the fire, spreading to a wide extent, consumed much both sacred and profane.

#### 48

The same year, the two Cornelii, Publius and Cneius, as affairs were now in a prosperous state in Spain, and they had recovered many ancient allies, and attached fresh ones to them, extended their views even to Africa. Syphax was a king of the Numidians, who had suddenly become hostile to the Carthaginians; to him they sent three centurions as ambassadors, to form a treaty of friendship and alliance with him; and to promise, that, if he persevered in pressing the war against the Carthaginians, he would render an acceptable service to the senate and people of Rome, and they would endeavour to requite the favour with large additions, and at a seasonable time. This embassy was gratifying to the barbarian; and when conversing with the ambassadors on the art of war he heard the observations of those experienced soldiers, by comparing his own practice with so regular a system of discipline, he became sensible of how many

things he himself was ignorant. Then he entreated them to give the first proof of their being good and faithful allies, "by letting two of them carry back the result of their embassy to their generals, while one remained with him as his instructor in military science, observing that the Numidian nation were unacquainted with the method of carrying on war with foot forces, being useful only as mounted soldiers. That it was in this manner that their ancestors had carried on war even from the first origin of their nation, and to this they were habituated from their childhood. But that they had to contend with an enemy who relied upon the prowess of their infantry; with whom, if they wished to be placed upon an equality in respect of efficient strength, they must also furnish themselves with infantry. That his dominions abounded with a large quantity of men fit for the purpose, but that he was unacquainted with the art of arming, equipping, and marshalling them; that all his infantry were unwieldy and unmanageable, like a rabble collected together by chance." The ambassadors answered, that they would comply with his request for the present, on his engaging to send him back immediately, if their generals did not approve of what they had done. The name of the person who staid behind with the king was Quintus Statorius. With the two other Romans, the Numidian sent ambassadors into Spain, to receive the ratification of the alliance from the Roman generals. He gave it in charge to the same persons, forthwith to induce the Numidians, who were serving as auxiliaries among the Carthaginian troops, to go over to the other side. Statorius raised a body of infantry for the king out of the large number of young men which he found; and having formed them into companies, in close imitation of the Roman method, taught them to follow their standards and keep their ranks when being marshalled, and when performing their evolutions; and he so habituated them to military works and other military duties, that in a short time the king relied not more on his cavalry than on his infantry; and in a regular and pitched battle, fought on a level plain, he overcame his enemies, the Carthaginians. In Spain also the arrival of the king's ambassadors was of the greatest advantage to the Romans, for at the news thereof the Numidians began rapidly to pass over. Thus the Romans and Syphax were united in friendship, which the Carthaginians hearing of, immediately sent ambassadors to Gala, who reigned in another part of Numidia, over a nation called Massylians.

#### 49

Gala had a son named Masinissa, seventeen years of age, but a youth of such talents, that even at that time it was evident that he would render the kingdom more extensive and powerful than when he received it. The ambassadors represented that, "since Syphax had united himself with the Romans, that by their alliance he might strengthen his hands against the kings and nations of Africa, it would be better for Gala also to unite with the Carthaginians as soon as possible, before Syphax crossed over into Spain, or the Romans into Africa; that Syphax might be overpowered, while as yet he derived nothing from his league with the Romans but the name of it." Gala, his son claiming to be intrusted with the conduct of the war, was easily prevailed upon to send an army, which, joined by the legions of the Carthaginians, totally defeated Syphax in a great battle. In this thirty thousand men are said to have been slain. Syphax, with a few horsemen, fled from the field, and took refuge among the Maurusian Numidians, a nation dwelling at the extremity of Africa, near the ocean, and over against Gades. But the barbarians flocking to his standard from all sides, in consequence of his great renown, he speedily armed a very large force. Before he passed over with these forces into Spain, which was separated only by a narrow strait, Masinissa came up with his

victorious army; and here he acquired great glory in the prosecution of the war with Syphax, in which he acted alone and unsupported by any aid from the Carthaginians. In Spain nothing worth mentioning was performed, except that the Romans drew over to their side the Celtiberian youth, by giving them the same pay which they had stipulated with the Carthaginians to pay them. They also sent above three hundred Spaniards of the greatest distinction into Italy, to bring over their countrymen, who served among the auxiliary troops of Hannibal. The only memorable circumstance of this year in Spain was, that the Romans then, for the first time, employed mercenary troops in their camp, namely, the Celtiberians.

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# Book XXV

## B.C. 213-212

*Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards called Africanus, elected aedile before he had attained the age required by the law. The citadel of Tarentum, in which the Roman garrison had taken refuge, betrayed to Hannibal. Games instituted in honour of Apollo, called Apollinarian. Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, consuls, defeat Hanno the Carthaginian general. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus betrayed by a Lucanian to Mago, and slain. Centenius Penula, who had been a centurion, asks the senate for the command of an army, promising to engage and vanquish Hannibal, is cut off with eight thousand men. Cneius Fulvius engages Hannibal, and is beaten, with the loss of sixteen thousand men slain, he himself escapes with only two hundred horsemen. Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, consuls, lay siege to Capua. Syracuse taken by Claudius Marcellus after a siege of three years. In the tumult occasioned by taking the city, Archimedes is killed while intently occupied on some figures which he had drawn in the sand. Publius and Cornelius Scipio, after having performed many eminent services in Spain, are slain, together with nearly the whole of their armies, eight years after their arrival in that country; and the possession of that province would have been entirely lost, but for the valour and activity of Lucius Marcius, a Roman knight, who, collecting the scattered remains of the vanquished armies, utterly defeats the enemy, storming their two camps, killing thirty-seven thousand of them, and taking eighteen hundred together with an immense booty.*

### 1

Hannibal passed the summer during which these events occurred in Africa and Italy, in the Tarentine territory, with the hope of having the city of the Tarentines betrayed to him. Meanwhile some inconsiderable towns belonging to them, and to the Sallentines, revolted to him. At the same time, of the twelve states of the Bruttians, which had in a former year gone over to the Carthaginians, the Consentians and Thurians returned to the protection of the Roman people. And more would have done the same, had not Titus Pomponius Veientanus, praefect of the allies, having acquired the appearance of a regular general, in consequence of several successful predatory expeditions in the Bruttian territory, got together a tumultuary band, and fought a battle with Hanno. In that battle, a great number of men, consisting, however, of a disorderly rabble of slaves and rustics, were slain or captured. The least part of the loss was, that the praefect himself was taken prisoner; for he was not only in the present instance guilty of having rashly engaged the enemy, but previously, in the capacity of farmer of the revenue, by iniquitous practices of every description, had shown himself faithless and injurious to the state, as well as the companies. Among the Lucanians, the consul, Sempronius, fought several small battles, but none worthy of being recorded, he also took several inconsiderable towns. In proportion as the war was protracted, and the sentiments no less than the circumstances of men fluctuated accordingly as events flowed prosperously or otherwise, the citizens were seized with such a passion for superstitious observances, and those for the most part introduced from foreign countries, that either the people or the gods appeared to have undergone a sudden change. And now the Roman rites were growing into disuse, not only in private, and within doors, but in public also; in the forum and Capitol there were crowds of women

sacrificing, and offering up prayers to the gods, in modes unusual in that country. A low order of sacrificers and soothsayers had enslaved men's understandings, and the numbers of these were increased by the country people, whom want and terror had driven into the city, from the fields which were lain uncultivated during a protracted war, and had suffered from the incursions of the enemy, and by the profitable cheating in the ignorance of others which they carried on like an allowed and customary trade. At first, good men gave protest in private to the indignation they felt at these proceedings, but afterwards the thing came before the fathers, and formed a matter of public complaint. The aediles and triumviri, appointed for the execution of criminals, were severely reprimanded by the senate for not preventing these irregularities, but when they attempted to remove the crowd of persons thus employed from the forum, and to overthrow the preparations for their sacred rites, they narrowly escaped personal injury. It being now evident, that the evil was too powerful to be checked by inferior magistrates, the senate commissioned Marcus Atilius, the city praetor, to rid the people of these superstitions. He called an assembly, in which he read the decree of the senate, and gave notice, that all persons who had any books of divination, or forms of prayer, or any written system of sacrificing, should lay all the aforesaid books and writings before him before the calends of April; and that no person should sacrifice in any public or consecrated place according to new or foreign rites.

## 2

Several of the public priests too died this year: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, chief pontiff, Caius Papirius Maso, son of Caius, a pontiff, Publius Furius Philo, an augur, and Caius Papirius Maso, son of Lucius, a decemvir for the superintendence of sacred rites. In lieu of Lentulus, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, in lieu of Papirius Cnaeus, Servilius Caepio, were created pontiffs. Lucius Quinctius Flaminius was created augur, and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus decemvir for the superintendence of sacred rites. The time for the election of consuls was now approaching; but as it was not thought proper to call the consuls away from the war with which they were intently occupied, Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, nominated Caius Claudius Centho as dictator to hold the election. He appointed Quintus Fulvius Flaccus as his master of the horse. On the first day on which the election could be held, the dictator appointed as consuls, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, his master of the horse, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had held the government of Sicily as praetor. The praetors created were Cneius Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Claudius Nero, Marcus Junius Silanus, Publius Cornelius Sulla. The election completed, the dictator retired from his office. This year, Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, held the office of curule aedile, with Marcus Cornelius Cethegus; and when the tribunes of the people opposed his pretensions to the aedileship, alleging, that no notice ought to be taken of him, because he had not attained the legal age for candidateship, he observed, "if the citizens in general are desirous of appointing me aedile, I am old enough." Upon this the people ran to their respective tribes to give their votes, with feelings so strongly disposed in his favour, that the tribunes on a sudden abandoned their attempt. The largesses bestowed by the aediles were the following: the Roman games were sumptuously exhibited, considering the present state of their resources; they were repeated during one day, and a gallon of oil was given to each street. Lucius Villius Tapulus, and Marcus Fundanius Fundulus, the plebeian aediles, accused some matrons of misconduct before the people, and some of them they convicted and sent into exile. The plebeian games were repeated during two days, and a feast in honour of Jupiter was celebrated on occasion of the games.

## 3

Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, for the third time, and Appius Claudius entered upon the office of consuls. The praetors determined their provinces by lot. Publius Cornelius Sulla received both the city and the foreign jurisdiction, formerly allotted to two persons, Cneius Fulvius Flaccus, Apulia, Caius Claudius Nero, Suessula, and Marcus Junius Silanus, Tuscany. To the consuls the conduct of the war with Hannibal was decreed with two legions each, one taking the troops of Quintus Fabius, the consul of the former year, the other those of Fulvius Centumalus. Of the praetors, Fulvius Flaccus was to have the legions which were in Luceria under Aemilius the praetor, Nero Claudius those in Picenum under Caius Terentius, each raising recruits for himself to fill up the number of his troops. To Marcus Junius the city legions of the former year were assigned, to be employed against the Tuscans. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus were continued in command in their provinces of Lucania and Gaul with the armies they had, as was also Publius Lentulus in that part of Sicily which formed the ancient Roman province. Marcus Marcellus had Syracuse, and that which was the kingdom of Hiero. Titus Otacilius was continued in the command of the fleet, Marcus Valerius in that of Greece, Quintus Mucius Scaevola in that of Sardinia. The Cornelii, Publius and Cneius, were continued in the command of Spain. In addition to the armies already existing, two legions for the service of the city were levied by the consuls, and a total of twenty-three legions was made up this year. The levy of the consuls was impeded by the conduct of Marcus Posthumius Pyrgensis, almost accompanied with a serious disturbance. Posthumius was a farmer of the revenue, who, for knavery and rapacity, practised through a course of many years, had no equal except Titus Pomponius Veientanus, who had been taken prisoner the former year by the Carthaginians under the conduct of Hanno, while carelessly ravaging the lands in Lucania. As the state had taken upon itself the risk of any loss which might arise from storms to the commodities conveyed to the armies, not only had these two men fabricated false accounts of shipwrecks, but even those which had really occurred were occasioned by their own knavery, and not by accident. Their plan was to put a few goods of little value into old and shattered vessels, which they sank in the deep, taking up the sailors in boats prepared for the purpose, and then returning falsely the cargo as many times more valuable than it was. This fraudulent practice had been pointed out to Marcus Atilius, the praetor in a former year, who had communicated it to the senate; no decree, however, had been passed censuring it, because the fathers were unwilling that any offence should be given to the order of revenue farmers while affairs were in such a state. The people were severer avengers of the fraud; and at length two tribunes of the people, Spurius and Lucius Carvilius, being moved to take some active measure, as they saw that this conduct excited universal disgust, and had become notorious, proposed that a fine of two hundred thousand asses should be imposed on Marcus Posthumius. When the day arrived for arguing the question, the people assembled in such numbers, that the area of the Capitol could scarcely contain them; and the cause having been gone through, the only hope of safety which presented itself was, that Caius Servilius Casca, a tribune of the people, a connexion and relation of Posthumius, should interpose his protest before the tribes were called to give their votes. The witnesses having been produced, the tribunes caused the people to withdraw, and the urn was brought, in order that the tribes should draw lots which should give the vote first. Meanwhile, the farmers of the revenue urged Casca to stop the proceedings for that day. The people, however, loudly opposed it; and Casca happened to be sitting on the most prominent part of the rostrum, whose mind fear and shame were jointly agitating. Seeing that no

dependence was to be placed in him for protection, the farmers of the revenue, forming themselves into a wedge, rushed into the void space occasioned by the removal of the people for the purpose of causing disturbance, wrangling at the same time with the people and the tribunes. The affair had now almost proceeded to violence, when Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, addressing the tribunes, said, "Do you not see that you are degraded to the common rank, and that an insurrection will be the result, unless you speedily dismiss the assembly of the commons."

#### 4

The commons being dismissed, the senate was assembled, when the consuls proposed the consideration of the interruption experienced by the assembly of the commons, in consequence of the violence and audacity of the farmers of the revenue. They said, that "Marcus Furius Camillus, whose banishment was followed by the downfall of the city, had suffered himself to be condemned by his exasperated countrymen. That before him, the decemviri, according to whose laws they lived up to the present day, and afterwards many men of the first rank in the state, had submitted to have sentence passed upon them by the people. But Posthumius Pyrgensis had wrested from the Roman people their right of suffrage, had dissolved the assembly of the commons, had set at nought the authority of the tribunes, had drawn up a body of men in battle-array against the Roman people; and seized upon a post, in order to cut off the tribunes from the commons, and prevent the tribes being called to give their votes. That the only thing which had restrained the people from bloodshed and violence, was the forbearance of the magistrates in giving way for the moment to the fury and audacity of a few individuals, and suffering themselves and the Roman people to be overcome; and that no opportunity might be afforded those who were seeking an occasion of violence, in dissolving, agreeably to the wish of the defendant himself, that assembly which he was about to interrupt by force of arms." Observations of this kind having been urged with a warmth proportioned to the atrocity of the conduct which called them forth, by all the most respectable persons, and the senate having passed a decree to the effect that the violence offered was prejudicial to the state, and a precedent of pernicious tendency, immediately the Carvili, tribunes of the people, giving up the action for a fine, appointed a day on which Posthumius should be tried capitally, and ordered, that unless he gave bail, he should be apprehended by the beadle, and carried to prison. Posthumius gave bail, but did not appear. The tribunes then proposed to the commons, and the commons resolved, that if Marcus Posthumius did not appear before the calends of May, and if on being cited on that day he did not answer, and sufficient cause were not shown why he did not, he would be adjudged an exile, his goods would be sold, and himself interdicted from water and fire. They then proceeded to indict capitally, and demand bail of each of the persons who had been the promoters of the disorder and riot. At first they threw into prison those who did not give bail, and afterwards even such as could; upon which the greater part of them went into exile, to avoid the danger to which this proceeding exposed them.

#### 5

The knavery of the revenue farmers, and their subsequent audacious conduct to screen themselves from its effects, thus terminated. An assembly was then held for the creation of a chief pontiff. The new pontiff, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, presided. The election was contested with the greatest obstinacy by three candidates, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, who had been twice consul before and censor, Titus Manhus Torquatus, who

had himself also been distinguished by two consulships and the censorship, and Publius Licinius Ciassus, who was about to stand for the office of curule aedile. In this contest, the last-mentioned candidate, though a young man, beat the others, who were his superiors in years, and had filled offices of honour. Before him there had not been a man for a hundred and twenty years, except Publius Cornelius Calussa, who had been created chief pontiff without having sat in the curule chair. Though the consuls found great difficulty in completing the levy, for in consequence of the scarcity of young men, it was not easy to procure enough for the two purposes of forming the new city legions, and recruiting the old ones, the senate forbade them to desist from the attempt, and ordered two triumvirates to be appointed, one of which within, the other without the fiftieth mile from the city, might ascertain the utmost number of free-born men which were to be found in the villages, and market towns, and hamlets, and enlist whom they thought strong enough to bear arms, though they had not attained the military age. That the tribunes of the people, if they thought proper, should propose to the people, that such as should take the military oath being under seventeen years, should be allowed to reckon their period of service in the same manner as if they had enlisted at seventeen or older. The two triumvirates, created agreeably to this decree of the senate, enlisted free-born men throughout the country. At the same time a letter from Marcellus from Sicily, respecting the petition of the troops who served with Publius Lentulus, was read in the senate. These troops were the relics of the disaster at Cannae, and had been sent out of the way into Sicily, as has been mentioned before, on an understanding that they should not be brought home before the conclusion of the Carthaginian war.

## 6

With the permission of Lentulus, these men sent the most distinguished of the cavalry and centurions, and a select body of the legionary infantry, as ambassadors to Marcellus, to his winter quarters. Having obtained leave to speak, one of them thus addressed him: "We should have approached you, Marcus Marcellus, when consul in Italy, as soon as that decree of the senate was passed respecting us, which, though not unjust, was certainly severe, had we not hoped, that being sent into a province which was in a state of disorder in consequence of the death of its kings, to carry on an arduous war against the Sicilians and Carthaginians together, we should make atonement to the state by our blood and wounds, in the same manner as, within the memory of our fathers, those who were taken prisoners by Pyrrhus at Heraclea, made atonement by fighting against the same Pyrrhus. And yet, for what fault of ours, conscript fathers, did you then, or do you now, feel displeasure towards us; for when I look upon you, Marcus Marcellus, I seem to behold both the consuls and the whole body of the senate; and had you been our consul at Cannae, a better fate would have attended the state as well as ourselves. Permit me, I entreat you, before I complain of the hardship of our situation, to clear ourselves of the guilt with which we are charged. If it was neither by the anger of the gods, nor by fate, according to whose laws the course of human affairs is unalterably fixed, but by misconduct that we were undone at Cannae; but whose was that misconduct; the soldiers', or that of their generals? For my own part, I, as a soldier, will never say a word of my commander, particularly when I know that he received the thanks of the senate for not having despaired of the state; and who has been continued in command through every year since his flight from Cannae. We have heard that others also who survived that disaster, who were military tribunes, solicit and fill offices of honour, and have the command of provinces. Do you then, conscript fathers, pardon yourselves and your children, while you exercise severity

towards such insignificant persons as we are? It was no disgrace to a consul and other leading persons in the state, to fly when no other hope remained; and did you send your soldiers into the field as persons who must of necessity die there? At the Allia nearly the whole army fled; at the Caudine Forks the troops delivered up their arms to the enemy, without even making an effort; not to mention other disgraceful defeats of our armies. Yet, so far from any mark of infamy being sought for, which might be fixed upon these troops, the city of Rome was recovered by means of those very troops who had fled to Veii from the Allia; and the Caudine legions, which had returned to Rome without their arms, being sent back armed to Samnium, brought under the yoke that very enemy who had exulted in the disgrace which, in this instance, attached to them. But is there a man who can bring a charge of cowardice or running away against the army which fought at Cannae, where more than fifty thousand men fell; from whence the consul fled with only seventy horsemen; where not a man survived, except perchance those whom the enemy left, being wearied with killing? When the proposal to ransom the prisoners was negatived, we were the objects of general commendation, because we reserved ourselves for the service of the state; because we returned to the consul to Venusia, and exhibited an appearance of a regular army. Now we are in a worse condition than those who were taken prisoners in the time of our fathers; for they only had their arms, the nature of their service, and the place where they might pitch their tents in the camp altered; all which, however, they got restored by one service rendered to the state, and by one successful battle. Not one of them was sent away into banishment; not one was deprived of the hope of completing the period of his service; in short, an enemy was assigned to them, fighting with whom they might at once terminate their life or their disgrace. We, to whom nothing can be objected, except that it is owing to us that any Roman soldier has survived the battle of Cannae, are removed far away, not only from our country and Italy, but even from an enemy; where we may grow old in exile, where we can have no hope or opportunity of obliterating our disgrace, of appeasing the indignation of our countrymen, or, in short, of obtaining an honourable death. We seek neither to have our ignominy terminated, nor our virtue rewarded, we only ask to be allowed to make trial of our courage, and to exercise our virtue. We seek for labour and danger that we may discharge the duty of men and soldiers. A war is carrying on in Sicily, now for the second year, with the utmost vigour on both sides. The Carthaginians are storming some cities, the Romans others, armies of infantry and horse are engaging in battle, at Syracuse the war is prosecuted by sea and by land. We hear distinctly the shout of the combatants, and the din of arms, while we ourselves lie inactive and unemployed, as if we had neither hands nor arms. The consul, Sempronius has now fought many pitched battles with the enemy with legions of slaves. They receive as the fruits of their exertion their liberty, and the rights of citizens. Let us at least be employed by you as slaves purchased for the service of this war, let us be allowed to combat with the enemy and acquire our freedom by fighting. Do you wish to make trial of our valour by sea, by land, in a pitched battle, or in the assault of towns? We ask as our portion all those enterprises which present the greatest difficulty and danger, that what ought to have been done at Cannae may be done as soon as possible, for the whole of our subsequent lives has been doomed to ignominy."

## 7

At the conclusion of this speech they prostrated themselves at the knees of Marcellus. Marcellus replied, that the question was neither within his authority nor his power, that he would, however, write to the senate, and be guided in every thing he did by the

judgment of the fathers. This letter was brought to the new consuls, and by them read in the senate, and, on the question being put relative to this letter, they decreed, "that the senate saw no reason why the interests of the republic should be intrusted to the hands of soldiers who had deserted their comrades, in battle, at Cannae. If Marcus Marcellus, the proconsul, thought otherwise, that he should act as he deemed consistent with the good of the republic and his own honour, with this proviso, however, that none of these men should be exempt from service, nor be presented with any military reward in consideration of valour, or be conveyed back to Italy, while the enemy was in that country." After this, agreeably to the decree of the senate, and the order of the people, an election was held by the city praetor, at which five commissioners were created for the purpose of repairing the walls and turrets, and two sets of triumviri, one to search for the property belonging to the temples, and to register the offerings, the other for repairing the temples of Fortune and Mother Matuta within the Carmental gate, and also that of Hope without the gate, which had been destroyed by fire the year before. Dreadful storms occurred at this time. It rained stones for two days without intermission in the Alban mount. Many places were struck by lightning; two buildings in the Capitol, the rampart in the camp above Suessula in many places, and two of the men on guard were killed. A wall and certain towers at Cannae were not only struck with lightning, but demolished. At Reate, a vast rock was seen to fly about; the sun appeared unusually red and blood-like. On account of these prodigies there was a supplication for one day, and the consuls employed themselves for several days in sacred rites; at the same time there was a sacred rite performed through nine days. An accidental circumstance which occurred at a distance, hastened the revolt of Tarentum, which had now for a long time been the object of the hopes of Hannibal and of the suspicion of the Romans. Phileas, a native of Tarentum, who had been a long time at Rome under the pretence of an embassy, being a man of a restless mind, and ill brooking that inactive state in which he considered that his powers had been for too long a time sinking into imbecility, discovered for himself a means of access to the Tarentine hostages. They were kept in the court of the temple of Liberty, and guarded with less care, because it was neither the interest of themselves nor of their state to escape from the Romans. By corrupting two of the keepers of the temple, he was enabled to hold frequent conferences with them, at which he solicited them to come into this design; and having brought them out of their place of confinement as soon as it was dark, he became the companion of their clandestine flight, and got clear away. As soon as day dawned, the news of their escape spread through the city, and a party sent in pursuit, having seized them all at Tarracina, brought them back. They were led into the Comitium, and after being scourged with rods, with the approbation of the people, were thrown down from the rock.

## 8

The severity of this punishment exasperated the inhabitants of two of the most distinguished Greek states in Italy, not only publicly as communities, but privately as individuals, according as each was connected, either by relationship or friendship, with those who had been so disgracefully put to death. Of these about thirteen noble Tarentine youths formed a conspiracy, the chief of whom were Nico and Philemenus. Concluding that it would be right to confer with Hannibal before they took any step, they went to him, having been allowed to go out of the city by night on pretence of hunting. When they were now not far from the camp, all the rest hid themselves in a wood by the road side; but Nico and Philemenus, proceeding to the advanced guard,

were seized, and at their own request brought before Hannibal. Having laid before him the motives of their plan, and the object they had in view, they received the highest commendation, and were loaded with promises; and that their countrymen might believe that they had gone out of the city to obtain plunder, they were desired to drive to the city some cattle of the Carthaginians which had been sent out to graze. A promise was given them that they might do this without danger or interruption. The booty of the young men attracted notice, and less astonishment was therefore felt that they should frequently repeat the attempt. At a second meeting with Hannibal they entered into a solemn engagement, that the Tarentines should be free, enjoying their own laws, and all their rights uninterfered with; that they should neither pay any tribute to the Carthaginians, nor receive a garrison against their will; that their present garrison should be delivered up to the Carthaginians. These points being agreed upon, Philemenus then began to repeat more frequently his customary practice of going out and returning to the city followed by his dogs, and furnished with the other requisites for hunting; for he was remarkable for his fondness of hunting; and generally bringing home something which he had captured or taken away from the enemy, who had purposely placed it in his way he presented it to the commander or the guards of the gates. They supposed that he preferred going and returning by night through fear of the enemy. After this practice had become so familiar, that at whatever time of the night he gave a signal, by whistling, the gate was opened, Hannibal thought that it was now time to put the plan in execution. He was at the distance of three days' journey, and to diminish the wonder which would be felt at his keeping his camp fixed in one and the same place so long, he feigned himself ill. Even to the Romans who formed the garrison of Tarentum, his protracted inactivity had ceased to be an object of suspicion.

## 9

But after he determined to proceed to Tarentum, selecting from his infantry and cavalry ten thousand men, whom, from activity of body, and lightness of arms, he judged best adapted for the expedition, he began his march in the fourth watch of the night; and sending in advance about eighty Numidian horsemen, ordered them to scour the country on each side of the road, and narrowly examine every place, lest any of the rustics who might have observed his army at a distance should escape; to bring back those who were got before, and kill those whom they met, that they might appear to the neighbouring inhabitants to be a plundering party, rather than a regular army. Hannibal himself, marching at a rapid pace, pitched his camp about fifteen miles from Tarentum; and without telling his soldiers even there, what was their destination, he only called them together and admonished them to march all of them in the road, and not to suffer any one to turn aside or deviate from the line; and above all, that they would be on the watch, so as to catch the word of command, and not do any thing without the order of their leaders; that in due time he would issue his commands as to what he wished to be done. About the same hour a rumour reached Tarentum, that a few Numidian horsemen were devastating the fields, and had terrified the rustics through a wide extent of country; at which intelligence the Roman praefect took no further step than to order a division of his cavalry to go out the following day at sunrise to check the depredations of the enemy; and so far was he from directing his attention to any thing else on this account, that on the contrary, this excursion of the Numidians was a proof to him that Hannibal and his army had not moved from his camp. Early in the night Hannibal put his troops in motion, and Philemenus, with his customary burden of prey taken in hunting, was his guide. The rest of the conspirators waited the accomplishment of what had been

concerted; and the agreement was, that Philemenus, while bringing in his prey through the small gate by which he was accustomed to pass, should introduce some armed men, while Hannibal in another quarter approached the gate called Temenis, which faced the east, in that quarter which was towards the continent, near the tombs which were within the walls. When he drew near to the gate, Hannibal raised a fire according to agreement, which made a blaze; the same signal was returned by Nico, and the fires were extinguished on both sides. Hannibal led his troops on in silence to the gate. Nico suddenly fell upon the guards while asleep, slew them in their beds, and opened the gate. Hannibal then entered with his infantry, ordering his cavalry to stay behind, that they might be able to bring their assistance wherever it was required without obstruction. Philemenus also in another quarter approached the small gate by which he was accustomed to pass and re-pass. His voice, which was well known, for he said he could scarcely bear the weight of the huge beast he had gotten, and his signal, which had now become familiar, having roused the guard, the small gate was opened. Two youths carrying in a boar, Philemenus himself followed, with a huntsman, unencumbered, and while the attention of the guard was incautiously turned upon those who carried the boar, in consequence of its astonishing size, he transfixed him with a hunting spear. About thirty armed men then entering, slew the rest of the guards, and broke open the adjoining gate, when a body of troops, in regular array, instantly rushed in. Being conducted hence in silence to the forum, they joined Hannibal. The Carthaginian then sent the Tarentines, with two thousand Gauls formed into three divisions, in different directions through the city, with orders to occupy the most frequented streets. A confusion arising, the Romans were put to the sword on all hands. The townsmen were spared; but in order to insure this, he instructed the Tarentine youths, when they saw any of their friends at a distance, to bid them be quiet and silent, and be of good courage.

## 10

The tumult and clamour was now such as usually takes place in a captured city, but no man knew for certain what was the occasion. The Tarentines supposed that the Romans had suddenly risen to plunder the city. To the Romans it appeared, that some commotion had been set on foot by the townsmen with a treacherous design. The praefect, who was awakened at the first alarm, escaped to the port, whence getting into a boat he was conveyed round to the citadel. The sound of a trumpet also from the theatre excited alarm; for it was a Roman trumpet, prepared by the conspirators for this very purpose; and as it was blown unskilfully by a Grecian, it could not be ascertained who gave the signal, or to whom it was given. At dawn of the day, the Romans recognised the Carthaginian and Gallic arms, which removed all doubt; and the Greeks, seeing the bodies of slain Romans spread about in all directions, perceived that the city had been taken by Hannibal. When the light had increased, so that they could discriminate with greater certainty, and the Romans who survived the carnage had taken refuge in the citadel, the tumult now beginning to subside a little, Hannibal gave orders to assemble the Tarentines without their arms. All of them attended the assembly, except those who had accompanied the Romans in their retreat to the citadel, to share every fortune with them. Here Hannibal having addressed the Tarentines in terms of kindness, and appealed to the services he had rendered to those of their countrymen whom he had captured at the Trasimenus and at Cannae, and having at the same time inveighed against the haughty domination of the Romans, desired that they would every one of them retire to their respective houses, and inscribe their names upon their doors; declaring, that he should give orders that those houses which had not

the names written upon them should be plundered. That if any man should write his name upon the house of a Roman, (and the Romans occupied houses by themselves,) he should treat him as an enemy. Having dismissed the assembly, and the names inscribed upon the doors having made it easy to distinguish the house of an enemy from that of a friend, on a signal given, the troops ran in every direction to plunder the lodgings of the Romans, and a considerable booty was found.

## 11

The next day he led his troops to assault the citadel; but seeing that it was protected by very high rocks towards the sea, which washed the greater part of it, and formed it into a sort of peninsula, and towards the city by a wall and ditch, and consequently that it could not be taken by assault or by works; lest the design to protect the Tarentines should detain him from the prosecution of more important objects, and lest the Romans should have the power of sallying from the citadel whenever they pleased against the Tarentines, if left without a strong protecting force, he resolved to cut off the communication between the citadel and city by a rampart; not without a hope that he might have an opportunity of fighting with the Romans, when attempting to obstruct the work; and if they should sally forth too eagerly, that by killing many of them the strength of the garrison would be so far reduced, that the Tarentines alone would be easily able to defend themselves from them. After they had begun, the Romans, suddenly throwing open the gate, rushed in upon the workmen. The guard stationed before the works allowed itself to be driven back, in order that their boldness might be increased by success, and that they might pursue them when driven back, in greater numbers, and to a greater distance. Then on a signal given, the Carthaginians, whom Hannibal kept in readiness for this purpose, sprang up on all sides; nor could the Romans sustain the attack, but were prevented from precipitate flight by the narrowness of the ground, by impediments occasioned in some places by the works already commenced, in others by the preparations for the work. Most of them were driven headlong into the ditch, and more were killed in the flight than in the battle. After this the work was commenced without any attempt to obstruct it. A large ditch was formed, within which a rampart was thrown up. He prepared also to add a wall at a small distance, and on the same side, that they might defend themselves from the Romans even without a garrison. He, however, left them a small force, at once for their protection and to assist in building the wall. The general himself, setting out with the rest of his forces, pitched his camp at the river Galaesus, five miles from the city. Returning from this position to inspect the work, which had gone on somewhat faster than he had anticipated, he conceived a hope that the citadel might even be taken by storm; for it was not protected by an elevated situation as the other parts were, but placed upon a plain, and separated from the city only by a wall and ditch. While subjected to an attack from every kind of military engine and work, a reinforcement sent from Metapontum inspired the Romans with courage to assault the works of the enemy, by a sudden attack, under cover of the night. Some of them they threw down, others they destroyed by fire, and thus there was an end to Hannibal's attempts against the citadel in that quarter. His only remaining hope was in a siege; nor did that afford a good prospect of success, because, occupying a citadel which was placed on a peninsula and commanded the entrance of the harbour, they had the sea open to them, while the city, on the contrary, was deprived of any supplies by sea: and thus the besiegers were in greater danger of want than the besieged. Hannibal assembled the chief men of the Tarentines, and laid before them all the present difficulties. He said, "That he could

neither discover any method by which a citadel so well fortified could be taken, nor could he hope for any favourable result from a siege, while the enemy was master of the sea; but that if ships could be obtained, by which the introduction of supplies might be prevented, the enemy would either immediately evacuate it, or surrender themselves." The Tarentines agreed with him; but were of opinion, that "he who gave the advice ought also to assist in carrying it into execution; for if the Carthaginian ships were brought there from Sicily, they would be able to effect it; but by what means could their own ships, shut up as they were in a confined harbour, the mouth of which was in the command of the enemy, be brought out into the open sea." "They shall be brought out," said Hannibal. "Many things which are difficult in themselves, are easily effected by contrivance. You have a city situated upon a plain; you have level and sufficiently wide roads extending in every direction. By the road which runs through the midst of the city from the harbour to the sea I will convey your ships in waggons without any great difficulty, and the sea will be ours which the enemy now commands. We will invest the citadel on one side by sea, on the other by land; nay, rather, in a short time, we will take it either abandoned by the enemy, or with the enemy in it." This speech not only inspired hopes of accomplishing the object, but excited the greatest admiration of the general. Waggons were immediately collected from every quarter and joined together; machines were employed to haul the ships on shore, and the road was prepared, in order that the waggons might run more easily, and thus the difficulty of passing be diminished. Beasts of burden and men were next collected, and the work was actively commenced. After the lapse of a few days, the fleet, equipped and ready for action, sailed round the citadel, and cast anchor just before the mouth of the harbour. Such was the state of things at Tarentum, when Hannibal left it and returned to his winter quarters. Authors, however, are divided as to whether the defection of the Tarentines took place in the present or former year. The greater number, and those who, from their age, were more able to recollect these events, represent it to have occurred in the present year.

## 12

The Latin holidays detained the consuls and praetors at Rome till the fifth of the calends of May; on which day, having completed the solemnities on the mount, they proceeded to their respective provinces. Afterwards a new difficulty respecting religious matters arose out of the prophetic verses of Marcius, who had been a distinguished soothsayer; and on a search being made the year before, for books of this description, agreeably to a decree of the senate, these verses had fallen into the hands of Marcus Atilius, the city praetor, who had the management of that business, and he had immediately handed them over to the new praetor, Sulla. The importance attached to one of the two predictions of Marcius, which was brought to light after the event to which it related had occurred, and the truth of which was confirmed by the event, attached credence to the other, the time of whose fulfilment had not yet arrived. In the former prophecy, the disaster at Cannae was predicted in nearly these words: "Roman of Trojan descent, fly the river Canna, lest foreigners should compel thee to fight in the plain of Diomede. But thou wilt not believe me until thou shalt have filled the plain with blood, and the river carries into the great sea, from the fruitful land, many thousands of your slain countrymen, and thy flesh becomes a prey for fishes, birds, and beasts inhabiting the earth. For thus hath Jupiter declared to me." Those who had served in that quarter recognised the correspondence with respect to the plains of the Argive Diomede and the river Canna, as well as the defeat itself. The other prophecy was then read, which was

more obscure, not only because future events are more uncertain than past, but also from being more perplexed in its style of composition. "Romans, if you wish to expel the enemy and the ulcer which has come from afar, I advise, that games should be vowed, which may be performed in a cheerful manner annually to Apollo; when the people shall have given a portion of money from the public coffers, that private individuals then contribute, each according to his ability. That the praetor shall preside in the celebration of these games, who holds the supreme administration of justice to the people and commons. Let the decemviri perform sacrifice with victims after the Grecian fashion. If you do these things properly you will ever rejoice, and your affairs will be more prosperous, for that deity will destroy your enemies who now, composedly, feed upon your plains." They took one day to explain this prophecy. The next day a decree of the senate was passed, that the decemviri should inspect the books relating to the celebration of games and sacred rites in honour of Apollo. After they had been consulted, and a report made to the senate, the fathers voted, that "games should be vowed to Apollo and celebrated; and that when the games were concluded, twelve thousand *asses* should be given to the praetor to defray the expense of sacred ceremonies, and also two victims of the larger sort." A second decree was passed, that "the decemviri should perform sacrifice in the Grecian mode, and with the following victims: to Apollo, with a gilded ox, and two white goats gilded; to Latona, with a gilded heifer." When the praetor was about to celebrate the games in the Circus Maximus, he issued an order, that during the celebration of the games, the people should pay a contribution, as large as was convenient, for the service of Apollo. This is the origin of the Apollinarian games, which were vowed and celebrated in order to victory, and not restoration to health, as is commonly supposed. The people viewed the spectacle in garlands; the matrons made supplications; the people in general feasted in the courts of their houses, throwing the doors open; and the day was distinguished by every description of ceremony.

### 13

While Hannibal was in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, and both the consuls in Samnium, though they seemed as if they were about to besiege Capua, the Campanians were experiencing famine, that calamity which is the usual attendant of a protracted siege. It was occasioned by the Roman armies' having prevented the sowing of the lands. They therefore sent ambassadors to Hannibal, imploring him to give orders that corn should be conveyed to Capua from the neighbouring places, before both the consuls led their legions into their fields, and all the roads were blocked up by the troops of the enemy. Hannibal ordered Hanno to pass with his army from Bruttium into Campania, and to take care that the Campanians were supplied with corn. Hanno, setting out from Bruttium with his army, and carefully avoiding the camp of the enemy and the consuls who were in Samnium, when he drew near to Beneventum, pitched his camp on an eminence three miles from the city. He next ordered that the corn which had been collected during the summer, should be brought from the neighbouring people in alliance with him, into his camp, assigning a guard to escort those supplies. He then sent a messenger to the Capuans, fixing a day when they should attend at his camp to receive the corn, bringing with them vehicles and beasts of every description, collected from every part of their country. The Campanians executed this business with their usual indolence and carelessness. Somewhat more than four hundred vehicles, with a few beasts of burden besides, were sent. After receiving a reproof from Hanno for this conduct, who told them, that not even hunger, which excited dumb animals to exertion,

could stimulate them to diligence, another day was named when they were to fetch the corn after better preparation. All these transactions being reported to the Beneventans, just as they occurred, they lost no time in sending ten ambassadors to the Roman consuls, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Bovianum. The consuls, hearing what was going on at Capua, arranged it so that one of them should lead an army into Campania; and Fulvius, to whose lot that province had fallen, setting out by night, entered the walls of Beneventum. Being now near the enemy, he obtained information that Hanno had gone out to forage with a portion of his troops; that the Campanians were supplied with corn by a quaestor; that two thousand waggons had arrived together with an undisciplined and unarmed rabble; that every thing was done in a disorderly and hurried manner; and that the form of a camp, and all military subordination, were destroyed by the intermixture of rustics out of the neighbourhood. This intelligence being sufficiently authenticated, the consul ordered his soldiers to get ready only their standards and arms against the next night, as he must attack the Carthaginian camp. They set out at the fourth watch of the night, leaving all their packages and baggage of every description at Beneventum; and arriving a little before daylight at the camp, they occasioned such a panic, that, had the camp been situated on level ground, it might doubtlessly have been taken on the first assault. The height of its situation and the works defended it; for they could not be approached on any side except by a steep and difficult ascent. At break of day a hot engagement commenced, when the Carthaginians not only defended their rampart, but having more even ground, threw down the enemy as they attempted to ascend the steep.

#### 14

Persevering courage, however, at length prevailed over every impediment, and they made their way up to the ditch and rampart in several parts at the same time, but with many wounds and much loss of soldiers. The consul, therefore assembling the military tribunes, said they must desist from this inconsiderate enterprise; and that it appeared to him to be the safer course, that the troops should be led back to Beneventum for that day, and then on the following day to pitch his camp close to that of the enemy, so that the Campanians could not quit it, nor Hanno return to it; and in order that that object might be attained with the greater ease, that he should send for his colleague and his army; and that they would direct their whole force on that point. This plan of the general was disconcerted, after the signal began to sound for a retreat, by the clamours of the soldiery, who despised so pusillanimous an order. Nearest to the gate of the enemy's camp was a Pelignian cohort, whose commander, Vibius Accuaeus, seizing the standard, threw it over the rampart. Then pronouncing a curse upon himself and his cohort, if the enemy got possession of that standard, he rushed forward before the rest, and crossing the ditch and rampart, burst into the camp of the enemy. The Pelignians were now fighting within the rampart, when in another quarter Valerius Flaccus, a military tribune of the third legion, taunting the Romans with cowardice for conceding to allies the honour of taking the camp. Titus Pedanius, first centurion of the first century, snatched the standard out of the hands of the standard-bearer, and cried out, "Soon shall this standard, and this centurion, be within the rampart of the enemy; let those follow who would prevent the standard's being captured by the enemy." Crossing the ditch, he was followed first by the men of his own maniple, and then by the whole legion. By this time the consul also, changing his plan on seeing them crossing the rampart, began to incite and encourage his soldiers, instead of calling them off; representing to them, how critical and perilous was the situation of the bravest cohort

of their allies and a legion of their countrymen. All, therefore, severally exerting themselves to the utmost, regardless whether the ground were even or uneven, while showers of weapons were thrown against them from all sides, the enemy opposing their arms and their persons to obstruct them, made their way and burst in. Many who were wounded, even those whose blood and strength failed them, pressed forward, that they might fall within the rampart of the enemy. The camp, therefore, was taken in an instant, as if it had been situated upon level ground, and not completely fortified. What followed was a carnage rather than a battle. The troops of both sides being huddled together within the rampart, above six thousand of the enemy were slain; above seven thousand, together with the Campanians who fetched the corn, and the whole collection of waggons and beasts of burden, were captured. There was also a great booty, which Hanno in his predatory excursions, which he had been careful to make in every quarter, had drawn together from the lands of the allies of the Romans. After throwing down the camp of the enemy, they returned thence to Beneventum; and there both the consuls (for Appius Claudius came thither a few days after) sold the booty and distributed it, making presents to those by whose exertions the camp of the enemy had been captured; above all, to Accuaeus the Pelignian, and Titus Pedanius, first centurion of the third legion. Hanno, setting off from Cominium in the territory of Cere, whither intelligence of the loss of the camp had reached him, with a small party of foragers, whom he happened to have with him, returned to Bruttium, more after the manner of a flight than a march.

## 15

The Campanians, when informed of the disaster which had befallen themselves and their allies, sent ambassadors to Hannibal to inform him, that "the two consuls were at Beneventum, which was a day's march from Capua; that the war was all but at their gates and their walls; and that if he did not hasten to their assistance, Capua would fall into the power of the enemy sooner than Arpi had; that not even Tarentum itself, much less its citadel, ought to be considered of so much consequence as to induce him to deliver up to the Roman people, abandoned and undefended, Capua, which he used to place on an equal footing with Carthage." Hannibal, promising that he would not neglect the interest of the Campanians, sent, for the present, two thousand horse, with the ambassadors, aided by which, they might secure their lands from devastation. The Romans, meanwhile, among the other things which engaged their attention, had an eye to the citadel of Tarentum, and the garrison besieged therein. Caius Servilius, lieutenant-general, having been sent, according to the advice of the fathers, by Publius Cornelius, the praetor, to purchase corn in Etruria, made his way into the harbour of Tarentum, through the guard-ships of the enemy, with some ships of burden. At his arrival, those who before, having very slight hopes of holding out, were frequently invited by the enemy, in conferences, to pass over to them, now, on the contrary, were the persons to invite and solicit the enemy to come over to them; and now, as the soldiers who were at Metapontum had been brought to assist in guarding the citadel of Tarentum, the garrison was sufficiently powerful. In consequence of this measure, the Metapontines, being freed from the fears which had influenced them, immediately revolted to Hannibal. The people of Thurium, situated on the same coast, did the same. They were influenced not more by the defection of the Metapontines and Tarentines, with whom they were connected, being sprung from the same country, Achaia, than by resentment towards the Romans, in consequence of the recent execution of the hostages. The friends and relations of these hostages sent a letter and a message to Hanno and Mago, who were not far off among the Bruttii, to the effect, that if they

brought their troops up to the walls, they would deliver the city into their hands. Marcus Atinius was in command at Thurium, with a small garrison, who they thought might easily be induced to engage rashly in a battle, not from any confidence which he reposed in his troops, of which he had very few, but in the youth of Thurium, whom he had purposely formed into centuries, and armed against emergencies of this kind. The generals, after dividing their forces between them, entered the territory of Thurium; and Hanno, with a body of infantry, proceeded towards the city in hostile array. Hanno staid behind with the cavalry, under the cover of some hills, conveniently placed for the concealment of an ambush. Atinius, having by his scouts discovered only the body of infantry, led his troops into the field, ignorant both of the domestic treachery and of the stratagem of the enemy. The engagement with the infantry was particularly dull, a few Romans in the first rank engaging while the Thurians rather waited than helped on the issue. The Carthaginian line retreated, on purpose that they might draw the incautious enemy to the back of the hill, where their cavalry were lying in ambush; and when they had come there, the cavalry rising up on a sudden with a shout, immediately put to flight the almost undisciplined rabble of the Thurians, not firmly attached to the side on which they fought. The Romans, notwithstanding they were surrounded and hard pressed on one side by the infantry, on the other by the cavalry, yet prolonged the battle for a considerable time; but at length even they were compelled to turn their backs, and fled towards the city. There the conspirators, forming themselves into a dense body, received the multitude of their countrymen with open gates; but when they perceived that the routed Romans were hurrying towards the city, they exclaimed that the Carthaginian was close at hand, and that the enemy would enter the city mingled with them, unless they speedily closed the gates. Thus they shut out the Romans, and left them to be cut up by the enemy. Atinius, however, and a few others were taken in. After this for a short time there was a division between them, some being of opinion that they ought to defend the city, others that they ought, after all that had happened, to yield to fortune, and deliver up the city to the conquerors; but, as it generally happens, fortune and evil counsels prevailed. Having conveyed Atinius and his party to the sea and the ships, more because they wished that care should be taken of him, in consequence of the mildness and justice of his command, than from regard to the Romans, they received the Carthaginians into the city. The consuls led their legions from Beneventum into the Campanian territory, with the intention not only of destroying the corn, which was in the blade, but of laying siege to Capua; considering that they would render their consulate illustrious by the destruction of so opulent a city, and that they would wipe away the foul disgrace of the empire, from the defection of a city so near remaining unpunished for three years. Lest, however, Beneventum should be left without protection, and that in case of any sudden emergency, if Hannibal should come to Capua, in order to bring assistance to his friends, which they doubted not he would do, the cavalry might be able to sustain his attack, they ordered Tiberius Gracchus to come from Lucania to Beneventum with his cavalry and light-armed troops and to appoint some person to take the command of the legions and stationary camp, for the defence of Lucania.

## 16

An unlucky prodigy occurred to Gracchus, while sacrificing, previous to his departure from Lucania. Two snakes gliding from a secret place to the entrails, after the sacrifice was completed, ate the liver; and after having been observed, suddenly vanished out of sight. The sacrifice having been repeated according to the admonition of the aruspices,

and the vessel containing the entrails being watched with increased attention, it is reported that the snakes came a second, and a third time, and, after tasting the liver, went away untouched. Though the aruspices forewarned him that the portent had reference to the general, and that he ought to be on his guard against secret enemies and machinations, yet no foresight could avert the destiny which awaited him. There was a Lucanian, named Flavius, the leader of that party which adhered to the Romans when the others went over to Hannibal; he was this year in the magistracy, having been created praetor by the same party. Suddenly changing his mind, and seeking to ingratiate himself with the Carthaginians, he did not think it enough that he himself should pass over to them, or that he should induce the Lucanians to revolt with him, unless he ratified his league with the enemy with the head and blood of the general, betrayed to them, though his guest. He entered into a secret conference with Mago, who had the command in Bruttium, and receiving a solemn promise from him, that he would take the Lucanians into his friendship, without interfering with their laws, if he should betray the Roman general to the Carthaginians, he conducted Mago to a place to which he was about to bring Gracchus with a few attendants. He then directed Mago to arm his infantry and cavalry, and to occupy the retired places there, in which he might conceal a very large number of troops. After thoroughly inspecting and exploring the place on all sides, a day was agreed upon for the execution of the affair. Flavius came to the Roman general, and said, that "he had begun a business of great importance, for the completion of which, it was necessary to have the assistance of Gracchus himself. That he had persuaded the praetors of all the states which had revolted to the Carthaginians in the general defection of Italy, to return into the friendship of the Romans, since now the Roman power too, which had almost come to ruin by the disaster at Cannae. was daily improving and increasing, while the strength of Hannibal was sinking into decay, and was almost reduced to nothing. He had told them that the Romans would be disposed to accept an atonement for their former offence; that there never was any state more easy to be entreated, or more ready to grant pardon; how often, he had observed to them, had they forgiven rebellion even in their own ancestors! These considerations," he said, "he had himself urged, but that they would rather hear the same from Gracchus himself in person, and touching his right hand, carry with them that pledge of faith. That he had agreed upon a place with those who were privy to the transaction, out of the way of observation, and at no great distance from the Roman camp; that there the business might be settled in few words, so that all the Lucanian states might be in the alliance and friendship of the Romans." Gracchus, not suspecting any treachery either from his words or the nature of the proposal, and being caught by the probability of the thing, set out from the camp with his lictors and a troop of horse, under the guidance of his host, and fell headlong into the snare. The enemy suddenly arose from their lurking-place, and Flavius joined them; which made the treachery obvious. A shower of weapons was poured from all sides on Gracchus and his troop. He immediately leaped from his horse, and ordering the rest to do the same, exhorted them, that "as fortune had left them only one course, they would render it glorious by their valour. And what is there left," said he, "to a handful of men, surrounded by a multitude, in a valley hemmed in by a wood and mountains, except death? The only question was, whether, tamely exposing themselves to be butchered like cattle, they should die unavenged; or whether, drawing the mind off from the idea of suffering and anticipation of the event, and giving full scope to fury and resentment, they should fall while doing and daring, covered with hostile blood, amid heaps of arms and bodies of their expiring foes." He desired that "all would aim at the Lucanian traitor and deserter;" adding, that "the man who should send

that victim to the shades before him, would acquire the most distinguished glory, and furnish the highest consolation for his own death." While thus speaking, he wound his cloak round his left arm, for they had not even brought their shields out with them, and then rushed upon the enemy. The exertion made in the fight was greater than could be expected from the smallness of the number. The bodies of the Romans were most exposed to the javelins, with which, as they were thrown on all sides from higher ground into a deep valley, they were transfixed. The Carthaginians seeing Gracchus now bereft of support, endeavoured to take him alive; but he having descried his Lucanian host among the enemy, rushed with such fury into their dense body that it became impossible to save his life without a great loss. Mago immediately sent his corpse to Hannibal, ordering it to be placed, with the fasces which were taken at the same time, before the tribunal of the general. This is the true account; Gracchus fell in Lucania, near the place called the Old Plains.

### 17

There are some who have put forth an account, stating, that when in the territory of Beneventum, near the river Calor, having gone out from his camp with his lictors and three servants, for the purpose of bathing, he was slain while naked and unarmed, and endeavouring to defend himself with the stones which the river brought down, by a party of the enemy which happened to be concealed among the osiers which grew upon the banks. Others state, that having gone out five hundred paces from the camp, at the instance of the aruspices, in order to expiate the prodigies before mentioned on unpolluted ground, he was cut off by two troops of Numidians who happened to be lying in ambush there. So different are the accounts respecting the place and manner of the death of so illustrious and distinguished a man. Various also are the accounts of the funeral of Gracchus. Some say that he was buried by his own friends in the Roman camp; others relate, and this is the more generally received account, that a funeral pile was erected by Hannibal, in the entrance of the Carthaginian camp; that the troops under arms performed evolutions, with the dances of the Spaniards, and motions of the arms and body, which were customary with the several nations; while Hannibal himself celebrated his obsequies with every mark of respect, both in word and deed. Such is the account of those who assert that the affair occurred in Lucania. If you are disposed to credit the statement of those who relate that he was slain at the river Calor, the enemy got possession only of the head of Gracchus; which being brought to Hannibal, he immediately despatched Carthalo to convey it into the Roman camp to Cneius Cornelius, the quaestor, who buried the general in the camp, the Beneventans joining the army in the celebration.

### 18

The consuls having entered the Campanian territory, while devastating the country on all sides, were alarmed, and thrown into confusion, by an eruption of the townsmen and Mago with his cavalry. They called in their troops to their standards from the several quarters to which they were dispersed, but having been routed when they had scarcely formed their line, they lost above fifteen hundred men. The confidence of the Campanians, who were naturally presumptuous, became excessive in consequence of this event, and in many battles they challenged the Romans; but this one battle, which they had been incautiously and imprudently drawn into, had increased the vigilance of the consuls. Their spirits were restored, while the presumption of the other party was diminished, by one trifling occurrence; but in war nothing is so inconsiderable as not to

be capable, sometimes, of producing important consequences. Titus Quinctius Crispinus was a guest of Badius, a Campanian, united with him by the greatest intimacy. Their acquaintance had increased from the circumstance of Badius having received the most liberal and kind attentions at the house of Crispinus, in a fit of illness, at Rome, before the Campanian revolt. On the present occasion, Badius, advancing in front of the guards, which were stationed before the gate, desired Crispinus to be called; and Crispinus, on being informed of this, thinking that a friendly and familiar interview was requested, and the memory of their private connexion remaining even amidst the disruption of public ties, advanced a little from the rest. When they had come within view of each other, Badius exclaimed, "I challenge you to combat, Crispinus; let us mount our horses, and making the rest withdraw, let us try which is the better soldier." In reply, Crispinus said, that "neither of them were in want of enemies to display their valour upon; for his own part, even if he should meet him in the field he would turn aside, lest he should pollute his right-hand with the blood of a guest;" and then turning round, was going away. But the Campanian, with increased presumption, began to charge him with cowardice and effeminacy, and cast upon him reproaches which he deserved himself, calling him "an enemy who sheltered himself under the title of host, and one who pretended to spare him for whom he knew himself not to be a match. If he considered; that when public treaties were broken, the ties of private connexion were not severed with them, then Badius the Campanian openly, and in the hearing of both armies, renounced his connexion of hospitality with Titus Quinctius Crispinus the Roman. He said, that there could exist no fellowship or alliance with him and an enemy whose country and tutelary gods, both public and private, he had come to fight against. If he was a man, he would meet him." Crispinus hesitated for a long time; but the men of his troop at length prevailed upon him not to allow the Campanian to insult him with impunity. Waiting, therefore, only to ask his generals whether they would allow him to fight, contrary to rule, with an enemy who had challenged him; having obtained their permission, he mounted his horse, and addressing Badius by name, called him out to the combat. The Campanian made no delay. They engaged with their horses excited to hostility. Crispinus transfixed Badius with his spear in the left shoulder, over his shield. He fell from his horse in consequence of the wound; and Crispinus leaped down to despatch him as he lay, on foot. But Badius, before his enemy was upon him, ran off to his friends, leaving his horse and buckler. Crispinus, decorated with the spoils, and displaying the horse and arms which he had seized together with the bloody spear, was conducted amid the loud plaudits and congratulations of the soldiery into the presence of the consuls, where he was highly commended, and was presented with gifts.

## 19

Hannibal, having moved his camp from the territory of Beneventum to Capua, drew out his troops in order of battle the third day after his arrival; not entertaining the least doubt but that, as the Campanians had fought successfully a few days ago when he was absent, the Romans would be still less able to withstand him and his army, which had been so often victorious. After the battle had commenced, the Roman line was distressed chiefly from the attack of the cavalry, being overwhelmed with their darts, till the signal was given to the Roman cavalry to direct their horses against the enemy; thus it was a battle of the cavalry. But at this time the Sempronian army, commanded by Cneius Cornelius the quaestor, being descried at a distance, excited alarm in both parties equally, lest those who were approaching should be fresh enemies. As if by concert, therefore, both sounded a retreat; and the troops were withdrawn from the

field to their camps, in an equal condition; a greater number, however, of the Romans fell in the first charge of the cavalry. The consuls, to divert the attention of Hannibal from Capua, departed thence on the following night in different directions, Fulvius into the territory of Cuma, Claudius into Lucania. The next day Hannibal, having received intelligence that the camp of the Romans was deserted, and that they had gone off in different directions in two divisions, doubtful at first which he should follow, commenced the pursuit of Appius; who, after leading him about whichever way he pleased, returned by another route to Capua. Hannibal, while in this quarter, had another opportunity of gaining an advantage. Marcus Centenius, surnamed Penula, was distinguished among the centurions of the first rank by the size of his person, and his courage. Having gone through his period of service, he was introduced to the senate by Publius Cornelius Sulla, when he requested of the fathers that five thousand men might be placed at his disposal. He said, that "as he was acquainted with the character of the enemy, and the nature of the country, he should speedily perform some service; and that he would employ those arts by which our generals and armies had been hitherto ensnared against the inventor of them." This was not promised more foolishly than it was believed; as if the qualifications of a soldier and a general were the same. Instead of five, eight thousand men were given him, half Romans, half allies. He himself also got together a considerable number of volunteers, in the country, on his march; and having almost doubled his force, arrived in Lucania, where Hannibal had halted after having in vain pursued Claudius. No doubt could be entertained of the issue of a contest which was to take place between Hannibal, as general on one side, and a centurion on the other; between armies, one of which had grown old in victory, the other entirely inexperienced, and for the most part even tumultuary and half-armed. As soon as the troops came within sight of each other, and neither of them declined an engagement, the lines were formed. The battle, notwithstanding the utter disparity of the contending parties, lasted more than two hours, the Roman troops acting with the greatest spirit as long as their general survived. But after that he had fallen, for he continually exposed himself to the weapons of the enemy, not only from regard to his former character, but through fear of the disgrace which would attach to him if he survived a disaster occasioned by his own temerity, the Roman line was immediately routed. But so completely were they prevented from flying, every way being beset by the cavalry, that scarcely a thousand men escaped out of so large an army; the rest were destroyed on all hands, in one way or other.

## 20

The siege of Capua was now resumed by the consuls with the utmost energy. Every thing requisite for the business was conveyed thither and got in readiness. A store of corn was collected at Casilinum; at the mouth of the Volturnus, where a town now stands, a strong post was fortified; and a garrison was stationed in Puteoli, which Fabius had formerly fortified, in order to have the command of the neighbouring sea and the river. Into these two maritime forts, the corn recently sent from Sicily, with that which Marcus Junius, the praetor, had bought up in Etruria, was conveyed from Ostia, to supply the army during the winter. But, in addition to the disaster sustained in Lucania, the army also of volunteer slaves, who had served during the life of Gracchus with the greatest fidelity, as if discharged from service by the death of their general, left their standards. Hannibal was not willing that Capua should be neglected, or his allies deserted, at so critical a juncture; but, having obtained such success from the temerity of one Roman general, his attention was fixed on the opportunity which presented itself of

crushing the other general and his army. Ambassadors from Apulia reported that Cneius Fulvius, the praetor, had at first conducted his measures with caution, while engaged in besieging certain towns of Apulia, which had revolted to Hannibal; but that afterwards, in consequence of extraordinary success, both himself and his soldiers, being glutted with booty, had so given themselves up to licentiousness and indolence, that all military discipline was disregarded. Having frequently on other occasions, as well as but a few days ago, experienced what an army was good for, when conducted by an unskilful commander, he moved his camp into Apulia.

## 21

The Roman legions, and the praetor, Fulvius, were in the neighbourhood of Herdonia, where, receiving intelligence of the approach of the enemy, they had nearly torn up the standards and gone out to battle without the praetor's orders; nor did any thing tend more to prevent it than the assured hope they entertained that they could do so whenever they pleased, consulting only their own will. The following night, Hannibal having obtained information that the camp was in a state of tumult, and that most of the troops were in a disorderly manner urging the general to give the signal, and calling out to arms, and therefore feeling convinced that an opportunity presented itself for a successful battle, distributed three thousand light troops in the houses in the neighbourhood, and among the thorns and woods. These, on a signal being given, were to rise up from their lurking-place with one accord; and Mago, with about two thousand horse, was ordered to occupy all the roads in the direction in which he supposed their flight would be directed. Having made these preparations during the night, he led his troops into the field at break of day. Nor did Fulvius decline the challenge; not so much from any hope of success entertained by himself, as drawn by the blind impetuosity of his soldiers. Accordingly, the line itself was formed with the same want of caution with which they entered the field, agreeably to the whim of the soldiers, who came up as chance directed, and took their stations just where they pleased; which they afterwards abandoned, as fear or caprice suggested. The first legion and the left wing of the allied troops were drawn up in front. The line was extended to a great length, the tribunes remonstrating, that there was no strength in it, and that wherever the enemy made the charge they would break through it: but no salutary advice reached their minds, nor even their ears. Hannibal was now come up, a general of a totally different character, with an army neither similar in its nature, nor similarly marshalled. The consequence was, that the Romans did not so much as sustain their shout and first attack. Their general, equal to Centenius in folly and temerity, but by no means to be compared with him in courage, when he saw things going against him, and his troops in confusion, hastily mounting his horse, fled from the field with about two hundred horsemen. The rest of the troops, beaten in front, and surrounded on the flank and rear, were slaughtered to such a degree, that out of eighteen thousand men, not more than two thousand escaped. The enemy got possession of the camp.

## 22

When these disastrous defeats, happening one upon another, were reported at Rome, great grief and consternation seized the city. But still, as the consuls had been hitherto successful when it was most important, they were the less affected by these disasters. Caius Lastorius and Marcus Metilius were sent as ambassadors to the consuls, with directions carefully to collect the remains of the two armies, and use every endeavour to prevent their surrendering themselves to the enemy, through fear or despair, (which

was the case after the battle of Cannae,) and to search for the deserters from the army of volunteer slaves. Publius Cornelius was charged with the same business; to him also the levy was intrusted. He caused an order to be issued throughout the market and smaller towns, that search should be made for the volunteer slaves, and that they should be brought back to their standards. All these things were executed with the most vigilant care. The consul, Appius Claudius, having placed Decius Junius in command at the mouth of the Volturnus, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta at Puteoli, with directions to send off the corn immediately to the camp, as each of the ships from Etruria and Sardinia arrived with it, returned himself to Capua, and found his colleague Quintus Fulvius at Casilinum, conveying every requisite thence, and making every preparation for the siege of Capua. Both of them then joined in besieging the city, summoning Claudius Nero, the praetor, from the Claudian camp at Suessula; who, leaving a small garrison there, marched down to Capua with all the rest of his forces. Thus there were three generals' tents erected round Capua; and three armies, applying themselves to the work in different parts, proceeded to surround the city with a ditch and rampart, erecting forts at moderate intervals. The Campanians attempting to obstruct the work, a battle was fought in several places at once; the consequence of which was, that at length the Campanians confined themselves within their gates and walls. Before, however, these works were carried quite round, ambassadors were sent to Hannibal to complain that Capua was abandoned, and almost given up to the Romans, and to implore him, that he would now, at least, bring them assistance, when they were not only besieged, but surrounded by a rampart. A letter was sent to the consuls from Publius Cornelius, the praetor, directing that before they completely enclosed Capua with their works, they should grant permission to such of the Campanians as chose to quit Capua, and take their property with them. That those should retain their liberty, and all their possessions, who quitted it before the ides of March, but that those who quitted it after that day, as well as those who continued there, would be considered as enemies. Proclamation was made to the Campanians to this effect, but it was received with such scorn, that they spontaneously used insulting language and menaces. Hannibal had marched his legions from Herdonea to Tarentum, with the hope of getting possession of the citadel of that place, by force or stratagem. But not succeeding there, he turned his course to Brundisium, thinking that town would be betrayed to him, but, while fruitlessly spending time there also, the Campanian ambassadors came to him with complaints and entreaties. Hannibal answered them in a proud manner, that he had before raised the siege of Capua, and that now the consuls would not sustain his approach. The ambassadors, dismissed with these hopes, with difficulty effected their return to Capua, which was by this time surrounded by a double trench and rampart.

## 23

At the time when the circumvallation of Capua was carrying on with the greatest activity, the siege of Syracuse, which had been forwarded by intestine treachery, in addition to the efforts and bravery of the general and his army, was brought to a conclusion. For in the beginning of spring, Marcellus being in doubt whether he should direct the operations of the war against Himilco and Hippocrates at Agrigentum, or press the siege of Syracuse, though he saw that it was impossible to take the city by force, which, from its situation, both with respect to sea and land, was impregnable, nor by famine, as it was supported by an uninterrupted supply of provisions from Carthage, yet that he might leave no course untried, directed the Syracusan deserters (and there were in the Roman camp some men in this situation of the highest rank, who had been

driven out of the city during the defection from the Romans, because they were averse to a change of measures) to sound the feelings of those who were of the same party in conferences, and to promise them, that if Syracuse was delivered up, they should have their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. There was no opportunity however, of having a conference; for as many were suspected of disaffection, the attention and observation of all were exerted, lest any thing of the kind should occur unknown to them. One of the exiles, who was a servant, having been allowed to enter the city in the character of a deserter, assembled a few persons, and opened a conversation upon the subject. After this, certain persons, covering themselves with nets in a fishing smack, were in this way conveyed round to the Roman camp, and conferred with the fugitives. The same was frequently repeated by different parties, one after another; and at last they amounted to eighty. But after every thing had been concerted for betraying the city, the plot was reported to Epicydes, by one Attalus, who felt hurt that he had not been intrusted with the secret; and they were all put to death with torture. This attempt having miscarried, another hope was immediately raised. One Damippus, a Lacedaemonian, who had been sent from Syracuse to king Philip, had been taken prisoner by the Roman fleet. Epicydes was particularly anxious to ransom this man above any other; nor was Marcellus disinclined to grant it; the Romans, even at this time, being desirous of gaining the friendship of the Aetolians, with whom the Lacedaemonians were in alliance. Some persons having been sent to treat respecting his ransom, the most central and convenient place to both parties for this purpose appeared to be at the Trogilian port, near the tower called Galeagra. As they went there several times, one of the Romans, having a near view of the wall, and having determined its height, as nearly as it could be done by conjecture, from counting the stones, and by forming an estimate, in his own mind, what was the height of each stone in the face of the work; and having come to the conclusion that it was considerably lower than he himself and all the rest had supposed it, and that it was capable of being scaled with ladders of moderate size, laid the matter before Marcellus. It appeared a thing not to be neglected; but as the spot could not be approached, being on this very account guarded with extraordinary care, a favourable opportunity of doing it was sought for. This a deserter suggested, who brought intelligence that the Syracusans were celebrating the festival of Diana; that it was to last three days, and that as there was a deficiency of other things during the siege, the feasts would be more profusely celebrated with wine, which was furnished by Epicydes to the people in general, and distributed through the tribes by persons of distinction. When Marcellus had received this intelligence, he communicated it to a few of the military tribunes; then having selected, through their means, such centurions and soldiers as had courage and energy enough for so important an enterprise, and having privately gotten together a number of scaling-ladders, he directed that a signal should be given to the rest of the troops to take their refreshment, and go to rest early, for they were to go upon an expedition that night. Then the time, as it was supposed, having arrived, when, after having feasted from the middle of the day, they would have had their fill of wine, and have begun to sleep, he ordered the soldiers of one company to proceed with the ladders, while about a thousand armed men were in silence marched to the spot in a slender column. The foremost having mounted the wall, without noise or confusion, the others followed in order; the boldness of the former inspiring even the irresolute with courage.

The thousand armed men had now taken a part of the city, when the rest, applying a greater number of ladders, mounted the wall on a signal given from the Hexapylos. To this place the former party had arrived in entire solitude; as the greater part of them, having feasted in the towers, were either asleep from the effects of wine, or else, half asleep, were still drinking. A few of them, however, they surprised in their beds, and put to the sword. They began then to break open a postern gate near the Hexapylos, which required great force; and a signal was given from the wall by sounding a trumpet, as had been agreed upon. After this, the attack was carried on in every quarter, not secretly, but by open force; for they had now reached Epipolae, a place protected by numerous guards, where the business was to terrify the enemy, and not to escape their notice. In effect they were terrified; for as soon as the sound of the trumpets was heard, and the shouts of the men who had got possession of the walls and a part of the city, the guards concluded that every part was taken, and some of them fled along the wall, others leaped down from it, or were thrown down headlong by a crowd of the terrified townsmen. A great part of the inhabitants, however, were ignorant of this disastrous event, all of them being overpowered with wine and sleep; and because, in a city of so wide extent, what was perceived in one quarter was not readily made known through the whole city. A little before day, Marcellus having entered the city with all his forces, through the Hexapylos, which was forced open roused all the townsmen; who ran to arms, in order, if possible, by their efforts, to afford succour to the city, which was now almost taken. Epicydes advanced with a body of troops at a rapid pace from the Insula, which the Syracusans themselves call Nasos, not doubting but that he should be able to drive out what he supposed a small party, which had got over the wall through the negligence of the guards. He earnestly represented to the terrified inhabitants who met him, that they were increasing the confusion, and that in their accounts they made things greater and more important than they really were. But when he perceived that every place around Epipolae was filled with armed men, after just teasing the enemy with the discharge of a few missiles, he marched back to the Achradina, not so much through fear of the number and strength of the enemy, as that some intestine treachery might show itself, taking advantage of the opportunity, and he might find the gates of the Achradina and island closed upon him in the confusion. When Marcellus, having entered the walls, beheld this city as it lay subjected to his view from the high ground on which he stood, a city the most beautiful, perhaps, of any at that time, he is said to have shed tears over it; partly from the inward satisfaction he felt at having accomplished so important an enterprise, and partly in consideration of its ancient renown. The fleets of the Athenians sunk there, and two vast armies destroyed, with two generals of the highest reputation, as well as the many wars waged with the Carthaginians with so much peril arose before his mind; the many and powerful tyrants and kings; but above all Hiero, a king who was not only fresh in his memory, but who was distinguished for the signal services he had rendered the Roman people, and more than all by the endowments which his own virtues and good fortune had conferred. All these considerations presenting themselves at once to his recollection, and reflecting, that in an instant every thing before him would be in flames, and reduced to ashes; before he marched his troops to the Achradina, he sent before him some Syracusans, who, as was before observed, were among the Roman troops, to induce the enemy, by a persuasive address, to surrender the city.

The gates and walls of the Achradina were occupied principally by deserters, who had no hopes of pardon in case of capitulation. These men would neither suffer those who were sent to approach the walls, nor to address them. Marcellus, therefore, on the failure of this attempt, gave orders to retire to the Euryalus, which is an eminence at the extremity of the city, at the farthest point from the sea, and commanding the road leading into the fields and the interior of the island, and is conveniently situated for the introduction of supplies. This fort was commanded by Philodemus, an Argive, who was placed in this situation by Epicydes. Marcellus sent Sosis, one of the regicides, to him. After a long conversation, being put off for the purpose of frustrating him, he brought back word to Marcellus, that Philodemus had taken time to deliberate. This man postponing his answer day after day, till Hippocrates and Himilco should quit their present position, and come up with their legions; not doubting but that if he should receive them into the fort, the Roman army, shut up as it was within the walls, might be annihilated, Marcellus, who saw that the Euryalus would neither be delivered up to him, nor could be taken by force, pitched his camp between Neapolis and Tycha, which are names of divisions of the city, and are in themselves like cities; fearful lest if he entered populous parts of the city, he should not be able to restrain his soldiers, greedy of plunder, from running up and down after it. When three ambassadors came to him from Tycha and Neapolis with fillets and other badges of supplicants, imploring him to abstain from fire and slaughter, Marcellus, having held a council respecting these entreaties, for so they were, rather than demands, ordered his soldiers, according to the unanimous opinion of the council, not to offer violence to any free person, but told them that every thing else might be their booty. The walls of the houses forming a protection for his camp, he posted guards and parties of troops at the gates, which were exposed, as they faced the streets, lest any attack should be made upon his camp while the soldiers were dispersed in pursuit of plunder. After these arrangements, on a signal given, the soldiers dispersed for that purpose; and though they broke open doors and every place resounded in consequence of the alarm and confusion created, they nevertheless refrained from blood. They did not desist from plunder till they had gutted the houses of all the property which had been accumulated during a long period of prosperity. Meanwhile, Philodemus also, who despaired of obtaining assistance, having received a pledge that he might return to Epicydes in safety, withdrew the garrison, and delivered up the fortress to the Romans. While the attention of all was engaged by the tumult occasioned in that part of the city which was captured, Bomilcar, taking advantage of the night, when, from the violence of the weather the Roman fleet was unable to ride at anchor in the deep, set out from the bay of Syracuse, with thirty-five ships, and sailed away into the main without interruption; leaving fifty-five ships for Epicydes and the Syracusans; and having informed the Carthaginians in what a critical situation Syracuse was placed, returned, after a few days, with a hundred ships; having, as report says, received many presents from Epicydes out of the treasure of Hiero.

## 26

Marcellus, by gaining possession of the Euryalus, and placing a garrison in it, was freed from one cause of anxiety; which was, lest any hostile force received into that fortress on his rear might annoy his troops, shut up and confined as they were within the walls. He next invested the Achradina, erecting three camps in convenient situations, with the hope of reducing those enclosed within it to the want of every necessary. The outposts of both sides had remained inactive for several days, when the arrival of Hippocrates and Himilco suddenly caused the Romans to be attacked aggressively on all sides; for

Hippocrates, having fortified a camp at the great harbour, and given a signal to those who occupied the Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus had the command; and Epicydes sallied out against the outposts of Marcellus, the Carthaginian fleet coming up to that part of the shore which lay between the city and the Roman camp, so that no succour could be sent by Marcellus to Crispinus. The enemy, however, produced more tumult than conflict; for Crispinus not only drove back Hippocrates from his works, but pursued him as he fled with precipitation, while Marcellus drove Epicydes into the city; and it was considered that enough was now done even to prevent any danger arising in future from their sudden sallies. They were visited too by a plague; a calamity extending to both sides, and one which might well divert their attention from schemes of war. For as the season of the year was autumn, and the situation naturally unwholesome, though this was much more the case without than within the city, the intolerable intensity of the heat had an effect upon the constitution of almost every man in both the camps. At first they sickened and died from the unhealthiness of the season and climate; but afterwards the disease was spread merely by attending upon, and coming in contact with, those affected; so that those who were seized with it either perished neglected and deserted, or else drew with them those who sat by them and attended them, by infecting them with the same violence of disease. Daily funerals and death were before the eye; and lamentations were heard from all sides, day and night. At last, their feelings had become so completely brutalized by being habituated to these miseries, that they not only did not follow their dead with tears and decent lamentations, but they did not even carry them out and bury them; so that the bodies of the dead lay strewed about, exposed to the view of those who were awaiting a similar fate; and thus the dead were the means of destroying the sick, and the sick those who were in health, both by fear and by the filthy state and the noisome stench of their bodies. Some preferring to die by the sword, even rushed alone upon the outposts of the enemy. The violence of the plague, however, was much greater in the Carthaginian than the Roman army; for the latter, from having been a long time before Syracuse, had become more habituated to the climate and the water. Of the army of the enemy, the Sicilians, as soon as they perceived that diseases had become very common from the unwholesomeness of the situation, dispersed to their respective cities in the neighbourhood; but the Carthaginians, who had no place to retire to, perished, together with their generals, Hippocrates and Himilco, to a man. Marcellus, on seeing the violence with which the disease was raging, had removed his troops into the city, where their debilitated frames were recruited in houses and shade. Many however, of the Roman army were cut off by this pestilence.

## 27

The land forces of the Carthaginians being thus destroyed, the Sicilians, who had served under Hippocrates retired to two towns of no great size, but well secured by natural situation and fortifications; one was three miles, the other fifteen, from Syracuse. Here they collected a store of provisions from their own states, and sent for reinforcements. Meanwhile, Bomilcar, who had gone a second time to Carthage, by so stating the condition of their allies as to inspire a hope that they might not only render them effectual aid, but also that the Romans might in a manner be made prisoners in the city which they had captured, induced the Carthaginians to send with him as many ships of burden as possible, laden with every kind of provisions, and to augment the number of his ships. Setting sail, therefore, from Carthage with a hundred and thirty men of war and seven hundred transports, he had tolerably fair winds for crossing over to Sicily,

but was prevented by the same wind from doubling Cape Pachynum. The news of the approach of Bomilcar, and afterwards his unexpected delay, excited alternate fear and joy in the Romans and Syracusans. Epicydes, apprehensive lest if the same wind which now detained him should continue to blow from the east for several days, the Carthaginian fleet would return to Africa, put the Achradina in the hands of the generals of the mercenary troops, and sailed to Bomilcar; whom he at length prevailed upon to try the issue of a naval battle, though he found him with his fleet stationed in the direction of Africa, and afraid of fighting, not so much because he was unequal in the strength or the number of his ships, for he had more than the Romans, as because the wind was more favourable to the Roman fleet than to his own. Marcellus also seeing that an army of Sicilians was assembling from every part of the island, and that the Carthaginian fleet was approaching with a great want of supplies, though inferior in the number of his ships, resolved to prevent Bomilcar from coming to Syracuse, lest, blocked up in the city of his enemies, he should be pressed both by sea and land. The two hostile fleets were stationed near the promontory of Pachynum, ready to engage as soon as the sea should become calm enough to admit of their sailing out into the deep. Accordingly, the east wind, which had blown violently for several days, now subsiding, Bomilcar got under sail first, his van seeming to make for the main sea, in order to double the promontory with greater ease; but seeing the Roman ships bearing down upon him, terrified by some unexpected occurrence, it is not known what, he sailed away into the main sea; and sending messengers to Heraclea, to order the transports to return to Africa, he passed along the coast of Sicily and made for Tarentum. Epicydes, thus suddenly disappointed in such great expectations, to avoid returning to endeavour to raise the siege of a city, a great part of which was already in the hands of the enemy, sailed to Agrigentum, intending to wait the issue of the contest, rather than take any new measures when there.

## 28

Intelligence of these events having been carried into the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had departed from Syracuse, that the island was deserted by the Carthaginians, and almost again delivered up to the Romans; after sounding the inclinations of the besieged in conferences, they sent ambassadors to Marcellus, to treat about terms of capitulation. They had not much difficulty in coming to an agreement, that all the parts of the island which had been under the dominion of their kings should be ceded to the Romans; that the rest, with their liberty and their own laws, should be preserved to the Sicilians. They then invited to a conference the persons who had been intrusted with the management of affairs by Epicydes; to whom they said, that they were sent from the army of the Sicilians, at once to Marcellus and to them, that both those who were besieged and those who were not might share the same fortune; and that neither of them might stipulate any thing for themselves separately. They were then allowed to enter, in order to converse with their relations and friends; when, laying before them the terms which they had made with Marcellus, and holding out to them a hope of safety, they induced them to join with them in an attack upon the prefects of Epicydes, Polyclitus, Philistion, and Epicydes, surnamed Sindon. Having put them to death, they summoned the multitude to an assembly; and after complaining of the famine, at which they had been accustomed to express their dissatisfaction to each other in secret, they said, that "although they were pressed by so many calamities, they had no right to accuse Fortune, because it was at their own option how long they should continue to suffer them. That the motive which the Romans had in besieging Syracuse

was affection for the Syracusans, and not hatred; for when they heard that the government was usurped by Hippocrates and Epicydes, the creatures first of Hannibal and then of Hieronymus, they took arms and began to besiege the city, in order to reduce not the city itself, but its cruel tyrants. But now that Hippocrates is slain, Epicydes shut out of Syracuse, his praefects put to death, and the Carthaginians driven from the entire possession of Sicily by sea and land, what reason can the Romans have left why they should not desire the preservation of Syracuse, in the same manner as they would if Hiero were still living, who cultivated the friendship of Rome with unequalled fidelity? That, therefore, neither the city nor its inhabitants were in any danger, except from themselves, if they neglected an opportunity of restoring themselves to the favour of the Romans; and that no so favourable a one would ever occur as that which presented itself at the present instant, immediately upon its appearing that they were delivered from their insolent tyrants."

## 29

This speech was received with the most unqualified approbation of all present. It was resolved, however, that praetors should be elected before the nomination of deputies; which being done, some of the praetors themselves were sent as deputies to Marcellus, the chief of whom thus addressed him: "Neither in the first instance did we Syracusans revolt from you, but Hieronymus, whose impiety towards you was by no means so great as towards us; nor afterwards was it any Syracusan who disturbed the peace established by the death of the tyrant, but Hippocrates and Epicydes, creatures of the tyrant; while we were overpowered, on the one hand by fear, and on the other by treachery. Nor can any one say that there ever was a time when we were in possession of our liberty, when we were not also at peace with you. In the present instance, manifestly, as soon as ever we became our own masters, by the death of those persons who held Syracuse in subjection, we lost no time in coming to deliver up our arms, to surrender ourselves, our city, and our walls, and to refuse no conditions which you shall impose upon us. To you, Marcellus, the gods have given the glory of having captured the most renowned and beautiful of the Grecian cities. Every memorable exploit which we have at any time achieved by land or sea accrues to the splendour of your triumph. Would you wish that it should be known only by fame, how great a city has been captured by you, rather than that she should stand as a monument even to posterity; so that to every one who visits her by sea or land, she may point out at one time our trophies gained from the Athenians and Carthaginians, at another time those which you have gained from us; and that you should transmit Syracuse unimpaired to your family, to be kept under the protection and patronage of the race of the Marcelli? Let not the memory of Hieronymus have greater weight with you than that of Hiero. The latter was your friend for a much longer period than the former was your enemy. From the latter you have realized even benefits, while the frenzy of Hieronymus only brought ruin upon himself." At the hands of the Romans all things were obtainable and secure. There was a greater disposition to war, and more danger to be apprehended among themselves; for the deserters, thinking that they were delivered up to the Romans, induced the mercenary auxiliaries to entertain the same apprehension; and hastily seizing their arms, they first put the praetors to death, and then ran through the city to massacre the Syracusans. In their rage they slew all whom chance threw in their way, and plundered every thing which presented itself; and then, lest they should have no leaders, they elected six praetors, so that three might have the command in the Achradina, and three in the island. At length, the tumult having subsided, and the mercenary troops having

ascertained, by inquiry, what had been negotiated with the Romans, it began to appear, as was really the case, that their cause and that of the deserters were different.

### 30

The ambassadors returned from Marcellus very opportunely. They informed them that they had been influenced by groundless suspicions, and that the Romans saw no reason why they should inflict punishment upon them. Of the three praefects of the Achradina one was a Spaniard, named Mericus. To him one of the Spanish auxiliaries was designedly sent, among those who accompanied the ambassadors. Having obtained an interview with Mericus in the absence of witnesses, he first explained to him the state in which he had left Spain, from which he had lately returned: "That there every thing was in subjection to the Roman arms; that it was in his power, by doing the Romans a service, to become the first man among his countrymen, whether he might be inclined to serve with the Romans, or to return to his country. On the other hand, if he persisted in preferring to hold out against the siege, what hope could he have, shut up as he was by sea and land?" Mericus was moved by these suggestions, and when it was resolved upon to send ambassadors to Marcellus, he sent his brother among them; who, being brought into the presence of Marcellus, apart from the rest, by means of the same Spaniard, after receiving an assurance of protection, arranged the method of carrying their object into effect, and then returned to the Achradina. Mericus then, in order to prevent any one from conceiving a suspicion of treachery, declared, that he did not like that deputies should be passing to and fro; he thought that they should neither admit nor send any; and in order that the guards might be kept more strictly, that such parts as were most exposed should be distributed among the praefects, each being made responsible for the safety of his own quarter. All approved of the distribution of the posts. The district which fell to the lot of Mericus himself extended from the fountain Arethusa to the mouth of the large harbour, of which he caused the Romans to be informed. Accordingly, Marcellus ordered a transport with armed men to be towed by a quadrireme to the Achradina during the night, and the soldiers to be landed in the vicinity of that gate which is near the fountain of Arethusa. This order having been executed at the fourth watch, and Mericus having received the soldiers when landed at the gate, according to the agreement, Marcellus assaulted the walls of the Achradina with all his forces at break of day, so that he not only engaged the attention of those who occupied the Achradina, but also bands of armed men, quitting their own posts ran to the spot from the island, in order to repel the furious attack of the Romans. During this confusion, some light ships which had been prepared beforehand, and had sailed round, landed a body of armed men at the island; these suddenly attacking the half-manned stations and the opened door of the gate at which the troops had a little before run out, got possession of the island without much opposition, abandoned as it was, in consequence of the flight and trepidation of its guards. Nor were there any who rendered less service, or showed less firmness in maintaining their posts, than the deserters; for as they did not repose much confidence even in those of their own party, they fled in the middle of the contest. When Marcellus learnt that the island was taken, one quarter of the Achradina in the hands of his troops, and that Mericus, with the men under his command, had joined them, he sounded a retreat, lest the royal treasure, the fame of which was greater than the reality, should be plundered.

### 31

The impetuosity of the soldiers having been checked, time and opportunity to escape were given to the deserters in the Achradina; and the Syracusans, at length delivered from their fears, threw open the gates of the Achradina, and sent deputies to Marcellus, requesting only safety for themselves and children. Having summoned a council, to which the Syracusans were invited who were among the Roman troops, having been driven from home during the disturbances, Marcellus replied, "that the services rendered by Hiero through a period of fifty years, were not more in number than the injuries committed against the Roman people in these few years by those who had had possession of Syracuse; but that most of these injuries had justly recoiled upon their authors, and that they had inflicted much more severe punishment upon themselves for the violation of treaties, than the Roman people desired. That he was indeed now besieging Syracuse for the third year, but not that the Romans might hold that state in a condition of slavery, but that the ringleaders of the deserters might not keep it in a state of thralldom and oppression. What the Syracusans could do was exemplified, either by the conduct of those Syracusans who were among the Roman troops, or that of the Spanish general, Mericus, who had delivered up the post which he was appointed to command, or, lastly, by the late but bold measure adopted by the Syracusans themselves. That the greatest possible recompence for all the evils and dangers which he had for so long a time undergone, both by sea and land, around the walls of Syracuse, was the reflection, that he had been able to take that city." The quaestor was then sent with a guard to the island, to receive and protect the royal treasure. The city was given up to be plundered by the soldiery, after guards had been placed at each of the houses of those who had been with the Roman troops. While many acts exhibited horrid examples of rage and rapacity, it is recorded that Archimedes, while intent on some figures which he had described in the dust, although the confusion was as great as could possibly exist in a captured city, in which soldiers were running up and down in search of plunder, was put to death by a soldier, who did not know who he was; that Marcellus was grieved at this event, and that pains were taken about his funeral, while his relations also for whom diligent inquiry was made, derived honour and protection from his name and memory. Such, for the most part, was the manner in which Syracuse was captured. The quantity of booty was so great, that had Carthage itself, which was carrying on a contest on equal terms, been captured, it would scarcely have afforded so much. A few days before the taking of Syracuse, Titus Otacilius passed over from Lilybaeum to Utica with eighty quinqueremes, and entering the harbour before it was light, took some transports laden with corn; then landing, he laid waste a considerable portion of the country around Utica, and brought back to his ships booty of every description. He returned to Lilybaeum, the third day after he set out, with a hundred and thirty transports laden with corn and booty. The corn he sent immediately to Syracuse; and had it not been for the very seasonable arrival of this supply, a destructive famine threatened alike the victors and the vanquished.

### 32

Nothing very memorable had been done in Spain for about two years, the operations of the war consisting more in laying plans than in fighting; but during the same summer in which the events above recorded took place, the Roman generals, quitting their winter quarters, united their forces; then a council was summoned; and the opinions of all accorded, that since their only object hitherto had been to prevent Hasdrubal from pursuing his march into Italy, it was now time that an effort should be made to bring the war in Spain to a termination; and they thought that the twenty thousand Celtiberians,

who had been induced to take arms that winter, formed a sufficient accession to their strength. There were three armies of the enemy. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, and Mago, who had united their forces, were about a five days' journey from the Romans. Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, who was the old commander in Spain, was nearer to them: he was with his army near the city Anitorgis. The Roman generals were desirous that he should be overpowered first; and they hoped that they had enough and more than enough strength for the purpose. Their only source of anxiety was, lest the other Hasdrubal and Mago, terrified at his discomfiture, should protract the war by withdrawing into trackless forests and mountains. Thinking it, therefore, the wisest course to divide their forces and embrace the whole Spanish war, they arranged it so that Publius Cornelius should lead two-thirds of the Roman and allied troops against Mago and Hasdrubal, and that Cneius Cornelius, with the remaining third of the original army, and with the Celtiberians added to them, should carry on the war with the Barcine Hasdrubal. The two generals and their armies, setting out together, preceded by the Celtiberians, pitched their camp near the city Anitorgis, within sight of the enemy, the river only separating them. Here Cneius Scipio, with the forces above mentioned, halted, but Publius Scipio proceeded to the portion of the war assigned to him.

### 33

Hasdrubal perceiving that there were but few Roman troops in the camp, and that their whole dependence was on the Celtiberian auxiliaries; and having had experience of the perfidy of the barbarian nations in general, and particularly of all those nations among which he had served for so many years; as there was every facility of intercourse, for both camps were full of Spaniards, by secret conferences with the chiefs of the Celtiberians, he agreed with them, for a large consideration, to take their forces away. Nor did they conceive it to be any great crime; for the object was not that they should turn their arms against the Romans, while the reward which they were to receive to abstain from the war was large enough to remunerate them for their service in it. At the same time the mere rest from labour, the return to their homes, with the pleasure of seeing their friends and property, were pleasing to the generality. Accordingly, the multitude were prevailed upon as easily as their leaders. They had, moreover, nothing to fear from the Romans, in consequence of the smallness of their numbers, should they endeavour to detain them by force. It will indeed be the duty of all Roman generals to take care, and the instances here recorded should be considered as strong arguments, never to place so much confidence in foreign auxiliaries, as not to retain in their camps a preponderance of their own strength and of that force which is properly their own. The Celtiberians, suddenly taking up their standards, marched away, replying only to the Romans, who asked the cause of their departure and entreated them to stay, that they were called away by a war at home. Scipio seeing that his allies could be detained neither by prayers nor force, and that he was neither a match for his enemy without them, nor could again effect a junction with his brother, no other course which promised safety offering itself, resolved to retire as far as possible, carefully using every caution not to encounter the enemy any where on level ground. On his departing, the enemy, crossing the river, pursued him almost in his footsteps.

### 34

During the same period an equal terror and a greater danger pressed upon Publius Scipio. Masinissa was a young man at that time an ally of the Carthaginians, whom afterwards the friendship of the Romans rendered illustrious and powerful. He not only

opposed himself with his Numidian cavalry to Scipio on his approach, but afterwards harassed him incessantly day and night, so as both to cut off his stragglers, who had gone out to a distance from the camp in search of wood and forage, and riding up to the very gates of his camp, and charging into the midst of his advanced guards, to fill every quarter with the utmost confusion. By night also alarm was frequently occasioned in the gates and rampart by his sudden attacks. Nor was there any time or place at which the Romans were exempt from fear and anxiety; and driven within their rampart, and deprived of every necessary, they suffered in a manner a regular siege; and it appeared that it would have been still straiter, if Indibilis, who it was reported was approaching with seven thousand five hundred Suessetani, should form a junction with the Carthaginians. Scipio, though a wary and provident general, overpowered by difficulties, adopted the rash measure of going to meet Indibilis by night, with the intention of fighting him wherever he should meet him. Leaving, therefore, a small force in his camp, under the command of Titus Fonteius, lieutenant-general, he set out at midnight, and meeting with the enemy, came to battle with him. The troops fought in the order of march rather than of battle. The Romans, however, had the advantage, though in an irregular fight; but the Numidian cavalry, whose observation the general supposed that he had escaped, suddenly spreading themselves round his flanks, occasioned great terror. After a new contest had been entered into with the Numidians, a third enemy came up in addition to the rest, the Carthaginian generals having come up with their rear when they were now engaged in fighting. Thus the Romans were surrounded on every side by enemies; nor could they make up their minds which they should attack first, or in what part, forming themselves into a close body, they should force their way through. The general, while fighting and encouraging his men, exposing himself wherever the strife was the hottest, was run through the right side with a lance; and when the party of the enemy, which, formed into a wedge, had charged the troops collected round the general, perceived Scipio falling lifeless from his horse, elated with joy, they ran shouting through the whole line with the news that the Roman general had fallen. These words spreading in every direction, caused the enemy to be considered as victors, and the Romans as vanquished. On the loss of the general the troops immediately began to fly from the field; but though it was not difficult to force their way through the Numidians and the other light-armed auxiliaries, yet it was scarcely possible for them to escape so large a body of cavalry, and infantry equal to horses in speed. Almost more were slain in the flight than in the battle; nor would a man have survived, had not night put a stop to the carnage, the day by this time rapidly drawing to a close.

### 35

After this, the Carthaginian generals, who were not slow in following up their victory, immediately after the battle, scarcely giving their soldiers necessary rest, hurry their army to Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar; confidently hoping, that after uniting their forces with his, the war might be brought to a conclusion. On their arrival, the warmest congratulations passed between the troops and their generals, who were delighted with their recent victory; for they had not only destroyed one distinguished general and all his men, but looked forward to another victory of equal magnitude as a matter of certainty. The intelligence of this great disaster had not yet reached the Romans; but there prevailed a kind of melancholy silence and mute foreboding, such as is usually found in minds which have a presentiment of impending calamity. The general himself, besides feeling that he was deserted by his allies, and that the forces of the enemy were

so much augmented, was disposed from conjecture and reasoning rather to a suspicion that some defeat had been sustained, than to any favourable hopes. "For how could Hasdrubal and Mago bring up their troops without opposition, unless they had terminated their part of the war? How was it that his brother had not opposed his progress or followed on his rear? in order that if he could not prevent the armies and generals of the enemy from forming a junction, he might himself join his forces with his brother's." Disturbed with these cares, he believed that the only safe policy for the present was to retire as far as possible; and, accordingly, he marched a considerable distance thence in one night, the enemy not being aware of it, and on that account continuing quiet. At dawn, perceiving that their enemy had decamped, they sent the Numidians in advance, and began to pursue them as rapidly as possible. The Numidians overtook them before night, and charged; sometimes their rear, at other times their flanks. They then began to halt and defend themselves as well as they could; but Scipio exhorted them at once to fight so as not to expose themselves, and march at the same time, lest the infantry should overtake them.

### 36

But having made but little progress for a long time, in consequence of his making his troops sometimes advance and at others halt, and night now drawing on, Scipio recalled his troops from the battle, and collecting them, withdrew to a certain eminence, not very safe, indeed, particularly for dispirited troops, but higher than any of the surrounding places. There, at first, his infantry, drawn up around his baggage and cavalry, which were placed in their centre, had no difficulty in repelling the attacks of the charging Numidians; but afterwards, when three generals with three regular armies marched up in one entire body, and it was evident that his men would not be able to do much by arms in defending the position without fortifications, the general began to look about, and consider whether he could by any means throw a rampart around; but the hill was so bare, and the soil so rough, that neither could a bush be found for cutting a palisade, nor earth for making a mound, nor the requisites for making a trench or any other work; nor was the place naturally steep or abrupt enough to render the approach and ascent difficult to the enemy, as it rose on every side with a gentle acclivity. However, that they might raise up against them some semblance of a rampart, they placed around them the panniers tied to the burdens, building them up as it were to the usual height, and when there was a deficiency of panniers for raising it, they presented against the enemy a heap of baggage of every kind. The Carthaginian armies coming up, very easily marched up the eminence, but were stopped by the novel appearance of the fortification, as by something miraculous, when their leaders called out from all sides, asking "what they stopped at? and why they did not tear down and demolish that mockery, which was scarcely strong enough to impede the progress of women and children; that the enemy, who were skulking behind their baggage, were, in fact, captured and in their hands." Such were the contemptuous reproofs of their leaders. But it was not an easy task either to leap over or remove the burdens raised up against them, or to cut through the panniers, closely packed together and covered completely with baggage. When the removal of the burdens had opened a way to the troops, who were detained by them for a long time, and the same had been done in several quarters, the camp was now captured on all sides; the Romans were cut to pieces on all hands, the few by the many, the dispirited by the victorious. A great number of the men, however, having fled for refuge into the neighbouring woods, effected their escape to the camp of Publius Scipio, which Titus Fonteius commanded. Some authors relate that Cneius

Scipio was slain on the eminence on the first assault of the enemy; others that he escaped with a few attendants to a castle near the camp; this, they say, was surrounded with fire, by which means the doors which they could not force were consumed; that it was thus taken, and all within, together with the general himself, put to death. Cneius Scipio was slain in the eighth year after his arrival in Spain, and on the twenty-ninth day after the death of his brother. At Rome the grief occasioned by their death was not more intense than that which was felt throughout Spain. The sorrow of the citizens, however, was partly distracted by the loss of the armies, the alienation of the province, and the public disaster, while in Spain they mourned and regretted the generals themselves, Cneius, however, the more, because he had been longer in command of them, had first engaged their affections, and first exhibited a specimen of Roman justice and forbearance.

### 37

When it seemed that the Roman armies were annihilated, and Spain lost, one man recovered this desperate state of affairs. There was in the army one Lucius Marcius, the son of Septimus, a Roman knight, an enterprising youth, and possessing a mind and genius far superior to the condition in which he had been born. To his high talents had been added the discipline of Cneius Scipio, under which he had been thoroughly instructed during a course of so many years in all the qualifications of a soldier. This man, having collected the troops which had been dispersed in the flight, and drafted some from the garrisons, had formed an army not to be despised, and united it with Titus Tonteius, the lieutenant-general of Publius Scipio. But so transcendent was the Roman knight in authority and honour among the troops, that when, after fortifying a camp on this side of the Iberus, it had been resolved that a general of the two armies should be elected in an assembly of the soldiers, relieving each other in the guard of the rampart, and in keeping the outposts until every one had given his vote, they unanimously conferred the supreme command upon Lucius Marcius. All the intervening time, which was but short, was occupied in fortifying their camp and collecting provisions, and the soldiers executed every order not only with vigour, but with feelings by no means depressed. But when intelligence was brought them that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, who was coming to put the finishing stroke to the war, had crossed the Iberus and was drawing near, and when they saw the signal for battle displayed by a new commander, then calling to mind whom they had had for their leaders a little while ago, relying on what leaders and what forces they used to go out to fight, they all suddenly burst into tears and beat their heads, some raising their hands to heaven and arraigning the gods, others prostrating themselves upon the ground and invoking by name each his own former commander. Nor could their lamentations be restrained, though the centurions endeavoured to animate their companies, and though Marcius himself soothed and remonstrated with them, asking them "why they had given themselves up to womanish and unavailing lamentations rather than summon up all their courage to protect themselves and the commonwealth together, and not suffer their generals to lie unavenged?" But suddenly a shout and the sound of trumpets were heard; for by this time the enemy were near the rampart. Upon this, their grief being suddenly converted into rage, they hastily ran to arms, and, as it were, burning with fury, rushed to the gates and charged the enemy, while advancing in a careless and disorderly manner. This unexpected event instantly struck terror into the Carthaginians, who wondering whence so many enemies could have sprung up so suddenly, as the army had been almost annihilated; what could have inspired men who had been vanquished and routed

with such boldness and confidence in themselves; what general could have arisen now that the two Scipios were slain; who could command the camp, and who had given the signal for battle; in consequence of these so many and so unexpected circumstances, at first, being in a state of complete uncertainty and amazement, they gave ground; but afterwards, discomfited by the violence of the charge, they turned their backs; and either there would have been a dreadful slaughter of the flying enemy, or a rash and dangerous effort on the part of the pursuers, had not Marcius promptly given the signal for retreat, and by throwing himself in the way of the front rank, and even holding some back with his own hands, repressed the infuriated troops. He then led them back to the camp, still eager for blood and slaughter. When the Carthaginians, who were at first compelled to fly with precipitation from the rampart of their enemy, saw that no one pursued them, concluding that they had stopped from fear, now on the other hand went away to their camp at an easy pace, with feelings of contempt for the enemy. There was a corresponding want of care in guarding their camp; for though the enemy were near, yet it seemed that they were but the remains of the two armies which had been cut to pieces a few days before. As in consequence of this all things were neglected in the enemy's camp, Marcius having ascertained this, addressed his mind to a measure which on the first view of it might appear rather rash than bold: it was, aggressively to assault the enemy's camp, concluding that the camp of Hasdrubal, while alone, might be carried with less difficulty than his own could be defended, if the three armies and as many generals should again unite; taking into consideration also that either if he succeeded he would retrieve their prostrate fortune, or if repulsed, still, by making the attack himself, he would rescue himself from contempt.

### 38

Lest, however, the suddenness of the affair, and the fear of night, should frustrate a measure which was in itself ill adapted to his condition, he thought it right that his soldiers should be addressed and exhorted; and having called an assembly, he discoursed as follows: "Soldiers, either my veneration for our late commanders, both living and dead, or our present situation, may impress on every one the belief that this command, as it is highly honourable to me, conferred by your suffrages, so is it in its nature a heavy and anxious charge. For at a time when I should be scarcely so far master of myself as to be able to find any solace for my afflicted mind, did not fear deaden the sense of sorrow, I am compelled to take upon myself alone the task of consulting for the good of you all; a task of the greatest difficulty when under the influence of grief. And not even at that critical moment, when I ought to be considering in what manner I may be enabled to keep together for my country these remains of two armies, can I divert my mind from the affliction which incessantly preys upon me. For bitter recollection is ever present, and the Scipios ever disturb me with anxious cares by day and dreams by night, frequently rousing me from my sleep, and imploring me not to suffer themselves nor their soldiers, your companions in war, who had been victorious in this country for eight years, nor the commonwealth to remain unrevenged; enjoining me also to follow their discipline and their plans; and desiring that as there was no one more obedient to their commands while they were alive than I, so after their death I would consider that conduct as best, which I might have the strongest reason for believing they would have adopted in each case. I could wish also that you, my soldiers, should not show your respect for them by lamentations and tears, as if they were dead; (for they still live and flourish in the fame of their achievements;) but that whenever the memory of those men shall occur to you, you would go into battle as though you saw them encouraging

you and giving you the signal. Nor certainly could anything else than their image presenting itself yesterday to your eyes and minds, have enabled you to fight that memorable battle, in which you proved to the enemy that the Roman name had not become extinct with the Scipios; and that the energy and valour of that people, which had not been overwhelmed by the disaster at Cannae, would, doubtlessly, emerge from the severest storms of fortune. Now since you have dared so much of your own accord, I have a mind to try how much you will dare when authorized by your general: for yesterday, when I gave the signal for retreat while you were pursuing the routed enemy with precipitation, I did not wish to break your spirit, but to reserve it for greater glory and more advantageous opportunities; that you might afterwards, when prepared and armed, seize an occasion of attacking your enemy while off their guard, unarmed, and even buried in sleep. Nor do I entertain the hope of gaining an opportunity of this kind rashly, but from the actual state of things. Doubtless, if any one should ask even himself, by what means, though few in number and disheartened by defeat, you defended your camp against troops superior in number and victorious, you would give no other answer than that, as this was the very thing you were afraid of, you had kept every place secured by works and yourselves ready and equipped. And so it generally happens: men are least secure against that which fortune causes not to be feared; because you leave unguarded and exposed what you think is not necessary to be cared about. There is nothing whatever which the enemy fear less at the present time, than lest we, who were a little while ago besieged and assaulted, should aggressively assault their camp ourselves. Let us dare, then, to do that which it is incredible we should have the courage to attempt; it will be most easy from the very fact of its appearing most difficult. At the third watch of the night I will lead you thither in silence. I have ascertained by means of scouts that they have no regular succession of watches, no proper outposts. Our shout at their gates, when heard, and the first assault, will carry their camp. Then let that carnage be made among men, torpid with sleep, terrified at the unexpected tumult, and overpowered while lying defenceless in their beds, from which you were so grieved to be recalled yesterday. I know that the measure appears to you a daring one; but in difficult and almost desperate circumstances the boldest counsels are always the safest. For if when the critical moment has arrived, the opportunity of seizing which is of a fleeting nature, you delay ever so little, in vain do you seek for it afterwards when it has been neglected. One army is near us; two more are not far off. We have some hopes if we make an attack now; and you have already made trial of your own and their strength. If we postpone the time and cease to be despised in consequence of the fame of yesterday's irruption, there is danger lest all the generals and all the forces should unite. Shall we be able then to withstand three generals and three armies, whom Cneius Scipio with his army unimpaired could not withstand? As our generals have perished by dividing their forces, so the enemy may be overpowered while separated and divided. There is no other mode of maintaining the war; let us, therefore, wait for nothing but the opportunity of the ensuing night. Now depart, with the favour of the gods, and refresh yourselves, that, unfatigued and vigorous, you may burst into the enemy's camp with the same spirit with which you have defended your own." This new enterprise, proposed by their new general, they received with joy; and the more daring it was the more it pleased them. The remainder of the day was spent in getting their arms in readiness and recruiting their strength, the greater part of the night was given to rest, and at the fourth watch they were in motion.

At a distance of six miles beyond their nearest camp lay other forces of the Carthaginians. A deep valley, thickly planted with trees, intervened. Near about the middle of this wood a Roman cohort and some cavalry were placed in concealment with Punic craft. The communication between the two armies being thus cut off, the rest of the forces were marched in silence to the nearest body of the enemy; and as there were no outposts before the gates, and no guards on the rampart, they entered quite into the camp, as though it had been their own, no one any where opposing them. The signals were then sounded and a shout raised. Some put the enemy to the sword when half asleep; others threw fire upon the huts, which were covered in with dry straw; others blocked up the gates to intercept their escape. The enemy, who were assailed at once with fire, shouting, and the sword, were in a manner bereaved of their senses, and could neither hear each other, nor take any measures for their security. Unarmed, they fell into the midst of troops of armed men: some hastened to the gates; others, as the passes were flocked up, leaped over the rampart, and as each escaped they fled directly towards the other camp, where they were cut off by the cohort and cavalry rushing forward from their concealment, and were all slain to a man. And even had any escaped from that carnage, the Romans, after taking the nearer camp, ran over to the other with such rapidity, that no one could have arrived before them with news of the disaster. In this camp, as they were far distant from the enemy, and as some had gone off just before daylight for forage, wood, and plunder, they found every thing in a still more neglected and careless state. Their arms only were placed at the outposts, the men being unarmed, and either sitting and reclining upon the ground, or else walking up and down before the rampart and the gates. On these men, thus at their ease and unguarded, the Romans, still hot from the recent battle, and flushed with victory, commenced an attack; no effectual opposition therefore could be made to them in the gates. Within the gates, the troops having rushed together from every part of the camp at the first shout and alarm, a furious conflict arose; which would have continued for a long time, had not the bloody appearance of the Roman shields discovered to the Carthaginians the defeat of the other forces, and consequently struck them with dismay. This alarm produced a general flight; and all except those who were overtaken with the sword, rushing out precipitately wherever they could find a passage, abandoned their camp. Thus, in a night and a day, two camps of the enemy were carried, under the conduct of Lucius Marcius. Claudius, who translated the annals of Acilius out of Greek into Latin, states that as many as thirty-seven thousand men were slain, one thousand eight hundred and thirty made prisoners, and a great booty obtained; among which was a silver shield of a hundred and thirty-eight pounds' weight, with an image upon it of the Barcine Hasdrubal. Valerius Antias states, that the camp Of Mago only was captured, and seven thousand of the enemy slain; and that in the other battle, when the Romans sallied out and fought with Hasdrubal, ten thousand were slain, and four thousand three hundred captured. Piso writes, that five thousand were slain in an ambuscade when Mago incautiously pursued our troops who retired. With all, the name of the general, Marcius, is mentioned with great honour, and to his real glory they add even miracles. They say, that while he was haranguing his men a stream of fire poured from his head without his perceiving it, to the great terror of the surrounding soldiers; and that a shield, called the Marcian, with an image of Hasdrubal upon it, remained in the temple up to the time of the burning of the Capitol, a monument of his victory over the Carthaginians. After this, affairs continued for a considerable time in a tranquil state in Spain, as both parties, after giving and receiving such important defeats, hesitated to run the hazard of a general battle.

## 40

During these transactions in Spain, Marcellus, after the capture of Syracuse, having settled the other affairs in Sicily with so much honour and integrity as not only to add to his own renown, but also to the majesty of the Roman people, conveyed to Rome the ornaments of the city, together with the statues and pictures with which Syracuse abounded. These were certainly spoils taken from enemies, and acquired according to the laws of war; but hence was the origin of the admiration of the products of Grecian art, and to that freedom with which at present all places, both sacred and profane, are despoiled; which at last recoiled upon the Roman gods, and first upon that very temple which was so choicely adorned by Marcellus. For foreigners were in the habit of visiting the temples dedicated by Marcellus near the Capuan gate, on account of their splendid ornaments of this description, of which a very small portion can be found. Embassies from almost all the states of Sicily came to him. As their cases were different, so were also the terms granted to them. Those who had either not revolted or had returned to the alliance before the capture of Syracuse, were received and honoured as faithful allies. Those who had been induced to submit through fear after the capture of Syracuse, as vanquished, received laws from the conqueror. The Romans, however, had still remaining a war of no small magnitude at Agrigentum, headed by Epicydes and Hanno, generals in the late war, and a third new one sent by Hannibal in the room of Hippocrates, a Libyphoenician by nation, and a native of Hippo, called by his countrymen Mutines; an energetic man, and thoroughly instructed in all the arts of war under the tuition of Hannibal. To this man the Numidian auxiliaries were assigned by Epicydes and Hanno. With these he so thoroughly overran the lands of his enemies, and visited his allies with such activity, in order to retain them in their allegiance, and for the purpose of bringing them seasonable aid as each required it, that in a short time he filled all Sicily with his fame, nor was greater confidence placed in any one else by those who favoured the Carthaginian interest. Accordingly the Carthaginian and Syracusan generals, who had been hitherto compelled to keep within the walls of Agrigentum, not more at the advice of Mutines than from the confidence they reposed in him, had the courage to go out from the walls, and pitched a camp near the river Himera. When this was announced to Marcellus, he immediately advanced and sat down at a distance of about four miles from the enemy, with the intention of waiting to see what steps they took, and what they meditated. But Mutines allowed no room or time for delay or deliberation, but crossed the river, and, charging the outposts of his enemy, created the greatest terror and confusion. The next day, in an engagement which might almost be called regular, he compelled his enemy to retire within their works. Being called away by a mutiny of the Numidians, which had broken out in the camp, and in which about three hundred of them had retired to Heraclea Minoa, he set out to appease them and bring them back; and is said to have earnestly warned the generals not to engage with the enemy during his absence. Both the generals were indignant at this conduct, but particularly Hanno, who was before disturbed at his reputation. "Is it to be borne," said he, "that a mongrel African should impose restraints upon me, a Carthaginian general, commissioned by the senate and people?" Epicydes, who wished to wait, was prevailed upon by him to agree to their crossing the river and offering battle; for, said he, if they should wait for Mutines, and the battle should terminate successfully, Mutines would certainly have the credit of it.

## 41

But Marcellus, highly indignant that he who had repulsed Hannibal from Nola, when rendered confident by his victory at Cannae, should succumb to enemies whom he had vanquished by sea and land, ordered his soldiers immediately to take arms and raise the standards. While marshalling his army, ten Numidians rode up rapidly from the enemy's line with information that their countrymen, first induced by the same causes which brought on the mutiny, in which three hundred of their number retired to Heraclea, and secondly, because they saw their commander, just on the approach of a battle, sent out of the way by generals who wished to detract from his glory, would not take any part in the battle. This deceitful nation made good their promise in this instance. Accordingly the spirits of the Romans were increased by the intelligence, which was speedily conveyed through the lines, that the enemy were abandoned by the cavalry, which the Romans principally feared; while at the same time the enemy were dispirited, not only because they were deprived of the principal part of their strength, but further, because they were afraid lest they should themselves be attacked by their own cavalry. Accordingly, there was no great resistance made: the first shout and onset determined the business. The Numidians who stood quiet in the wings during the action, when they saw their party turning their backs, accompanied them in their flight only for a short time; but when they perceived that they were all making for Agrigentum with the most violent haste, they turned off to the neighbouring towns round about, through fear of a siege. Many thousand men were slain and captured, together with eight elephants. This was the last battle which Marcellus fought in Sicily, after which he returned victorious to Syracuse. The year was now about closing; the senate therefore decreed that Publius Cornelius, the praetor, should send a letter to Capua to the consuls, with directions that while Hannibal was at a distance, and nothing of any great importance was going on at Capua, one of them, if they thought fit, should come to Rome to elect new magistrates. On the receipt of the letter, the consuls arranged it between themselves, that Claudius should hold the election, and Fulvius remain at Capua. The consuls created by Claudius were Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, and Publius Sulpicius Galba, the son of Servius, who had never exercised any curule magistracy. After this Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Caius Sulpicius, and Caius Calpurnius Piso, were created praetors. Piso had the city jurisdiction; Sulpicius, Sicily; Cethegus, Apulia; Lentulus, Sardinia. The consuls were continued in command for a year longer.

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# Book XXVI

## B.C 212-211

*Hannibal encamps on the banks of the Amo, within three miles of Rome. Attended by two thousand horsemen, he advances close to the Colline gate to take a view of the walls and situation of the city. On two successive days the hostile armies are hindered from engaging by the severity of the weather. Capua taken by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the chief nobles die, voluntarily, by poison. Quintus Fulvius having condemned the principal senators to death, at the moment they are actually tied to the stakes, receives despatches from Rome, commanding him to spare their lives, which he postpones reading until the sentence is executed. Publius Scipio, offering himself for the service, is sent to command in Spain, takes New Carthage in one day. Successes in Sicily. Treaty of friendship with the Aetolians. War with Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Acarnanians.*

### 1

The consuls, Cneius Fulvius Centumalus and Publius Sulpicius Galba, having entered on their office on the ides of March, assembled the senate in the Capitol, and took the opinion of the fathers on the state of the republic, the manner of conducting the war, and on what related to the provinces and the armies. Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls of the former year, were continued in command; and the armies which they before had were assigned to them, it being added that they should not withdraw from Capua, which they were besieging, till they had taken it. The Romans were now solicitously intent upon this object, not from resentment so much, which was never juster against any city, as from the consideration that as this city, so celebrated and powerful, had by its defection drawn away several states, so when reduced it would bring back their minds to respect for the former supreme government. Two praetors also of the former year, Marcus Junius and Publius Sempronius, were each continued in command of the two legions which they had under them, the former in Etruria, the latter in Gaul. Marcus Marcellus also was continued in command, that he might, as proconsul, finish the war in Sicily with the army he had there. If he wanted recruits he was to take them from the legions which Publius Cornelius, the proprætor, commanded in Sicily, provided he did not choose any soldier who was of the number of those whom the senate had refused to allow to be discharged, or to return home till the war was put an end to. To Caius Sulpicius, to whose lot Sicily had fallen, the two legions which Publius Cornelius had commanded were assigned, to be recruited from the army of Cneius Fulvius, which had been shamefully beaten, and had experienced a dreadful loss the year before in Apulia. To soldiers of this description the senate had assigned the same period of service as to those who fought at Cannæ; and as an additional mark of ignominy upon both, they were not allowed to winter in towns, or to build huts for wintering within the distance of ten miles from any town. To Lucius Cornelius, in Sardinia, the two legions which Quintus Mucius had commanded were assigned; if recruits were wanted, the consuls were ordered to enlist them. To Titus Otacilius and Marcus Valerius was allotted the protection of the coasts of Sicily and Greece, with the legions and fleets which they had commanded. The Greek coast had fifty ships with one legion; the Sicilian, a hundred ships with two legions. Twenty-three legions were employed by the Romans in carrying on the war this year by land and sea.

## 2

In the beginning of the year, on a letter from Lucius Marcius being laid before the senate, they considered his achievements as most glorious; but the title of honour which he assumed (for though he was neither invested with the command by the order of the people, nor by the direction of the fathers, his letter ran in this form, "The propraetor to the senate") gave offence to a great many. It was considered as an injurious precedent for generals to be chosen by the armies, and for the solemn ceremony of elections, held under auspices, to be transferred to camps and provinces, and (far from the control of the laws and magistrates) to military thoughtlessness. And though some gave it as their opinion, that the sense of the senate should be taken on the matter, yet it was thought more advisable that the discussion should be postponed till after the departure of the horsemen who brought the letter from Marcius. It was resolved, that an answer should be returned respecting the corn and clothing of the army, stating, that the senate would direct its attention to both those matters; but that the letter should not be addressed to Lucius Marcius, propraetor, lest he should consider that as already determined which was the very point they reserved for discussion. After the horsemen were dismissed, it was the first thing the consuls brought before the senate; and the opinions of all to a man coincided, that the plebeian tribunes should be instructed to consult the commons with all possible speed, as to whom they might resolve to send into Spain to take the command of that army which had been under the conduct of Cneius Scipio. The plebeian tribunes were instructed accordingly, and the question was published. But another contest had pre-engaged the minds of the people: Caius Sempronius Blaesus, having brought Cneius Fulvius to trial for the loss of the army in Apulia, harassed him with invectives in the public assemblies: "Many generals," he reiterated, "had by indiscretion and ignorance brought their armies into most perilous situations, but none, save Cneius Fulvius, had corrupted his legions by every species of excess before he betrayed them to the enemy; it might therefore with truth be said, that they were lost before they saw the enemy, and that they were defeated, not by Hannibal, but by their own general. No man, when he gave his vote, took sufficient pains in ascertaining who it was to whom he was intrusting an army. What a difference was there between this man and Tiberius Sempronius! The latter having been intrusted with an army of slaves, had in a short time brought it to pass, by discipline and authority, that not one of them in the field of battle remembered his condition and birth, but they became a protection to our allies and a terror to our enemies. They had snatched, as it were, from the very jaws of Hannibal, and restored to the Roman people, Cumae, Beneventum, and other towns. But Cneius Fulvius had infected with the vices peculiar to slaves, an army of Roman citizens, of honourable parentage and liberal education; and had thus made them insolent and turbulent among their allies, inefficient and dastardly among their enemies, unable to sustain, not only the charge, but the shout of the Carthaginians. But, by Hercules, it was no wonder that the troops did not stand their ground in the battle, when their general was the first to fly; with him, the greater wonder was that any had fallen at their posts, and that they were not all the companions of Cneius Fulvius in his consternation and his flight. Caius Flaminius, Lucius Paullus, Lucius Posthumius, Cneius and Publius Scipio, had preferred falling in the battle to abandoning their armies when in the power of the enemy. But Cneius Fulvius was almost the only man who returned to Rome to report the annihilation of his army. It was a shameful crime that the army of Cannae should be transported into Sicily, because they fled from the field of battle, and not be allowed to return till the enemy has quitted Italy; that the same decree should have been lately passed with respect to the legions of Cneius Fulvius; while Cneius Fulvius himself has no

punishment inflicted upon him for running away, in a battle brought about by his own indiscretion; that he himself should be permitted to pass his old age in stews and brothels, where he passed his youth, while his troops, whose only crime was that they resembled their general, should be sent away in a manner into banishment, and suffer an ignominious service. So unequally," he said, "was liberty shared at Rome by the rich and the poor, by the ennobled and the common people."

### 3

The accused shifted the blame from himself to his soldiers; he said, "that in consequence of their having in the most turbulent manner demanded battle, they were led into the field, not on the day they desired, for it was then evening, but on the following; that they were drawn up at a suitable time and on favourable ground; but either the reputation or the strength of the enemy was such, that they were unable to stand their ground. When they all fled precipitately, he himself also was carried away with the crowd, as had happened to Varro at the battle of Cannae, and to many other generals. How could he, by his sole resistance, benefit the republic, unless his death would remedy the public disasters? that he was not defeated in consequence of a failure in his provisions; that he had not, from want of caution, been drawn into a disadvantageous position; that he had not been cut off by an ambuscade in consequence of not having explored his route, but had been vanquished by open force, and by arms, in a regular engagement. He had not in his power the minds of his own troops, or those of the enemy. Courage and cowardice were the result of each man's natural constitution." He was twice accused, and the penalty was laid at a fine. On the third accusation, at which witnesses were produced, he was not only overwhelmed with an infinity of disgraceful charges, but a great many asserted on oath, that the flight and panic commenced with the praetor, that the troops being deserted by him, and concluding that the fears of their general were not unfounded, turned their backs; when so strong a feeling of indignation was excited, that the assembly clamorously rejoined that he ought to be tried capitally. This gave rise to a new controversy; for when the tribune, who had twice prosecuted him as for a finable offence, now, on the third occasion, declared that he prosecuted him capitally; the tribunes of the commons being appealed to, said, "they would not prevent their colleague from proceeding, as he was permitted according to the custom of their ancestors, in the manner he himself preferred, whether according to the laws or to custom, until he had obtained judgment against a private individual, convicting him either of a capital or finable offence." Upon this, Sempronius said, that he charged Cneius Fulvius with the crime of treason; and requested Caius Calpurnius, the city praetor, to appoint a day for the comitia. Another ground of hope was then tried by the accused, viz. if his brother, Quintus Fulvius, could be present at his trial, who was at that time flourishing in the fame of his past achievements and in the near expectation of taking Capua. Fulvius wrote to the senate, requesting the favour in terms calculated to excite compassion, in order to save the life of his brother; but the fathers replied, that the interest of the state would not admit of his leaving Capua. Cneius Fulvius, therefore, before the day appointed for the comitia arrived, went into exile to Tarquinii, and the commons resolved that it was a legal exile.

### 4

Meanwhile all the strength of the war was directed against Capua. It was, however, more strictly blockaded than besieged. The slaves and populace could neither endure the famine, nor send messengers to Hannibal through guards so closely stationed. A

Numidian was at length found, who, on undertaking to make his way with it, was charged with a letter; and going out by night, through the midst of the Roman camp, in order to fulfil his promise, he inspired the Campanians with confidence to try the effect of a sally from every quarter, while they had any strength remaining. In the many encounters which followed, their cavalry were generally successful, but their infantry were beaten: however, it was by no means so joyful to conquer, as it was miserable to be worsted in any respect by a besieged and almost subdued enemy. A plan was at length adopted, by which their deficiency in strength might be compensated by stratagem. Young men were selected from all the legions, who, from the vigour and activity of their bodies, excelled in swiftness; these were supplied with bucklers shorter than those worn by horsemen, and seven javelins each, four feet in length, and pointed with steel in the same manner as the spears used by light-armed troops. The cavalry taking one of these each upon their horses, accustomed them to ride behind them, and to leap down nimbly when the signal was given. When, by daily practice, they appeared to be able to do this in an orderly manner, they advanced into the plain between the camp and the walls, against the cavalry of the Campanians, who stood there prepared for action. As soon as they came within a dart's cast, on a signal given, the light troops leaped down, when a line of infantry formed out of the body of horse suddenly rushed upon the cavalry of the enemy, and discharged their javelins one after another with great rapidity; which being thrown in great numbers upon men and horses indiscriminately, wounded a great many. The sudden and unsuspected nature of the attack, however, occasioned still greater terror; and the cavalry charging them, thus panic-struck, chased them with great slaughter as far as their gates. From that time the Roman cavalry had the superiority; and it was established that there should be velites in the legions. It is said that Quintus Navius was the person who advised the mixing of infantry with cavalry, and that he received honour from the general on that account.

## 5

While affairs were in this state at Capua, Hannibal was perplexed between two objects, the gaining possession of the citadel of Tarentum, and the retaining of Capua. His concern for Capua, however, prevailed, on which he saw that the attention of every body, allies and enemies, was fixed; and whose fate would be regarded as a proof of the consequences resulting from defection from the Romans. Leaving therefore, a great part of his baggage among the Bruttians, and all his heavier armed troops, he took with him a body of infantry and cavalry, the best he could select for marching expeditiously, and bent his course into Campania. Rapidly as he marched he was followed by thirty-three elephants. He took up his position in a retired valley behind Mount Tifata, which overhung Capua. Having at his coming taken possession of fort Galatia, the garrison of which he dislodged by force, he then directed his efforts against those who were besieging Capua. Having sent forward messengers to Capua stating the time at which he would attack the Roman camp, in order that they also, having gotten themselves in readiness for a sally, might at the same time pour forth from all their gates, he occasioned the greatest possible terror; for on one side he himself attacked them suddenly, and on the other side all the Campanians sallied forth, both foot and horse, joined by the Carthaginian garrison under the command of Bostar and Hanno. The Romans, lest in so perilous an affair they should leave any part unprotected, by running together to any one place, thus divided their forces: Appius Claudius was opposed to the Campanians; Fulvius to Hannibal; Caius Nero, the propraetor, with the cavalry of the sixth legion, placed himself in the road leading to Suessula; and Caius Fulvius Flaccus,

the lieutenant-general, with the allied cavalry, on the side opposite the river Vulturnus. The battle commenced not only with the usual clamour and tumult, but in addition to the din of men, horses, and arms, a multitude of Campanians, unable to bear arms, being distributed along the walls, raised such a shout together with the clangour of brazen vessels, similar to that which is usually made in the dead of night when the moon is eclipsed, that it diverted the attention even of the combatants. Appius easily repulsed the Campanians from the rampart. On the other side Hannibal and the Carthaginians, forming a larger force, pressed hard on Fulvius. There the sixth legion gave way; being repulsed, a cohort of Spaniards with three elephants made their way up to the rampart. They had broken through the centre of the Roman line, and were in a state of anxious and perilous suspense, whether to force their way into the camp, or be cut off from their own army. When Fulvius saw the disorder of the legion, and the danger the camp was in, he exhorted Quintus Navius, and the other principal centurions, to charge the cohort of the enemy which was fighting under the rampart; he said, "that the state of things was most critical; that either they must retire before them, in which case they would burst into the camp with less difficulty than they had experienced in breaking through a dense line of troops, or they must cut them to pieces under the rampart: nor would it require a great effort; for they were few, and cut off from their own troops, and if the line which appeared broken, now while the Romans were dispirited, should turn upon the enemy on both sides, they would become enclosed in the midst, and exposed to a twofold attack." Navius, on hearing these words of the general, snatched the standard of the second company of spearmen from the standard-bearer, and advanced with it against the enemy, threatening that he would throw it into the midst of them unless the soldiers promptly followed him and took part in the fight. He was of gigantic stature, and his arms set him off; the standard also, raised aloft, attracted the gaze both of his countrymen and the enemy. When, however, he had reached the standards of the Spaniards, javelins were poured upon him from all sides, and almost the whole line was turned against him; but neither the number of his enemies nor the force of the weapons could repel the onset of this hero.

## 6

Marcus Atilius, the lieutenant-general, also caused the standard of the first company of principes of the same legion to be borne against a cohort of the Spaniards. Lucius Portius Licinus and Titus Popilius, the lieutenant-generals, who had the command of the camp, fought valiantly in defence of the rampart, and slew the elephants while in the very act of crossing it. The carcasses of these filling up the ditch, afforded a passage for the enemy as effectually as if earth had been thrown in, or a bridge erected over it; and a horrid carnage took place amid the carcasses of the elephants which lay prostrate. On the other side of the camp, the Campanians, with the Carthaginian garrison, had by this time been repulsed, and the battle was carried on immediately under the gate of Capua leading to Vulturnus. Nor did the armed men contribute so much in resisting the Romans, who endeavoured to force their way in, as the gate itself, which, being furnished with ballistas and scorpions, kept the enemy at bay by the missiles discharged from it. The ardour of the Romans was also clamped by the general, Appius Claudius, receiving a wound; he was struck by a javelin in the upper part of his breast, beneath the left shoulder, while encouraging his men before the front line. A great number, however, of the enemy were slain before the gate, and the rest were driven in disorder into the city. When Hannibal saw the destruction of the cohort of Spaniards, and that the camp of the enemy was defended with the utmost vigour, giving up the assault, he

began to withdraw his standards, making his infantry face about, but throwing out his cavalry in the rear lest the enemy should pursue them closely. The ardour of the legions to pursue the enemy was excessive, but Flaccus ordered a retreat to be sounded, considering that enough had been achieved to convince the Campanians, and Hannibal himself, how unable he was to afford them protection. Some who have undertaken to give accounts of this battle, record that eight thousand of the army of Hannibal, and three thousand Campanians, were slain; that fifteen military standards were taken from the Carthaginians, and eighteen from the Campanians. In other authors I find the battle to have been by no means so important, and that there was more of panic than fighting; that a party of Numidians and Spaniards suddenly bursting into the Roman camp with some elephants, the elephants, as they made their way through the midst of the camp, threw down their tents with a great noise, and caused the beasts of burden to break their halters and run away. That in addition to the confusion occasioned, a stratagem was employed; Hannibal having sent in some persons acquainted with the Latin language, for he had some such with him, who might command the soldiers, in the name of the consuls, to escape every one as fast as he could to the neighbouring mountains, since the camp was lost; but that the imposture was soon discovered, and frustrated with a great slaughter of the enemy; that the elephants were driven out of the camp by fire. However commenced, and however terminated, this was the last battle which was fought before the surrender of Capua. Seppius Lesius was Medixtuticus, or chief magistrate of Capua, that year, a man of obscure origin and slender fortune. It is reported that his mother, when formerly expiating a prodigy which had occurred in the family in behalf of this boy, who was an orphan, received an answer from the aruspex, stating, that "the highest office would come to him;" and that not recognising, at Capua, any ground for such a hope, exclaimed, "the state of the Campanians must be desperate indeed, when the highest office shall come to my son." But even this expression, in which the response was turned into ridicule, turned to be true, for those persons whose birth allowed them to aspire to high offices, refusing to accept them when the city was oppressed by sword and famine, and when all hope was lost, Lesius, who complained that Capua was deserted and betrayed by its nobles, accepted the office of chief magistrate, being the last Campanian who held it.

## 7

But Hannibal, when he saw that the enemy could not be drawn into another engagement, nor a passage be forced through their camp into Capua, resolved to remove his camp from that place and leave the attempt unaccomplished, fearful lest the new consuls might cut off his supplies of provision. While anxiously deliberating on the point to which he should next direct his course, an impulse suddenly entered his mind to make an attack on Rome, the very source of the war. That the opportunity of accomplishing this ever coveted object, which occurred after the battle of Cannae, had been neglected, and was generally censured by others, he himself did not deny. He thought that there was some hope that he might be able to get possession of some part of the city, in consequence of the panic and confusion which his unexpected approach would occasion, and that if Rome were in danger, either both the Roman generals, or at least one of them, would immediately leave Capua; and if they divided their forces, both generals being thus rendered weaker, would afford a favourable opportunity either to himself or the Campanians of gaining some advantage. One consideration only disquieted him, and that was, lest on his departure the Campanians should immediately surrender. By means of presents he induced a Numidian, who was ready to attempt any

thing, however daring, to take charge of a letter; and, entering the Roman camp under the disguise of a deserter, to pass out privately on the other side and go to Capua. As to the letter, it was full of encouragement. It stated, that "his departure, which would be beneficial to them, would have the effect of drawing off the Roman generals and armies from the siege of Capua to the defence of Rome. That they must not allow their spirits to sink; that by a few days' patience they would rid themselves entirely of the siege." He then ordered the ships on the Vulturnus to be seized, and rowed up to the fort which he had before erected for his protection. And when he was informed that there were as many as were necessary to convey his army across in one night, after providing a stock of provisions for ten days, he led his legions down to the river by night, and passed them over before daylight.

## 8

Fulvius Flaccus, who had discovered from deserters that this would happen, before it took place, having written to Rome to the senate to apprise them of it, men's minds were variously affected by it according to the disposition of each. As might be expected in so alarming an emergency, the senate was immediately assembled, when Publius Cornelius, surnamed Asina, was for recalling all the generals and armies from every part of Italy to protect the city, disregarding Capua and every other concern. Fabius Maximus thought that it would be highly disgraceful to retire from Capua, and allow themselves to be terrified and driven about at the nod and menaces of Hannibal. "Was it probable that he, who, though victorious at Cannae, nevertheless dared not approach the city, now, after having been repulsed from Capua, had conceived hopes of making himself master of Rome? It was not to besiege Rome, but to raise the siege of Capua that he was coming. Jupiter, the witness of treaties violated by Hannibal, and the other deities, would defend the city of Rome with that army which is now at the city." To these opposite opinions, that of Publius Valerius Flaccus, which recommended a middle course, was preferred. Regardful of both objects, he thought that a letter should be written to the generals at Capua, informing them of the force they had at the city for its protection, and stating, that as to the number of forces which Hannibal was bringing with him, or how large an army was necessary to carry on the siege of Capua, they themselves knew. If one of the generals and a part of the army could be sent to Rome, and at the same time Capua could be efficiently besieged by the remaining general and army, that then Claudius and Fulvius should settle between themselves which should continue the siege of Capua, and which should come to Rome to protect their capital from being besieged. This decree of the senate having been conveyed to Capua, Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, who was to go to Rome, as his colleague was ill from his wound, crossed the Vulturnus with a body of troops, to the number of fifteen thousand infantry and a thousand horse, selected from the three armies. Then having ascertained that Hannibal intended to proceed along the Latin road, he sent persons before him to the towns on and near the Appian way, Setia, Cora, and Lanuvium, with directions that they should not only have provisions ready in their towns, but should bring them down to the road from the fields which lay out of the way, and that they should draw together into their towns troops for their defence, in order that each state might be under its own protection.

## 9

On the day he crossed the Vulturnus, Hannibal pitched his camp at a small distance from the river. The next day, passing by Cales, he reached the Sidicinian territory, and having

spent a day there in devastating the country, he led his troops along the Latin way through the territory of Suessa, Allifae, and Casinum. Under the walls of Casinum he remained encamped for two days, ravaging the country all around; thence passing by Interamna and Aquinum, he came into the Fregellan territory, to the river Liris, where he found the bridge broken down by the Fregellans in order to impede his progress. Fulvius also was detained at the Vulturnus, in consequence of Hannibal's having burnt the ships, and the difficulty he had in procuring rafts to convey his troops across that river from the great scarcity of materials. The army having been conveyed across by rafts, the remainder of the march of Fulvius was uninterrupted, a liberal supply of provisions having been prepared for him, not only in all the towns, but also on the sides of the road; while his men, who were all activity, exhorted each other to quicken their pace, remembering that they were going to defend their country. A messenger from Fregella, who had travelled a day and a night without intermission, arriving at Rome, caused the greatest consternation; and the whole city was thrown into a state of alarm by the running up and down of persons who made vague additions to what they heard, and thus increased the confusion which the original intelligence created. The lamentations of women were not only heard from private houses, but the matrons from every quarter, rushing into the public streets, ran up and down around the shrines of the gods, sweeping the altars with their dishevelled hair, throwing themselves upon their knees and stretching their uplifted hands to heaven and the gods, imploring them to rescue the city of Rome out of the hands of their enemies, and preserve the Roman mothers and their children from harm. The senate sat in the forum near the magistrates, in case they should wish to consult them. Some were receiving orders and departing to their own department of duty; others were offering themselves wherever there might be occasion for their aid. Troops were posted in the citadel, in the Capitol, upon the walls around the city, and also on the Alban mount, and the fort of Aesula. During this confusion, intelligence was brought that Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, had set out from Capua with an army; when the senate decreed that Quintus Fulvius should have equal authority with the consuls, lest on entering the city his power should cease. Hannibal, having most destructively ravaged the Fregellan territory, on account of the bridge having been broken down, came into the territory of the Lavici, passing through those of Frusino, Ferentinum, and Anagnia; thence passing through Algidum he directed his course to Tusculum; but not being received within the walls, he went down to the right below Tusculum to Gabii; and marching his army down thence into the territory of the Pupinian tribe, he pitched his camp eight miles from the city. The nearer the enemy came, the greater was the number of fugitives slain by the Numidians who preceded him, and the greater the number of prisoners made of every rank and age.

## 10

During this confusion, Fulvius Flaccus entered the city with his troops through the Capuan gate, passed through the midst of the city, and through Carinae, to Esquiliae; and going out thence, pitched his camp between the Esquiline and Colline gates. The plebeian aediles brought a supply of provisions there. The consuls and the senate came to the camp, and a consultation was held on the state of the republic. It was resolved that the consuls should encamp in the neighbourhood of the Colline and Esquiline gates; that Caius Calpurnius, the city praetor, should have the command of the Capitol and the citadel; and that a full senate should be continually assembled in the forum, in case it should be necessary to consult them amidst such sudden emergencies. Meanwhile, Hannibal advanced his camp to the Anio, three miles from the city, and fixing his

position there, he advanced with two thousand horse from the Colline gate as far as the temple of Hercules, and riding up, took as near a view as he could of the walls and site of the city. Flaccus, indignant that he should do this so freely, and so much at his ease, sent out a party of cavalry, with orders to displace and drive back to their camp the cavalry of the enemy. After the fight had begun, the consuls ordered the Numidian deserters who were on the Aventine, to the number of twelve hundred, to march through the midst of the city to the Esquiliae, judging that no troops were better calculated to fight among the hollows, the garden walls, and tombs, or in the enclosed roads which were on all sides. But some persons, seeing them from the citadel and Capitol as they filed off on horseback down the Publician hill, cried out that the Aventine was taken. This circumstance occasioned such confusion and terror, that if the Carthaginian camp had not been without the city, the whole multitude, such was their alarm, would have rushed out. They then fled for refuge into their houses and upon the roofs, where they threw stones and weapons on their own soldiers as they passed along the streets, taking them for enemies. Nor could the tumult be repressed, or the mistake explained, as the streets were thronged with crowds of rustics and cattle, which the sudden alarm had driven into the city. The battle between the cavalry was successful, and the enemy were driven away; and as it was necessary to repress the tumults which were arising in several quarters without any cause, it was resolved that all who had been dictators, consuls, or censors, should be invested with authority till such time as the enemy had retired from the walls. During the remainder of the day and the following night, several tumults arose without any foundation, and were repressed.

## 11

The next day Hannibal, crossing the Anio, drew out all his forces in order of battle; nor did Flaccus and the consuls decline to fight. When the troops on both sides were drawn up to try the issue of a battle, in which Rome was to be the prize of the victors, a violent shower of rain mingled with hail created such disorder in both the lines, that the troops, scarcely able to hold their arms, retired to their camps, less through fear of the enemy than of any thing else. On the following day, likewise, a similar tempest separated the armies marshalled on the same ground; but after they had retired to their camps the weather became wonderfully serene and tranquil. The Carthaginians considered this circumstance as a Divine interposition, and it is reported that Hannibal was heard to say, "That sometimes he wanted the will to make himself master of Rome, at other times the opportunity." Two other circumstances also, one inconsiderable, the other important, diminished his hopes. The important one was, that while he lay with his armed troops near the walls of the city, he was informed that troops had marched out of it with colours flying, as a reinforcement for Spain; that of less importance was, that he was informed by one of his prisoners, that the very ground on which his camp stood was sold at this very time, without any diminution in its price. Indeed, so great an insult and indignity did it appear to him that a purchaser should be found at Rome for the very soil which he held and possessed by right of conquest, that he immediately called a crier, and ordered that the silversmiths' shops, which at that time stood around the Roman forum, should be put up for sale. Induced by these circumstances he retired to the river Tutia, six miles from the city, whence he proceeded to the grove of Feronia, where was a temple at that time celebrated for its riches. The Capenatians and other states in the neighbourhood, by bringing here their first-fruits and other offerings according to their abilities, kept it decorated with abundance of gold and silver. Of all these offerings the temple was now despoiled. After the departure of Hannibal, vast

heaps of brass were found there, as the soldiers, from a religious feeling, had thrown in pieces of uncoined brass. The spoliation of this temple is undoubted by historians; but Caelius asserts, that Hannibal, in his progress to Rome, turned out of his way to it from Eretum. According to him his route commenced with Amiternum, Caetili, and Reate. He came from Campania into Samnium, and thence into Pelignia; then passing the town Sulmio, he entered the territory of the Marrucini; thence through the Alban territory he came to that of the Marsi, from which he came to Amiternum and the village of Foruli. Nor is this diversity of opinion a proof that the traces of so great an army could be confounded in the lapse of so brief a period. That he went that way is evident. The only question is, whether he took this route to the city, or returned by it from the city into Campania?

## 12

With regard to Capua, Hannibal did not evince such obstinate perseverance in raising the siege of it as the Romans did in pressing it; for quitting Lucania, he came into the Bruttian territory, and marched to the strait and Rhegium with such rapidity, that he was very near taking the place by surprise, in consequence of the suddenness of his arrival. Though the siege had been urged with undiminished vigour during his absence, yet Capua felt the return of Flaccus; and astonishment was excited that Hannibal had not returned with him. Afterwards they learnt, by conversations, that they were abandoned and deserted, and that the Carthaginians had given up all hopes of retaining Capua. In addition to this a proclamation was made by the proconsul, agreeably to a decree of the senate, and published among the enemy, that any Campanian citizen who came over before a stated day should be indemnified. No one, however, came over, as they were held together by fear more than fidelity; for the crimes they had committed during their revolt were too great to admit of pardon. As none of them passed over to the enemy, consulting their own individual interest, so no measure of safety was taken with regard to the general body. The nobility had deserted the state, nor could they be induced to meet in the senate, while the office of chief magistrate was filled by a man who had not derived honour to himself from his office, but stripped the office of its influence and authority by his own unworthiness. Now none of the nobles made their appearance even in the forum, or any public place, but shut themselves up in their houses, in daily expectation of the downfall of their city, and their own destruction together. The chief responsibility in every thing devolved upon Bostar and Hanno, the praefects of the Punic garrison, who were anxious on account of their own danger, and not that of their allies. They addressed a letter to Hannibal, in terms, not only of freedom, but severity, charging him with "delivering, not only Capua into the hands of the enemy, but with treacherously abandoning themselves also, and their troops, to every species of torture;" they told him "he had gone off to the Bruttians, in order to get out of the way, as it were, lest Capua should be taken before his eyes; while, by Hercules, the Romans, on the contrary, could not be drawn off from the siege of Capua, even by an attack upon their city. So much more constant were the Romans in their enmity than the Carthaginians in their friendship. If he would return to Capua and direct the whole operations of the war to that point, that both themselves and the Campanians would be prepared for a sally. That they had crossed the Alps not to carry on a war with the people of Rhegium nor Tarentum. That where the Roman legions were, there the armies of the Carthaginians ought to be. Thus it was that victories had been gained at Cannae and Trasimenum; by uniting, by pitching their camp close to that of the enemy, by trying their fortune." A letter to this effect was given to some Numidians who had already

engaged to render their services for a stated reward. These men came into the camp to Flaccus under pretence of being deserters, with the intention of quitting it by seizing an opportunity, and the famine, which had so long existed at Capua, afforded a pretext for desertion which no one could suspect. But a Campanian woman, the paramour of one of the deserters, unexpectedly entered the camp, and informed the Roman general that the Numidians had come over according to a preconcerted plan of treachery, and were the bearers of letters to Hannibal; that she was prepared to convict one of the party of that fact, as he had discovered it to her. On being brought forward, he at first pretended, with considerable pertinacity, that he did not know the woman; but afterwards, gradually succumbing to the force of truth, when he saw the instruments of torture called for and preparing, he confessed that it was so. The letters were produced, and a discovery was made of an additional fact, before concealed, that other Numidians were strolling about in the Roman camp, under pretence of being deserters. Above seventy of these were arrested, and, with the late deserters, scourged with rods; and after their hands had been cut off, were driven back to Capua. The sight of so severe a punishment broke the spirit of the Campanians.

### 13

The people, rushing in crowds to the senate-house, compelled Lesius to assemble a senate, and openly threatened the nobles, who had now for a long time absented themselves from the public deliberations, that unless they attended the meeting of the senate, they would go round to their houses and drag them all before the public by force. The fear of this procured the magistrate a full senate. Here, while the rest contended for sending ambassadors to the Roman generals, Vibius Virrius, who had been the instigator of the revolt from the Romans, on being asked his opinion, observed, that "those persons who spoke of sending ambassadors, and of peace, and a surrender, did not bear in mind either what they would do if they had the Romans in their power, or what they themselves must expect to suffer. What! do you think," says he, "that your surrender will be like that in which formerly we placed ourselves and every thing belonging to us at the disposal of the Romans, in order that we might obtain assistance from them against the Samnites? Have you already forgotten at what a juncture we revolted from the Romans, and what were their circumstances? Have you forgotten how at the time of the revolt we put to death, with torture and indignity, their garrison, which might have been sent out? How often, and with determined hostility, we have sallied out against them when besieging us, and assaulted their camp? How we invited Hannibal to come and cut them off? And how most recently we sent him hence to lay siege to Rome? But come, retrace on the other hand what they have done in hostility towards us, that you may learn therefrom what you have to hope for. When a foreign enemy was in Italy, and that enemy Hannibal; when the flame of war was kindled in every quarter; disregarding every other object, disregarding even Hannibal himself, they sent two consuls with two consular armies to lay siege to Capua. This is the second year, that, surrounded with lines and shut up within our walls, they consume us by famine, having suffered in like manner with ourselves the extremest dangers and the severest hardships, having frequently had their troops slain near their rampart and trenches, and at last having been almost deprived of their camp. But I pass over these matters. It has been usual, even from of old, to suffer dangers and hardships in besieging an enemy's city. The following is a proof of their animosity and bitter hatred. Hannibal assaulted their camp with an immense force of horse and foot, and took a part of it. By so great a danger they were not in the least diverted from the siege. Crossing the

Vulturnus, he laid waste the territory of Cales with fire. Such calamities inflicted upon their allies had no effect in calling them off. He ordered his troops to march in hostile array to the very city of Rome. They despised the tempest which threatened them in this case also. Crossing the Anio, he pitched his camp three miles from the city, and lastly, came up to the very walls and gates. He gave them to understand that he would take their city from them, unless they gave up Capua. But they did not give it up. Wild beasts, impelled by headlong fury and rage, you may divert from their object to bring assistance to those belonging to them, if you attempt to approach their dens and their young. The Romans could not be diverted from Capua by the blockade of Rome, by their wives and children, whose lamentations could almost be heard from this place, by their altars, their hearths, the temples of their gods, and the sepulchres of their ancestors profaned and violated. So great was their avidity to bring us to punishment, so insatiable their thirst for drinking our blood. Nor, perhaps, without reason. We too would have done the same had the opportunity been afforded us. Since, however, the gods have thought proper to determine it otherwise, though I ought not to shrink from death, while I am free, while I am master of myself, I have it in my power, by a death not only honourable but mild, to escape the tortures and indignities which the enemy hope to inflict upon me. I will not see Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius in the pride and insolence of victory, nor will I be dragged in chains through Rome as a spectacle in a triumph, that afterwards in a dungeon, or tied to a stake, after my back has been lacerated with stripes, I may place my neck under a Roman axe. I will neither see my native city demolished and burnt, nor the matrons, virgins, and free-born youths of Campania dragged to constupration. Alba, from which they themselves derived their origin, they demolished from her foundations, that there might remain no trace of their rise and extraction, much less can I believe they will spare Capua, towards which they bear a more rancorous hatred than towards Carthage. For such of you, therefore, as have a mind to yield to fate, before they behold such horrors, a banquet is furnished and prepared at my house. When satiated with wine and food, the same cup which shall have been given to me shall be handed round to them. That potion will rescue our bodies from torture, our minds from insult, our eyes and ears from seeing and hearing all those cruelties and indignities which await the vanquished. There will be persons in readiness who will throw our lifeless bodies upon a large pile kindled in the court-yard of the house. This is the only free and honourable way to death. Our very enemies will admire our courage, and Hannibal will learn that those whom he deserted and betrayed were brave allies."

#### 14

More of those who heard this speech of Virrius approved of the proposal contained in it, than had strength of mind to execute what they approved. The greater part of the senate being not without hopes that the Romans, whose clemency they had frequently had proof of in many wars, would be exorable by them also, decreed and sent ambassadors to surrender Capua to the Romans. About twenty-seven senators, following Vibius Virrius to his home, partook of the banquet with him; and after having, as far as they could, withdrawn their minds, by means of wine, from the perception of the impending evil, all took the poison. They then rose from the banquet, after giving each other their right hands, and taking a last embrace, mingling their tears for their own and their country's fate; some of them remained, that they might be burned upon the same pile, and the rest retired to their homes. Their veins being filled in consequence of what they had eaten, and the wine they drank, rendered the poison less efficacious in expediting

death; and accordingly, though the greater part of them languished the whole of that night and part of the following day, all of them, however, breathed their last before the gates were opened to the enemy. The following day the gate of Jupiter, which faced the Roman camp, was opened by order of the proconsul, when one legion and two squadrons of allies marched in at it, under the command of Caius Fulvius, lieutenant-general. When he had taken care that all the arms and weapons to be found in Capua should be brought to him; having placed guards at all the gates to prevent any one's going or being sent out, he seized the Carthaginian garrison, and ordered the Campanian senators to go into the camp to the Roman generals. On their arrival they were all immediately thrown into chains, and ordered to lay before the quaestor an account of all the gold and silver they had. There were seventy pounds of gold, and three thousand two hundred of silver. Twenty-five of the senators were sent to Cales, to be kept in custody, and twenty-eight to Teanum; these being the persons by whose advice principally it appeared that the revolt from the Romans had taken place.

## 15

Fulvius and Claudius were far from being agreed as to the punishment of the Campanian senators. Claudius was disposed to grant their prayer for pardon, but Fulvius was more inclined to severity. Appius, therefore, was for referring the entire disposal of the question to the Roman senate. He thought it right also, that the fathers should have the opportunity of asking them whether any of the Latin confederates, or of the municipal towns, had taken part in these designs, and whether they had derived any assistance from them in the war. Fulvius, on the contrary, urged that they ought by no means to run the hazard of having the minds of faithful allies harassed by doubtful accusations, and subjected to informers who never cared at all what they did or what they said. For this reason he said that he should prevent and put a stop to any such inquiry. After this conversation they separated; Appius not doubting but that his colleague, though he expressed himself so warmly, would, nevertheless, wait for a letter from Rome, in an affair of such magnitude. But Fulvius, fearing that his designs would be frustrated by that very means, dismissed his council, and commanded the military tribunes and the praefects of the allies to give notice to two thousand chosen horsemen to be in readiness at the third trumpet. Setting out for Teanum with this body of cavalry, he entered the gate at break of day, and proceeded direct to the forum; and a number of people having flocked together at the first entrance of the horsemen, he ordered the Sidicinian magistrate to be summoned; when he desired him to bring forth the Campanians whom he had in custody. These were all accordingly brought forth, scourged, and beheaded. He then proceeded at full speed to Cales; where, when he had taken his seat on the tribunal, and while the Campanians, who had been brought forth, were being bound to the stake, an express arrived from Rome, and delivered to him a letter from Caius Calpurnius, the praetor, and a decree of the senate. A murmur immediately pervaded the whole assembly, beginning at the tribunal, that the entire question respecting the Campanians was referred to the decision of the fathers, and Fulvius, suspecting this to be the case, took the letter, and without opening it put it into his bosom, and then commanded the crier to order the lictor to do his duty. Thus punishment was inflicted on those also who were at Cales. The letter was then read, together with the decree of the senate, when it was too late to prevent the business which was already executed, and which had been accelerated by every means to prevent its being obstructed. When Fulvius was now rising from his seat, Jubellius Taurea, a Campanian making his way through the middle of the city and the crowd,

called upon him by name, and when Flaccus, who wondered greatly what he could want, had resumed his seat, he said, "Order me also to be put to death, that you may be able to boast, that a much braver man than yourself has been put to death by you." Fulvius at first said, that the man could not certainly be in his senses, then, that he was restrained by a decree of the senate, even though he might wish it, when Jubellius exclaimed "Since, after the capture of my country, and the loss of my relations and friends, after having killed, with my own hand, my wife and children to prevent their suffering any indignity, I am not allowed even to die in the same manner as these my countrymen, let a rescue be sought in courage from this hated existence." So saying, he thrust a sword, which he had concealed under his garment, right through his breast, and fell lifeless at the general's feet.

## 16

Because not only what related to the punishment of the Campanians, but most of the other particulars of this affair, were transacted according to the judgment of Flaccus alone, some authors affirm that Appius Claudius died about the time of the surrender of Capua, and that this same Taurea neither came to Cales voluntarily nor died by his own hand, but that while he was being tied to the stake among the rest, Flaccus, who could not distinctly hear what he vociferated from the noise which was made, ordered silence, when Taurea said the things which have been before related "that he, a man of the greatest courage, was being put to death by one who was by no means his equal in respect to valour." That immediately on his saying this, the herald, by command of the proconsul, pronounced this order. "Lictor, apply the rods to this man of courage, and execute the law upon him first." Some authors also relate, that he read the decree of the senate before he beheaded them, but that as there was a clause in it, to the effect, that if he thought proper he should refer the entire question to the senate, he construed it that the decision as to what was most for the interest of the state was left to himself. He returned from Cales to Capua. Atella and Calatia surrendered themselves, and were received. Here also the principal promoters of the revolt were punished. Thus eighty principal members of the senate were put to death, and about three hundred of the Campanian nobles thrown into prison. The rest were distributed through the several cities of the Latin confederacy, to be kept in custody, where they perished in various ways. The rest of the Campanian citizens were sold. The remaining subject of deliberation related to the city and its territory. Some were of opinion that a city so eminently powerful, so near, and so hostile, ought to be demolished. But immediate utility prevailed, for on account of the land, which was evidently superior to any in Italy from the variety and exuberance of its produce, the city was preserved that it might become a settlement of husbandmen. For the purpose of peopling the city, a number of sojourners, freed-men, dealers, and artificers, were retained, but all the land and buildings were made the property of the Roman state. It was resolved, however, that Capua should only be inhabited and peopled as a city, that there should be no body-politic, nor assembly of the senate or people, nor magistrates. For it was thought that a multitude not possessing any public council, without a ruling power, and unconnected by the participation of any common rights, would be incapable of combination. They resolved to send a praefect annually from Rome to administer justice. Thus were matters adjusted at Capua, upon a plan in every respect worthy of commendation. Punishment was inflicted upon the most guilty with rigour and despatch, the populace dispersed beyond all hope of return, no rage vented in fire and ruins upon the unoffending houses and walls. Together also with advantage, a reputation for clemency

was obtained among the allies, by the preservation of a city of the greatest celebrity and opulence, the demolition of which, all Campania, and all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood of Campania, would have bewailed, while their enemies were compelled to admit the ability of the Romans to punish their faithless allies, and how little assistance could be derived from Hannibal towards the defence of those whom he had taken under his protection.

## 17

The Roman senate having gone through every thing which required their attention relative to Capua, decreed to Caius Nero six thousand foot and three hundred horse, whichever he should himself choose out of those two legions which he had commanded at Capua, with an equal number of infantry, and eight hundred horse of the Latin confederacy. This army Nero embarked at Puteoli, and conveyed over into Spain. Having arrived at Tarraco with his ships, landed his troops, hauled his ships ashore, and armed his mariners to augment his numbers, he proceeded to the river Iberus, and received the army from Titus Fonteius and Lucius Marcius. He then marched towards the enemy. Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, was encamped at the black stones in Ausetania, a place situated between the towns Illiturgi and Mentissa. The entrance of this defile Nero seized, and Hasdrubal, to prevent his being shut up in it, sent a herald to engage that, if he were allowed to depart thence, he would convey the whole of his army out of Spain. The Roman general having received this proposition gladly, Hasdrubal requested the next day for a conference, when the Romans might draw up conditions relative to the surrender of the citadels of the towns, and the appointment of a day on which the garrisons might be withdrawn, and the Carthaginians might remove every thing belonging to them without imposition. Having obtained his point in this respect, Hasdrubal gave orders that as soon as it was dark, and during the whole of the night afterwards, the heaviest part of his force should get out of the defile by whatever way they could. The strictest care was taken that many should not go out that night, that the very fewness of their numbers might both be more adapted to elude the notice of the enemy from their silence, and to an escape through confined and rugged paths. Next day they met for the conference; but that day having been spent, on purpose, in speaking and writing about a variety of subjects, which were not to this point, the conference was put off to the next day. The addition of the following night gave him time to send still more out; nor was the business concluded the next day. Thus several days were spent in openly discussing conditions, and as many nights in privately sending the Carthaginian troops out of their camp; and after the greater part of the army had been sent out, he did not even keep to those terms which he had himself proposed; and his sincerity decreasing with his fears, they became less and less agreed. By this time nearly all the infantry had cleared the defile, when at daybreak a dense mist enveloped the whole defile and the neighbouring plains; which Hasdrubal perceiving, sent to Nero to put off the conference to the following day, as the Carthaginians held that day sacred from the transaction of any serious business. Not even then was the cheat suspected. Hasdrubal having gained the indulgence he sought for that day also, immediately quitted his camp with his cavalry and elephants, and without creating any alarm escaped to a place of safety. About the fourth hour the mist, being dispelled by the sun, left the atmosphere clear, when the Romans saw that the camp of the enemy was deserted. Then at length Claudius, recognising the Carthaginian perfidy, and perceiving that he had been caught by trickery, immediately began to pursue the enemy as they moved off, prepared to give

battle; but they declined fighting. Some skirmishes, however, took place between the rear of the Carthaginians and the advanced guard of the Romans.

## 18

During the time in which these events occurred, neither did those states of Spain which had revolted after the defeat that was sustained, return to the Romans, nor did any others desert them. At Rome, the attention of the senate and people, after the recovery of Capua, was not fixed in a greater degree upon Italy than upon Spain. They resolved that the army there should be augmented and a general sent. They were not, however, so clear as to the person whom they should send, as that, where two generals had fallen within the space of thirty days, he who was to supply the place of them should be selected with unusual care. Some naming one person, and others another, they at length came to the resolution that the people should assemble for the purpose of electing a proconsul for Spain, and the consuls fixed a day for the election. At first they waited in expectation that those persons who might think themselves qualified for so momentous a command would give in their names, but this expectation being disappointed, their grief was renewed for the calamity they had suffered, and then regret for the generals they had lost. The people thus afflicted, and almost at their wits' end, came down, however, to the Campus Martius on the day of the election, where, turning towards the magistrates, they looked round at the countenances of their most eminent men, who were earnestly gazing at each other, and murmured bitterly, that their affairs were in so ruinous a state, and the condition of the commonwealth so desperate, that no one dared undertake the command in Spain. When suddenly Publius Cornelius, son of Publius who had fallen in Spain, who was about twenty-four years of age, declaring himself a candidate, took his station on an eminence from which he could be seen by all. The eyes of the whole assembly were directed towards him, and by acclamations and expressions of approbation, a prosperous and happy command were at once augured to him. Orders were then given that they should proceed to vote, when not only every century, but every individual to a man, decided that Publius Scipio should be invested with the command in Spain. But after the business had been concluded, and the ardour and impetuosity of their zeal had subsided, a sudden silence ensued, and a secret reflection on what they had done, whether their partiality had not got the better of their judgment? They chiefly regretted his youth, but some were terrified at the fortune which attended his house and his name, for while the two families to which he belonged were in mourning, he was going into a province where he must carry on his operations between the tombs of his father and his uncle.

## 19

Perceiving the solicitude and anxiety which people felt, after performing the business with so much ardour, he summoned an assembly, in which he discoursed in so noble and high minded a manner, on his years, the command intrusted to him, and the war which he had to carry on, as to rekindle and renew the ardour which had subsided, and inspire the people with more confident hopes than the reliance placed on human professions, or reasoning on the promising appearance of affairs, usually engenders. For Scipio was not only deserving of admiration for his real virtues, but also for his peculiar address in displaying them, to which he had been formed from his earliest years;-- effecting many things with the multitude, either by feigning nocturnal visions or as with a mind divinely inspired; whether it was that he was himself, too, endued with a superstitious turn of mind, or that they might execute his commands and adopt his

plans without hesitation, as if they proceeded from the responses of an oracle. With the intention of preparing men's minds for this from the beginning, he never at any time from his first assumption of the manly gown transacted any business, public or private, without first going to the Capitol, entering the temple, and taking his seat there; where he generally passed a considerable time in secret and alone. This practice, which was adhered to through the whole of his life, occasioned in some persons a belief in a notion which generally prevailed, whether designedly or undesignedly propagated, that he was a man of divine extraction; and revived a report equally absurd and fabulous with that formerly spread respecting Alexander the Great, that he was begotten by a huge serpent, whose monstrous form was frequently observed in the bedchamber of his mother, but which, on any one's coming in, suddenly unfolding his coils, glided out of sight. The belief in these miraculous accounts was never ridiculed by him, but rather increased by his address; neither positively denying any such thing nor openly affirming it. There were also many other things, some real and others counterfeit, which exceeded in the case of this young man the usual measure of human admiration, in reliance on which the state intrusted him with an affair of so much difficulty, and with so important a command, at an age by no means ripe for it. To the forces in Spain, consisting of the remains of the old army, and those which had been conveyed over from Puteoli by Claudius Nero, ten thousand infantry and a thousand horse were added; and Marcus Junius Silanus, the propraetor, was sent to assist in the management of affairs. Thus with a fleet of thirty ships, all of which were quinqueremes, he set sail from the mouth of the Tiber, and coasting along the shore of the Tuscan Sea, the Alps, and the Gallic Gulf, and then doubling the promontory of the Pyrenees, landed his troops at Emporiae, a Greek city, which also derived its origin from Phocaea. Ordering his ships to attend him, he marched by land to Tarraco; where he held a congress of deputies from all the allies; for embassies had poured forth from every province on the news of his arrival. Here he ordered his ships to be hauled on shore, having sent back the four triremes of the Massilians which had, in compliment to him, attended him from their home. After that, he began to give answers to the embassies of the several states, which had been in suspense on account of the many vicissitudes of the war; and this with so great dignity, arising from the great confidence he had in his own talents, that no presumptuous expression ever escaped him; and in every thing he said there appeared at once the greatest majesty and sincerity.

## 20

Setting out from Tarraco, he visited the states of his allies and the winter quarters of his army; and bestowed the highest commendations upon the soldiers, because, though they had received two such disastrous blows in succession, they had retained possession of the province, and not allowing the enemy to reap any advantage from their successes, had excluded them entirely from the territory on this side of the Iberus, and honourably protected their allies. Marcius he kept with him, and treated him with such respect, that it was perfectly evident there was nothing he feared less than lest any one should stand in the way of his own glory. Silanus then took the place of Nero, and the fresh troops were led into winter quarters. Scipio having in good time visited every place where his presence was necessary, and completed every thing which was to be done, returned to Tarraco. The reputation of Scipio among his enemies was not inferior to that which he enjoyed among his allies and countrymen. They felt also a kind of presentiment of what was to come, which occasioned the greater apprehension, the less they could account for their fears, which had arisen without any cause. They had retired

to their winter quarters in different directions. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, had gone quite to the ocean and Gades; Mago into the midland parts chiefly above the forest of Castulo; Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, wintered in the neighbourhood of Saguntum, close upon the Iberus. At the close of the summer in which Capua was recovered and Scipio entered Spain, a Carthaginian fleet, which had been fetched from Sicily to Tarentum, to cut off the supplies of the Roman garrison in the citadel of that place, had blocked up all the approaches to the citadel from the sea; but by lying there too long, they caused a greater scarcity of provisions to their friends than to their enemies. For so much corn could not be brought in for the townsmen, along the coasts which were friendly to them, and through the ports which were kept open through the protection afforded by the Carthaginian fleet, as the fleet itself consumed, which had on board a crowd made up of every description of persons. So that the garrison of the citadel, which was small in number, could be supported from the stock they had previously laid in without importing any, while that which they imported was not sufficient for the supply of the Tarentines and the fleet. At length the fleet was sent away with greater satisfaction than it was received. The scarcity of provisions, however, was not much relieved by it; because when the protection by sea was removed corn could not be brought in.

## 21

At the close of the same summer, Marcus Marcellus arriving at the city from his province of Sicily, an audience of the senate was given him by Caius Calpurnius, the praetor, in the temple of Bellona. Here, after discoursing on the services he had performed, and complaining in gentle terms, not on his own account more than that of his soldiers, that after having completely reduced the province, he had not been allowed to bring home his army, he requested that he might be allowed to enter the city in triumph; this he did not obtain. A long debate took place on the question, whether it was less consistent to deny a triumph on his return to him, in whose name, when absent, a supplication had been decreed and honours paid to the immortal gods, for successes obtained under his conduct; or, when they had ordered him to deliver over his army to a successor, which would not have been decreed unless there were still war in the province, to allow him to triumph, as if the war had been terminated, when the army, the evidence of the triumph being deserved or undeserved, were absent. As a middle course between the two opinions, it was resolved that he should enter the city in ovation. The plebeian tribunes, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people, that Marcus Marcellus should be invested with command during the day on which he should enter the city in ovation. The day before he entered the city he triumphed on the Alban mount; after which he entered the city in ovation, having a great quantity of spoils carried before him, together with a model of the capture of Syracuse. The catapultas and ballistas, and every other instrument of war were carried; likewise the rich ornaments laid up by its kings during a long continuance of peace; a quantity of wrought silver and brass, and other articles, with precious garments, and a number of celebrated statues, with which Syracuse had been adorned in such a manner as to rank among the chief Grecian cities in that respect. Eight elephants were also led as an emblem of victory over the Carthaginians. Sosis, the Syracusan, and Mericus, the Spaniard, who preceded him with golden crowns, formed not the least interesting part of the spectacle; under the guidance of one of whom the Romans had entered Syracuse by night, while the other had betrayed to them the island and the garrison in it. To both of them the freedom of the city was given, and five hundred acres of land each. Sosis was to have his portion in the Syracusan territory, out of the lands which had belonged either to the kings or the

enemies of the Roman people, together with a house at Syracuse, which had belonged to any one of those persons who had been punished according to the laws of war. Mericus and the Spaniards who had come over with him were ordered to have a city and lands assigned to them in Sicily, which had belonged to some of those who had revolted from the Romans. It was given in charge to Marcus Cornelius to assign them the city and lands wherever he thought proper. In the same country, four hundred acres of land were decreed to Belligenes, by whose means Mericus had been persuaded to come over. After the departure of Marcellus from Sicily, a Carthaginian fleet landed eight thousand infantry and three thousand Numidian cavalry. To these the Murgantian territories revolted; Hybla, Macella, and certain other towns of less note followed their defection. The Numidians also, headed by Mutines, ranging without restraint through the whole of Sicily, ravaged with fire the lands of the allies of the Romans. In addition to these unfortunate circumstances, the Roman soldiers, incensed partly because they had not been taken from the province with their general, and partly because they had been forbidden to winter in towns, discharged their duties negligently, and wanted a leader more than inclination for a mutiny. Amid these difficulties Marcus Cornelius, the praetor, sometimes by soothing, at other times by reproving them, pacified the minds of the soldiers; and reduced to obedience all the states which had revolted; out of which he gave Murgantia to those Spaniards who were entitled to a city and land, in conformity with the decree of the senate.

## 22

As both the consuls had Apulia for their province, and as there was now less to be apprehended from Hannibal and the Carthaginians, they were directed to draw lots for the provinces of Apulia and Macedonia. Macedonia fell to the lot of Sulpicius, who succeeded Laevinus. Fulvius having been called to Rome on account of the election, held an assembly to elect new consuls; when the junior Veturian century, which had the right of voting first, named Titus Manlius Torquatus and Titus Otacilius. A crowd collecting round Manlius, who was present, to congratulate him, and it being certain that the people would concur in his election, he went, surrounded as he was with a multitude of persons, to the tribunal of the consul, and requested that he would listen to a few words from him; and that he would order the century which had voted to be recalled. While all present were waiting impatiently to hear what it was he was going to ask, he alleged as an excuse the weakness of his eyes; observing, that "a pilot or a general might fairly be charged with presumption who should request that the lives and fortunes of others might be intrusted to him, when in every thing which was to be done he must make use of other people's eyes. Therefore he requested, that, if it seemed good to him, he would order the junior Veturian century to come and vote again; and to recollect, while electing consuls, the war which they had in Italy, and the present exigencies of the state. That their ears had scarcely yet ceased to ring with the noise and tumult raised by the enemy, when but a few months ago they nearly scaled the walls of Rome." This speech was followed by the century's shouting out, one and all, that "they would not in the least alter their vote, but would name the same persons for consuls;" when Torquatus replied, "neither shall I as consul be able to put up with your conduct, nor will you be satisfied with my government. Go back and vote again, and consider that you have a Punic war in Italy, and that the leader of your enemies is Hannibal." Upon this the century, moved by the authority of the man and the shouts of admirers around, besought the consul to summon the elder Veturian century; for they were desirous of conferring with persons older than themselves, and to name the consuls in accordance

with their advice. The elder Veturian century having been summoned, time was allowed them to confer with the others by themselves in the *ovile*. The elders said that there were three persons whom they ought to deliberate about electing, two of them having already served all the offices of honour, namely, Quintus Fabius and Marcus Marcellus; and if they wished so particularly to elect some fresh person as consul to act against the Carthaginians, that Marcus Valerius Laevinus had carried on operations against king Philip by sea and land with signal success. Thus, three persons having been proposed to them to deliberate about, the seniors were dismissed, and the juniors proceeded to vote. They named as consuls, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, then glorious with the conquest of Sicily, and Marcus Valerius, both in their absence. All the centuries followed the recommendation of that which voted first. Let men now ridicule the admirers of antiquity. Even if there existed a republic of wise men, which the learned rather imagine than know of; for my own part I cannot persuade myself that there could possibly be a nobility of sounder judgment, and more moderate in their desire of power, or a people better moralled. Indeed that a century of juniors should have been willing to consult their elders, as to the persons to whom they should intrust a command by their vote, is rendered scarcely probable by the contempt and levity with which the parental authority is treated by children in the present age.

### 23

The assembly for the election of praetors was then held, at which Publius Manlius Vulso, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, Caius Laetorius, and Lucius Cincius Alimentus were elected. It happened that just as the elections were concluded, news was brought that Titus Otacilius, whom it seemed the people would have made consul in his absence, with Titus Manlius, had not the course of the elections been interrupted, had died in Sicily. The games in honour of Apollo had been performed the preceding year, and on the motion of Calpurnius, the praetor, that they should be performed this year also, the senate decreed that they should be vowed every year for the time to come. The same year several prodigies were seen and reported. At the temple of Concord, a statue of Victory, which stood on the roof, having been struck by lightning and thrown down, stuck among the figures of Victory, which were among the ornaments under the eaves, and did not fall to the ground from thence. Both from Anagnia and Fregellae it was reported that a wall and some gates had been struck by lightning. That in the forum of Sudertum streams of blood had continued flowing through a whole day; at Eretum, that there had been a shower of stones; and at Reate, that a mule had brought forth. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the larger sort, the people were commanded to offer up prayers for one day, and perform the nine days' sacred rite. Several of the public priests died off this year, and fresh ones were appointed. In the room of Manius Aemilius Numida, decemvir for sacred rites, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was appointed; in the room of Manius Pomponius Matho, the pontiff, Caius Livius; in the room of Spurius Carvilius Maximus, the augur, Marcus Servilius. As Titus Otacilius Crassus, a pontiff, died after the year was concluded, no person was nominated to succeed him. Caius Claudius, flamen of Jupiter, retired from his office, because he had distributed the entrails improperly.

### 24

During the same time Marcus Valerius Laevinus, having first sounded the intentions of the leading men by means of secret conferences, came with some light ships to a council of the Aetolians, which had been previously appointed to meet for this very purpose. Here having proudly pointed to the capture of Syracuse and Capua, as proofs of the

success of the Roman arms in Sicily and Italy, he added, that "it was a custom with the Romans, handed down to them from their ancestors, to respect their allies; some of whom they had received into their state, and had admitted to the same privileges they enjoyed themselves, while others they treated so favourably that they chose rather to be allies than citizens. That the Aetolians would be honoured by them so much the more, because they were the first of the nations across the sea which had entered into friendship with them. That Philip and the Macedonians were troublesome neighbours to them, but that he had broken their strength and spirits already, and would still further reduce them to that degree, that they should not only evacuate the cities which they had violently taken from the Aetolians, but have Macedonia itself disturbed with war. And that as to the Acarnanians, whose separation from their body was a source of grief to the Aetolians, he would place them again under their ancient system of jurisdiction and dominion." These assertions and promises of the Roman general, Scopas, who was at that time praetor of the nation, and Dorymachus, a leading man among the Aetolians, confirmed on their own authority, extolling the power and greatness of the Roman people with less reserve, and with greater force of conviction. However, the hope of recovering Acarnania principally moved them. The terms, therefore, were reduced to writing, on which they should enter into alliance and friendship with the Roman people, and it was added, that "if it were agreeable to them and they wished it, the Eleans and Lacedaemonians, with Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdilaedas, should be included on the same conditions." Attalus was king of Asia; the latter, kings of the Thracians and Illyrians. The conditions were, that "the Aetolians should immediately make war on Philip by land, in which the Romans should assist, with not less than twenty quinqueremes. That the site and buildings, together with the walls and lands, of all the cities as far as Corcyra, should become the property of the Aetolians, every other kind of booty, of the Romans. That the Romans should endeavour to put the Aetolians in possession of Acarnania. If the Aetolians should make peace with Philip, they should insert a stipulation that the peace should stand good only on condition that they abstained from hostilities against the Romans, their allies, and the states subject to them. In like manner, if the Romans should form an alliance with the king, that they should provide that he should not have liberty to make war upon the Aetolians and their allies." Such were the terms agreed upon; and copies of them having been made, they were laid up two years afterwards by the Aetolians at Olympia, and by the Romans in the Capitol, that they might be attested by these consecrated records. The delay had been occasioned by the Aetolian ambassadors' having been detained at Rome. This, however, did not form an impediment to the war's proceeding. Both the Aetolians immediately commenced war against Philip, and Laevinus taking, all but the citadel, Zacynthus, a small island near to Aetolia, and having one city of the same name with the island; and also taking Aeniadae and Nasus from the Acarnanians, annexed them to the Aetolians; and also considering that Philip was sufficiently engaged in war with his neighbours to prevent his thinking of Italy, the Carthaginians, and his compact with Hannibal, he retired to Corcyra.

## 25

To Philip intelligence of the defection of the Aetolians was brought while in winter quarters at Pella. As he was about to march an army into Greece at the beginning of the spring, he undertook a sudden expedition into the territories of Oricum and Apollonia, in order that Macedonia might not be molested by the Illyrians, and the cities bordering upon them, in consequence of the terror he would thus strike them with in turn. The

Apollonians came out to oppose him, but he drove them, terrified and dismayed, within their walls. After devastating the adjacent parts of Illyricum he turned his course into Pelagonia, with the same expedition. He then took Sintia, a town of the Dardanians, which would have afforded them a passage into Macedonia. Having with the greatest despatch performed these achievements, not forgetting the war made upon him by the Aetolians and Romans in conjunction, he marched down into Thessaly through Pelagonia, Lyncus, and Bottiaea. He trusted that people might be induced to take part with him in the war against the Aetolians, and, therefore, leaving Perseus with four thousand armed men at the gorge, which formed the entrance into Thessaly, to prevent the Aetolians from passing it, before he should be occupied with more important business, he marched his army into Macedonia, and thence into Thrace and Maedica. This nation had been accustomed to make incursions into Macedonia when they perceived the king engaged in a foreign war, and the kingdom left unprotected. Accordingly, he began to devastate the lands in the neighbourhood of Phragandae, and to lay siege to the city Jamphorina, the capital and chief fortress of Maedica. Scopas, on hearing that the king had gone into Thrace, and was engaged in a war there, armed all the Aetolian youths, and prepared to invade Acarnania. The Acarnanian nation, unequal to their enemy in point of strength, and seeing that they had lost Aeniadae and Nasus, and moreover that the Roman arms were threatening them, prepare the war rather with rage than prudence. Having sent their wives, children, and those who were above sixty years old into the neighbouring parts of Epirus, all who were between the ages of fifteen and sixty, bound each other by an oath not to return unless victorious. That no one might receive into his city or house, or admit to his table or hearth, such as should retire from the field vanquished, they drew up a form of direful execration against their countrymen who should do so; and the most solemn entreaty they could devise, to friendly states. At the same time they entreated the Epirotes to bury in one tomb such of their men as should fall in the encounter, adding this inscription over their remains: **HERE LIE THE ACARNANIANS, WHO DIED WHILE FIGHTING IN DEFENCE OF THEIR COUNTRY, AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE OF THE AETOLIANS.** Having worked up their courage to the highest pitch by these means, they fixed their camp at the extreme borders of their country in the way of the enemy; and sending messengers to Philip to inform him of the critical situation in which they stood, they obliged him to suspend the war in which he was engaged, though he had gained possession of Jamphorina by surrender, and had succeeded in other respects. The ardour of the Aetolians was damped, in the first instance, by the news of the combination formed by the Acarnanians; but afterwards the intelligence of Philip's approach compelled them even to retreat into the interior of the country. Nor did Philip proceed farther than Dium, though he had marched with great expedition to prevent the Acarnanians being overpowered; and when he had received information that the Aetolians had returned out of Acarnania, he also returned to Pella.

## 26

Laevinus set sail from Corcyra in the beginning of the spring, and doubling the promontory Leucate, arrived at Naupactus; when he gave notice that he should go thence to Anticyra, in order that Scopas and the Aetolians might be ready there to join him. Anticyra is situated in Locris, on the left hand as you enter the Corinthian Gulf. The distance between Naupactus and this place is short both by sea and land. In about three days after, the attack upon this place commenced on both elements. The attack from the sea produced the greatest effect, because there were on board the ships engines and

machines of every description, and because the Romans besieged from that quarter. In a few days, therefore, the town surrendered, and was delivered over to the Aetolians, the booty, according to compact, was given up to the Romans. Laevinus then received a letter informing him, that he had been elected consul in his absence, and that Publius Sulpicius was coming as his successor. He arrived at Rome later than he was generally expected, being detained by a lingering illness. Marcus Marcellus, having entered upon the consulship on the ides of March, assembled the senate on that day merely for form's sake. He declared, that "in the absence of his colleague he would not enter into any question relative to the state or the provinces." He said, "he well knew there were crowds of Sicilians in the neighbourhood of the city at the country-houses of those who maligned him, whom he was so far from wishing to prevent from openly publishing, at Rome, the charges which had been circulated and got up against him by his enemies, that did they not pretend that they entertained some fear of speaking of a consul in the absence of his colleague, he would forthwith have given them a hearing of the senate. That when his colleague had arrived, he would not allow any business to be transacted before the Sicilians were brought before the senate. That Marcus Cornelius had in a manner held a levy throughout all Sicily, in order that as many as possible might come to Rome to prefer complaints against him, that the same person had filled the city with letters containing false representations that there was still war in Sicily, in order to detract from his merit." The consul, having acquired on that day the reputation of having a well-regulated mind, dismissed the senate, and it appeared that there would be almost a total suspension of every kind of business till the other consul returned to the city. The want of employment, as usual, produced expressions of discontent among the people. They complained of the length of the war, that the lands around the city were devastated wherever Hannibal had marched his hostile troops; that Italy was exhausted by levies, and that almost every year their armies were cut to pieces, that the consuls elected were both of them fond of war, men over-enterprising and impetuous, who would probably stir up war in a time of profound peace, and therefore were the less likely to allow the state to breathe in time of war.

## 27

A fire which broke out in several places at once in the neighbourhood of the forum, on the night before the festival of Minerva, interrupted these discourses. Seven shops, where five were afterwards erected, and the banks, which are now called the new banks, were all on fire at once. Afterwards the private dwellings caught, for there were no public halls there then, the prisons called the Quarry, the fish-market, and the royal palace. The temple of Vesta was with difficulty saved, principally by the exertions of thirteen slaves, who were redeemed at the public expense and manumitted. The fire continued for a day and a night. It was evident to every body that it was caused by human contrivance, because the flames burst forth in several places at once, and those at a distance from each other. The consul, therefore, on the recommendation of the senate, publicly notified, that whoever should make known by whose act the conflagration was kindled, should be rewarded, if a free-man, with money, if a slave, with liberty. Induced by this reward, a slave of the Campanian family, the Calavii, named Mannus, gave information that "his masters, with five noble Campanian youths, whose parents had been executed by Fulvius, were the authors of the fire, and that they would commit various other acts of the same kind if they were not seized." Upon this they were seized, as well as their slaves. At first, the informer and his evidence were disparaged, for that "he had run away from his masters the day before in consequence

of a whipping, and that from an event which had happened by mere chance, he had fabricated this charge, from resentment and wantonness." But when they were charged by their accusers face to face, and the ministers of their villainies begin to be examined in the middle of the forum, they all confessed, and punishment was inflicted upon the masters and their accessory slaves. The informer received his liberty and twenty thousand *asses*. The consul Laevinus, while passing by Capua, was surrounded by a multitude of Campanians, who besought him, with tears, that they might be permitted to go to Rome to the senate, so that if they could at length be in any degree moved by compassion, they might not carry their resentment so far as to destroy them utterly, nor suffer the very name of the Campanian nation to be obliterated by Quintus Flaccus. Flaccus declared, that "he had individually no quarrel with the Campanians, but that he did entertain an enmity towards them on public grounds and because they were foes, and should continue to do so as long as he felt assured that they had the same feelings towards the Roman people; for that there was no nation or people on earth more inveterate against the Roman name. That his reason for keeping them shut up within their walls was, that if any of these got out any where they roamed through the country like wild beasts, tearing and massacring whatever fell in their way. That some of them had deserted to Hannibal, others had gone and set fire to Rome; that the consul would find the traces of the villainy of the Campanians in the half-burnt forum. That the temple of Vesta, the eternal fire, and the fatal pledge for the continuance of the Roman empire deposited in the shrine, had been the objects of their attack. That in his opinion it was extremely unsafe for any Campanians to be allowed to enter the walls of Rome." Laevinus ordered the Campanians to follow him to Rome, after Flaccus had bound them by an oath to return to Capua on the fifth day after receiving an answer from the senate. Surrounded by this crowd, and followed also by the Sicilians and Aeolians, who came out to meet him, he went to Rome; taking with him into the city as accusers of two men who had acquired the greatest celebrity by the overthrow of two most renowned cities, those whom they had vanquished in war. Both the consuls, however, first proposed to the senate the consideration of the state of the commonwealth, and the arrangements respecting the provinces.

## 28

On this occasion Laevinus reported the state of Macedonia and Greece, of the Aetolians, Acarnanians, and Locrians, and the services he had himself performed there on sea and land. That "Philip, who was bringing an army against the Aetolians, had been driven back by him into Macedonia, and compelled to retire into the heart of his kingdom. That the legion might therefore be withdrawn from that quarter, and that the fleet was sufficient to keep the king out of Italy." Thus much he said respecting himself and the province where he had commanded. The consuls jointly proposed the consideration of the provinces, when the senate decreed, that, "Italy and the war with Hannibal should form the province of one of the consuls; that the other should have the command of the fleet which Titus Otacilius had commanded, and the province of Sicily, in conjunction with Lucius Cincius, the praetor." The two armies decreed to them were those in Etruria and Gaul, consisting of four legions. That the two city legions of the former year should be sent into Etruria and the two which Sulpicius, the consul, had commanded, into Gaul; that he should have the command of Gaul, and the legions there whom the consul, who had the province of Italy, should appoint. Caius Calpurnius, having his command continued to him for a year after the expiration of his praetorship, was sent into Etruria. To Quintus Fulvius also the province of Capua was decreed, with his command

continued for a year. The army of citizens and allies was ordered to be reduced, so that, out of two, one legion should be formed consisting of five thousand foot and three hundred horse, those being discharged who had served the greatest number of campaigns. That of the allies there should be left seven thousand infantry and three hundred horse, the same rule being observed with regard to the periods of their service in discharging the old soldiers. With Cneius Fulvius, the consul of the former year, no change was made touching his province of Apulia nor his army; only he was continued in command for a year. Publius Sulpicius, his colleague, was ordered to discharge the whole of his army excepting the marines. It was ordered also, that the army which Marcus Cornelius had commanded, should be sent out of Sicily as soon as the consul arrived in his province. The soldiers which had fought at Cannae, amounting to two legions, were assigned to Lucius Cincius, the praetor, for the occupation of Sicily. As many legions were assigned to Publius Manlius Vulso, the praetor, for Sardinia, being those which Lucius Cornelius had commanded in that province the former year. The consuls were directed so to raise legions for the service of the city, as not to enlist any one who had served in the armies of Marcus Claudius, Marcus Valerius, or Quintus Fulvius, so that the Roman legions might not exceed twenty-one that year.

## 29

After the senate had passed these decrees, the consuls drew lots for their provinces. Sicily and the fleet fell to the lot of Marcellus; Italy, with the war against Hannibal, to Laevinus. This result so terrified the Sicilians, who were standing in sight of the consuls waiting the determination of the lots, that their bitter lamentations and mournful cries both drew upon them the eyes of all at the time, and afterwards furnished matter for conversation. For they went round to the several senators in mourning garments, affirming, that "they would not only abandon, each of them, his native country, but all Sicily, if Marcellus should again go thither with command. That he had formerly been implacable toward them for no demerit of theirs, what would he do now, when exasperated that they had come to Rome to complain of him? That it would be better for that island to be overwhelmed with the fires of Aetna, or sunk in the sea, than to be delivered up, as it were, for execution to an enemy." These complaints of the Sicilians, having been carried round to the houses of the nobility, and frequently canvassed in conversations, which were prompted partly by compassion for the Sicilians and partly by dislike for Marcellus, at length reached the senate also. The consuls were requested to take the sense of the senate on an exchange of provinces. Marcellus said, that "if the Sicilians had already had an audience of the senate, his opinion perhaps might have been different, but as the case now stood, lest any one should be able to say that they were prevented by fear from freely venting their complaints respecting him, to whose power they were presently about to be subject, he was willing, if it made no difference to his colleague, to exchange provinces with him. That he deprecated a premature decision on the part of the senate, for since it would be unjust that his colleague should have the power of selecting his province without drawing lots, how much greater injustice would it be, nay, rather indignity, for his lot to be transferred to him." Accordingly the senate, having rather shown than decreed what they wished, adjourned. An exchange of provinces was made by the consuls of themselves, fate hurrying on Marcellus to encounter Hannibal, that he might be the last of the Roman generals, who, by his fall, when the affairs of the war were most prosperous, might add to the glory of that man, from whom he derived the reputation of having been the first Roman general who defeated him.

## 30

After the provinces had been exchanged, the Sicilians, on being introduced into the senate, discoursed largely on the constant fidelity of king Hiero to the Roman people, converting it into a public merit. They said, "that the tyrants, Hieronymus, and, after him, Hippocrates and Epicydes, had been objects of detestation to them, both on other accounts and especially on account of then deserting the Romans to take part with Hannibal. For this cause Hieronymus was put to death by the principal young men among them, almost with the public concurrence, and a conspiracy was formed to murder Epicydes and Hippocrates, by seventy of the most distinguished of their youth; but being left without support in consequence of the delay of Marcellus, who neglected to bring up his troops to Syracuse at the time agreed upon, they were all, on an indictment that was made, put to death by the tyrants. That Marcellus, by the cruelty exercised in the sacking of Leontini, had given occasion to the tyranny of Hippocrates and Epicydes. From that time the leading men among the Syracusans never ceased going over to Marcellus, and promising him that they would deliver the city to him whenever he pleased; but that he, in the first instance, was disposed rather to take it by force, and afterwards, finding it impossible to effect his object by sea or land, after trying every means, he preferred having Syracuse delivered to him by Sosis, a brazier, and Mericus, a Spaniard, to receiving it from the principal men of Syracuse, who had so often offered it to him voluntarily to no purpose; doubtless in order that he might with a fairer pretext butcher and plunder the most ancient allies of the Roman people. If it had not been Hieronymus who revolted to Hannibal, but the people and senate of Syracuse; if the body of the Syracusan people, and not their tyrants, Hippocrates and Epicydes, who held them in thralldom, had closed the gates against Marcellus; if they had carried on war with the Roman people with the animosity of Carthaginians, what more could Marcellus have done in hostility than he did, without levelling Syracuse with the ground? Nothing indeed was left at Syracuse except the walls and gutted houses of her city, the temples of her gods broken open and plundered; her very gods and their ornaments having been carried away. From many their possessions also were taken away, so that they were unable to support themselves and their families, even from the naked soil, the only remains of their plundered property. They entreated the conscript fathers, that they would order, if not all, at least such of their property as could be found and identified, to be restored to the owners." After they had made these complaints, Laevinus ordered them to withdraw from the senate-house, that the senate might deliberate on their requests, when Marcellus exclaimed, "Nay, rather let them stay here, that I may reply to their charges in their presence, since we conduct your wars for you, conscript fathers, on the condition of having as our accusers those whom we have conquered with our arms. Of the two cities which have been captured this year, let Capua arraign Fulvius, and Syracuse Marcellus."

## 31

The deputies having been brought back into the senate-house, the consul said: "I am not so unmindful of the dignity of the Roman people and of the office I fill as consul, conscript fathers, as to make a defence against charges brought by Greeks, had the inquiry related only to my own delinquency. But it is not so much what I have done, as what they deserved to suffer, which comes into dispute. For if they were not our enemies, there was no difference between sacking Syracuse then, and when Hiero was alive. But if, on the other hand, they have renounced their connexion with us, attacked our ambassadors sword in hand, shut us out of their city and walls, and defended

themselves against us with an army of Carthaginians, who can feel indignant that they should suffer the hostilities they have offered? I turned away from the leading men of the Syracusans, when they were desirous of delivering up the city to me, and esteemed Sosis and Mericus as more proper persons for so important an affair. Now you are not the meanest of the Syracusans, who reproach others with the meanness of their condition. But who is there among you, who has promised that he would open the gates to me, and receive my armed troops within the city? You hate and execrate those who did so; and not even here can you abstain from speaking with insult of them; so far is it from being the case that you would yourselves have done any thing of the kind. The very meanness of the condition of those persons, conscript fathers, with which these men reproach them, forms the strongest proof that I did not turn away from any man who was willing to render a service to our state. Before I began the siege of Syracuse I attempted a peace, at one time by sending ambassadors, at another time by going to confer with them; and after that they refrained not from laying violent hands on my ambassadors, nor would give me an answer when I held an interview with their chief men at their gates, then, at length, after suffering many hardships by sea and land, I took Syracuse by force of arms. Of what befell them after their city was captured they would complain with more justice to Hannibal, the Carthaginians, and those who were vanquished with them, than to the senate of the victorious people. If, conscript fathers, I had intended to conceal the fact that I had despoiled Syracuse, I should never have decorated the city of Rome with her spoils. As to what things I either took from individuals or bestowed upon them, as conqueror, I feel assured that I have acted agreeably to the laws of war, and the deserts of each. That you should confirm what I have done, conscript fathers, certainly concerns the commonwealth more than myself, since I have discharged my duty faithfully; but it is the duty of the state to take care, lest, by rescinding my acts, they should render other commanders for the time to come less zealous. And since, conscript fathers, you have heard both what the Sicilians and I had to say, in the presence of each other, we will go out of the senate-house together, in order that in my absence the senate may deliberate more freely." Accordingly, the Sicilians having been dismissed, he himself also went away to the Capitol to levy soldiers.

### 32

The other consul then proposed to the fathers the consideration of the requests of the Sicilians, when a long debate took place. A great part of the senate acquiesced in an opinion which originated with Titus Manlius Torquatus, "that the war ought to have been carried on against the tyrants, the enemies both of the Syracusans and the Roman people; that the city ought to have been recovered, not captured; and, when recovered, should have been firmly established under its ancient laws and liberty, and not distressed by war, when worn out with a wretched state of bondage. That in the contest between the tyrants and the Roman general, that most beautiful and celebrated city, formerly the granary and treasury of the Roman people, which was held up as the reward of the victor, had been destroyed; a city by whose munificence and bounty the commonwealth had been assisted and adorned on many occasions, and lastly, during this very Punic war. Should king Hiero, that most faithful friend of the Roman empire, rise from the shades, with what face could either Syracuse or Rome be shown to him, when, after beholding his half-demolished and plundered native city, he should see, on entering Rome, the spoils of his country in the vestibule, as it were, of the city, and almost in the very gates?" Although these and other similar things were said, to throw odium upon the consul and excite compassion for the Sicilians, yet the fathers, out of

regard for Marcellus, passed a milder decree, to the effect, "that what Marcellus had done while prosecuting the war, and when victorious, should be confirmed. That for the time to come, the senate would look to the affairs of Syracuse, and would give it in charge to the consul Laevinus, to consult the interest of that state, so far as it could be done without detriment to the commonwealth." Two senators having been sent to the Capitol to request the consul to return to the senate-house, and the Sicilians having been called in, the decree of the senate was read. The deputies were addressed in terms of kindness, and dismissed, when they threw themselves at the knees of the consul, Marcellus, beseeching him to pardon them for what they had said for the purpose of exciting compassion, and procuring relief from their calamities, and to receive themselves and the city of Syracuse under his protection and patronage; after which, the consul addressed them kindly and dismissed them.

### 33

An audience of the senate was then granted to the Campanians. Their speech was more calculated to excite compassion, but their case less favourable, for neither could they deny that they deserved the punishment they had suffered, nor were there any tyrants to whom they could transfer their guilt. But they trusted that sufficient atonement had been made by the death of so many of their senators by poison and the hands of the executioner. They said, "that a few only of their nobles remained, being such as were not induced by the consciousness of their demerit to adopt any desperate measure respecting themselves, and had not been condemned to death through the resentment of their conquerors. That these implored the restoration of their liberty, and some portion of their goods for themselves and families, being citizens of Rome, and most of them connected with the Romans by affinity and now too near relationship, in consequence of intermarriages which had taken place for a long period." After this they were removed from the senate-house, when for a short time doubts were entertained whether it would be right or not to send for Quintus Fulvius from Capua, (for Claudius, the proconsul, died after the capture of that place,) that the question might be canvassed in the presence of the general who had been concerned, as was done in the affair between Marcellus and the Sicilians. But afterwards, when they saw in the senate Marcus Atilius, and Caius Fulvius, the brother of Flaccus, his lieutenant-generals, and Quintus Minucius, and Lucius Veturius Philo, who were also his lieutenant-generals, who had been present at every transaction; and being unwilling that Fulvius should be recalled from Capua, or the Campanians put off, Marcus Atilius Regulus, who possessed the greatest weight of any of those present who had been at Capua, being asked his opinion, thus spoke: "I believe I assisted at the council held by the consuls after the capture of Capua, when inquiry was made whether any of the Campanians had deserved well of our state; and it was found that two women had done so; Vestia Oppia, a native of Atella and an inhabitant of Capua, and Faucula Cluvia, formerly a common woman. The former had daily offered sacrifice for the safety and success of the Roman people, and the latter had clandestinely supplied the starving prisoners with food. The sentiments of all the rest of the Campanians towards us had been the same," he said, "as those of the Carthaginians; and those who had been decapitated by Fulvius, were the most conspicuous in rank, but not in guilt. I do not see," said he, "how the senate can decide respecting the Campanians who are Roman citizens, without an order of the people. And the course adopted by our ancestors, in the case of the Satricani when they had revolted, was, that Marcus Antistius, the plebeian tribune, should first propose and the commons make an order, that the senate should have the power of pronouncing

judgment upon the Satricani. I therefore give it as my opinion, that application should be made to the plebeian tribunes, that one or more of them should propose to the people a bill, by which we may be empowered to determine in the case of the Campanians." Lucius Atilius, plebeian tribune, proposed to the people, on the recommendation of the senate, a bill to the following effect: "Concerning all the Campanians, Atellanians, Calatinians, and Sabatinians, who have surrendered themselves to the proconsul Fulvius, and have placed themselves under the authority and dominion of the Roman people; also concerning what things they have surrendered, together with their persons, both lands and city, divine or human, together with their utensils and whatsoever else they have surrendered; concerning these things, Roman citizens, I ask you what it is your pleasure should be done." The commons thus ordered: "Whatsoever the senate on oath, or the majority of those present, may determine, that we will and order."

### 34

The senate having taken the matter into their consideration in conformity with this order of the people, first restored to Oppia and Cluvia their goods and liberty; directing, that if they wished to solicit any other rewards from the senate, they should come to Rome. Separate decrees were passed respecting each of the Campanian families, all of which it is not worth while to enumerate. The goods of some were to be confiscated; themselves, their children, and their wives were to be sold, excepting such of their daughters as had married before they came into the power of the Roman people. Others were ordered to be thrown into chains, and their cases to be considered at a future time. They made the amount of income the ground on which they decided, whether the goods of the rest of the Campanians should be confiscated or not. They voted, that all the cattle taken except the horses, all the slaves except adult males, and every thing which did not belong to the soil, should be restored to the owners. They ordered that all the Campanians, Atellanians, Calatinians, and Sabatinians, except such as were themselves, or whose parents were, among the enemy, should be free, with a proviso, that none of them should become a Roman citizen or a Latin confederate; and that none of those who had been at Capua while the gates were shut should remain in the city or territory of Capua after a certain day. That a place should be assigned to them to inhabit beyond the Tiber, but not contiguous to it. That those who had neither been in Capua nor in any Campanian city which had revolted from the Romans during the war, should inhabit a place on this side the river Liris towards Rome; and that those who had come over to the Romans before Hannibal arrived at Capua, should be removed to a place on this side the Vulturnus, with a proviso, that none of them should have either land or house within fifteen miles of the sea. That such of them as were removed to a place beyond the Tiber, should neither themselves nor their posterity acquire or possess any property any where, except in the Veientian, Sutrian, or Nepetian territories; and, except on condition, that no one should possess a greater extent of land than fifty acres. That the goods of all the senators, and such as had been magistrates at Capua, Calatia, and Atella, should be sold at Capua; but that the free persons who were decreed to be exposed to sale, should be sent to Rome and sold there. As to the images and brazen statues, which were said to have been taken from the enemy, whether sacred or profane, they referred them to the college of pontiffs. They sent the Campanians away, considerably more grieved than they were when they came, in consequence of these decrees; and now they no longer complained of the severity of Quintus Fulvius towards them, but of the malignity of the gods and their own accursed fortune.

## 35

After the Sicilians and Campanians were dismissed, a levy was made; and after the troops had been enlisted for the army, they then began to consider about making up the number of rowers; but as there was neither a sufficient supply of men for that purpose, nor any money at that time in the treasury by which they might be purchased or paid, the consuls issued an edict, that private persons should furnish rowers in proportion to their income and rank, as had been done before, with pay and provisions for thirty days. So great was the murmuring and indignation of the people, on account of this edict, that a leader, rather than matter, was wanting for an insurrection. It was said, that "the consuls, after having ruined the Sicilians and Campanians, had undertaken to destroy and lacerate the Roman commons; that, drained as they had been for so many years by taxes, they had nothing left but wasted and naked lands. That the enemy had burned their houses, and the state had taken away their slaves, who were the cultivators of their lands, at one time by purchasing them at a low rate for soldiers, at another by commanding a supply of rowers. If any one had any silver or brass it was taken away from him, for the payment of rowers or for annual taxes. That no force could compel and no command oblige them to give what they had not got. That they might sell their goods and then vent their cruelty on their persons, which were all that remained to them. That they had nothing even left from which they could be redeemed." These complaints were uttered not in secret, but publicly in the forum, and before the eyes of the consuls themselves, by an immense crowd which surrounded them; nor could the consuls appease them now by coercing nor by soothing them. Upon this they said that three days should be allowed them to consider of the matter; which interval the consuls employed in examining and planning. The following day they assembled the senate to consider of raising a supply of rowers; and after arguing at great length that the people's refusal was fair, they brought their discourse to this point, that whether it were just or unjust, this burden must be borne by private individuals. For from what source could they procure rowers, when there was no money in the treasury? and how, without fleets, could Sicily be kept in subjection, or Philip be prevented from entering Italy, or the shores of Italy be protected?

## 36

In this perplexing state of affairs, when all deliberation was at a stand, and a kind of torpor had seized on men's minds, Laevinus, the consul, observed, that "as the magistrates were more honoured than the senators, and the senators than the people, so also ought they to be the first in taking upon themselves every thing that was burdensome and arduous. If you would enjoin any duty on an inferior, and would first submit yourself and those belonging to you to the obligation, you will find everybody else more ready to obey; nor is an expense thought heavy, when the people see every one of their principal men taking upon himself more than his proportion of it. Are we then desirous that the Roman people should have and equip a fleet? that private individuals should without repugnance furnish rowers? Let us first execute the command ourselves. Let us, senators, bring into the treasury to-morrow all our gold, silver, and coined brass, each reserving rings for himself, his wife, and children, and a bulla for his son; and he who has a wife or daughters, an ounce weight of gold for each. Let those who have sat in a curule chair have the ornaments of a horse, and a pound weight of silver, that they may have a salt-cellar and a dish for the service of the gods. Let the rest of us, senators, reserve for each father of a family, a pound weight only of silver and five thousand coined *asses*. All the rest of our gold, silver, and coined brass, let

us immediately carry to the triumviri for banking affairs, no decree of the senate having been previously made; that our voluntary contributions, and our emulation in assisting the state, may excite the minds, first, of the equestrian order to emulate us, and after them of the rest of the community. This is the only course which we, your consuls, after much conversation on the subject, have been able to discover. Adopt it, then, and may the gods prosper the measure. If the state is preserved, she can easily secure the property of her individual members, but by betraying the public interests you would in vain preserve your own." This proposition was received with such entire approbation, that thanks were spontaneously returned to the consuls. The senate was then adjourned, when every one of the members brought his gold, silver, and brass into the treasury, with such emulation excited, that they were desirous that their names should appear among the first on the public tables; so that neither the triumviri were sufficient for receiving nor the notaries for entering them. The unanimity displayed by the senate was imitated by the equestrian order, and that of the equestrian order by the commons. Thus, without any edict, or coercion of the magistrates, the state neither wanted rowers to make up the numbers, nor money to pay them; and after every thing had been got in readiness for the war, the consuls set out for their provinces.

### 37

Nor was there ever any period of the war, when both the Carthaginians and the Romans, plunged alike in vicissitudes, were in a state of more anxious suspense between hope and fear. For on the side of the Romans, with respect to their provinces, their failure in Spain on the one hand, and their successes in Sicily on the other, had blended joy and sorrow; and in Italy, the loss of Tarentum was an injury and a source of grief to them, while the unexpected preservation of the citadel with the garrison was matter of joy to them. The sudden terror and panic occasioned by the siege and attack of Rome, was turned into joy by the capture of Capua, a few days after. Their affairs beyond sea also were equalized by a kind of compensation. Philip had become their enemy at a juncture somewhat unseasonable; but then the Aetolians, and Attalus, king of Asia, were added to their allies; fortune now, in a manner, promising to the Romans the empire of the east. The Carthaginians also set the loss of Capua against the capture of Tarentum; and as they considered it as glorious to them to have reached the walls of Rome without opposition, so they were chagrined at the failure of their attempt, and they felt ashamed that they had been held in such contempt, that while they lay under the walls of Rome, a Roman army was marched out for Spain at an opposite gate. With regard also to Spain itself, the greater the reason was to hope that the war there was terminated, and that the Romans were driven from the country, after the destruction of two such renowned generals and their armies, so much the greater was the indignation felt, that the victory had been rendered void and fruitless by Lucius Marcius, a general irregularly appointed. Thus fortune balancing events against each other, all was suspense and uncertainty on both sides, their hopes and their fears being as strong as though they were now first commencing the war.

### 38

What grieved Hannibal more than any thing was the fact, that Capua having been more perseveringly besieged by the Romans than defended by him, had turned from him the regard of many of the states of Italy, and it was not only impossible for him to retain possession of all these by means of garrisons, unless he could make up his mind to tear his army into a number of small portions, which at that time was most inexpedient, but

he could not, by withdrawing the garrisons, leave the fidelity of his allies open to the influence of hope, or subject to that of fear. His disposition, which was strongly inclined to avarice and cruelty, induced him to plunder the places he could not keep possession of, that they might be left for the enemy in a state of desolation. This resolution was equally horrid in principle and in its issue, for not only were the affections of those who suffered such harsh treatment alienated from him, but also of the other states, for the warning affected a greater number than did the calamity. Nor did the Roman consul fail to sound the inclinations of the cities, whenever any prospect of success presented itself. Dasius and Blasius were the principal men in Salapia, Dasius was the friend of Hannibal, Blasius, as far as he could do it with safety, promoted the Roman interest, and, by means of secret messengers, had given Marcellus hopes of having the place betrayed to him, but the business could not be accomplished without the assistance of Dasius. After much and long hesitation and even then more for the want of a better plan than from any hope of success, he addressed himself to Dasius; but he, being both adverse to the measure and also hostile to his rival in the government, discovered the affair to Hannibal. Both parties were summoned, and while Hannibal was transacting some business on his tribunal, intending presently to take cognizance of the case of Blasius, and the accuser and the accused were standing apart from the crowd, which was put back, Blasius solicited Dasius on the subject of surrendering the city; when he exclaimed, as if the case were now clearly proved, that he was being treated with about the betrayal of the city, even before the eyes of Hannibal. The more audacious the proceeding was, the less probable did it appear to Hannibal and those who were present. They considered that the charge was undoubtedly a matter of rivalry and animosity, and that it had been brought because it was of such a nature that, not admitting of being proved by witnesses, it could the more easily be fabricated. Accordingly the parties were dismissed. But Blasius, notwithstanding, desisted not from his bold undertaking, till by continually harping upon the same subject, and proving how conducive such a measure would be to themselves and their country, he carried his point that the Punic garrison, consisting of five hundred Numidians, and Salapia, should be delivered up to Marcellus. Nor could it be betrayed without much bloodshed, consisting of the bravest of the cavalry in the whole Punic army. Accordingly, though the event was unexpected, and their horses were of no use to them in the city, yet hastily taking arms, during the confusion, they endeavoured to force their way out; and not being able to escape, they fell fighting to the last, not more than fifty of them falling into the hands of the enemy alive. The loss of this body of cavalry was considerably more detrimental to Hannibal than that of Salapia, for the Carthaginian was never afterwards superior in cavalry, in which he had before been most effective.

### 39

During this time the scarcity of provisions in the citadel of Tarentum was almost intolerable; the Roman garrison there, and Marcus Livius, the praefect of the garrison and the citadel, placing all their dependence in the supplies sent from Sicily; that these might safely pass along the coast of Italy, a fleet of about twenty ships was stationed at Rhegium. Decius Quinctius, a man of obscure birth, but who had acquired great renown as a soldier, on account of many acts of bravery, had charge of the fleet and the convoys. At first he had five ships, the largest of which were two triremes, given to him by Marcellus, but afterwards, in consequence of his spirited conduct on many occasions, three quinqueremes were added to his number, at last, by exacting from the allied states of Rhegium, Velia, and Paestum, the ships they were bound to furnish according to

treaty, he made up a fleet of twenty ships, as was before stated. This fleet setting out from Rhegium, was met at Sacriportus, about fifteen miles from the city by Democrates, with an equal number of Tarentine ships. It happened that the Roman was then coming with his sails up, not expecting an approaching contest, but in the neighbourhood of Croto and Sybaris, he had supplied his ships with rowers, and had his fleet excellently equipped and armed for the size of his vessels, and it also happened, that just at the time when the enemy were in sight, the wind completely fell, so that there was sufficient time to furl their sails, and get their rowers and soldiers in readiness for the approaching action. Rarely elsewhere have regular fleets engaged with so much spirit, for they fought for what was of greater importance than the fleets themselves. The Tarentines, in order that, having recovered their city from the Romans after the lapse of almost a century, they might also rescue their citadel, hoping also to cut off the supplies of their enemy, if by a naval battle they could deprive them of the dominion of the sea. The Romans, that, by keeping possession of the citadel, they might prove that Tarentum was lost not by the strength and valour of their enemies, but by treachery and stealth. Accordingly, the signal having been given on both sides, they charged each other with the beaks of their ships, and neither did they draw back their own, nor allow the ships of the enemy with which they were engaged to separate from them, having thrown then grappling irons, and thus the battle was carried on in such close quarters, that they fought not only with missile weapons, but in a manner foot to foot even with their swords. The prows joined together remained stationary, while the sterns were moved round by the force of their adversaries' oars. The ships were crowded together in so small a compass, that scarcely one weapon fell into the sea without taking effect. They pressed front against front like lines of troops engaging on land, and the combatants could pass from one ship to another. But the contest between two ships which had engaged each other in the van, was remarkable above the rest. In the Roman ship was Quinctius himself, in the Tarentine, Nico, surnamed Perco, who hated, and was hated by, the Romans, not only on public grounds, but also personally, for he belonged to that faction which had betrayed Tarentum to Hannibal. This man transfixed Quinctius with a spear while off his guard, and engaged at once in fighting and encouraging his men, and he immediately fell headlong with his arms over the prow. The victorious Tarentine promptly boarded the ship, which was all in confusion from the loss of the commander, and when he had driven the enemy back, and the Tarentines had got possession of the prow, the Romans, who had formed themselves into a compact body, with difficulty defending the stern, suddenly another trireme of the enemy appeared at the stern. Thus the Roman ship, enclosed between the two, was captured. Upon this a panic spread among the rest, seeing the commander's ship captured, and flying in every direction, some were sunk in the deep and some rowed hastily to land, where, shortly after, they became a prey to the Thurians and Metapontines. Of the storeships which followed, laden with provisions, a very few fell into the hands of the enemy; the rest, shifting their sails from one side to another with the changing winds, escaped into the open sea. An affair took place at Tarentum at this time, which was attended with widely different success; for a party of four thousand men had gone out to forage, and while they were dispersed, and roaming through the country, Livius, the commander of the citadel and the Roman garrison, who was anxious to seize every opportunity of striking a blow, sent out of the citadel Caius Persius, an active officer, with two thousand soldiers, who attacked them suddenly when widely dispersed and straggling about the fields; and after slaying them for a long time on all hands, drove the few that remained of so many into the city, to which they fled in alarm and confusion, and where they rushed in at the doors of the gates, which

were half-opened that the city might not be taken in the same attack. In this manner affairs were equally balanced at Tarentum, the Romans being victorious by land, and the Tarentines by sea. Both parties were equally disappointed in their hope of receiving provisions after they were within sight.

#### 40

While these events were occurring, the consul, Laevinus, after a great part of the year had elapsed, having arrived in Sicily, where he had been expected by both the old and new allies, considered it his first and principal duty to adjust the affairs of Syracuse, which were still in a state of disorder, the peace being but recent. He then marched his legions to Agrigentum, the seat of the remaining part of the war, which was occupied by a strong garrison of Carthaginians; and here fortune favoured his attempt. Hanno was commander-in-chief of the Carthaginians, but their whole reliance was placed upon Mutines and the Numidians. Mutines, scouring the whole of Sicily, employed himself in carrying off spoil from the allies of the Romans; nor could he by force or stratagem be cut off from Agrigentum, or prevented from sallying from it whenever he pleased. The renown which he gained by this conduct, as it began now to eclipse the fame of the commander-in-chief, was at last converted into a source of jealousy; so that even now his successes were not as acceptable as they ought to have been, on account of the person who gained them. For these reasons Hanno at last gave his commission to his own son, concluding that by taking away his command he should also deprive him of the influence he possessed with the Numidians. But the result was very different; for their former attachment to him was increased by the envy incurred by him. Nor did he brook the affront put upon him by this injurious treatment, but immediately sent secret messengers to Laevinus, to treat about delivering up Agrigentum. After an agreement had been entered into by means of these persons, and the mode of carrying it into execution concerted, the Numidians seized on a gate which leads towards the sea, having driven the guards from it, or put them to the sword, and then received into the city a party of Romans sent for that purpose; and when these troops were now marching into the heart of the city and the forum with a great noise, Hanno, concluding that it was nothing more than a disturbance and secession of the Numidians, such as had happened before, advanced to quell the mutiny; but observing at a distance that the numbers were greater than those of the Numidians, and hearing the Roman shout, which was far from being new to him, he betook himself to flight before he came within reach of their weapons. Passing out of the town at a gate in the opposite quarter, and taking Epicyles to accompany him, he reached the sea with a few attendants; and having very seasonably met with a small vessel, they abandoned to the enemy Sicily, for which they had contended for so many years, and crossed over into Africa. The remaining multitude of Carthaginians and Sicilians fled with headlong haste, but as every passage by which they could escape was blockaded up, they were cut to pieces near the gates. On gaining possession of the town, Laevinus scourged and beheaded those who took the lead in the affairs of Agrigentum. The rest, together with the booty, he sold. All the money he sent to Rome. Accounts of the sufferings of the Agrigentines spreading through all Sicily, all the states suddenly turned to the Romans. In a short time twenty towns were betrayed to them, and six taken by storm. As many as forty put themselves under their protection, by voluntary surrender. The consul having rewarded and punished the leading men of these states, according to their several deserts, and compelled the Sicilians, now that they had at length laid aside arms, to turn their attention to the cultivation of their lands, in order that the island might by its produce

not only maintain its inhabitants, but, as it had frequently done on many former occasions, add to the supplies of Rome and Italy, he returned into Italy, taking with him a disorderly multitude from Agathyrna. These were as many as four thousand men, made up of a mixed assemblage of every description of persons, exiles, bankrupts, the greater part of them felons, who had supported themselves by rapine and robbery, both when they lived in their native towns, under the restraint of the laws, and also after that a coincidence in their fortunes, brought about by causes different in each case, had congregated them at Agathyrna. These men Laevinus thought it hardly safe to leave in the island, when an unwonted tranquillity was growing up, as the materials of fresh disturbances; and besides, they were likely to be useful to the Rhegians, who were in want of a band of men habituated to robbery, for the purpose of committing depredations upon the Bruttian territory. Thus, so far as related to Sicily, the war was this year terminated.

#### 41

In Spain, in the beginning of spring, Publius Scipio, having launched his ships, and summoned the auxiliary troops of his allies to Tarraco by an edict, ordered his fleet and transports to proceed thence to the mouth of the Iberus. He also ordered his legions to quit their winter quarters, and meet at the same place; and then set out from Tarraco, with five thousand of the allies, to join the army. On his arrival at the camp he considered it right to harangue his soldiers, particularly the old ones who had survived such dreadful disasters; and therefore, calling an assembly, he thus addressed them: "Never was there a new commander before myself who could, with justice and good reason, give thanks to his soldiers before he had availed himself of their services. Fortune laid me under obligations to you before I set eyes on my province or your camp; first, on account of the respect you have shown to my father and uncle, both in their lifetime and since their death; and secondly, because by your valour you have recovered and preserved entire, for the Roman people, and me their successor, the possession of the province which had been lost in consequence of so dreadful a calamity. But since, now, by the favour of the gods, our purpose and endeavour is not that we may remain in Spain ourselves, but that the Carthaginians may not; and not to stand on the bank of the Iberus, and hinder the enemy from crossing that river, but cross it first ourselves, and carry the war to the other side, I fear lest to some among you the enterprise should appear too important and daring, considering your late misfortunes, which are fresh in your recollection, and my years. There is no person from whose mind the memory of the defeats sustained in Spain could be obliterated with more difficulty than from mine; inasmuch as there my father and uncle were both slain within the space of thirty days, so that one death after another was accumulated on my family. But as the orphanhood and desolation of my own family depresses my mind, so both the good fortune and valour of our nation forbid me to despair of the safety of the state. It has happened to us by a kind of fatality, that in all important wars we have been victorious, after having been defeated. I pass over those wars of ancient date with Porsena, the Gauls, and Samnites. I will begin with the Punic wars. How many fleets, generals, and armies were lost in the former war? Why should I mention what has occurred in this present war? I have either been myself present at all the defeats sustained, or have felt more than any other those from which I was absent. What else are the Trebia, the Trasimenus, and Cannae, but monuments of Roman armies and consuls slain? Add to these the defection of Italy, of the greater part of Sicily and Sardinia, and the last terror and panic, the Carthaginian camp pitched between the Anio and the walls of Rome, and the victorious

Hannibal seen almost in our gates. Amid this general ruin, the courage of the Roman people alone stood unabated and unshaken. When every thing lay prostrate on the ground, it was this that raised and supported the state. You, first of all, my soldiers, under the conduct and auspices of my father, opposed Hasdrubal on his way to the Alps and Italy, after the defeat of Cannae, who, had he formed a junction with his brother, the Roman name would now have been extinct. These successes formed a counterpoise to those defeats. Now, by the favour of the gods, every thing in Italy and Sicily is going on prosperously and successfully, every day affording matter of fresh joy, and presenting things in a better light. In Sicily, Syracuse and Agrigentum have been captured, the enemy entirely expelled the island, and the province placed again under the dominion of the Romans. In Italy, Arpi has been recovered and Capua taken. Hannibal has been driven into the remotest corner of Bruttium, having fled thither all the way from Rome, in the utmost confusion; and now he asks the gods no greater boon than that he might be allowed to retire in safety, and quit the territory of his enemy. What then, my soldiers, could be more preposterous than that you, who here supported the tottering fortune of the Roman people, together with my parents, (for they may be equally associated in the honour of that epithet,) when calamities crowded one upon another in quick succession, and even the gods themselves, in a manner, took part with Hannibal, should now sink in spirits when every thing is going on happily and prosperously? Even with regard to the events which have recently occurred, I could wish that they had passed with as little grief to me as to you. At the present time the immortal gods who preside over the destinies of the Roman empire, who inspired all the centuries to order the command to be given to me, those same gods, I say, by auguries and auspices, and even by nightly visions, portend entire success and joy. My own mind also, which has hitherto been to me the truest prophet, presages that Spain will be ours; that the whole Carthaginian name will in a short time be banished from this land, and will fill both sea and land with ignominious flight. What my mind presages spontaneously, is also supported by sound reasoning. Their allies, annoyed by them, are by ambassadors imploring our protection; their three generals, having differed so far as almost to have abandoned each other, have divided their army into three parts, which they have drawn off into regions as remote as possible from each other. The same fortune now threatens them which lately afflicted us; for they are both deserted by their allies, as formerly we were by the Celtiberians, and they have divided their forces, which occasioned the ruin of my father and uncle. Neither will their intestine differences allow them to unite, nor will they be able to cope with us singly. Only do you, my soldiers, favour the name of the Scipios, favour the offspring of your generals, a scion springing up from the trunks which have been cut down. Come then, veterans, lead your new commander and your new army across the Iberus, lead us across into a country which you have often traversed, with many a deed of valour. I will soon bring it to pass that, as you now trace in me a likeness to my father and uncle in my features, countenance, and figure, I will so restore a copy of their genius, honour, and courage, to you, that every man of you shall say that his commander, Scipio, has either returned to life, or has been born again."

#### 42

Having animated his troops with this harangue, and leaving Marcus Silanus with three thousand infantry and three hundred horse, for the protection of that district, he crossed the Iberus with all the rest of his troops, consisting of twenty-five thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred horse. Though certain persons there endeavoured to persuade him that, as the Carthaginian armies had retired from each

other into three such distant quarters, he should attack the nearest of them; yet concluding that if he did so there was danger lest he should cause them to concentrate all their forces, and he alone should not be a match for so many, he determined for the present to make an attack upon New Carthage, a city not only possessing great wealth of its own, but also full of every kind of military store belonging to the enemy; there were their arms, their money, and the hostages from every part of Spain. It was, besides, conveniently situated, not only for a passage into Africa, but also near a port sufficiently capacious for a fleet of any magnitude, and, for aught I know, the only one on the coast of Spain which is washed by our sea. No one but Caius Laelius knew whither he was going. He was sent round with the fleet, and ordered so to regulate the sailing of his ships, that the army might come in view and the fleet enter the harbour at the same time. Both the fleet and army arrived at the same time at New Carthage, on the seventh day after leaving the Iberus. The camp was pitched over against that part of the city which looks to the north. A rampart was thrown up as a defence on the rear of it, for the front was secured by the nature of the ground. Now the situation of New Carthage is as follows: at about the middle of the coast of Spain is a bay facing for the most part the south-west, about two thousand five hundred paces in depth, and a little more in breadth. In the mouth of this bay is a small island forming a barrier towards the sea, and protecting the harbour from every wind except the south-west. From the bottom of the bay there runs out a peninsula, which forms the eminence on which the city is built; which is washed in the east and south by the sea, and on the west is enclosed by a lake which extends a little way also towards the north, of variable depth according as the sea overflows or ebbs. An isthmus of about two hundred paces broad connects the city with the continent, on which, though it would have been a work of so little labour, the Roman general did not raise a rampart; whether his object was to make a display of his confidence to the enemy from motives of pride, or that he might have free regress when frequently advancing to the walls of the city.

### 43

Having completed the other requisite works, he drew up his ships in the harbour, that he might exhibit to the enemy the appearance of a blockade by sea also; he then went round the fleet, and having warned the commanders of the ships to be particularly careful in keeping the night-watches, because an enemy, when besieged, usually tried every effort and in every quarter at first, he returned into his camp; and in order to explain to his soldiers the reason why he had adopted the plan of commencing the war with the siege of a city, in preference to any other, and also by exhortations to inspire them with hopes of making themselves masters of it, he summoned them to an assembly, and thus addressed them: "Soldiers, if any one among you suppose that you have been brought here to attack a single city, that man takes a more exact account of your present labour than of its profitable result from it. For you will in truth attack the walls of a single city, but in that single city you will have made yourselves masters of all Spain. Here are the hostages of all her most distinguished kings and states; and as soon as you shall have gained possession of these, they will immediately deliver into your hands every thing which is now subject to the Carthaginians. Here is the whole of the enemy's treasure, without which they cannot carry on the war, as they are keeping mercenary troops, and which will be most serviceable to us in conciliating the affections of the barbarians. Here are their engines, their arms, their tackle, and every requisite in war; which will at once supply you, and leave the enemy destitute. Besides, we shall gain possession of a city, not only of the greatest beauty and wealth, but also most

convenient as having an excellent harbour, by means of which we may be supplied with every requisite for carrying on the war both by sea and land. Great as are the advantages we shall thus gain, we shall deprive our enemies of much greater. This is their citadel, their granary, their treasury, their magazine, their receptacle for every thing. Hence there is a direct passage into Africa; this is the only station for a fleet between the Pyrenees and Gades; this gives to Africa the command of all Spain. But as I perceive you are arrayed and marshalled, let us pass on to the assault of New Carthage, with our whole strength, and with undaunted courage." Upon this, they all with, one accord cried out that it should be done; and he led them to Carthage, and ordered that the assault should be made both by sea and land.

#### 44

On the other side, Mago, the Carthaginian general, perceiving that a siege was being prepared for both by sea and land, himself also disposed his forces thus: he placed two thousand of the townsmen to oppose the enemy, on the side facing the Roman camp; he occupied the citadel with five hundred soldiers, and stationed five hundred on a rising ground, facing the east; the rest of his troops he ordered, intent on every thing that occurred, to hasten with assistance wherever the shout, or any sudden emergency, might call them. Then, throwing open the gate, he sent out those he had drawn up in the street leading to the camp of the enemy. The Romans, according to the direction of their general, retired a little, in order that they might be nearer to the reserved troops which were to be sent to their assistance during the engagement. At first they stood with pretty equal force, but afterwards the reserved troops, sent from time to time from the camp, not only obliged the enemy to turn their backs, but followed them up so close when flying in disorder, that had not a retreat been sounded, they seemed as though they would have rushed into the city together with the fugitives. The consternation in the field was not greater than in every part of the city; many of the outposts were abandoned in panic and flight; and the walls were deserted, as they leaped down each in the part nearest him. Scipio, who had gone out to an eminence called Mercury's hill, perceiving that the walls were abandoned by their defenders in many parts, ordered all his men to be called out of his camp and advance to take the city, and orders them to bring the scaling-ladders. The general himself, covered by the shields of three stout young men, (for now an immense number of missiles of every description were let fly from the walls,) came up to the city, cheered them on, and gave the requisite orders; and, what was of the utmost importance in exciting the courage of his men, he appeared among them a witness and spectator of the valour or cowardice of each. Accordingly, they rushed forward, amidst wounds and weapons; nor could the walls, or the armed troops which stood upon them, repel them from eagerly mounting them. At the same time an attack was commenced by the fleet upon that part of the city which was washed by the sea. But here the alarm occasioned was greater than the force which could be employed; for while they were bringing the boats to shore, and hastily landing the ladders and the men, each man pressing forward to gain the land the shortest way, they hindered one another by their very haste and eagerness.

#### 45

In the mean time, the Carthaginians had now filled the walls again with armed men, who were supplied with a great quantity of missiles from the immense stores which they had laid up. But neither men nor missiles, nor any thing else, so effectually defended them as the walls themselves, for very few of the ladders were equal to the height of them, and

all those which were longer than the rest were proportionably weaker. Accordingly, those who were highest being unable to mount from them, and being followed, nevertheless, by others, they broke from the mere weight upon them. Some, though the ladders stood, a dizziness having come over their eyes in consequence of the height, fell to the ground. And as men and ladders were every where tumbling down, while the boldness and alacrity of the enemy were increased by the mere success, the signal for retreat was sounded, which afforded hopes to the besieged, not only of present rest after such a laborious contest, but also for the future, as it appeared their city could not be taken by scalade and siege. To raise works they considered would be attended with difficulty, and would give time to their generals to bring them assistance. Scarcely had the first tumult subsided, when Scipio ordered other fresh and unfatigued troops to take the ladders from those who were tired and wounded and assault the city with increased vigour. Having received intelligence that the tide was ebbing, and having before been informed by some fishermen of Tarraco who used to pass through the lake, sometimes in light boats, and, when these ran aground, by wading, that it afforded an easy passage to the wall for footmen, he led some armed men thither in person. It was about mid-day, and besides that the water was being drawn off naturally, in consequence of the tide receding, a brisk north wind rising impelled the water in the lake, which was already in motion, in the same direction as the tide, and rendered it so shallow, that in some parts the water reached only to the navel, while in others it scarcely rose above the knees. Scipio, referring this discovery, which he had made by his own diligence and penetration, to the gods and to miracle, which had turned the course of the sea, withdrawn it from the lake, and opened ways never before trodden by human feet to afford a passage to the Romans, ordered them to follow Neptune as their guide, and passing through the middle of the lake, make good their way to the walls.

#### 46

Those who renewed the assault by land experienced great difficulty; for they were baffled not only by the height of the walls, but also because they exposed the Romans, as they approached them, to the missiles of the enemy from different quarters, so that their sides were endangered more than the fronts of their bodies. But in the other quarter five hundred passed without difficulty through the lake, and then mounted the wall, for neither was it defended by any fortifications, because there they thought the city was sufficiently protected by the nature of the place and the lake, nor were there any outposts or guards stationed there, because all were engaged in bringing succour to that quarter in which the danger appeared. Having entered the city without opposition, they proceeded direct, with all possible speed, to that gate near which the contest was concentrated; and so intently occupied with this were not only the minds, but the eyes and ears of all, both of those who were engaged in fighting, and of those who were looking on and encouraging the combatants, that no one perceived that the city had been captured in their rear till the weapons fell upon their backs, and they had an enemy on both sides of them. Then, the defenders having been thrown into confusion through fear, both the walls were captured, and the gate began to be broken open both from within and from without; and presently, the doors having been broken to pieces by blows, in order that the way might not be obstructed, the troops rushed in. A great number had also got over the walls, but these employed themselves in putting the townsmen to the sword; those which entered by the gate, forming a regular body, with officers and in ranks, advanced through the midst of the city into the forum. Scipio then perceiving that the enemy fled in two different directions, some to the eminence which

lay eastward, which was occupied by a garrison of five hundred men, others to the citadel, into which Mago himself also had fled for refuge, together with almost all the troops which had been driven from the walls, sent part of his forces to storm the hill, and part he led in person against the citadel. Not only was the hill captured at the first assault, but Mago also, after making an effort to defend it, when he saw every place filled with the enemy, and that there was no hope, surrendered himself and the citadel, with the garrison. Until the citadel was surrendered, the massacre was continued in every quarter throughout the city; nor did they spare any one they met who had arrived at puberty: but after that, on a signal given, a stop was put to the carnage, and the victors turned their attention to the plunder, of which there was an immense quantity of every description.

#### 47

Of males of free condition, as many as ten thousand were captured. Of these he allowed to depart such as were citizens of New Carthage; and restored to them their city, and all their property which the war had left them. The artisans amounted to two thousand, whom he assigned to the Roman people as their property; holding out to them a hope of speedy emancipation, provided they should address themselves strenuously to the service of the war. Of the rest of the mass of inhabitants, the young men and able-bodied slaves he assigned for the service of the fleet, to fill up the numbers of the rowers. He had also augmented his fleet with five ships which he had captured. Besides this multitude, there remained the Spanish hostages, to whom as much attention was paid as if they had been children of allies. An immense quantity of military stores was also taken; one hundred and twenty catapultae of the larger size, two hundred and eighty-one of the smaller; twenty-three ballistae of the larger size, fifty-two of the smaller; an immense number of scorpions of the larger and smaller size, and also of arms and missile weapons; and seventy-four military standards. Of gold and silver, an immense quantity was brought to the general; there were two hundred and seventy-six golden bowls, almost all of them weighing a pound; of silver, wrought and coined, eighteen thousand three hundred pounds' weight; and of silver vessels an immense number. All these were weighed and reckoned to the quaestor, Caius Flaminius. There were twenty thousand pecks of wheat, and two hundred and seventy of barley. One hundred and thirteen ships of burden were boarded and captured in the harbour, some of them with their cargoes, consisting of corn and arms, besides brass, iron, sails, spartum, and other naval materials, of use in equipping a fleet; so that amid such large military stores which were captured, Carthage itself was of the least consideration.

#### 48

Having ordered Caius Laelius with the marines to guard the city, Scipio led back his legions to the camp the same day in person; and as his soldiers were tired, as they had in one day gone through every kind of military labour; for they had engaged the enemy in the field, and had undergone very great fatigue and danger in taking the city; and after they had taken it had fought, and that on disadvantageous ground, with those who had fled to the citadel, he ordered them to attend to themselves. The next day, having assembled the land and naval forces, he, in the first place, ascribed praise and thanks to the immortal gods, who had not only in one day made him master of the wealthiest city in Spain, but had previously collected in it the riches of almost all Africa and Spain; so that while his enemy had nothing left, he and his army had a superabundance of every thing. He then commended in the highest terms the valour of his soldiers, because that

neither the sally of the enemy, nor the height of the walls, nor the unexplored fords of the lake, nor the fort standing upon a high hill, nor the citadel, though most strongly fortified, had deterred them from surmounting and breaking through every thing. Therefore, though all credit was due to them all, he said that the man who first mounted the wall ought to be distinguished above the rest, by being honoured with a mural crown; and he desired that he who thought himself worthy of that reward would claim it. Two persons laid claim to it, Quintus Trebellius, a centurion of the fourth legion, and Sextus Digitius, a marine. Nor did these contest so fiercely as each excited the zeal of his own body of men. Caius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, patronized the marines, and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, the legionary troops. As this contest began almost to assume the character of a mutiny, Scipio having notified that he should appoint three delegates, who, after making themselves acquainted with the case, and examining the witnesses, might decide which had been the first to scale the wall and enter the town, added Publius Cornelius Caudinus, a middle party, to Laelius and Sempronius, the advocates of the two parties, and ordered these three delegates to sit and determine the cause. But as the contest was now carried on with increased warmth, because those high characters, who had acted more as moderators of the zeal of both than as advocates of any particular party, were withdrawn, Caius Laelius, leaving the council, went up to the tribunal of Scipio and informed him, "that the contest was proceeding without bounds or moderation, and that they had almost come to blows. But still, though no violence should take place, that the proceedings formed a most hateful precedent, for that the honours due to valour were being sought by fraud and perjury. That on one side stood the legionary troops, on the other the marines, ready to swear by all the gods what they wished, rather than what they knew, to be true, and to involve in the guilt of perjury not only themselves and their own persons, but the military standards, the eagles, and their solemn oath of allegiance. That he laid these matters before him, in accordance with the opinion of Publius Cornelius and Marcus Sempronius." Scipio, after highly praising Laelius, summoned an assembly, and then declared, "that he had ascertained satisfactorily that Quintus Trebellius and Sextus Digitius had mounted the wall at the same time, and that he presented them both with mural crowns in consideration of their valour." He then gave presents to the rest, according to the merit and valour of each. Above all he honoured Caius Laelius, the admiral of the fleet, by the placing him upon an equality with himself, and bestowing upon him every kind of commendation, and also by presenting him with a golden crown and thirty oxen.

#### 49

He then ordered the Spanish hostages to be summoned. What the number of these was I feel reluctant to state, because in some authors I find that it was about three hundred, in others seven hundred and twenty-five. There is the same difference between authors with regard to the other particulars. One writes that the Punic garrison consisted of ten thousand, another of seven, a third of not more than two thousand. In some you may find that ten thousand persons were captured, in others above twenty-five thousand. I should have stated the number of scorpions captured, both of the greater and smaller size, at sixty, if I had followed the Greek author, Silenus, if Valerius Antius, of the larger at six thousand, of the smaller at thirteen, so great is the extent of falsehood. Nor are they agreed even respecting the commanders, most say that Laelius commanded the fleet, but some say Marcus Junius Silanus. Valerius Antius says, that Arines commanded the Punic garrison, and was given up to the Romans; other writers say it was Mago.

They are not agreed respecting the number of the ships taken, respecting the weight of gold and silver, and of the money brought into the public treasury. If we must assent to some of their statements, the medium is nearest to the truth. However, Scipio having summoned the hostages, first bid them all keep up their spirits observing, "that they had fallen into the hands of the Roman people, who chose to bind men to them by benefits rather than by fear, and keep foreign nations attached to them by honour and friendship, rather than subject them to a gloomy servitude." Then receiving the names of the states to which they belonged, he took an account of the captives, distinguishing the number belonging to each people, and sent messengers to their homes, to desire that they would come and take back their respective friends. If ambassadors from any of the states happened to be present, he delivered their countrymen to them in person, and assigned to them the quaestor, Caius Flaminius, the charge of kindly taking care of the rest. Meanwhile, there advanced from the midst of the crowd of hostages a woman in years, the wife of Mandonius, who was the brother of Indibilis, the chieftain of the Illergetians; she threw herself weeping at the general's feet, and began to implore him to give particularly strict injunctions to their guardians with respect to the care and treatment of females. Scipio replied, that nothing certainly should be wanting; when the woman rejoined: "We do not much value such things, for what is not good enough for such a condition? A care of a different kind disquiets me, when beholding the age of these females; for I am myself no longer exposed to the danger peculiar to females." Around her stood the daughters of Indibilis, in the bloom of youth and beauty, with others of equal rank, all of whom looked up to her as a parent. Scipio then said: "Out of regard for that discipline which I myself and the Roman nation maintain, I should take care that nothing, which is any where held sacred, should be violated among us. In the present case, your virtue and your rank cause me to observe it more strictly; for not even in the midst of misfortunes have you forgotten the delicacy becoming matrons." He then delivered them over to a man of tried virtue, ordering him to treat them with no less respect and modesty than the wives and mothers of guests.

## 50

The soldiers then brought to him a female captive, a grown-up virgin, of such exquisite beauty, that whichever way she walked she attracted the eyes of every body. Scipio, on making inquiries as to her country and parentage, heard, among other particulars, that she was betrothed to a young prince of the Celtiberians, named Allucius. He immediately, therefore, summoned from their abode her parents and lover, and having heard in the mean time that the latter was desperately enamoured of her, as soon as he arrived he addressed him in a more studied manner than her parents. "A young man myself," said he, "I address myself to a young man, and therefore there need be the less reserve in this conversation. As soon as your intended bride, having been captured by my soldiers, was brought into my presence, and I was informed that she was endeared to you, which her beauty rendered probable, considering that I should myself wish that my affection for my intended bride, though excessive, should meet with indulgence, could I enjoy the pleasures suited to my age, (particularly in an honourable and lawful love,) and were not my mind engrossed by public affairs, I indulge as far as I can your passion. Your mistress, while under my protection, has received as much respect as under the roof of her own parents, your father-in-law and mother-in-law. She has been kept in perfect safety for you, that she might be presented to you pure, a gift worthy of me and of you. This only reward I bargain for in return for the service I have rendered you, that you would be a friend to the Roman people, and if you believe that I am a true

man, as these nations knew my father and uncle to have been heretofore, that you would feel assured that in the Roman state there are many like us, and that no nation in the world at the present time can be mentioned, with which you ought to be less disposed that you, or those belonging to you, should be at enmity, or with which you would rather be in friendship." The young man, overcome at once with joy and modesty, clung to Scipio's right hand, and invoked all the gods to recompense him in his behalf, since he himself was far from possessing means proportioned either to his own wishes or Scipio's deserts. He then addressed himself to the parents and relatives of the damsel, who, on receiving her back without any reward, whom they had brought a very large weight of gold to redeem, entreated Scipio to accept it from them as a present to himself; affirming, that if he would do so, they should feel as grateful for it as they did for the restoration of their daughter inviolate. As they were so earnest in their entreaties, Scipio promised to accept it, and ordered it to be laid at his feet. Then calling Allucius to him, he said: "To the dowry which you are about to receive from your father-in-law, let these marriage presents also from me be added;" bidding him take away the gold and keep it for himself. Delighted with these presents and honours, he was dismissed to his home, where he inspired his countrymen with the deserved praises of Scipio, observing, "that a most godlike youth had come among them, who conquered every thing, not only by arms, but by kindness and generosity." Accordingly, making a levy among his dependants, he returned to Scipio after a few days, with fourteen hundred chosen horsemen.

## 51

Scipio kept Laelius with him until he had disposed of the captives, hostages, and booty, in accordance with his advice; but when all these matters were satisfactorily arranged, he gave him a quinquereme; and selecting from the captives Mago, and about fifteen senators who had been made prisoners at the same time with him, put them on board, and sent him to Rome with the news of his victory. He himself employed the few days he had resolved to stay at Carthage, in exercising his naval and land forces. On the first day the legions under arms performed evolutions through a space of four miles; on the second day he ordered them to repair and clean their arms before their tents; on the third day they engaged in imitation of a regular battle with wooden swords, throwing javelins with the points covered with balls; on the fourth day they rested; on the fifth they again performed evolutions under arms. This succession of exercise and rest they kept up as long as they staid at Carthage. The rowers and mariners, pushing out to sea when the weather was calm, made trial of the manageableness of their ships by mock sea-fights. Such exercises, both by sea and land, without the city prepared their minds and bodies for war. The city itself was all bustle with warlike preparations, artificers of every description being collected together in a public workshop. The general went round to all the works with equal attention. At one time he was employed in the dock-yard with his fleet, at another he exercised with the legions; sometimes he would devote his time to the inspection of the works, which were every day carried on with the greatest eagerness by a multitude of artificers both in the workshops, and in the armoury and docks. Having put these preparations in a train, repaired the walls in a part where they had been shattered, and placed bodies of troops to guard the city, he set out for Tarraco; and on his way thither was visited by a number of embassies, some of which he dismissed, having given them answers on his journey, others he postponed till his arrival at Tarraco; at which place he had appointed a meeting of all his new and old allies. Here ambassadors from almost all the people dwelling on this side the Iberus, and

from many dwelling in the further Spain, met. The Carthaginian generals at first industriously suppressed the rumour of the capture of Carthage; but afterwards, when it became too notorious to be concealed or dissembled, they disparaged its importance by their language. They said, that "by an unexpected attack, and in a manner by stealth, in one day, one city of Spain had been snatched out of their hands; that a presumptuous youth, elated with the acquisition of this, so inconsiderable an advantage, had, by the extravagance of his joy, given it the air of an important victory; but that as soon as he should hear that three generals and three victorious armies of his enemies were approaching, the deaths which had taken place in his family would occur to his recollection." Such was the tone in which they spoke of this affair to the people, though they were, at the same time, far from ignorant how much their strength had been diminished, in every respect, by the loss of Carthage.

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## Book XXVII

*Cneius Fulvius, proconsul, defeated by Hannibal and slain; the consul, Claudius Marcellus, engages him with better success. Hannibal, raising his camp, retires; Marcellus pursues, and forces him to an engagement. They fight twice; in the first battle, Hannibal gains the advantage; in the second, Marcellus. Tarentum betrayed to Fabius Maximus, the consul. Scipio engages with Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, at Baetula, in Spain, and defeats him. Among other prisoners, a youth of royal race and exquisite beauty is taken; Scipio sets him free, and sends him, enriched with magnificent presents, to his uncle Masinissa. Marcellus and Quintus Crispinus, consuls, drawn into an ambuscade by Hannibal; Marcellus is slain, Crispinus escapes. Operations by Publius Sulpicius, praetor, against Philip and the Achaeans. A census held; the number of citizens found to amount to one hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eight: from which it appears how great a loss they had sustained by the number of unsuccessful battles they had of late been engaged in. Hasdrubal, who had crossed the Alps with a reinforcement for Hannibal, defeated by the consuls, Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, and slain; with him fell fifty-six thousand men.*

### 1

Such was the state of affairs in Spain. In Italy, the consul Marcellus, after regaining Salapia, which was betrayed into his hands, took Maronea and Meles from the Samnites by force. As many as three thousand of the soldiers of Hannibal, which were left as a garrison, were here surprised and overpowered. The booty, and there was a considerable quantity of it, was given up to the troops. Also, two hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat, with a hundred and ten thousand pecks of barley, were found here. The joy, however, thus occasioned, was by no means so great as a disaster sustained a few days afterwards, not far from the town Herdonea. Cneius Fulvius, the consul, was lying encamped there, in the hope of regaining Herdonea, which had revolted from the Romans after the defeat at Cannae, his position being neither sufficiently secure from the nature of the place, nor strengthened by guards. The natural negligence of the general was now increased by the hope that their attachment to the Carthaginians was shaken when they had heard that Hannibal, after the loss of Salapia, had retired from that neighbourhood into Bruttium. Intelligence of all these circumstances being conveyed to Hannibal by secret messengers from Herdonea, at once excited an anxious desire to retain possession of a city in alliance with him, and inspired a hope of attacking the enemy when unprepared. With a lightly equipped force he hastened to Herdonea by forced marches, so as almost to anticipate the report of his approach and in order to strike greater terror into the enemy, came up with his troops in battle-array. The Roman, equal to him in courage, but inferior in strength, hastily drawing out his troops, engaged him. The fifth legion and the left wing of the allied infantry commenced the battle with spirit. But Hannibal ordered his cavalry, on a signal given, to ride round as soon as the foot forces had their eyes and thoughts occupied with the contest before them, and one half of them to attack the camp of the enemy, the other half to fall upon their rear, while busily engaged in fighting. He himself, sarcastically alluding to the similarity of the name Fulvius, as he had defeated Cneius Fulvius, the praetor, two years ago, in the same country, expressed his confidence that the issue of the battle would be similar. Nor was this expectation vain; for after many of the Romans had fallen in the close contest, and in the engagement with the infantry,

notwithstanding which they still preserved their ranks and stood their ground; the alarm occasioned by the cavalry on their rear, and the enemy shout, which was heard at the same time from their camp, first put to flight the sixth legion, which being posted in the second line, was first thrown into confusion by the Numidians; and then the fifth legion, and those who were posted in the van. Some fled precipitately, others were slain in the middle space, where also Cneius Fulvius himself, with eleven military tribunes, fell. Who can state with certainty how many thousands of the Romans and their allies were slain in this battle, when I find in some accounts that thirteen, in others that not more than seven, thousand were slain? The conquerors got possession of the camp and the spoil. Finding that Herdonea would have revolted to the Romans, and was not likely to continue faithful to him if he departed thence, he removed all its inhabitants to Metapontum and Thurium, and burnt it. He put to death the chief men who were found to have held secret conferences with Fulvius. Such of the Romans as escaped this dreadful carnage, fled half-armed, by different roads, into Samnium, to the consul Marcellus.

## 2

Marcellus, who was not much discouraged at this so great a disaster, sent a letter to the senate at Rome, with an account of the loss of the general and army at Herdonea; observing, however, "that he who, after the battle of Cannae, had humbled Hannibal when elated with victory, was now marching against him, and that he would cause that his present joy and exultation should not continue long." At Rome, indeed, the grief occasioned by what had occurred, and the fears entertained for the future, were excessive. The consul passing out of Samnium into Lucania, pitched his camp at Numistro, on a plain within view of Hannibal, who occupied a hill. He added also another demonstration of his confidence; for he was the first to lead out his troops to battle, nor did Hannibal decline fighting when he saw the standards carried out from the gates. However, they drew up their forces so that the right wing of the Carthaginians was extended up the hill, while the left wing of the Romans was contiguous to the town. For a long time neither side had any advantage; but the battle having continued from the third hour till night, and the first lines, which consisted, on the part of the Romans, of the first legion and the right wing of the allied infantry, on the part of Hannibal, of the Spanish soldiers, the Balearic slingers, and the elephants, which were driven into the field after the commencement of the battle, being fatigued with fighting, the first legion was relieved by the third, and the right wing of allied infantry by the left; while on the part of the enemy fresh troops took up the battle in place of those who were tired. A new and desperate conflict suddenly arose, instead of that which was so feebly maintained, their minds and bodies being unimpaired by fatigue; but night separated the combatants while the victory was undecided. The following day the Romans stood drawn up for battle from sun-rise till late in the day; but none of the enemy coming out against them, they gathered the spoils at their leisure, and collecting the bodies of their own troops into a heap, burnt them. The following night Hannibal decamped in silence, and moved on into Apulia. As soon as daylight discovered the flight of the enemy, Marcellus, leaving his wounded under the protection of a small garrison at Numistro, in command of which he placed Lucius Furius Purpureo, a military tribune, commenced a close pursuit of Hannibal, and overtook him at Venusia. Here, during several days, parties of troops sallying from the outposts, battles took place between foot and horses promiscuously, rather irregular than important, but which for the most part were favourable to the Romans. The armies were marched thence through Apulia without

any engagement worth recording; for Hannibal marched by night, seeking an opportunity for ambuscade, but Marcellus never followed him except in broad daylight, and after having explored the country.

### 3

In the mean time, while Flaccus was detained at Capua in selling the property of the nobles, and letting out the land which had been forfeited, all of which he let for a rent to be paid in corn, lest occasions for exercising severity toward the Campanians should be wanting, a new piece of inquiry which had been ripening in secret, was brought out in evidence. He had compelled his soldiers, withdrawn from the houses, to build for themselves huts after the military manner, near the gates and walls; at once, that the houses of the city might be let and occupied together with the land, also through fear, lest the excessive luxury of the city should enervate his troops as it had those of Hannibal. Now many of these were formed of hurdles or boards, others of reeds interwoven, all being covered with straw, as if combustible materials had been employed on purpose. A hundred and seventy Campanians, headed by the Blossii who were fathers, had formed a conspiracy to set fire to all these at a late hour of the night; but information of the conspiracy having been given by one of the slaves of the Blossii, the gates were suddenly closed by the command of the proconsul, and all the soldiers had been assembled under arms, on a signal given all who were implicated in the guilt were seized, and, after rigorous examination, were condemned and executed, informers were rewarded with liberty and ten thousand *asses* each. The people of Nuceria and Acerra, who complained that they had no where to dwell, Acerra being partly burnt, and Nuceria demolished, Fulvius sent to Rome to the senate. Permission was given to the people of Acerra to rebuild what had been destroyed by fire. The people of Nuceria were removed to Atella, as they preferred; the people of Atella being ordered to migrate to Calatia. Among the many and important events, sometimes prosperous, sometimes adverse, which occupied men's thoughts, not even the citadel of Tarentum was forgotten. Marcus Ogulnius and Publius Aquillius went into Etruria as commissioners to buy up corn to be conveyed to Tarentum; and one thousand men out of the city troops, an equal number of Romans and allies, were sent to the same place, together with the corn, for its protection.

### 4

The summer was now on the close, and the time for the election of consuls drew nigh; but a letter from Marcellus, in which he stated, that it would not be for the interest of the state that he should depart a single step from Hannibal, whom he was severely pressing while retreating before him and evading an engagement, had excited anxiety, lest they must either recall the consul from the war at that time when he was most actively employed, or consuls should not be appointed for the year. The best course appeared to be to recall in preference the consul Valerius from Sicily, although he was out of Italy. A letter was sent to him by Lucius Manlius, the city praetor, by order of the senate, together with the letter of Marcus Marcellus, the consul, that he might learn from it what reason the senate had for recalling him from his province rather than his colleague. Much about this time ambassadors came to Rome from king Syphax with accounts of the successful battles which he had fought with the Carthaginians. They assured the senate that there was no people to whom the king was more hostile than the Carthaginians, and none to whom he was more friendly than the Romans. They said, that "he had before sent ambassadors into Spain, to Cneius and Publius Cornelius, the

Roman generals, but that he was now desirous to solicit the friendship of the Romans, as it were, from the fountain-head itself." The senate not only returned a gracious answer to the ambassadors, but also sent as ambassadors to the king, with presents, Lucius Genucius, Publius Paetelius, and Publius Popillius. The presents they carried were a purple gown and vest, an ivory chair, and a bowl formed out of five pounds of gold. They received orders to proceed forthwith to other petty princes of Africa carrying with them as presents for them gowns bordered with purple, and golden bowls weighing three pounds each. Marcus Atilius and Manius Acilius were also sent as ambassadors to Alexandria, to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to revive and renew the treaty of friendship with them, carrying with them as presents a gown and purple tunic, with an ivory chair for the king, and an embroidered gown and a purple vest for the queen. During the summer in which these transactions took place, many prodigies were reported from the country and cities in the neighbourhood; at Tusculum it was said that a lamb was yeaned with its dug full of milk; that the roof of the temple of Jupiter was struck with lightning and almost stripped of its entire covering. Much about the same time it was reported that the ground in front of the gate at Anagnia was struck, and that it continued burning for a day and a night without any thing to feed the fire; that at Compitum in the territory of Anagnia, the birds had deserted the nests in the trees in the grove of Diana; that snakes of amazing size had leaped up, like fishes sporting, in the sea at Taracina not far from the port; at Tarquinii, that a pig was produced with a human face; that in the territory of Capena at the grove of Feronia, four statues had sweated blood profusely for a day and a night. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the greater kind, according to a decree of the pontiffs, and a supplication was fixed to be performed for one day at Rome at all the shrines, and another in the territory of Capena at the grove of Feronia.

## 5

Marcus Valerius, the consul, having been summoned by letter, gave the command of the province and his army to Cincius the praetor, sent Marcus Valerius Messala, commander of the fleet, with half of the ships to Africa, at the same time to plunder the country and observe what the Carthaginians were doing, and what preparations they were making, and then set out himself with ten ships for Rome; where, having arrived in safety, he immediately convened the senate. Here he made a recital of his services. That "after hostilities had been carried on, and severe losses often sustained, both by sea and land, through a period of almost sixty years, he had completely terminated the business of the province. That there was not one Carthaginian in Sicily, nor one Sicilian absent of those who through fear had been compelled to go into exile and live abroad; that all of them were brought back to their cities and fields, and were employed in ploughing and sowing; that the land which was deserted was now again inhabited, not only yielding its fruits to its cultivators, but forming a most certain resource for the supply of provisions to the Roman people in peace and war." After this, Mutines and such others as had rendered any services to the Roman people were introduced into the senate, and all received honorary rewards in fulfilment of the consul's engagement. Mutines was also made a Roman citizen, a proposition to that effect having been made to the commons by a plebeian tribune, on the authority of the senate. While these things were going on at Rome, Marcus Valerius Messala, arriving on the coast of Africa before daylight, made a sudden descent on the territory of Utica; and after ravaging it to a great extent, and taking many prisoners, together with booty of every kind, he returned to his ships and sailed over to Sicily. He returned to Lilybaeum on the thirteenth day from the time he

left it. From the prisoners, on examination, the following facts were discovered, and all communicated in writing to the consul Laevinus in order, so that he might know in what state the affairs of Africa were. That "five thousand Numidians, with Masinissa, the son of Gala, a youth of extraordinary spirit, were at Carthage, and that other troops were hiring throughout all Africa, to be passed over into Spain to Hasdrubal; in order that he might, as soon as possible, pass over into Italy, with as large a force as could be collected, and form a junction with Hannibal." That the Carthaginians considered their success dependent on this measure. That a very large fleet was also in preparation for the recovery of Sicily, which they believed would sail thither in a short time. The recital of these facts had such an effect upon the senate, that they resolved that the consul ought not to wait for the election, but that a dictator should be appointed to hold it, and that the consul should immediately return to his province. A difference of opinion delayed this, for the consul declared that he should nominate as dictator Marcus Valerius Messala, who then commanded the fleet in Sicily; but the fathers denied that a person could be appointed dictator who was not in the Roman territory, and this was limited by Italy. Marcus Lucretius, a plebeian tribune, having taken the sense of the senate upon the question, it was decreed, "that the consul before he quitted the city, should put the question to the people, as to whom they wished to be appointed dictator, and that he should nominate whomsoever they directed. If the consul were unwilling that the praetor should put the question, and if even he were unwilling to do it, that then the tribunes should make the proposition to the commons." The consul refusing to submit to the people what lay in his own power, and forbidding the praetor to do so, the plebeian tribunes put the question, and the commons ordered that Quintus Fulvius, who was then at Capua, should be nominated dictator. But on the night preceding the day on which the assembly of the people was to be held for that purpose, the consul went off privately into Sicily; and the fathers, thus deserted, decreed that a letter should be sent to Marcus Claudius, in order that he might come to the support of the state, which had been abandoned by his colleague, and appoint him dictator whom the commons had ordered. Thus Quintus Fulvius was appointed dictator by Marcus Claudius, the consul, and in conformity with the same order of the people, Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, was appointed master of the horse by Quintus Fulvius, the dictator.

## 6

After the dictator had arrived at Rome, he sent Cneius Sempronius Blaesus, who had acted under him as lieutenant general at Capua, into the province of Etruria, to take the command of the army there, in the room of the praetor, Caius Calpurnius, whom he had summoned by letter to take the command of Capua and his own army. He fixed the first date he could for the election: which, however, could not be brought to a conclusion, in consequence of a dispute which arose between the tribunes and the dictator. The junior century of the Galerian tribe, to whose lot it fell to give the votes first, had named Quintus Fulvius and Quintus Fabius as consuls; and the other centuries, on being called upon to vote according to their course, would have inclined the same way, had not the plebeian tribunes, Caius and Lucius Arennius interposed. They said, "that it was hardly constitutional that a chief magistrate should be continued in office but that it was a precedent still more shocking, that the very person who held the election should be appointed. Then therefore, if the dictator should allow his own name to appear they would interpose against the election; but if the names of any other persons besides himself were put up, they should not impede it." The dictator defended the election by the authority of the fathers, the order of the commons, and precedents. For, "in the

consulate of Cneius Servilius, when the other consul, Caius Flaminius, had fallen at Trasimenus, it was proposed to the people on the authority of the fathers, and the people had ordered, that as long as the war continued in Italy, it should be lawful for the people to elect to the consulship whomsoever they pleased, out of those persons who had been consuls, and as often as they pleased. That he had a precedent of ancient date, which was to the point, in the case of Lucius Posthumius Megellus, who, while he was interrex, had been created consul with Caius Junius Bubulcus, at an election over which he himself presided; and a precedent of recent date, in Quintus Fabius, who certainly would never have allowed himself to be re-elected, had it not been for the good of the state." After the contest had been continued for a long time, by arguments of this kind, at length the tribunes and the dictator came to an agreement, that they should abide by what the senate should decide. The fathers were of opinion, that such was then the condition of the state, that it was necessary that its affairs should be conducted by old and experienced generals, who were skilled in the art of war; and, therefore, that no delay should take place in the election. The tribunes then withdrew their opposition, and the election was held. Quintus Fabius Maximus was declared consul for the fifth time, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth. The praetors were then created; Lucius Veturius Philo, Titus Quintus Crispinus, Caius Hostilius Tubulus, and Caius Aurunculeius. The magistrates for the year being appointed, Quintus Fulvius resigned the dictatorship. At the end of this summer, a Carthaginian fleet of forty ships, under the command of Hamilcar, passed over to Sardinia. At first it laid waste the territory of Olbia, and then Publius Manlius Vulso, with his army, making his appearance, it sailed round thence to the other side of the island, and devastating the territory of Caralis, returned to Africa with booty of every kind. Several Roman priests died this year, and others were substituted. Caius Servilius was appointed pontiff, in the place of Titus Otacilius Crassus. Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, was appointed as augur, in the place of Titus Otacilius Crassus; and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, was appointed decemvir for the performance of sacred rites, in the room of Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Caius. Marcus Marcius, king of the sacred rites, and Marcus Aemilius Papus, chief curio, died; but no priests were appointed to succeed them this year. The censors this year were Lucius Veturius Philo, and Publius Licinius Crassus chief pontiff. Licinius Crassus had neither been consul nor praetor before he was appointed censor, he stepped from the aedileship to the censorship. These censors neither chose the senate, nor transacted any public business, the death of Lucius Veturius prevented it; on this Licinius also gave up his office. The curule aediles, Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius Varus, repeated the Roman games during one day. The plebeian aediles, Quintus Cadius and Lucius Porcius Licinius, furnished brazen statues for the temple of Ceres, out of the money arising from fines, and exhibited games with great pomp and splendour, considering the circumstances of the times.

## 7

At the close of this year, Caius Laelius, the lieutenant general of Scipio, came to Rome on the thirty-fourth day after he set out from Tarraco, and entering the city accompanied by a train of captives, drew together a great concourse of people. The next day, on being brought into the senate, he stated that Carthage, the capital of Spain, had been captured in one day, that several cities which had revolted were regained, and that fresh ones had been received into alliance. From the prisoners, information was gained, corresponding for the most part with what was contained in the letter of Marcus Valerius Messala. What produced the greatest effect upon the fathers, was the march of Hasdrubal into

Italy, which was with difficulty resisting Hannibal and his forces. Laelius also, who was brought before the general assembly, gave a particular statement of the same things. The senate decreed a supplication for one day, on account of the successes of Publius Scipio, and ordered Caius Laelius to return as soon as possible to Spain, with the ships he had brought with him. I have laid the taking of Carthage in this year, on the authority of many writers, although aware that some have stated that it was taken the following year, because it appeared to me hardly probable that Scipio should have spent an entire year in Spain in doing nothing. Quintus Fabius Maximus for the fifth time, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth having entered on their offices of consuls on the ides of March, on the same day, Italy was decreed as the province of both, their command, however, was distributed to separate districts. Fabius was appointed to carry on the war at Tarentum; Fulvius in Lucania and Bruttium. Marcus Claudius was continued in command for the year. The praetors then cast lots for their provinces. Caius Hostilius Tubulus obtained the city jurisdiction; Lucius Veturius Philo the foreign, with Gaul; Titus Quinctius Crispinus, Capua; Caius Aurunculeius, Sardinia. The troops were thus distributed through the provinces: Fulvius received the two legions which Marcus Valerius Laevinus had in Sicily; Quintus Fabius, those which Caius Calpurnius had commanded in Etruria. The city troops were to succeed those in Etruria; Caius Calpurnius commanding the same province and the army. Titus Quinctius was to take the command of Capua, and the army which had served under Quintus Fulvius there. Lucius Veturius was to succeed Caius Laetorius, *propraetor*, in his province and the command of the army, which was then at Ariminum. Marcus Marcellus had the legions with which he had been successful when consul. To Marcus Valerius together with Lucius Cincius, for these also were continued in command in Sicily, the troops which had fought at Cannae were given, with orders to recruit them out of the surviving soldiers of the legions of Cneius Fulvius. These were collected and sent by the consuls into Sicily, and the same ignominious condition of service was added, under which the troops which had fought at Cannae served, and to those troops belonging to the army of Cneius Fulvius, the praetor, which had been sent thither by the senate through displeasure occasioned by a similar flight. Caius Aurunculeius was appointed to command, in Sardinia, the same legions with which Publius Manlius Vulso had occupied that province. Publius Sulpicius was continued in command for the year, with orders to hold Macedonia with the same legion and fleet. Orders were given to send thirty quinqueremes from Sicily to Tarentum, to the consul Fabius. With the rest of the ships, orders were given that Marcus Valerius Laevinus should either pass over himself into Africa to ravage the country, or send either Lucius Cincius or Marcus Valerius Messala. With regard to Spain, no alteration was made, except that Scipio and Silanus were continued in command, not for the year, but until they should be recalled by the senate. In such manner were the provinces and the commands of the armies distributed for this year.

## 8

Amid concerns of greater importance, an old dispute was revived at the election of a chief *curio*, when a priest was appointed to succeed Marcus Aemilius; the patricians denying that Caius Mamilius Vitulus, who was a plebeian candidate, ought to be allowed to stand, because no one before his time had held that priesthood who was not a patrician. The tribunes, on being appealed to, referred the matter to the senate. The senate left it to the decision of the people. Thus Caius Mamilius Vitulus was the first plebeian created chief *curio*. Publius Licinius, chief pontiff, compelled Caius Valerius

Flaccus to be inaugurated flamen of Jupiter, against his will. Caius Valerius Laetorius was created decemvir for the performance of sacred rites, in the room of Quintus Mucius Scaevola, deceased. I should willingly have passed over in silence the reason of a flamen's being compelled to be inaugurated, had he not become a good, from having been a bad character. In consequence of having spent his youth in idleness and debauchery, vices for which he had incurred the displeasure of his own brother, Lucius Flaccus, and the rest of his kinsmen, Caius Flaccus was chosen flamen by Publius Licinius, chief pontiff. As soon as his mind became occupied with the care of the sacred rites and ceremonies, he soon so completely divested himself of his former habits, that no one among all the youth was more esteemed, or enjoyed in a greater degree the approbation of the chief of the patricians, whether relations or aliens. Being raised by this generally good character to a proper confidence in himself, he claimed to be admitted into the senate; a thing intermitted for many years, on account of the worthlessness of former flamens. On entering the senate, Lucius Licinius, the praetor, led him out; on which the flamen appealed to the tribunes of the people. He demanded back the ancient privilege of his priesthood, which was given, together with the purple-bordered robe, and the curule chair, to the office of flamen. The praetor wished the question to rest not on the precedents contained in the annals, which were obsolete from their antiquity, but on the usual practice in all the cases of most recent date; urging, that no flamen of Jupiter, in the memory of their fathers or their grandfathers, had taken up that privilege. The tribunes giving it as their opinion, that justice required, that as the obliteration of the privilege was occasioned by the negligence of the flamens, the consequences ought to fall upon the flamens themselves, and not upon the office, led the flamen into the senate, with the general approbation of the fathers, and without any opposition, even from the praetor himself; while all were of opinion that the flamen had obtained his object more from the purity of his life, than any right appertaining to the priesthood. The consuls, before they departed to their provinces, raised two legions for the city, and as many soldiers as were necessary to make up the numbers of the other armies. The consul Fulvius appointed his brother, Caius Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, to march the old city army into Etruria, and to bring to Rome the legions which were in Etruria. And the consul Fabius ordered his son, Quintus Fabius Maximus, to lead the remains of the army of Fulvius, which had been collected, amounting to three thousand three hundred and thirty-six, into Sicily to Marcus Valerius, the proconsul, and to receive from him two legions and thirty quinqueremes. The withdrawing of these legions from the island did not at all diminish the force employed for the protection of that province, either in effect or appearance; for though, in addition to two veteran legions which were most effectively reinforced, he had a great number of Numidian deserters, both horse and foot, he raised also a body of Sicilian troops, consisting of men who had served in the armies of Epicydes and the Carthaginians, and were experienced in war. Having added these foreign auxiliaries to each of the Roman legions, he preserved the appearance of two armies. With one he ordered Lucius Cinctius to protect that portion of the island which had formed the kingdom of Hiero, with the other he himself guarded the rest of the island, which was formerly divided by the boundary of the Roman and Carthaginian dominions. He divided also the fleet of seventy ships, in order that it might protect the sea-coast, through the entire extent of its shores. He himself went through the island with the cavalry of Mutines to inspect the lands, observe those which were cultivated and those which were not, and, accordingly, either praise or reprove the owners. By this diligence so large a quantity of corn was

produced, that he both sent some to Rome, and collected at Catana corn which might serve as a supply for the army, which was about to pass the summer at Tarentum.

## 9

But the transportation of the soldiers into Sicily, and they consisted chiefly of Latins and allies, had very nearly caused a serious commotion; from such trifling circumstances do events of great importance frequently arise. A murmuring arose among the Latins and allies at their meetings. They said, that "they had been drained by levies and contributions for ten years. That almost every year they fought with the most disastrous consequences. That some of them were slain in the field, others were carried off by disease. That a countryman of theirs who was enlisted by the Romans was more lost to them than one who was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians; for the latter was sent back to his country by the enemy without ransom, while the former was sent beyond the limits of Italy, into exile rather than military service. That the troops which fought at Cannae were growing old there, for eight years, and would die there before the enemy, who was now more than ever flourishing and vigorous would depart from Italy. If the old soldiers did not return to their country, and fresh ones were enlisted, that in a short time there would be no one left. That, therefore, they must refuse to the Roman people, before they came to utter desolation and want, what shortly their very condition would refuse. If the Romans saw their allies unanimous on this point that they would then certainly think of making peace with the Carthaginians; otherwise, Italy would never be without war while Hannibal was alive." Thus they discoursed in their meetings. The Roman people had at that time thirty colonies. Twelve of these, for they all had embassies in Rome, told the consuls that they had not whence to furnish either men or money. The twelve were Ardea, Nepete Sutrium, Alba, Carseoli, Cora, Suessa, Cerceii, Setia, Cales Narnia, Interamna. The consuls, astonished at this new proceeding, were desirous to deter them from so hateful a measure and, considering that they could effect this better by censure and remonstrance than by mild means, said that "they had dared to say to the consuls what the consuls could not bring their minds to declare in the senate; for that this was not refusal to perform military service, but an open defection from the Roman people. They desired, therefore, that they would return to their colonies speedily, and that, considering the subject as untouched, as they had only spoken of, but not attempted, so impious a business, they would consult with their countrymen. That they would warn them that they were not Campanians or Tarentines, but Romans; that from thence they derived their origin, and thence were sent out into colonies and lands captured from the enemy, for the purpose of increasing the population. That they owed to the Romans what children owed to parents, if they possessed any natural affection, or any gratitude towards their mother country. That they should, therefore, consider the matter afresh; for that certainly what they then so rashly meditated, was the betraying the Roman empire, and putting the victory in the hands of Hannibal." The consuls having spent a long time in exchanging arguments of this kind, the ambassadors, who were not at all moved by what they said, declared, that "they had nothing which they could carry home, nor had their senate any thing fresh to devise, having neither men to be enlisted, nor money to be furnished for pay." The consuls, seeing that they were inflexible, laid the matter before the senate; where the alarm excited in the minds of all was so great, that "the greater part declared it was all over with the empire; that the rest of the colonies would take the same course, and that all the allies had conspired to betray the city of Rome to Hannibal."

## 10

The consuls endeavoured to encourage and console the senate, telling them that "the other colonies would maintain their allegiance, and continue in their former state of dutiful obedience, and that those very colonies who had renounced their allegiance, would be inspired with respect for the empire, if ambassadors were sent round to them to reprove and not entreat them." The senate having given them permission to do and to act as they might conceive best for the state; after sounding the intentions of the other colonies, the consuls summoned their ambassadors, and asked them whether they had their soldiers ready according to the roll? Marcus Sextilius of Fregellae replied, in behalf of the eighteen colonies, that "they both had their soldiers ready according to the roll, and if more were wanting would furnish more, and would perform with all diligence whatever else the Roman people commanded and wished; that to do this they wanted not means, and of inclination they had more than enough." The consuls, having first told them that any praises bestowed by themselves alone seemed too little for their deserts, unless the whole body of the fathers should thank them in the senate-house, led them before the senate. The senate, having voted an address to them conceived in the most honourable terms, charged the consuls to take them before the assembly of the people; and, among the many other distinguished services rendered to themselves and their ancestors, to make mention also of this recent obligation conferred upon the state. Nor even at the present day, after the lapse of so many ages let their names be passed over in silence, nor let them be defrauded of the praise due to them. They were the people of Signia, Norba, Saticulum, Brundisium, Fregellae, Lucerium Venusia, Adria, Firma, Ariminum; on the other sea, Pontius Paestum, and Cosa; and in the inland parts Beneventum, Aesernia, Spoletum, Placentia, and Cremona. By the support of these colonies the empire of the Roman people then stood; and the thanks both of the senate and the people were given to them. As to the twelve other colonies which refused obedience, the fathers forbade that their names should be mentioned, that their ambassadors should either be dismissed or retained, to be addressed by the consuls. Such a tacit reproof appears most consistent with the dignity of the Roman people. While the consuls were getting in readiness all the other things which were necessary for the war, it was resolved that the vicesimary gold, which was preserved in the most sacred part of the treasury as a resource in cases of extreme exigencies should be drawn out. There were drawn out as many as four thousand pounds of gold, from which five hundred pounds each were given to the consuls, to Marcus Marcellus and Publius Sulpicius, proconsuls, and Lucius Veturius, the praetor, who had by lot obtained Gaul as his province; and in addition, one hundred pounds of gold were given to the consul Fabius, as an extraordinary grant to be carried into the citadel of Tarentum. The rest they employed in contracts, for ready money, for clothing for the army which was carrying on the war in Spain, to their own and their general glory.

## 11

It was resolved also, that the prodigies should be expiated before the consuls set out from the city. In the Alban mount, the statue of Jupiter and a tree near the temple were struck by lightning; at Ostia, a grove; at Capua, a wall and the temple of Fortune; at Sinuessa, a wall and a gate. Some also asserted, that water at Alba had flowed tinged with blood. That at Rome, within the cell of Fors Fortuna, an image, which was in the crown of the goddess, had fallen spontaneously from her head into her hands. At Privernum, it was satisfactorily established that an ox spoke, and that a vulture flew down into a shop, while the forum was crowded. And that a child was born at Sinuessa, of ambiguous sex, between a male and female, such as are commonly called Androgynes,

a term derived from the Greek language, which is better adapted, as for most other purposes, so for the composition of words; also that it rained milk, and that a boy was born with the head of an elephant. These prodigies were then expiated with victims of the larger kind, and a supplication at every shrine and an offering up of prayers, was proclaimed for one day. It was also decreed, that Caius Hostilius, the praetor, should vow and perform the games in honour of Apollo as they had of late years been vowed and performed. During the same time, Quintus Fulvius, the consul, held an election for the creation of censors. Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, both of whom had not yet been consuls, were created censors. The question was put to the people on the authority of the fathers, and the people ordered that these censors should let to farm the Campanian lands. The choosing of the senate was delayed by a dispute which arose between the censors about the selection of a chief of the senate. The choice belonged to Sempronius; but Cornelius contended that the custom handed down by their fathers must be followed, which was, that they should choose him as chief of the senate who was first censor of those who were then alive; this was Titus Manlius Torquatus. Sempronius rejoined, that to whom the gods had given the lot of choosing, to him the same gods had given the right of exercising his discretion freely. That he would act in this affair according to his own free will, and would choose Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom he would prove to be the first man in the Roman state, even in the judgment of Hannibal. After a long verbal dispute, his colleague giving up the point, Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul, was chosen, by Sempronius, chief of the senate. Another senate was then chosen, and eight names were passed over; among which was that of Lucius Caecilius Metellus, disrespected as the adviser of the abandonment of Italy, after the defeat at Cannae. In censuring those of the equestrian order, the same ground was acted upon, but there were very few to whom that disgrace belonged. All of the equestrian order belonging to the legions who had fought at Cannae, and were then in Sicily, were deprived of their horses. To this severe punishment they added another relating to time, which was, that the past campaign which they had served on horses furnished at the public expense should not be reckoned to them, but that they should serve ten campaigns on horses furnished at their own expense. They also searched for, and discovered, a great number of those who ought to have served in the cavalry; and all those who were seventeen years old at the beginning of the war and had not served, they disfranchised. They then contracted for the restoration of the seven shops, the shamble and the royal palace, situated round the forum, and which had been consumed by fire.

## 12

Having finished every thing which was to be done in Rome, the consuls set out for the war. Fulvius first went advance to Capua; in a few days Fabius followed. He implored his colleague in person, and Marcellus by a letter use the most vigorous measures to detain Hannibal, while he was making an attack upon Tarentum. That when that city was taken from the enemy, who had been repulsed on all sides and had no place where he might make a stand or look back up as a safe retreat, he would not then have even a pretext for remaining in Italy. He also sent a messenger to Rhegium, the praefect of the garrison, which had been placed there the consul Laevinus, against the Bruttians, and consisted eight thousand men, the greater part of whom had been brought from Agathyrna in Sicily, as has been before mentioned, and were men who had been accustomed to live by rapine. To these were added fugitives of the Bruttians natives of that country, equal to them in daring, and under an equal necessity of braving every thing. This band ordered

to be marched, first, to lay waste the Bruttian territory, and then to attack the city Caulonia. After having executed the order, not only with alacrity, but avidity, and having pillaged and put to flight the cultivators of the land they attacked the city with the utmost vigour. Marcellus incited by the letter of the consul, and because he had made up his mind that no Roman general was so good a match for Hannibal as himself, set out from his winter quarters as soon as there was plenty of forage in the fields, and met Hannibal at Canusium. The Carthaginian was then endeavouring to induce the Canusians to revolt, but as soon as he heard that Marcellus was approaching, he decamped thence. The country was open, without any covers adapted for an ambuscade; he therefore began to retire thence into woody districts. Marcellus closely pursued him, pitched his camp close to his, and when he had completed his works, led out his troops into the field. Hannibal engaged in slight skirmishes, and sent out single troops of horse and the spearmen from his infantry, not considering it necessary to hazard a general battle. He was, however, drawn on to a contest of that kind which he was avoiding. Hannibal had decamped by night, but was overtaken by Marcellus in a plain and open country. Then, while encamping, Marcellus, by attacking the workmen on all hands, prevented the completion of his works. Thus a pitched battle ensued, and all their forces were brought into action; but night coming on, they retired from an equal contest. They then hastily fortified their camps, which were a small space apart, before night. The next day, as soon as it was light, Marcellus led out his troops into the field; nor did Hannibal decline the challenge, but exhorted his soldiers at great length, desiring them "to remember Trasimenus and Cannae, and thus quell the proud spirit of their enemies." He said, "the enemy pressed upon him, and trod upon their heels; that he did not allow them to pass unmolested, pitch their camp, or even take breath and look around them; that every day, the rising sun and the Roman troops in battle-array were to be seen together on the plains. But if in one battle he should retire from the field, not without loss of blood, he would then prosecute the war more steadily and quietly." Fired by these exhortations, and at the same time wearied with the presumption of the enemy, who daily pressed upon them and provoked them to an engagement, they commenced the battle with spirit. The battle continued for more than two hours, when the right wing of the allies and the chosen band began to give way on the part of the Romans; which Marcellus perceiving, led the eighteenth legion to the front. While some were retiring in confusion, and others were coming up reluctantly, the whole line was thrown into disorder, and afterwards completely routed; while their fears getting the better of their sense of shame, they turned their backs. In the battle and in the flight there fell as many as two thousand seven hundred of the citizens and allies; among which were four Roman centurions and two military tribunes, Marcus Licinius and Marcus Helvius. Four military standards were lost by the wing which first fled, and two belonging to the legion which came up in place of the retiring allies.

### 13

Marcellus, on his return to the camp, delivered an address to his soldiers so severe and acrimonious, that the words of their exasperated general were more painful to them than what they had suffered in the unsuccessful battle during the whole day. "I praise and thank the immortal gods," said he "that in such an affair the victorious enemy did not assail our very camp, when you were hurrying into the rampart and the gates with such consternation. There can be no doubt but you would have abandoned the camp with the same cowardice with which you gave up the battle. What panic was this? What terror? What sudden forgetfulness of who you are, and who the persons with whom you

were fighting, took possession of your minds? Surely these are the same enemies in conquering and pursuing whom when conquered you spent the preceding summer; whom latterly you have been closely pursuing while they fled before you night and day; whom you have wearied by partial battles; whom yesterday you would not allow either to march or encamp. I pass over those things in which you might be allowed to glory; I will mention a circumstance which of itself ought to fill you with shame and remorse. Yesterday you separated from the enemy on equal terms. What alteration has last night, what on this day, produced? Have your forces been diminished by them, or theirs increased? I verily do not seem to be talking to my own troops, or to Roman soldiers. The bodies and the arms are the same. Had you possessed the same spirit, would the enemy have seen your backs? Would they have carried off a standard from any company or cohort? Hitherto he was wont to boast of having cut to pieces the Roman legions, but yesterday you gave him the glory, for the first time, of having put to flight an army." On this many soldiers began to call upon him to pardon them for that day, and entreat that he would now, whenever he pleased, make trial of the courage of his soldiers. "I will indeed make trial of you," said he, "and to-morrow I will lead you into the field, that in the character of conquerors, rather than conquered men, you may obtain the pardon you seek." To the cohorts which had lost their standards, he ordered that barley should be given. The centurions of the Campanians, whose standards were lost, he left to stand without their girdles and with their swords drawn; and gave orders that all, both horse and foot, should be ready under arms on the following day. Thus the assembly was dismissed; the soldiers confessing that they had been justly and deservedly rebuked; and that there was no one in the whole Roman army who had acquitted himself like a man, except the general, to whom they were bound to make atonement, either by their death or a glorious victory. The next day they appeared in readiness, according to the order, armed and equipped. The general praised them, and gave out, that "he should lead into the first line those who had commenced the flight on the preceding day, and those cohorts which had lost their standards. He now charged them all to fight and conquer, and exert every effort, one and all, that the intelligence of yesterday's flight might not arrive at Rome before that of this day's victory." They were then ordered to refresh themselves with food, in order that, if the fight should continue longer than might be expected, their strength might not fail. After every thing had been done and said, by which the courage of the soldiers might be roused, they advanced into the field.

#### 14

Hannibal, on receiving intelligence of this, said, "surely the enemy we have to do with can neither bear good nor bad fortune. If he is victorious, he fiercely pursues the vanquished. If conquered, he renews the contest with the victors." He then ordered the signal to be given, and led out his forces. The battle was fought on both sides with much more spirit than the day before. The Carthaginians exerting themselves to the utmost, to keep the glory they had acquired yesterday; the Romans, to remove their disgrace. On the side of the Romans, the left wing, and the cohorts which had lost their standards, fought in the first line, and the twentieth legion was drawn up on the right wing. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Caius Claudius Nero, lieutenant-generals, commanded the wings, Marcellus gave vigour to the centre by his presence, as an encourager and a witness. On the part of Hannibal, the Spaniards, who were the flower of his whole army, occupied the front line. After the battle had continued doubtful for a long time, Hannibal ordered the elephants to be advanced into the front line, if by that means any confusion

or panic could be created. At first, they threw the troops into confusion and broke their ranks, and treading some under foot, and dispersing others who were round them by the alarm they created, had made an opening in one part of the Roman line; and the flight would have spread more widely had not Caius Decimus Flavius, a military tribune seizing the standard of the first maniple of the spearmen ordered that maniple to follow him. He led them to the spot where the elephants, collected in a body, were creating the greatest confusion, and ordered them to discharge their javelins at them. As there was no difficulty in hitting such bulky bodies at a short distance, and where so many were crowded together, all their javelins stuck in them. But they were not all wounded, so those in whose hides the javelins stuck, as that race of animals is not to be depended on, by taking themselves to flight, drove away those also which were untouched. At that moment not only one maniple, but all the soldiers who could but overtake the body of retreating elephants, threw their javelins at them, each man exerting himself to his utmost. With so much greater impetuosity did the animals rush upon their own men, and so much greater carnage did they make amongst them than they had made amongst their enemies, in proportion as the violence with which they are impelled, and the consternation produced by them when under the influence of fear, is greater than when they are ruled by their masters seated on their backs. The Roman infantry bore their standards against the line of the enemy when thrown into disorder by the elephants which had crossed over to them, and, thus scattered and confused, led them to flight without any great opposition. Marcellus sent his cavalry after them as they fled; nor did they desist from the pursuit till they were driven in consternation to their camp. For in addition to the other causes which occasioned terror and dismay, two elephants had fallen just by the gate, and the soldiers were compelled to rush into the camp over the ditch and rampart. Here the greatest slaughter of the enemy occurred. There fell as many as eight thousand men and five elephants. Nor did the Romans gain a bloodless victory; about seventeen hundred of the two legions, and thirteen hundred of the allies were slain; a great number of the Romans and allies were wounded. The following night Hannibal decamped. The great number of the wounded prevented Marcellus from following him, as he desired.

## 15

The spies who were sent to watch his movements brought word back the next day that Hannibal was making for Bruttium. Much about the same time the Hirpinians, Lucanians, and Volcentes surrendered themselves to the consul, Quintus Fulvius, delivering up the garrisons of Hannibal which they had in their cities. They were mildly received by the consul, with only a verbal reproof for their past error. To the Bruttians also similar hopes of pardon were held out, when two brothers, Vibius and Pactius, by far the most illustrious persons of that nation, came from them to solicit the same terms of surrender which had been given to the Lucanians. Quintus Fabius, the consul, took by storm Manduria, a town in the territory of Sallentum, where as many as four thousand men were made prisoners, and much booty taken besides. Proceeding thence to Tarentum, he pitched his camp in the very mouth of the harbour: of the ships which Livius had employed for protecting convoys, some he loaded with engines and implements for attacking walls, others he furnished with machines for discharging missiles, and with stones and missiles of every kind; not only those which were impelled with oars, but the storeships also, in order that some might carry the engines and ladders to the walls, while others might wound the defenders of the walls by discharging missiles from the ships at a distance. These ships were fitted up and

prepared to attack the town from the open sea; and the sea was free from the Carthaginian fleet, which had crossed over to Corcyra on account of Philip's preparing to attack the Aetolians. Meanwhile, those who were attacking Caulon, in the territory of Bruttium, fearful lest they should be overpowered, had retired on the approach of Hannibal to an eminence, secure from an immediate attack. While Fabius was besieging Tarentum, he received assistance in the accomplishment of that great object by a circumstance which in the mere mention, is unimportant. Tarentum was occupied by a garrison of Bruttians, given them by Hannibal and the commander of that garrison was desperately in love with a girl, whose brother was in the army of the consul Fabius. Being informed, by a letter from his sister, of the new acquaintance she had formed with a wealthy stranger and one so honoured among his countrymen, and conceiving a hope that the lover, by means of his sister, might be induced to any thing she pleased, he acquainted the consul with the hope he had formed. His reasoning appeared not altogether unfounded, and he was desired to go to Tarentum as a deserter and having gained the confidence of the praefect by means of his sister, he began by sounding his disposition in a covert manner, and then, having sufficiently ascertained his weakness, induced him, by the aid of female fascinations, to the betrayal of that custody of the place to which he was appointed. After the method to be pursued and the time for putting the plan into effect had been agreed upon, a soldier, who was sent out of the city by night clandestinely, through the intervals between the guards, related to the consul what had been done, and what had been agreed upon to be done. At the first watch, Fabius, on a signal given to those who were in the citadel, and those who had the custody of the harbour went himself round the harbour, and took up a position of concealment, on the side of the city which faced the east. Then the trumpets began to sound at once from the citadel, the harbour, and the ships which had been brought to the shore from the open sea, and a shout was purposely raised, accompanied with the greatest confusion, in whatever quarter there was the least danger. Meanwhile, the consul kept the men in silence. Democrates, therefore, who had formerly commanded the fleet, and happened to be in command in the quarter, seeing that all was quiet around him, while other parts of the city resounded with such a din that sometimes shout like that of a captured city was raised, and fearing loss while he hesitated, the consul should make some attack and advance his standards, led his party over to the citadel, from which the most alarming noise proceeded. Fabius, concluding that the guard was withdrawn, both from the time which had elapsed and from the silence which prevailed, for not a voice met the ear from a quarter where a little while ago the noise and bustle of men resounded, rousing and calling each other to arms, ordered the ladders to be carried to that part of the wall where the person who had contrived the plot for betraying the city, had informed him that the Bruttian cohort kept guard. The wall was first captured in that quarter, the Bruttians aiding and receiving the Romans; and here they got over into the city: after which the nearest gate was broken open in order that the troops might enter in a large body. Then raising a shout, they proceeded to the forum, where they arrived much about daybreak, without meeting a single armed man; and drew upon themselves the attention of all the troops in every quarter, which were fighting at the citadel and at the harbour.

## 16

A battle was fought in the entrance of the forum, with greater impetuosity than perseverance. The Tarentines were not equal to the Romans in spirit, in their arms, in tactics, in activity or strength of body. Accordingly, having just discharged their javelins,

they turned their backs almost before they had joined battle, and escaped in different directions through the streets of the city, with which they were acquainted, to their own houses and those of their friends. Two of their leaders, Nico and Democrates, fell while fighting bravely. Philomenus, who was the author of the plot for betraying the city to Hannibal, rode away from the battle at full speed. Shortly after, his horse, which was loose and straying through the city, was recognised, but his body could not be found any where. It was generally believed that he had pitched headlong from his horse into an open well. Carthalo, the praefect of the Carthaginian garrison, while coming to the consul unarmed, to put him in mind of a connexion of hospitality which subsisted between their fathers, was put to death by a soldier who met him. The rest were put to the sword on all hands, armed and unarmed indiscriminately, Carthaginians and Tarentines without distinction. Many of the Bruttians also were slain either by mistake or on account of an old grudge entertained against them, or else with a view to the report that the city was betrayed; in order that Tarentum might rather appear to have been captured by force of arms. The troops then ran off in all directions from the slaughter, to plunder the city. Thirty thousand slaves are said to have been captured; an immense quantity of silver, wrought and coined; eighty-three thousand pounds of gold; of statues and pictures so many that they almost equalled the decorations of Syracuse. But Fabius, with more magnanimity than Marcellus, abstained from booty of that kind. When his secretary asked him what he wished to be done with the statues of their gods, which are of immense size and represented as fighting, each having his peculiar habit, he gave orders that their angry gods should be left in the possession of the Tarentines. After this, the wall which separated the city from the citadel was razed and demolished. While things were going on thus at Tarentum, Hannibal, to whom the troops engaged in the siege of Caulonia had surrendered themselves, hearing of the siege of Tarentum, marched with the greatest expedition both night and day; but hearing that the city was taken, as he was hastening to bring assistance to it, he exclaimed, "the Romans too have their Hannibal. We have lost Tarentum by the same arts by which we took it." However, that he might not appear to have turned his army in the manner of a fugitive, he encamped where he had halted, about five miles from the city. After staying there a few days, he retired to Metapontum, from which place he sent two Metapontines with letters from the principal men in the state to Fabius at Tarentum, to the effect, that they would accept of his promise that their past conduct should be unpunished, on condition of their betraying Metapontum together with the Carthaginian garrison into his hands. Fabius, who supposed that the communication they brought was genuine, appointed a day on which he would go to Metapontum, and gave the letters to the nobles, which were put into the hands of Hannibal. He, forsooth, delighted at the success of his stratagem, which showed that not even Fabius was proof against his cunning, planted an ambuscade not far from Metapontum. But when Fabius was taking the auspices, before he took his departure from Tarentum, the birds more than once refused approval. Also, on consulting the gods after sacrificing a victim, the aruspex forewarned him to be on his guard against hostile treachery and ambuscade. After the day fixed for his arrival had passed without his coming, the Metapontines were sent again to encourage him, delaying, but they were instantly seized, and, from apprehension of a severer mode of examination, disclosed the plot.

## 17

In the beginning of the summer during which these events occurred, after Publius Scipio had employed the whole of the winter in Spain in regaining the affections of the

barbarians, partly by presents, and partly by sending home their hostages and prisoners, Edesco, a man distinguished among the Spanish commanders, came to him. His wife and children were in the hands of the Romans; but besides this motive, he was influenced by that apparently fortuitous turn in the state of feeling which had converted the whole of Spain from the Carthaginian to the Roman cause. The same motive induced Indibilis and Mandonius, who were undoubtedly the principal men in all Spain, to desert Hasdrubal and withdraw with the whole body of their countrymen to the eminences which overhung his camp, from which they had a safe retreat along a chain of hills to the Romans. Hasdrubal, perceiving that the strength of the enemy was increasing by such large accessions, while his own was diminishing, and that events would continue to flow in the same course they had taken, unless by a bold effort he effected some alteration, resolved to come to an engagement as soon as possible. Scipio was still more eager for a battle, as well from hope which the success attending his operations had increased, as because he preferred, before the junction of the enemy's forces, to fight with one general and one army, rather than with their united troops. However, in case he should be obliged to fight with more armies than one at the same time, he had with some ingenuity augmented his forces; for seeing that there was no necessity for ships, as the whole coast of Spain was clear of Carthaginian fleets, he hauled his ships on shore at Tarraco and added his mariners to his land forces. He had plenty of arms for them, both those which had been captured at Carthage, and those which he had caused to be made after its capture, so large a number of workmen having been employed. With these forces, setting out from Tarraco at the commencement of the spring, for Laelius had now returned from Rome, without whom he wished nothing of very great importance to be attempted, Scipio marched against the enemy. Indibilis and Mandonius, with their forces, met him while on his march; passing through every place without molestation, his allies receiving him courteously, and escorting him as he passed the boundaries of each district. Indibilis, who spoke for both, addressed him by no means stupidly and imprudently like a barbarian, but with a modest gravity, rather excusing the change as necessary, than glorying that the present opportunity had been eagerly seized as the first which had occurred. "For he well knew," he said, "that the name of a deserter was an object of execration to former allies, and of suspicion to new ones; nor did he blame the conduct of mankind in this respect, provided, however, that the cause, and not the name, occasioned the twofold hatred." He then recounted the services they had rendered the Carthaginian generals, and on the other hand their rapacity and insolence, together with the injuries of every kind committed against themselves and their countrymen. "On this account," he said, "his person only up to that time had been with them, his heart had long since been on that side where he believed that right and justice were respected. That people sought for refuge, as suppliants, even with the gods when they could not endure the oppression and injustice of men. What he had to entreat of Scipio was, that their passing over to him might neither be the occasion of a charge of fraud nor a ground for respect, but that he would estimate their services according to what sort of men he should find them to be from experience from that day." The Roman replied, that "he would do so in every particular; nor would he consider those men as deserters who did not look upon an alliance as binding where no law, divine or human, was unviolated." Their wives and children were then brought before them and restored to them; on which occasion they wept for joy. On that day they were conducted to a lodging; on the following they were received as allies, by a treaty, after which they were sent to bring up their forces. From that time they had their tents in the same camp with the Romans, until under their guidance they had reached the enemy.

## 18

The army of Hasdrubal, which was the nearest of the Carthaginian armies, lay near the city Baecula. Before his camp he had outposts of cavalry. On these the light-armed, those who fought before the standards and those who composed the vanguard, as they came up from their march, and before they chose the ground for their camp, commenced an attack in so contemptuous a manner, that it was perfectly evident what degree of spirit each party possessed. The cavalry were driven into their camp in disorderly flight, and the Roman standards were advanced almost within their very gates. Their minds on that day having only been excited to a contest, the Romans pitched their camp. At night Hasdrubal withdrew his forces to an eminence, on the summit of which extended a level plain. There was a river on the rear, in front and on either side a kind of steep bank completely surrounded its extremity. Beneath this and lower down was another plain of gentle declivity, which was also surrounded by a similar ridge equally difficult of ascent. Into this lower plain Hasdrubal, the next day, when he saw the troops of the enemy drawn up before their camp, sent his Numidian cavalry and light-armed Balears. Scipio riding out to the companies and battalions, pointed out to them, that "the enemy having abandoned, beforehand, all hope of being able to withstand them on level ground, had resorted to hills: where they stood in view, relying on the strength of their position, and not on their valour and arms." But the walls of Carthage, which the Roman soldiers had scaled, were still higher. That neither hills, nor a citadel, nor even the sea itself, had formed an impediment to their arms. That the heights which the enemy had occupied would only have the effect of making it necessary for them to leap down crags and precipices in their flight, but he would even cut off that kind of retreat. He accordingly gave orders to two cohorts, that one of them should occupy the entrance of the valley down which the river ran, and that the other should block up the road which led from the city into the country, over the side of the hill. He himself led the light troops, which the day before had driven in the advanced guard of the enemy, against the light-armed troops which were stationed on the lower ridge. At first they marched through rugged ground, impeded by nothing except the road; afterwards, when they came within reach of the darts, an immense quantity of weapons of every description was showered upon them; while on their part, not only the soldiers, but a multitude of servants mingled with the troops, threw stones furnished by the place, which were spread about in every part, and for the most part convenient as missiles. But though the ascent was difficult, and they were almost overwhelmed with stones and darts, yet from their practice in approaching walls and their inflexibility of mind, the foremost succeeded in getting up. These, as soon as they got upon some level ground and could stand with firm footing, compelled the enemy, who were light-armed troops adapted for skirmishing, and could defend themselves at a distance, where an elusive kind of fight is carried on by the discharge of missiles, but yet wanted steadiness for a close action, to fly from their position; and, killing a great many, drove them to the troops which stood above them on the higher eminence. Upon this Scipio, having ordered the victorious troops to mount up and attack the centre of the enemy, divided the rest of his forces with Laelius; whom he directed to go round the hill to the right till he could find a way of easier ascent, while he himself, making a small circuit to the left, charged the enemy in flank. In consequence of this their line was first thrown into confusion, while they endeavoured to wheel round and face about their ranks towards the shouts which resounded from every quarter around them. During this confusion Laelius also came up, and while the enemy were retreating, that they might not be exposed to wounds from behind, their front line became disjoined, and a space was left for the Roman centre to mount up; who, from the

disadvantage of the ground, never could have done so had their ranks stood unbroken with the elephants stationed in front. While the troops of the enemy were being slain on all sides, Scipio, who with his left wing had charged the right of the enemy, was chiefly employed in attacking their naked flank. And now there was not even room to fly; for parties of the Roman troops had blocked up the roads on both sides, right and left, and the gate of the camp was closed by the flight of the general and principal officers; added to which was the fright of the elephants, who, when in consternation, were as much feared by them as the enemy were. There were, therefore, slain as many as eight thousand men.

## 19

Hasdrubal, having seized upon the treasure before he engaged, now sent the elephants in advance, and collecting as many of the flying troops as he could, directed his course along the river Tagus to the Pyrenees. Scipio, having got possession of the enemy's camp, and giving up all the booty to the soldiers, except the persons of free condition, found, on counting the prisoners, ten thousand foot and two thousand horse. Of these, all who were Spaniards he sent home without ransom; the Africans he ordered the quaestor to sell. After this, a multitude of Spaniards, consisting of those who had surrendered to him before and those whom he had captured the preceding day, crowding around, one and all saluted him as king; when Scipio, after the herald had obtained silence, declared that "in his estimation the most honourable title was that of general, which his soldiers had conferred upon him. That the name of king, which was in other countries revered, could not be endured at Rome. That they might tacitly consider his spirit as kingly, if they thought that the highest excellence which could be attributed to the human mind, but that they must abstain from the use of the term." Even barbarians were sensible of the greatness of mind which could from such an elevation despise a name, at the greatness of which the rest of mankind were overawed. Presents were then distributed to the petty princes and leading men of the Spaniards, and out of the great quantity of horses which were captured, he desired Indibilis to select those he liked best to the number of three hundred. While the quaestor was selling the Africans, according to the command of the general, he found among them a full-grown youth remarkably handsome; and hearing that he was of royal blood, he sent him to Scipio. On being asked by Scipio "who he was, of what country, and why at that age he was in the camp?" he replied, "that he was a Numidian, that his countrymen called him Massiva; that being left an orphan by his father, he was educated by his maternal grandfather, Gala, the king of the Numidians. That he had passed over into Spain with his uncle Masinissa, who had lately come with a body of cavalry to assist the Carthaginians. That having been prohibited by Masinissa on account of his youth, he had never before been in battle. That the day on which the battle took place with the Romans, he had clandestinely taken a horse and arms, and, without the knowledge of his uncle, gone out into the field, where his horse falling forward, he was thrown headlong, and taken prisoner by the Romans." Scipio, having ordered that the Numidian should be taken care of, completed the business which remained to be done on the tribunal, and returning to his pavilion, asked him, when he had been called to him, whether he wished to return to Masinissa? Upon his replying, with tears of joy, that he did indeed desire it, he presented the youth with a gold ring, a vest with a broad purple border, a Spanish cloak with a gold clasp, and a horse completely caparisoned, and then dismissed him, ordering a party of horse to escort him as far as he chose.

## 20

A council was then held respecting the war; when some advised that he should endeavour to overtake Hasdrubal forthwith. But thinking that hazardous, lest Mago and the other Hasdrubal should unite their forces with his, he sent a body of troops to occupy the pass of the Pyrenees, and employed the remainder of the summer in receiving the states of Spain into his alliance. A few days after the battle of Baecula, when Scipio on his return to Tarraco had now cleared the pass of Castulo, the generals, Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, and Mago came from the farther Spain and joined Hasdrubal; a late assistance after the defeat he had sustained, though their arrival was somewhat seasonable, for counsel with respect to the further prosecution of the war. They then consulted together as to what was the feeling of the Spaniards in the quarters where their several provinces were situated, when Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, alone gave it as his opinion, that the remotest tract of Spain which borders on the ocean and Gades, was, as yet, unacquainted with the Romans, and might therefore be somewhat friendly to the Carthaginians. Between the other Hasdrubal and Mago it was agreed, that "Scipio by his good offices had gained the affections of all, both publicly and privately; and that there would be no end of desertions till all the Spanish soldiers were removed to the remotest parts of Spain, or were marched over into Gaul. That, therefore, though the Carthaginian senate had not decreed it, Hasdrubal must, nevertheless, march into Italy, the principal seat and object of the war; and thus at the same time lead away all the Spanish soldiers out of Spain far from the name of Scipio. That the army, which had been diminished by desertions and defeats, should be recruited by Spanish soldiers. That Mago, having delivered over his army to Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should himself pass over to the Baleares with a large sum of money to hire auxiliaries; that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should retire with the army into the remotest part of Lusitania, and avoid an encounter with the Romans. That a body of three thousand horse should be made up for Masinissa, the flower of the whole cavalry; and that he, shifting about from place to place throughout hither Spain should succour their allies and commit depredations on the towns and lands of their enemies." Having adopted these resolutions, the generals departed to put in execution what they had resolved on. Such were the transactions in Spain of this year. At Rome the reputation of Scipio increased daily. The capture of Tarentum, though effected by artifice more than valour, was considered honourable to Fabius. The fame of Fulvius was on the wane. Marcellus was even under an ill report, not only because he had failed in his first battle, but further, because while Hannibal was going wherever he pleased throughout Italy, he had led his troops to Venusia in the midst of summer to lodge in houses. Caius Publicius Bibulus, a tribune of the people, was hostile to him. This man, ever since the time of his first battle which had failed, had in constant harangues made Claudius obnoxious and odious to the people; and now his object was to deprive him of his command. The connexions of Marcellus, however, then obtained leave that Marcellus, leaving a lieutenant-general at Venusia, should return to Rome to clear himself of the charges which his enemies were urging, and that the question of depriving him of his command should not be agitated during his absence. It happened that nearly at the same time, Marcellus, and Quintius Fulvius the consul, came to Rome, the former to exonerate himself from ignominy, the latter on account of the elections.

## 21

The question touching Marcellus's command was debated in the Flaminian circus, in the presence of an immense concourse of plebeians and persons of every rank. The plebeian tribune accused, not only Marcellus, but the nobility generally. "It was owing," he said,

"to their dishonesty and dilatory conduct, that Hannibal occupied Italy, as though it were his province, for now ten years; that he had passed more of his life there than at Carthage. That the Roman people were enjoying the fruits of the prolonged command of Marcellus; that his army, after having been twice defeated, was now spending the summer at Venusia lodged in houses." Marcellus so completely destroyed the effect of this harangue of the tribune, by the recital of the services he had rendered, that not only the bill for depriving him of his command was thrown out, but the following day he was created consul by the votes of all the centuries with wonderful unanimity. Titus Quinctius Crispinus, who was then praetor, was joined with him as his colleague. The next day Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, then chief pontiff, Publius Licinius Varus, Sextus Julius Caesar, and Quintus Claudius Flamen were created praetors. At the very time of the election, the public were thrown into a state of anxiety relative to the defection of Etruria. Caius Calpurnius, who held that province as propraeor, had written word that the Arretians had originated such a scheme. Accordingly Marcellus, consul elect, was immediately sent thither to look into the affair, and if it should appear to him of sufficient consequence, to send for his army and transfer the war from Apulia to Etruria. The Tuscans, checked by the alarm thus occasioned, desisted. To the ambassadors of Tarentum, who solicited a treaty of peace securing to them their liberty and the enjoyment of their own laws, the senate answered, that they might return when the consul Fabius came to Rome. The Roman and plebeian games were this year repeated each for one day. The curule aediles were, Lucius Cornelius Caudinus and Servius Sulpicius Galba; the plebeian aediles, Caius Servilius and Quintus Caecilius Metellus. It was asserted that Servilius was not qualified to be plebeian tribune or aedile, because it was satisfactorily established that his father, who, for ten years, was supposed to have been killed by the Boii in the neighbourhood of Mutina, when acting as triumvir for the distribution of lands, was alive and in the hands of the enemy.

## 22

In the eleventh year of the Punic war, Marcus Marcellus, for the fifth time, reckoning in the consulate in which he did not act in consequence of an informality in his creation, and Titus Quinctius Crispinus entered upon the office of consuls. To both the consuls the province of Italy was decreed, with both the consular armies of the former year; (the third was then at Venusia, being that which Marcus Marcellus had commanded.) That out of the three armies the consuls might, choose whichever two they liked, and that the third should be delivered to him to whose lot the province of Tarentum and the territory of Sallentum fell. The other provinces were thus distributed among the praetors: Publius Licinius Varus had the city jurisdiction, Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, the foreign, and wherever the senate thought proper. Sextus Julius Caesar had Sicily, and Quintus Claudius Flamen, Tarentum. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was to continue in command for a year, and hold the province of Capua, which had been held by Titus Quinctius, with one legion. Caius Hostilius Tubulus was also continued in command, with orders to go into Etruria, in the capacity of propraeor, and succeed Caius Calpurnius in the command of the two legions there. Lucius Veturius Philo was also continued in command, to hold in the capacity of propraeor the same province of Gaul with the same two legions with which he had held it as praetor. The senate decreed the same with respect to Caius Aurunculeius, who, as praetor, had held the province of Sardinia with two legions, which it did in the case of Lucius Veturius, and the question of the continuation of his command was proposed to the people. He had in addition, for the protection of the province, fifty ships which Publius Scipio had sent from Spain. To

Publius Scipio and Marcus Silanus, their present province of Spain and their present armies were assigned. Of the eighty ships which he had with him, some taken from Italy and others captured at Carthage, Scipio was ordered to send fifty to Sardinia, in consequence of a report that great naval preparations were making at Carthage that year; and that the intention of the Carthaginians was to blockade the whole coasts of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia with two hundred ships. In Sicily also the following distribution was made: to Sextus Caesar the troops of Cannae were assigned; Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who was also continued in command, was to have the fleet of seventy ships which was at Sicily, adding to it the thirty ships which the preceding year were stationed at Tarentum. With this fleet of a hundred ships he was ordered to pass over into Africa, if he thought proper, and collect booty. Publius Sulpicius was also continued in command for a year, to hold the province of Macedonia and Greece, with the same fleet. No alteration was made with regard to the two legions which were at Rome. Permission was given to the consuls to enlist as many troops as were necessary to complete the numbers. This year the Roman empire was defended by twenty-one legions. Publius Licinius Varus, the city praetor, was also commissioned to repair the thirty old men of war which lay at Ostia, and to man twenty new ones with full complements, in order that he might defend the sea-coast in the neighbourhood of Rome with a fleet of fifty ships. Caius Calpurnius was ordered not to move his army from Arretium till his successor had arrived. Both he and Tubulus were ordered to be particularly careful, lest any new plots should be formed in that quarter.

### 23

The praetors set out for their provinces. The consuls were detained by religious affairs; for receiving intelligence of several prodigies, they could not easily obtain a favourable appearance from the victims. It was reported from Campania, that two temples, those of Fortune and Mars, and several sepulchres, had been struck by lightning. From Cumae, so does superstition connect the deities with the most trifling circumstances, that mice had gnawed some gold in the temple of Jupiter. That an immense swarm of bees had settled in the forum at Casinum. That at Ostia a wall and gate had been struck by lightning. At Caere, that a vulture had flown into the temple of Jupiter. That blood had flowed from a lake at Volsinii. On account of these prodigies, a supplication was performed for one day. For several days, victims of the larger kind were sacrificed without any favourable appearance, and for a long time the good will of the gods could not be obtained. The fatal event indicated by these portents pointed to the persons of the consuls, the state being unaffected. The Apollinarian games were first celebrated by Publius Cornelius Sulla, the city praetor, in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius; from that time all the city praetors in succession had performed them; but they vowed them for one year only, and fixed no day for their performance. This year a grievous pestilence attacked the city and the country; it showed itself, however, in protracted rather than fatal diseases. On account of this pestilence supplication was performed in every street throughout the city; and Publius Licinius Varus, the city praetor, was ordered to propose to the people a law to the effect, that a vow should be made to perform these games on a stated day for ever. He himself was the first who vowed them in this manner, and he celebrated them on the third day of the nones of July, a day which was henceforth kept sacred.

### 24

The reports respecting the people of Arretium became daily more serious, and the anxiety of the fathers increased. A letter was therefore written to Caius Hostilius, directing him not to delay taking hostages from that people; and Caius Terentius Varro was sent, with a command, to receive from him the hostages and convey them to Rome. On his arrival, Hostilius immediately ordered one legion, which was encamped before the city, to march into it; and having posted guards in suitable places, he summoned the senate into the forum and demanded hostages of them. On the senate's requesting a delay of two days to consider the matter, he declared that they must themselves give them forthwith, or he would the next day take all the children of the senators. After this the military tribunes, the praefects of the allies, and the centurions, were ordered to keep watch at the gates, that no one might go out by night. This duty was not performed with sufficient care and attention, for seven of the principal senators, with their children, escaped before night, and before the guards were posted at the gates. The next day, as soon as it was light, the senate began to be summoned into the forum, when they were missed and their goods were sold. From the rest of the senators one hundred and twenty hostages, consisting of their own children, were taken and delivered over to Caius Terentius to be conveyed to Rome. Before the senate he made every thing more suspected than before. Considering, therefore, that there was imminent danger of a commotion in Tuscany, they ordered Caius Terentius himself to lead one of the city legions to Arretium, and to employ it for the protection of the city. It was also resolved, that Caius Hostilius, with the other army, should traverse the whole province, and use precautions, that no opportunity might be afforded to those who were desirous of altering the state of things. On his arrival at Arretium with the legion, Terentius asked the magistrates for the keys of the gates, when they declared they could not be found; but he, believing that they had been put out of the way with some bad intention rather than lost through negligence, took upon himself to have fresh locks put upon all the gates, and used diligent care to keep every thing in his own power. He earnestly cautioned Hostilius to rest his hope in this; that the Tuscans would remain quiet, if he should take care that not a step could be taken.

## 25

The case of the Tarentines was then warmly debated in the senate, Fabius being present, and himself defending those whom he had subdued by force of arms, while others entertained an angry feeling towards them; the greater part comparing them with the Campanians in guilt and punishment. A decree of the senate was passed conformably to the opinion of Manius Acilius, that the town should be guarded by a garrison, and that all the Tarentines should be kept within their walls; and further, that the question touching their conduct should be hereafter laid before the senate afresh when the state of Italy should be more tranquil. The case of Marcus Livius, praefect of the citadel of Tarentum, was also debated with no less warmth; some proposing a vote of censure against the praefect on the ground that Tarentum was betrayed to the enemy through his negligence, others proposing rewards for having defended the citadel for five years, and because Tarentum had been recovered chiefly by his single efforts; while some, adopting an intermediate course, declared that it appertained to the censors, and not to the senate, to take cognizance of his case; and of this latter opinion was Fabius, who added, however, "that he admitted that the recovery of Tarentum was owing to the efforts of Livius, as his friends openly boasted in the senate, but that there would have been no necessity for its recovery, had it not been lost." One of the consuls, Titus Quinctius Crispinus, set out for Lucania, with some troops to make up the numbers, to

take the command of the army which had served under Quintus Fulvius Flaccus. Marcellus was detained by a succession of religious scruples, which presented themselves to his mind. One of which was, that when in the Gallic war at Clastidium he had vowed a temple to Honour and Valour, its dedication was impeded by the pontiffs, who said, that one shrine could not with propriety be dedicated to two deities; because if it should be struck with lightning or any kind of portent should happen in it, the expiation would be attended with difficulty as it could not be ascertained to which deity sacrifice ought to be made; nor could one victim be lawfully offered to two deities, unless in particular cases. Accordingly another temple to Virtue was erected with all speed. Nevertheless, these temples were not dedicated by Marcellus himself. Then at length he set out, with the troops raised to fill up the numbers, to the army he had left the preceding year at Venusia. Crispinus, who endeavoured to reduce Locri in Bruttium by a siege, because he considered that the affair of Tarentum had added greatly to the fame of Fabius, had sent for every kind of engine and machine from Sicily; he also sent for ships from the same place to attack that part of the city which lay towards the sea. But this siege was raised by Hannibal's bringing his forces to Lacinium, and in consequence of a report, that his colleague, with whom he wished to effect a junction, had now led his army from Venusia. He therefore returned from Bruttium into Apulia, and the consuls took up a position in two separate camps, distant from each other less than three miles, between Venusia and Bantia. Hannibal, after diverting the war from Locri, returned also into the same quarter. Here the consuls, who were both of sanguine temperament, almost daily went out and drew up their troops for action, confidently hoping, that if the enemy would hazard an engagement with two consular armies united, they might put an end to the war.

## 26

As Hannibal, who gained one and lost the other of the two battles which he fought the preceding year with Marcellus, would have equal grounds for hope and fear, should he encounter the same general again; so was he far from thinking himself a match for the two consuls together. Directing his attention, therefore, wholly to his own peculiar arts, he looked out for an opportunity for planting an ambuscade. Slight battles, however, were fought between the two camps with varying success. But the consuls, thinking it probable that the summer would be spun out in engagements of this kind, and being of opinion that the siege of Locri might be going on notwithstanding, wrote to Lucius Cincius to pass over to Locri with his fleet from Sicily. And that the walls might be besieged by land also, they ordered one half of the army, which formed the garrison of Tarentum, to be marched thither. Hannibal having found from certain Thurians that these things would be done, sent a body of troops to lie in ambush on the road leading from Tarentum. There, under the hill of Petelia, three thousand cavalry and two thousand foot were placed in concealment. The Romans, who proceeded without exploring their way, having fallen into the ambuscade, as many as two thousand soldiers were slain, and about twelve hundred made prisoners. The others, who were scattered in flight through the fields and forests, returned to Tarentum. There was a rising ground covered with wood situated between the Punic and Roman camps, which was occupied at first by neither party, because the Romans were unacquainted with its nature on that side which faced the enemy's camp, while Hannibal had supposed it better adapted for an ambuscade than a camp. Accordingly, he had sent thither, by night, several troops of Numidians, concealing them in the midst of the wood. Not one of them stirred from his position by day, lest their arms or themselves should be observed from a distance.

There was a general murmur in the Roman camp, that this eminence ought to be occupied and secured by a fort, lest if it should be seized by Hannibal they should have the enemy, as it were, immediately over their heads. Marcellus was moved by this consideration, and observed to his colleague, "Why not go ourselves with a few horsemen and reconnoitre? The matter being examined with our own eyes, will make our measures more certain." Crispinus consenting, they set out with two hundred and twenty horsemen, of which forty were Fregellans, the rest Tuscans. Marcus Marcellus, the consul's son, and Aulus Manlius, military tribunes, together with two prefects of the allies, Lucius Arennius and Manius Aulius, accompanied them. Some historians have recorded, that Marcellus had offered sacrifices on that day, and that in the first victim slain, the liver was found without its head; in the second, that all the usual parts were present, and that there was also an excrescence in the head. That the aruspex was not, indeed, pleased that the entrails should first have appeared mutilated and foul, and then too exuberant.

## 27

But the consul Marcellus was influenced by so ardent a desire of engaging with Hannibal, that he never thought their camps close enough. At that time also, as he quitted the rampart, he gave orders that the troops should be ready when occasion required, in order that if the hill, which they were going to examine, were thought convenient, they might collect their baggage and follow them. Before the camp there was a small plain; the road thence to the hill was open and exposed to view on all sides. A watchman who was stationed, not under the expectation of so important an event, but in order that they might be able to intercept any stragglers who had gone too far from the camp in search of wood or forage, gave a signal to the Numidians to rise simultaneously one and all from their concealment. Those who were to rise from the very summit of the hill, and meet the enemy, did not show themselves until those whose business it was to intercept their passage in the rear, had gone round. Then they all sprang up from every side, and, raising a shout, commenced an attack. Although the consuls were in such a position in the valley that they could neither make good their way up the hill, which was occupied by the enemy, nor retreat as they were intercepted in the rear, yet the contest might have been continued longer had not a retreat, commenced by the Tuscans, dismayed the rest of the troops. The Fregellans, however, did not give over fighting, though deserted by the Tuscans, while the consuls, uninjured, kept up the battle by encouraging their men and fighting themselves. But when they saw both the consuls wounded, and Marcellus transfixed with a lance and falling lifeless from his horse, then they too, and but a very few survived, betook themselves to flight, together with Crispinus the consul, who had received two javelin wounds, and young Marcellus, who was himself also wounded. Aulus Manlius, a military tribune, was slain, and of the two praefects of allies, Manius Aulius was slain, Lucius Arennius made prisoner. Five of the consul's lictors fell into the enemy's hands alive, the rest were either slain or fled with the consul. Forty-three horsemen fell in the battle or in the flight, and eighteen were taken alive. An alarm had been excited in the camp, and the troops were hastening to go and succour the consuls, when they saw one of the consuls and the son of the other wounded, and the scanty remains of this unfortunate expedition returning to the camp. The death of Marcellus was an event to be deplored, as well from other circumstances which attended it, as because that in a manner unbecoming his years, for he was then more than sixty, and inconsistently with the prudence of a veteran general, he had so improvidently plunged into ruin himself, his

colleague, and almost the whole commonwealth. I should launch out into too many digressions for a single event, were I to relate all the various accounts which authors give respecting the death of Marcellus. To pass over others, Lucius Caelius gives three narratives ranged under different heads; one as it is handed down by tradition; a second, written in the panegyric of his son, who was engaged in the affair; a third, which he himself vouched for, being the result of his own investigation. The accounts, however, though varying in other points, agree for the most part in the fact, that he went out of the camp for the purpose of viewing the ground; and all state that he was cut off by an ambuscade.

## 28

Hannibal, concluding that the enemy were greatly dismayed by one of their consuls being slain and the other wounded, that he might not be wanting on any opportunity presenting itself, immediately transferred his camp to the eminence on which the battle had been fought. Here he found the body of Marcellus, and interred it. Crispinus, disheartened by the death of his colleague and his own wound, set out during the silence of the following night, and encamped upon the nearest mountains he could reach, in a position elevated and secured on all sides. Here the two generals exerted their sagacity, the one in effecting, the other in guarding against, a deception. Hannibal got possession of the ring of Marcellus, together with his body. Crispinus, fearing lest any artifice should be practised by the Carthaginian's employing this signet as the means of deception, had sent round messengers to the neighbouring states, informing them, that "his colleague had been slain, and that the enemy were in possession of his seal, and that they must not give credit to any letters written in the name of Marcellus." This message of the consul arrived at Salapia a little before a letter was brought from Hannibal, written in the name of Marcellus, to the effect, that "he should come to Salapia on the night which followed that day; that the soldiers in the garrison should hold themselves in readiness, in case he might want to employ them on any service." The Salapians were aware of the fraud, and concluding that an opportunity for punishing them was sought by Hannibal, from resentment, not only on account of their defection, but also because they slew his horsemen, sent his messenger, who was a deserter from the Romans, back again, in order that the soldiers might do what was thought necessary, without his being privy to it, and then placed the townsmen in parties to keep guard along the walls, and in convenient parts of the city. The guards and watches they formed with extraordinary care for that night, and on each side of the gate at which they supposed the enemy would come, they opposed to them the choicest of the troops in the garrison. About the fourth watch, Hannibal approached the city. His vanguard was composed of Roman deserters, with Roman arms. These, all of whom spoke the Latin language, when they reached the gate, called up the guards, and ordered the gate to be opened, for the consul had arrived. The guards, as if awakened at their call, began to be in a hurry and bustle, and exert themselves in opening the gate, which was closed by letting down the portcullis; some raised this with levers, others drew it up with ropes to such a height that the men could come in without stooping. The opening was scarcely wide enough, when the deserters eagerly rushed through the gate, and after about six hundred had got in, the rope being let go by which it was suspended, the portcullis fell with a loud noise. Some of the Salapians fell upon the deserters, who were carrying their arms carelessly suspended upon their shoulders, as is customary after a march, as if among friends; others frightened away the enemy by discharging stones, pikes, and javelins from the tower adjoining the gate and from the walls. Thus Hannibal withdrew,

having been caught by his own stratagem, and proceeded to raise the siege of Locri, which Cincius was carrying on with the greatest vigour, with works and engines of every kind, which were brought from Sicily. Mago, who by that time almost despaired of retaining and defending the town, derived his first gleam of hope on the death of Marcellus being reported. This was followed by a message, that Hannibal had despatched his Numidian cavalry in advance, and was himself following them with all possible speed with a body of infantry. As soon, therefore, as he was informed, by a signal displayed from the watch-towers, that the Numidians were drawing near, suddenly throwing open the gate he sallied out boldly upon the enemy, and at first, more because he had done it unexpectedly than from the equality of his strength, the contest was doubtful; but afterwards, when the Numidians came up, the Romans were so dismayed that they fled on all hands to the sea and their ships, leaving their works and the engines with which they battered the walls. Thus the siege of Locri was raised by the approach of Hannibal.

## 29

When Crispinus found that Hannibal had gone into Bruttium, he ordered Marcus Marcellus, a military tribune, to march the army, which his colleague had commanded, to Venusia. Having set out himself with his own legions for Capua, though scarcely able to endure the motion of the litter, from the severity of his wounds, he sent a letter to Rome stating the death of his colleague, and in how great danger he himself was. He said, "it was impossible for him to go to Rome to hold the election, both because he did not think he could bear the fatigue of the journey, and because he was anxious about Tarentum, lest Hannibal should direct his course thither from Bruttium. That it was expedient that commissioners should be sent to him, men of sound judgment, with whom he might communicate, when he pleased, respecting the commonwealth." The reading of this letter excited great grief for the death of one of the consuls, and apprehension for the safety of the other. They therefore sent Quintus Fabius the younger to Venusia to the army; and to the consul three commissioners, Sextus Julius Caesar, Lucius Licinius Pollio, and Lucius Cincius Alimentus, though but a few days before he had returned from Sicily. These were directed to convey a message to the consul, to the effect, that if he could not himself go to Rome to hold the election, he should nominate a dictator within the Roman territory for that purpose. If the consul should have gone to Tarentum, that it was the pleasure of the senate that Marcus Claudius, the praetor, should march off his legions to that quarter in which he could protect the greatest number of the cities of the allies. The same summer Marcus Valerius crossed over from Sicily into Africa with a fleet of a hundred ships, and making a descent near the city Clupea, devastated the country to a wide extent, scarcely meeting with a single person in arms. Afterwards the troops employed in making these depredations were hastily led back to their ships, and a report had suddenly reached them that a Carthaginian fleet was drawing near. It consisted of eighty-three ships. With these the Romans fought successfully, not far from the city Clupea, and after taking eighteen and putting the rest to flight, returned to Lilybaeum with a great deal of booty gained both by land and sea. The same summer also Philip gave assistance to the suppliant Achaeans. They were harassed by Machanidas, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, with a war in their immediate neighbourhood; and the Aetolians, having passed over an army in ships through the strait which runs between Naupactus and Patrae, called by the neighbouring people Rhion, had devastated their country. It was reported also, that

Attalus, king of Asia, would pass over into Europe, because the Aetolians, in their last council, had offered to him the office of chief magistrate of their nation.

### 30

Philip, when marching down into Greece, for these reasons, was met at the city Lamia by the Aetolians, under the command of Pyrrhias, who had been created praetor that year jointly with Attalus, who was absent. They had with them also auxiliaries from Attalus, and about a thousand men sent from the Roman fleet by Publius Sulpicius. Against this general and these forces, Philip fought twice successfully, and slew full a thousand of his enemies in each battle. Whence, as the Aetolians were compelled by fear to keep themselves under the walls of Lamia, Philip led back his army to Phalara. This place is situated in the Malian bay, and was formerly thickly inhabited on account of its excellent harbour, the safe anchorage in its neighbourhood, and other conveniences of sea and land. Hither came ambassadors from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the Rhodians, Athenians, and Chians, to put a stop to hostilities between the Aetolians and Philip. The Aetolians also called in one of their neighbours as a mediator, Amynander, king of the Athamanians. But all these were less concerned for the Aetolians, whose arrogance of disposition exceeded that of any other nation of Greece, than lest Philip and his empire, which was likely to prove injurious to the cause of liberty, should be intermixed with the affairs of Greece. The deliberations concerning a peace were put off, to a council of the Achaeans, for which a place and certain day were fixed upon; for the mean time a truce of thirty days was obtained. The king, setting out thence, went through Thessaly and Boeotia to Chalcis in Euboea, to prevent Attalus, who he heard was about to come to Euboea with a fleet, from entering the harbours and approaching the coasts. Leaving a force to oppose Attalus, in case he should cross over in the mean time, he set out thence with a small body of cavalry and light-armed troops, and came to Argos. Here the superintendence of the Heraean and Nemaean games having been conferred upon him by the suffrages of the people, because the kings of the Macedonians trace their origin from that state, after completing the Heraean games, he set out directly after the celebration for Aegium, to the council of allies, fixed some time before. Here measures were proposed for putting an end to the Aetolian war, in order that neither the Romans nor Attalus might have a pretext for entering Greece; but they were all upset by the Aetolians, before the period of the truce had scarcely expired, after they heard that Attalus had arrived at Aegina, and that a Roman fleet was stationed at Naupactus. For when called into the council of the Achaeans, where the same embassies were present which had negotiated for peace at Phalara, they at first complained of some trifling acts committed during the period of the truce, contrary to the faith of the convention; but at last they asserted, that it was impossible the war could be terminated unless the Achaeans gave back Pylus to the Messenians, unless Atintania was restored to the Romans, and Ardyaea to Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus. But Philip, conceiving it an indignity that the vanquished should presumptuously dictate terms to him the victor, said, "that he did not before either listen to proposals for peace, or agree to a truce, from any hope he entertained that the Aetolians would remain quiet, but in order that he might have all the allies as witnesses that he was desirous of peace, and that they were the occasion of this war." Thus, without effecting a peace, he dismissed the council; and leaving four thousand troops for the protection of the Achaeans, and receiving five men of war, with which, if he could have joined them to the fleet of the Carthaginians lately sent to him, and the ships which were coming from Bithynia, from king Prusias, he had resolved to challenge the Romans, who had long been masters of the sea in that quarter,

to a naval battle, the king himself went back from the congress to Argos; for now the time for celebrating the Nemeian games was approaching, which he wished to be celebrated in his presence.

### 31

While the king was occupied with the exhibition of the games, and was indulging himself during the days devoted to festivity with more freedom than in time of war, Publius Sulpicius, setting out from Naupactus, brought his fleet to the shore, between Sicyon and Corinth, and devastated without restraint a country of the most renowned fertility. Intelligence of this proceeding called Philip away from the games. He set out hastily with his cavalry, ordering his infantry to follow him closely; and attacking the Romans as they were scattered through the fields and loaded with booty, like men who feared nothing of the kind, drove them to their ships. The Roman fleet returned to Naupactus by no means pleased with their booty. The fame of a victory gained by Philip over the Romans, of whatever magnitude, increased the celebrity of the remaining part of the games. The festival was celebrated with extraordinary mirth, the more so as the king, in order to please the people, took the diadem off his head, and laid aside his purple robe with the other royal apparel, and placed himself, with regard to appearance, on an equality with the rest, than which nothing is more gratifying to free states. By this conduct he would have afforded the strongest hopes of the enjoyment of liberty, had he not debased and marred all by his intolerable lust; for he ranged night and day through the houses of married people with one or two companions, and in proportion as he was less conspicuous by lowering his dignity to a private level, the less restraint he felt; thus converting that empty show of liberty, which he had made to others, into a cover for the gratification of his own unbounded desires. For neither did he obtain his object in all cases by money or seductive arts, but he also employed violence in the accomplishment of his flagitious purposes; and it was dangerous both to husbands and parents to have presented any impediment to the gratification of royal lust, by an unseasonable strictness. From one man, Aratus, of the highest rank among the Achaeans, his wife, named Polycratia, was taken away and conveyed into Macedonia under the hope of a matrimonial connexion with royalty. After passing the time appointed for the celebration of the Nemeian games, and a few days more, in the commission of these profligate acts, he set out for Dymae to expel the garrison of the Aetolians, which had been invited by the Eleans, and received into the town. Cycliadas, who had the chief direction of affairs, met the king at Dymae, together with the Achaeans, who were inflamed with hatred against the Eleans, because they had disunited themselves from the rest of the Achaeans, and were incensed against the Aetolians, because they considered that they had stirred up a Roman war against them. Setting out from Dymae, and uniting their forces, they passed the river Larissus, which separates the Elean from the Dymaeian territory.

### 32

The first day on which they entered upon the enemy's confines, they employed in plundering. The following day they approached the city in battle-array, having sent their cavalry in advance, in order that, by riding up to the gates, they might provoke the Aetolians to make a sally, a measure to which they were naturally inclined. They were not aware that Sulpicius had passed over from Naupactus to Cyllene with fifteen ships, and landing four thousand armed men, had entered Elis during the dead of night, that his troops might not be seen. Accordingly, when they recognised the Roman standards

and arms among the Aetolians, so unexpected an event occasioned the greatest terror; and at first the king had wished to withdraw his troops; but afterwards, an engagement having taken place between the Aetolians and Trallians, a tribe of Illyrians, when he saw his men hard pressed, the king himself with his cavalry charged a Roman cohort. Here his horse being pierced with a javelin threw the king, who fell over his head; when a conflict ensued, which was desperate on both sides; the Romans making a furious attack upon the king, and the royal party protecting him. His own conduct was highly meritorious, when though on foot he was obliged to fight among horsemen. Afterwards, when the contest was unequal, many were falling and being wounded around him, he was snatched away by his soldiers, and, being placed upon another horse, fled from the field. On that day he pitched his camp five miles from the city of the Eleans, and the next day led out all his forces to a fort called Pyrgus, whither he had heard that a multitude of rustics had resorted through fear of being plundered. This unorganized and unarmed multitude he took immediately on his approach, from the first effects of alarm; and by this capture compensated for the disgrace sustained at Elis. While engaged in distributing the spoil and captives, and there were four thousand men and as many as twenty thousand head of cattle of every kind, intelligence reached him from Macedonia that one Eropus had gained possession of Lychnidus by bribing the praefect of the citadel and garrison; that he held also certain towns of the Dassaretians, and that he was endeavouring to incite the Dardanians to arms. Desisting from the Achaean war, therefore, but still leaving two thousand five hundred armed troops of every description under the generals Menippus and Polyphantas for the protection of his allies, he set out from Dymae, and passing through Achaea, Boeotia, and Euboea, arrived on the tenth day at Demetrias in Thessaly.

### 33

Here he was met by other messengers with intelligence of still greater commotions; that the Dardanians, having poured into Macedonia, were in possession of Orestis, and had descended into the Argestaeon plain; and that there was a general report among the barbarians that Philip was slain. In that expedition in which he fought with the plundering party near Sicyon, being carried by the fury of his horse against a tree, he broke off the extremity of one of the horns of his helmet against a projecting branch; which being found by a certain Aetolian and carried into Aetolia to Scerdilaedus, who knew it to be the ornament of his helmet, spread the report that the king was killed. After the king had departed from Achaea, Sulpicius, going to Aegina with his fleet, formed a junction with Attalus. The Achaeans fought successfully with the Aetolians and Eleans not far from Messene. King Attalus and Publius Sulpicius wintered at Aegina. In the close of this year Titus Quinctius Crispinus, the consul, after having nominated Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator for the purpose of holding the election and celebrating the games, died of his wound. Some say that he died at Tarentum, others in Campania. The death of the two consuls, who were slain without having fought any memorable battle, a coincidence which had never occurred in any former war, had left the commonwealth in a manner orphan. The dictator, Manlius, appointed as his master of the horse Caius Servilius, then curule aedile. On the first day of its meeting the senate ordered the dictator to celebrate the great games which Marcus Aemilius, the city praetor, had celebrated in the consulship of Caius Flaminius and Cneius Servilius, and had vowed to be repeated after five years. The dictator then both performed the games and vowed them for the following lustrum. But as the two consular armies without commanders were so near the enemy, disregarding every thing else, one especial care engrossed the

fathers and the people, that of creating the consuls as soon as possible; and that they might create those in preference whose valour was least in danger from Carthaginian treachery; since, through the whole period of the war, the precipitate and hot tempers of their generals had been detrimental, and this very year the consuls had fallen into a snare for which they were not prepared, in consequence of their excessive eagerness to engage the enemy, but the immortal gods, in pity to the Roman name, had spared the unoffending armies, and doomed the consuls to expiate their temerity with their own lives.

### 34

On the fathers' looking round to see whom they should appoint as consuls, Caius Claudius Nero appeared pre-eminently. They then looked out for a colleague for him, and although they considered him a man of the highest talents, they also were of opinion that he was of a more forward and vehement disposition than the circumstances of the war, or the enemy, Hannibal, required, they resolved that it would be right to qualify the impetuosity of his temper by uniting with him a cool and prudent colleague. The person fixed upon was Marcus Livius, who, many years ago, was, on the expiration of his consulship, condemned in a trial before the people; a disgrace which he took so much to heart, that he retired into the country, and for many years absented himself from the city, and avoided all public assemblies. Much about the eighth year after his condemnation, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the consuls, had brought him back into the city; but he appeared in a squalid dress, his hair and beard allowed to grow, and exhibiting in his countenance and attire the deep impression of the disgrace he had sustained. Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius, the censors, compelled him to have his beard and hair trimmed, to lay aside his squalid garb, to come into the senate, and discharge other public duties. But even then he either gave his assent by a single word, or signified his vote by walking to one side of the house, till the trial of Marcus Livius Macatus, a kinsman of his, whose character was at stake, obliged him to deliver his sentiments in the senate upon his legs. On being heard in the senate on this occasion, after so long an interval, he drew the eyes of all upon him, and gave occasion to conversations to the following effect: "That the people had injuriously disgraced a man who was undeserving of it and that it had been greatly detrimental to the state that, in so important a war, it had not had the benefit of the service and counsels of such a man. That neither Quintus Fabius nor Marcus Valerius Laevinus could be given to Caius Nero as colleagues, because it was not allowed for two patricians to be elected. That the same cause precluded Titus Manlius, besides that he had refused a consulship when offered to him, and would refuse it. That they would have two most distinguished consuls if they should add Marcus Livius as a colleague to Caius Claudius." Nor did the people despise a proposal, the mention of which originated with the fathers. The only person in the state who objected to the measure was the man to whom the honour was offered, who accused his countrymen of inconstancy, saying, "that, having withheld their pity from him when arrayed in a mourning garment and a criminal, they now forced upon him the white gown against his will; that honours and punishments were heaped upon the same person. If they esteemed him a good man, why had they thus passed a sentence of condemnation upon him as a wicked and guilty one? If they had proved him a guilty man, why should they thus trust him with a second consulate after having improperly committed to him the first?" While thus remonstrating and complaining, the fathers rebuked him, putting him in mind, that "Marcus Furius too, being recalled from exile, had reinstated his country when shaken

from her very base. That we ought to soothe the anger of our country as we would that of parents, by patience and resignation." All exerting themselves to the utmost, they succeeded in uniting Marcus Livius in the consulate with Caius Claudius.

### 35

The third day afterwards the election of praetors was held. The praetors created were, Lucius Porcius Licinus, Caius Mamilius, Aulus Hostilius Cato, and Caius Hostilius Cato. The election completed, and the games celebrated, the dictator and master of the horse abdicated their offices. Caius Terentius Varro was sent as proprætor into Etruria, in order that Caius Hostilius might quit that province and go to Tarentum to that army which Titus Quinctius, the consul, had commanded, and that Lucius Manlius might go as ambassador across the sea, and observe what was going on there; and at the same time, as the games at Olympia, which were attended by the greatest concourse of persons of any solemnity in Greece, were about to take place that summer, that if he could without danger from the enemy, he might go to that assembly, in order that any Sicilians who might be there, having been driven away by the war, or any Tarentine citizens banished by Hannibal, might return to their homes, and be informed that the Roman people would restore to them every thing which they had possessed before the war. As a year of the most dangerous character seemed to threaten them, and there were no consuls to direct the government, all men fixed their attention on the consuls elect, wishing them to draw lots for their provinces, as soon as possible, and determine beforehand what province and what enemy each should have. The senate also took measures, at the instance of Quintus Fabius Maximus, to effect a reconciliation between them. For the enmity between them was notorious; and in the case of Livius his misfortunes rendered it more inveterate and acrimonious, as he considered that in that situation he had been treated with contempt. He was, therefore, the more inexorable, and said, "that there was no need of a reconciliation, for that they would use greater diligence and activity in every thing they did for fear lest they should give their colleague, who was an enemy, an opportunity of advancing himself at their expense." However, the authority of the senate prevailed; and, laying aside their private differences, they conducted the affairs of the state in friendship and unanimity. Their provinces were not districts bordering upon each other, as in former years, but quite separate, in the remotest confines of Italy. To one was decreed Bruttium and Lucania, to act against Hannibal; to the other Gaul, to act against Hasdrubal, who, it was reported, was now approaching the Alps; and that he to whose lot Gaul fell should choose whichever he pleased of the two armies, one of which was in Gaul, the other in Etruria, and receive the city legions in addition; and that he to whose lot Bruttium fell, should, after enlisting fresh legions for the city, take the army of whichever of the consuls of the former year he pleased. That Quintus Fulvius, proconsul, should take the army which was left by the consul, and that his command should last for a year. To Caius Hostilius, to whom they had given the province of Tarentum in exchange for Etruria, they gave Capua instead of Tarentum, with one legion which Fulvius had commanded the preceding year.

### 36

The anxiety respecting the approach of Hasdrubal to Italy increased daily. At first, ambassadors from the Massilians had brought word that he had passed over into Gaul and that the expectations of the Gauls were raised by his coming, as he was reported to have brought a large quantity of gold for the purpose of hiring auxiliaries. Afterwards, Sextus Antistius and Marcus Raecius, who were sent from Rome, together with these

persons, as ambassadors, to look into the affair, had brought word back that they had sent persons with Massilian guides, who, through the medium of Gallic chieftains connected with them by hospitality, might bring back all ascertained particulars; that they found that Hasdrubal, who had already collected an immense army, would cross the Alps the ensuing spring; and that the only cause which delayed him there was, that the passage of the Alps was closed by winter. Publius Aelius Paetus was created and inaugurated in the office of augur in the room of Marcus Marcellus and Cneius Cornelius Dolabella was inaugurated king of the sacred rites in the room of Marcus Marcius, who had died two years before. This same year, for the first time since Hannibal came into Italy, the lustrum was closed by the censors Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. The citizens numbered in the census were one hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eight, a number considerably smaller than before the war. This year it is recorded that the Comitium was covered, and that the Roman games were repeated once by the curule aediles, Quintus Metellus and Caius Servilius; and that the plebeian games were repeated twice by Quintus Mamilius and Marcus Caecilius Metellus, plebeian aediles. The same persons also gave three statues for the temple of Ceres, and there was a feast in honour of Jupiter on occasion of the games. After this Caius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius a second time entered upon their consulate; and as they had already, while consuls elect, drawn lots for their provinces, they ordered the praetors to draw lots for theirs. Caius Hostilius had the city jurisdiction, to which the foreign was added, in order that three praetors might go out to the provinces. Aulus Hostilius had Sardinia, Caius Mamilius, Sicily, Lucius Porcius, Gaul. The total amount of legions employed in the provinces was twenty-three, which were so distributed that the consuls might have two each; Spain, four; the three praetors in Sicily, Sardinia, and Gaul, two each; Caius Terentius, two in Etruria; Quintus Fulvius, two in Bruttium; Quintus Claudius two in the neighbourhood of Tarentum and the territory of Sallentum; Caius Hostilius Tubulus, one at Capua; and two were ordered to be enlisted for the city. For the first four legions the people elected tribunes, the consuls sent those for the rest.

### 37

Before the consuls set out, the nine days' sacred rite was performed, as a shower of stones had fallen from the sky at Veii. After the mention of one prodigy, others also were reported, as usual. At Minturnae, that the temple of Jupiter and the grove of Marica, and at Atella also that a wall and gate, had been struck by lightning. The people of Minturnae added what was more alarming, that a stream of blood had flowed at their gate. At Capua, a wolf, which had entered at the gate by night, had torn a watchman. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the larger kind, and a supplication for one day was made, according to a decree of the pontiffs. The nine days' sacred rite was then performed again, because a shower of stones had been seen to fall in the armilustrum. After the people's minds had been freed from superstitious fears, they were again disturbed by intelligence that an infant had been born at Frusino as large as a child of four years old, and not so much an object of wonder from its size, as that it was born without any certain mark of distinction whether it was male or female, which was the case two years before at Sinuessa. Aruspices, called in from Etruria, declared this to be indeed a foul and ill-omened prodigy, which ought to be removed out of the Roman territory, and, being kept far from coming in contact with the earth, to be plunged into the deep. They shut it up alive in a chest, and carrying it away, threw it into the sea. The pontiffs also decreed, that thrice nine virgins should go through the city singing a hymn. While in the temple of Jupiter Stator they were learning this hymn, which was

composed by the poet Livius, the temple of Juno Regina, on the Aventine, was struck by lightning; and the aruspices, on being consulted, having replied that that prodigy appertained to the matrons, and that the goddess must be appeased by a present, such of the matrons as dwelt within the city and within the tenth milestone from it, were summoned to the Capitol by an edict of the curule aediles; when they themselves chose twenty-five out of their own body, to whom they paid a contribution out of their dowries, from which a golden basin was made, as a present, and carried to the Aventine, where a sacrifice was performed by the matrons in a pure and chaste manner. Immediately a day was given out by the decemviri for another sacrifice to the same goddess, which was performed in the following order: two white heifers were led from the temple of Apollo into the city through the Carmental gate; after these, two cypress images of Juno Regina were carried; after these went seven and twenty virgins, arrayed in white vestments, and singing in honour of Juno Regina a hymn, which to the uncultivated minds of that time might appear to have merit, but if repeated now would seem inelegant and uncouth. The train of virgins was followed by the decemvirs, crowned with laurel, and in purple-bordered robes. From the gate they proceeded by the Jugarian street into the forum: in the forum the procession stopped, and the virgins, linked together by a cord passed through their hands, moved on, beating time with their feet to the music of their voices. They then proceeded by the Tuscan street and the Velabrum, through the cattle market, up the Publician hill, and to the temple of Juno Regina; where two victims were immolated by the decemviri, and the cypress images carried into the temple.

### 38

After the deities were appeased in due form, the consuls made the levy with greater diligence and strictness than any one remembered it to have been made in former years; for the war was now doubly formidable, in consequence of the advance of a new enemy into Italy, while the number of the youth from which they could enlist soldiers was diminished. They therefore resolved to compel the settlers upon the sea-coast, who were said to possess an exemption from service solemnly granted, to furnish soldiers; and on their refusing to do so, appointed that they should severally lay before the senate, on a certain day, the grounds on which they claimed exemption. On the appointed day the following people came to the senate: the people of Ostia, Alsia, Antium, Anxur, Minturnae, and Sinuessa, and, on the upper sea, Sena. After each people had stated their grounds of exemption, the exemption of none was allowed, as the enemy was in Italy, except those of Antium and Ostia, and of these colonies the young men were bound by oath that they would not lodge without the walls of their colony, while the enemy was in Italy, more than thirty days. Although it was the opinion of all that the consuls ought to proceed to the war as soon as possible, (for Hasdrubal ought to be met on his descent from the Alps, lest he might seduce the Cisalpine Gauls and Etruria, which was anxiously looking forward to a revolution; while it was necessary to occupy Hannibal with a war in his own quarters, lest he should emerge from Bruttium, and advance to meet his brother;) yet Livius delayed, not having sufficient confidence in the armies destined for his provinces. He said his colleague had his option to take which he pleased out of two excellent consular armies, and a third which Quintus Claudius commanded at Tarentum. He also made mention of recalling the volunteer slaves to their standards. The senate gave the consuls unrestricted liberty of filling up their numbers from what source they pleased, of selecting out of all the armies such as they liked, and of exchanging and removing from one province to another, as they thought

conducive to the good of the state. In all these affairs the consuls acted with the most perfect harmony. The volunteer slaves were enlisted into the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some authors state that very efficient auxiliaries were sent out of Spain also to Marcus Livius by Publius Scipio; namely, eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls, two thousand legionary soldiers, a thousand horse of Numidians and Spaniards together. That Marcus Lucretius brought these forces in ships, and that Caius Mamilius sent as many as four thousand bowmen and slingers out of Sicily.

### 39

A letter which was brought out of Gaul from Lucius Porcius, the praetor, increased the alarm at Rome. It stated that Hasdrubal had quitted his winter quarters, and was now crossing the Alps; that eight thousand Ligurians had been enlisted and armed, which would join him when he had crossed over into Italy, unless some general were sent into Liguria to engage them with a war. That he would himself advance as far as he thought it safe with his small forces. This letter obliged the consuls hastily to conclude the levy, and go earlier than they had determined into their provinces, with the intention that each should keep his enemy in his own province, and not allow them to form a junction or concentrate their forces. This object was much aided by an opinion possessed by Hannibal; for although he felt assured that his brother would cross over into Italy that summer, yet when he recollected what difficulties he had himself experienced through a period of five months, first in crossing the Rhone, then the Alps, contending against men, and the nature of the ground, he was far from expecting that his transit would be so easy and expeditious, and this was the cause of his moving more slowly from his winter quarters. But all things were done by Hasdrubal with less delay and trouble than he himself or any others expected. For the Arverni, and after them the other Gallic and Alpine nations in succession, not only gave him a friendly reception, but followed him to the war; and not only had roads been formed during the passage of his brother in most of the countries through which he marched, and which were before impassable, but also as the Alps had been passable for a period of twelve years, he marched through tribes of less ferocious dispositions. For before that time, being never visited by foreigners, nor accustomed, themselves, to see a stranger in their country, they were unsociable to the whole human race. And at first, not knowing whither the Carthaginian was going, they had imagined that their own rocks and forts, and the plunder of their cattle and people, were his objects; but afterwards, the report of the Punic war with which Italy was being desolated for now ten years, had convinced them that the Alps were only a passage, and that two very powerful nations, separated from each other by a vast tract of sea and land, were contending for empire and power. These were the causes which opened the Alps to Hasdrubal. But the advantage which he gained by the celerity of his march he lost by his delay at Placentia, while he carried on a fruitless siege, rather than an assault. He had supposed that it would be easy to take by storm a town situated on a plain; and the celebrity of the colony induced him to believe that by destroying it he should strike great terror into the rest. This siege not only impeded his own progress, but had the effect of restraining Hannibal, who was just on the point of quitting his winter quarters, after hearing of his passage, which was so much quicker than he expected; for he not only revolved in his mind how tedious was the siege of towns, but also how ineffectual was his attempt upon that same colony, when returning victorious from the Trebia.

### 40

The consuls, on departing from the city in different directions, had drawn the attention of the public, as it were, to two wars at once, while they called to mind the disasters which Hannibal's first coming had brought upon Italy, and at the same time, tortured with anxiety, asked themselves what deities would be so propitious to the city and empire as that the commonwealth should be victorious in both quarters at once. Hitherto they had been enabled to hold out to the present time by compensating for their misfortunes by their successes. When the Roman power was laid prostrate at the Trasimenus and at Cannae in Italy, their successes in Spain had raised it up from its fallen condition. Afterwards, when in Spain one disaster after another had in a great measure destroyed two armies, with the loss of two distinguished generals, the many successes in Italy and Sicily had, as it were, afforded a haven for the shattered state; and the mere interval of space, as one war was going on in the remotest quarter of the world, gave them time to recover their breath. Whereas now two wars were received into Italy; two generals of the highest renown were besetting the Roman city; while the whole weight of the danger and the entire burden pressed upon one point. Whichever of these generals should be first victorious, he would in a few days unite his camp with the other. The preceding year also, saddened by the deaths of two consuls, filled them with alarm. Such were the anxious feelings with which the people escorted the consuls on their departure to their provinces. It is recorded that Marcus Livius, still teeming with resentment against his countrymen, when setting out to the war, replied to Fabius, who warned him not rashly to come to an action till he had made himself acquainted with the character of his enemy, that as soon as ever he had got sight of the troops of the enemy he would engage them. When asked what was his reason for such haste, he said, "I shall either obtain the highest glory from conquering the enemy, or the greatest joy from the defeat of my countrymen, a joy which they have deserved, though it would not become me." Before the consul Claudius arrived in his province, Caius Hostilius Tubulus, attacking Hannibal with his light cohorts while marching his army through the extreme borders of the territory of Larinum into that of Sallentum, caused terrible confusion in his unmarshalled troops; he killed as many as four thousand, and captured nine military standards. Quintus Claudius, who had his camps distributed through the towns of the Sallentine territory, had quitted his winter quarters on hearing of the enemy; and Hannibal, fearing on that account lest he should have to engage with two armies at once, decamped by night, and retired from the Tarentine to the Bruttian territory. Claudius turned his army to the Sallentine territory. Hostilius, on his way to Capua, met the consul Claudius at Venusia. Here forty thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred horse were selected from both armies, with which the consul might carry on the war against Hannibal. The rest of the troops Hostilius was directed to march to Capua to deliver them over to Quintus Fulvius, proconsul.

#### 41

Hannibal, having drawn together his forces from all quarters, both those which he had in winter quarters, and those which he had in the garrisons of the Bruttian territory, came to Grumentum in Lucania, with the hope of regaining the towns which through fear had revolted to the Romans. To the same place the Roman consul proceeded from Venusia, exploring the way as he went, and pitched his camp about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. The rampart of the Carthaginians seemed almost united with the walls of Grumentum, though five hundred paces intervened. Between the Carthaginian and Roman camps lay a plain; and overhanging the left wing of the Carthaginians and the right of the Romans were some naked hills, which were not objects of suspicion to

either party, as they had no wood upon them, nor any hiding-places for an ambuscade. In the plain which lay between them skirmishes hardly worth mentioning took place between parties sallying from the outposts. It was evident that what the Roman aimed at was to prevent the enemy from going off, while Hannibal, who was desirous of escaping thence, came down with all his forces, and formed in order of battle. Upon this the consul, imitating the crafty character of his enemy, ordered five cohorts, with the addition of five maniples, to pass the summit by night and sit down in the valleys on the opposite side; a measure to which he was prompted the more strongly in proportion as he felt that there could exist no suspicion of an ambuscade in hills so uncovered. Of the time for rising up from their retreat and of falling upon the enemy he informed Tiberius Claudius Asellus, a military tribune, and Publius Claudius, praefect of the allies, whom he sent with them. The general himself, at break of day, drew out all his forces, both foot and horse, for battle. Shortly after, the signal for battle was given out by Hannibal, and a noise was raised in the camp, from the troops running hastily to arms; then both horse and foot eagerly rushed through the gates, and spreading themselves over the plain, hastened to the enemy. The consul perceiving them thus disordered, gave orders to Caius Aurunculeius, a military tribune of the third legion, to send out the cavalry of the legion to charge the enemy with all possible vehemence, for that the enemy had spread themselves like cattle in such disorder throughout the whole plain, that they might be knocked down and trampled under foot before they could be formed.

#### 42

Hannibal had not yet gone out of the camp, when he heard the shout of his troops engaged; and thus roused by the alarm, he hastily led his forces against the enemy. Already had the Roman horse spread terror through the Carthaginian van; the first legion also of the infantry and the right wing were commencing the action, while the troops of the Carthaginians, in disorder, engaged just as chance threw each in the way of horse or foot. The battle became more general by reinforcements, and the number of those who ran out to the combat. Hannibal, amid the terror and confusion, would have drawn up his troops while fighting, (which would not have been an easy task unless to a veteran general with veteran soldiers,) had not the shouts of the cohorts and maniples, running down from the hills, which was heard in their rear, created an alarm lest they should be cut off from their camp. After this they were seized with a panic, and a flight commenced in every part; but the number slain was less, because the nearness of the camp offered to the terrified troops a shorter distance to fly. For the cavalry hung upon their rear, and the cohorts, running down the declivities of the hills by an unobstructed and easy path, charged them transversely in flank. However, above eight thousand men were slain, above seven hundred made prisoners, and eight military standards taken. Of the elephants also, which had been of no use in such a sudden and irregular action, four were killed and two captured. The conquerors lost about five hundred Romans and allies. The following day the Carthaginian remained quiet. The Roman having led out his troops into the field, when he saw that no one came out to meet him, gave orders that the spoils of those of the enemy who were slain should be collected, and that the bodies of his own men should be gathered into one place and buried. After this, for several days following in succession, he came up so near the enemy's gates that he almost seemed to be carrying in his standards. But at length Hannibal at the third watch, leaving a number of fires and tents in that part of the camp which faced the enemy, and also a few Numidians who might show themselves in the rampart and the gates, decamped and proceeded towards Apulia. As soon as it dawned, the Roman army came up to the

trenches, and the Numidians, according to the plan concerted, took care to show themselves for a little time on the rampart and in the gates; and having deceived the enemy for some time, rode off at full speed, and overtook their friends on their march. The consul, when all was silence in the camp, and he could now no where see even the few who at break of day had walked up and down, sent two horsemen in advance to reconnoitre; and after he had ascertained that all was safe enough, ordered his troops to march in; and after staying there only while his men distributed themselves for plunder, sounded a retreat and led back his forces long before night. The next day he set out as soon as it was light, and following the rumour and the track of the enemy by forced marches, came up with them not far from Venusia. Here also an irregular battle took place, in which two thousand of the Carthaginians were slain. The Carthaginian quitting this place made for Metapontum, marching by night and over mountainous districts in order to avoid a battle. Thence Hanno, who commanded the garrison of that place, was sent into Bruttium with a small party to raise a fresh army. Hannibal, after adding his forces to his own, went back to Venusia by the same route by which he came, and proceeded thence to Canusium. Nero had never quitted the enemy's steps, and when he himself went to Metapontum, had sent for Quintus Fulvius into Lucania, lest that region should be left without protection.

### 43

Meanwhile four Gallic horsemen and two Numidians, who were sent to Hannibal with a letter from Hasdrubal, after he had retired from the siege of Placentia, having traversed nearly the whole length of Italy through the midst of enemies, while following Hannibal as he was retiring to Metapontum, were taken to Tarentum by mistaking the roads; where they were seized by some Roman foragers, who were straggling through the fields, and brought before the proprietor, Caius Claudius. At first they endeavoured to baffle him by evasive answers, but threats of applying torture being held out to them, they were compelled to confess the truth; when they fully admitted that they were the bearers of a letter from Hasdrubal to Hannibal. They were delivered into the custody of Lucius Virginius, a military tribune, together with the letter sealed as it was, to be conveyed to the consul Claudius. At the same time two troops of Samnites were sent with them as an escort. Having made their way to the consul, the letter was read by means of an interpreter, and the captives were interrogated; when Claudius, coming to the conclusion that the predicament of the state was not such as that her generals should carry on the war, each within the limits of his own province, and with his own troops, according to the customary plans of warfare, and with an enemy marked out for him by the senate, but that some unlooked for and unexpected enterprise must be attempted, which, in its commencement, might cause no less dread among their countrymen than their enemies, but which, when accomplished, might convert their great fear into great joy, sent the letter of Hasdrubal to Rome to the senate; and at the same time informed the conscript fathers what his intentions were; and recommended that, as Hasdrubal had written to his brother that he should meet him in Umbria, they should send for the legion from Capua to Rome, enlist troops at Rome, and oppose the city forces to the enemy at Narnia. Such was his letter to the senate. Messengers were sent in advance through the territory of Larinum, Marrucia, Frentana, and Praetutia, where he was about to march his army, with orders that they should all bring down from their farms and towns to the road-side provisions ready dressed for the soldiers to eat; and that they should bring out horses and other beasts of burden, so that those who were tired might have plenty of conveyances. He then selected the choicest troops out of

the whole army of the Romans and allies, to the amount of six thousand infantry and one thousand horse; and gave out that he intended to seize on the nearest town in Lucania and the Carthaginian garrison in it, and that they should all be in readiness to march. Setting out by night he turned off towards Picenum, and making his marches as long as possible, led his troops to join his colleague, having left Quintus Cadius, lieutenant-general, in command of the camp.

#### 44

At Rome the alarm and consternation were not less than they had been two years before, when the Carthaginian camp was pitched over against the Roman walls and gates; nor could people make up their minds whether they should commend, or censure, this so bold march of the consul. It was evident that the light in which it would be viewed would depend upon its success; than which nothing can be more unfair. They said, "that the camp was left near to the enemy, Hannibal, without a general, and with an army from which all the flower and vigour had been withdrawn; and that the consul had pretended an expedition into Lucania, when he was in reality going to Picenum and Gaul, leaving his camp secured only by the ignorance of the enemy, who were not aware that the general and part of his army were away. What would be the consequence if that should be discovered, and Hannibal should think proper either to pursue Nero with his whole army, who had gone off with only six thousand armed men, or to assault the camp, which was left as a prey for him, without strength, without command, without auspices?" The disasters already experienced in the war, the deaths of two consuls the preceding year, augmented their fears. Besides, all these events had occurred "when there was only one general and one army of the enemy in Italy; whereas now they had two Punic wars, two immense armies, and in a manner two Hannibals in Italy, inasmuch as Hasdrubal was descended from the same father, Hamilcar, was a general equally enterprising, having been trained in a Roman war during so many years in Spain, and rendered famous by a double victory, having annihilated two armies with two most renowned generals. For he could glory even more than Hannibal himself, on account of the celerity with which he had effected his passage out of Spain, and his success in stirring up the Gallic nations to arms, inasmuch as he had collected an army in those very regions in which Hannibal lost the major part of his soldiers by famine and cold, the most miserable modes of death." Those who were experienced in the events which had occurred in Spain, added, that "he would not have to engage with Caius Nero, the general, as an unknown person, whom, when accidentally caught in a difficult defile, he had eluded and baffled like a little child, by drawing up fallacious terms of peace." Under the dictation of fear, which always puts the worst construction upon things, they magnified all the advantages which the enemy possessed, and undervalued their own.

#### 45

45. When Nero had got such a distance from the enemy that his plan might be disclosed without danger, he briefly addressed his soldiers, observing, that "there never was a measure adopted by any general which was in appearance more daring than this, but in reality more safe. That he was leading them on to certain victory. For as his colleague had not set out to prosecute the war which he conducted, until forces both of horse and foot had been assigned to him by the senate to his own satisfaction, and those greater and better equipped than if he had been going against Hannibal himself, that they would, by joining him, however small the quantity of force which they might add, completely turn the scale. That when it was only heard in the field of battle (and he

would take care that it should not be heard before) that another consul and another army had arrived, it would insure the victory. That rumour decided war; and that the most inconsiderable incidents had power to excite hope and fear in the mind. That they would themselves reap almost the entire glory which would be obtained if they succeeded, for it was invariably the case that the last addition which is made is supposed to have effected the whole. That they themselves saw with what multitudes, what admiration, and what good wishes of men their march was attended." And, by Hercules, they marched amid vows, prayers, and commendations, all the roads being lined with ranks of men and women, who had flocked there from all parts of the country. They called them the safeguards of the state, the protectors of the city and empire of Rome. They said that the safety and liberty of themselves and their children were treasured up in their arms and right hands. They prayed to all the gods and goddesses to grant them a prosperous march, a successful battle, and a speedy victory over their enemies; and that they might be bound to pay the vows which they had undertaken in their behalf; so that as now they attended them off with anxiety, go after a few days' interval they might joyfully go out to meet them exulting in victory. Then they severally and earnestly invited them to accept, offered them, and wearied them with entreaties, to take from them in preference to another, whatever might be requisite for themselves or their cattle. They generously gave them every thing in abundance, while the soldiers vied with each other in moderation, taking care not to accept any thing beyond what was necessary for use. They did not make any delay nor quit their ranks when taking food; they continued the march day and night, scarcely giving as much to rest as was necessary to the requirements of the body. Messengers were also despatched in advance to his colleague, to inform him of his approach, and to ask whether he wished that he should come secretly or openly, by day or night, whether they should lodge in the same or different camps. It appeared most advisable that they should come into the camp secretly by night.

#### 46

A private signal was sent through the camp by the consul Livius, that each tribune should receive a tribune, each centurion a centurion, each horseman a horseman, each foot-soldier a foot-soldier; for it was not expedient that the camp should be enlarged, lest the enemy should discover the arrival of the other consul, while the crowding together of several persons, who would have their tents in a confined place, would be attended with less inconvenience, because the army of Claudius had brought with them on their expedition scarcely any thing except their arms. Claudius, on the very march, had augmented his numbers by volunteers; for not only veteran soldiers, who had completed their period of service, but young men also offered themselves without solicitation; and, as they vied with each other in giving in their names, he had enlisted those whose personal appearance and bodily strength seemed fit for military service. The camp of the other consul was near Sena, and Hasdrubal's position was about five hundred paces from it. Nero, therefore, when he was now drawing near, halted under cover of the mountains, in order that he might not enter the camp before night. Having entered when all was still, they were severally conducted into their tents by the men of their own description, where they were hospitably entertained with the utmost joy on the part of all. The next day a council was held, at which Lucius Porcius Licinus, the praetor, was present. He had his camp joined to that of the consuls, and before their arrival, by leading his army along the heights, sometimes occupying narrow defiles that he might intercept his passage, at other times harassing his troops while marching by

attacking their flank or rear, he had baffled the enemy by all the arts of war. This man was, on the present occasion, one of the council. Many inclined to the opinion that an engagement should be deferred till Nero had recruited his soldiers, who were weary with marching and watching, and had employed a few days in acquiring a knowledge of his enemy. Nero urged, not only by persuasion, but with the most earnest entreaties, "that they would not render rash by delay that measure of his which despatch had made safe. That Hannibal, who lay in a state of torpid inactivity in consequence of a delusion which would not continue long, had neither attacked his camp, left as it was without a leader, nor had directed his course in pursuit of him. That the army of Hasdrubal might be annihilated, and he might retire into Apulia before he stirred a step. The man who by delay gave time to the enemy both betrayed the camp to Hannibal, and opened a way to him into Gaul, so that he might effect a junction with Hasdrubal at his leisure, and when he pleased. That they ought to give the signal for battle instantly, and march out into the field, and take advantage of the delusion of their enemies present and absent, while neither those were aware that they had fewer, nor these that they had more and stronger forces to encounter." On the breaking up of the council the signal for battle was displayed, and the troops immediately led into the field.

#### 47

The Carthaginians were already standing before their camp in battle-array. This circumstance delayed the battle: Hasdrubal, who had advanced before the line with a few horsemen, remarked some old shields among the enemy, which he had not seen before, and some horses leaner than the rest their numbers also appeared greater than usual. Suspecting therefore, what was really the case, he hastily sounded a retreat, and sent a party to the river from which they got their water, where some of them might be intercepted, and notice taken whether there were perchance any there whose complexions were more than ordinarily sun-burnt, as from a recent march. At the same time he ordered a party to ride round the camp at a distance, and note whether the rampart was extended in any part, and also observe whether the signal sounded once or twice. Having received a report of all these particulars, the fact of the camp's not being enlarged led him into error. There were now two camps, as there were before the other consul arrived, one belonging to Marcus Livius, the other to Lucius Porcius, and to neither of them had any addition been made to give more room for the tents. But the veteran general, who was accustomed to a Roman enemy, was much struck by their reporting that the signal sounded once in the praetor's camp, and twice in the consul's; there must therefore be two consuls, and felt the most painful anxiety as to the manner in which the other had got away from Hannibal. Least of all could he suspect, what was really the case, that he had got away from Hannibal by deceiving him to such an extent, as that he knew not where the general was, and where the army whose camp stood opposite to his own. Surely, he concluded, deterred by a defeat of no ordinary kind, he has not dared to pursue him; and he began to entertain the most serious fears that he had himself come too late with assistance, now that affairs were desperate, and lest the same good fortune attended the Roman arms in Italy which they had experienced in Spain. Sometimes he imagined that his letter could not have reached him, and that, it having been intercepted, the consul had hastened to overpower him. Thus anxious and perplexed, having put out the fires, he issued a signal at the first watch to collect the baggage in silence, and gave orders to march. In the hurry and confusion occasioned by a march by night, their guides were not watched with sufficient care and attention. One of them stopped in a place of concealment which he had beforehand fixed upon in his

mind, the other swam across the river Metaurus, at a ford with which he was acquainted. The troops, thus deserted by their guides, at first wandered up and down through the fields; and some of them, overpowered with sleep, and fatigued with, watching, stretched themselves on the ground here and there, leaving their standards thinly attended. Hasdrubal gave orders to march along the bank of the river until the light should discover the road; but, pursuing a circuitous and uncertain course along the turnings and windings of that tortuous river, with the intention of crossing it as soon as the first light should discover a place convenient for the purpose he made but little progress; but wasting the day in a fruitless attempt to discover a ford, for the further he went from the sea the higher he found the banks which kept the river in its course, he gave the enemy time to overtake him.

#### 48

First Nero arrived with the whole body of his cavalry, then Porcius came up with him, with the light infantry. And while these were harassing his weary troops on every side, and charging them, and the Carthaginian, stopping his march, which resembled a flight, was desirous of encamping on an eminence, on the bank of the river, Livius came up with all his foot forces, not after the manner of troops on march, but armed and marshalled for immediate action. When they had united all their forces, and the line was drawn out, Claudius took the direction of the battle in the right wing, Livius in the left; the management of the centre was given to the praetor. Hasdrubal, when he saw that an engagement was inevitable, giving over the fortification of a camp, placed his elephants in the front line, before the standards; on either side these he placed in the left wing the Gauls to oppose Claudius, not so much from any confidence he reposed in them, as because he believed them to be dreaded by the enemy; the right wing he took to himself against M. Livius, together with the Spaniards, in whom, as being veteran troops, he placed his greatest hopes. Behind the elephants, in the centre, the Ligurians were posted; but his line was rather long than deep. The Gauls were covered by a hill, which extended in front. That part of the line which was occupied by the Spaniards, engaged the left wing of the Romans, the whole of whose right wing, extending beyond the line of battle, was unengaged. The hill before them prevented their making an attack either in front or flank. Between Livius and Hasdrubal a furious contest arose, and the slaughter on both sides was dreadful. Here were both generals, here the major part of the Roman horse and infantry, here the Spaniards, veteran troops, and experienced in the Roman manner of fighting, and the Ligurians, a nation inured to war. The elephants were also driven to the same place which, on the first onset, disordered the van, and had made even dislodged the standards; but afterwards, the contest growing hotter, and the shout increasing, they became less submissive to their riders, and ranged to and fro between the two lines, as if not knowing to which side they belonged, like ships floating about without rudders. Claudius, when he had striven in vain to advance up the hill, repeatedly calling out to his soldiers, "To what purpose then have we performed so long a march with such expedition?" when he found it impossible to make his way to the enemy in that quarter, withdrawing several cohorts from the right wing, where he saw they would occupy an inactive station, rather than join in the fight, led them round the rear of the line, and, to the surprise not only of the enemy but his own party, charged their right flank; and such was their rapidity, that after showing themselves on their flank, they almost immediately made an attack on their rear. Thus on all sides, in front, flank, and rear, the Spaniards and Ligurians were cut to pieces; and now the carnage had even reached the Gauls. Here the least opposition was found; for a great number of

them had quitted their standards, having slunk off during the night, and laid themselves down to sleep up and down the fields, while even those who were present, being tired with marching and watching, for their bodies are most intolerant of fatigue, could scarcely carry their arms upon their shoulders. And now it was mid-day, and thirst and heat gave them over to the enemy to be killed or captured in multitudes.

#### 49

More elephants were killed by their guides than by the enemy. They used to have with them a workman's knife, with a mallet. When these beasts began to grow furious, and attack their own party, the rider, placing this knife between the ears, just on the joint by which the neck is connected with the head, used to drive it in, striking it with all the force he could. This was found to be the most expeditious mode of putting these bulky animals to death, when they had destroyed all hope of governing them. This method was first practised by Hasdrubal, a general whose conduct both frequently on other occasions, and especially in this battle, deserved to be recorded. By encouraging the men when fighting, and sharing equally in every danger, he kept up the battle. Sometimes by entreating, at other times by rebuking, the troops, when tired and indisposed to fight from weariness and over-exertion, he rekindled their spirits. He called back the flying, and restored the battle in many places when it had been given up. At length, when fortune decidedly declared for the Romans, lest he should survive so great an army which had been collected under the influence of his name, he put spurs to his horse and rushed upon a Roman cohort, where he fell fighting, as was worthy of the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hannibal. At no time during that war were so many of the enemy slain in one battle; so that a defeat equal to that sustained at Cannae, whether in respect of the loss of the general or the troops, was considered to have been retorted upon him. Fifty-six thousand of the enemy were slain, five thousand four hundred captured. The other booty was great, both of every other kind, and also of gold and silver. In addition to the rest, there were recovered above four thousand Roman citizens, who had been taken by the enemy, which formed some consolation for the soldiers lost in that battle. For the victory was by no means bloodless. Much about eight thousand of the Romans and the allies were slain; and so completely were even the victors satiated with blood and slaughter, that the next day, when Livius the consul received intelligence that the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who had either not been present at the battle or had made their escape from the carnage, were marching off in one body without a certain leader without standards, without any discipline or subordination; that if one squadron of horse were sent against them they might be all destroyed, he replied, "Let some survive to bear the news of the enemy's losses and of our valour."

#### 50

Nero set out on the night following the battle, and marching at a more rapid rate than when he came, arrived at his camp before the enemy on the sixth day. As he was not preceded by a messenger, fewer people attended him on the march; but the joy felt was so great, that they were almost insane with delight. Neither state of feeling at Rome can be well described or told, whether that in which the citizens were when in doubtful expectation of the issue, or when they received the intelligence of victory. Every day, from the time that news arrived that the consul Claudius had set out, from sun-rise to sun-set, none of the senators ever quitted the senate-house, or did the people depart from the forum. The matrons, as they had themselves no means of affording assistance,

had recourse to prayers and entreaties, and going about to all the temples, wearied the gods with vows and supplications. While the city was in this state of solicitude and suspense, a vague report first arrived that two Narnian horsemen had come from the field of battle into the camp which stood as a defence in the entrance to Umbria, with intelligence that the enemy were cut to pieces. At first they rather heard than credited this news, as being too great and too joyful for the mind to take in, or obtain a firm belief. Even the very rapidity with which it had arrived formed an obstacle to its reception; for it was stated that the battle took place two days before. After this a letter was brought which had been sent by Lucius Manlius Acidinus, from his camp, on the subject of the arrival of the Narnian horsemen. This letter being conveyed through the forum to the tribunal of the praetor, drew the senators out of the senate-house; and with such eagerness and hurry did the people crowd to the doors of the senate-house, that the messenger could not approach, but was dragged off by persons who asked him questions, and demanded vociferously that the letter should be read on the rostrum before it was read in the senate. At length they were put back and restrained by the magistrates; and thus the joy was gradually dispensed to their overpowered spirits. The letter was read first in the senate, and then in the assembly of the people. The effect was various, according to the difference in the cast of men's minds, some thinking that there were already sure grounds for rejoicing, while others would place no confidence in the news, till they listened to ambassadors, or a letter from the consuls.

## 51

After this, news came that the ambassadors themselves were on the point of arriving. Then, indeed, people of all ages ran to meet them, each man being eager to be the first to receive an assurance of such joyful tidings, by the evidence of his eyes and ears. One continued train extended as far as the Mulvian bridge. The ambassadors, Lucius Veturius Philo, Publius Licinius Varus, and Quintus Caecilius Metellus, made their way into the forum, surrounded by a crowd of persons of every description; when some asked the ambassadors themselves, others their attendants, what had been done; and, as soon as each had heard that the army and general of the enemy had been cut off, that the Roman legions were safe, and the consuls unhurt, he immediately imparted the joyful intelligence to others, imparting to them the joy he felt himself. Having with difficulty made their way into the senate-house, and the crowd with still more difficulty being removed, that they might not mix with the fathers, the letter was read in the senate; after which the ambassadors were brought into the general assembly. Lucius Veturius Philo, after reading the letter himself, gave a more explicit account of all that had occurred, amidst great approbation, and at last of general shouting from the assembly, while their minds could scarcely contain their joy. They then ran off in various directions, some to the different temples of the gods, to return thanks, others to their homes, to impart the joyful intelligence to their wives and children. The senate decreed a supplication for three days, because Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, the consuls, had cut off the general and legions of the enemy, their own army being safe. This supplication Caius Hostilius, the praetor, proclaimed in the assembly, and was celebrated both by men and women. During the whole three days all the temples were uniformly crowded, whilst the matrons, dressed in their richest robes, and accompanied by their children, just as though the war had been brought to a conclusion, and free from every apprehension, offered thanksgivings to the immortal gods. This victory produced an alteration also in the condition of the state, so that immediately from this event, just as though it had been a time of peace, men were not afraid to do business

with each other, buying, selling, lending, and paying borrowed money. Caius Claudius, the consul, on his return to his camp, ordered the head of Hasdrubal, which he had carefully kept and brought with him, to be thrown before the advanced guards of the enemy, and the African prisoners to be shown to them bound just as they were. Two of these also he unbound, and bid them go to Hannibal and tell him what had occurred. Hannibal, smitten by such severe distress, at once public and domestic, is said to have declared that he recognised the destiny of Carthage; and decamping thence with the intention of drawing together into Bruttium, the remotest corner of Italy, all his auxiliaries which he could not protect when widely scattered, removed into Bruttium the whole state of the Metapontines, summoned away from their former habitations, and also such of the Lucanians as were under his authority.

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## Book XXVIII

*Successful operations against the Carthaginians in Spain, under Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant, and L. Scipio, his brother; of Sulpicius and Attalus, against Philip, king of Macedonia. Scipio finally vanquishes the Carthaginians in Spain, and reduces that whole country; passes over into Africa, forms an alliance with Syphax, king of Numidia; represses and punishes a mutiny of a part of his army; concludes a treaty of friendship with Masinissa; returns to Rome, and is elected consul; solicits Africa for his province, which is opposed by Quintus Fabius Maximus; is appointed governor of Sicily, with permission to pass over into Africa.*

### 1

At the time when Spain appeared to be relieved in proportion to the degree in which the weight of the war was removed into Italy, by the passage of Hasdrubal, another war sprang up there equal in magnitude to the former. At this juncture, the Romans and Carthaginians thus occupied Spain: Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, had retired quite to the ocean and Gades; the coast of our sea, and almost the whole of that part of Spain which lies eastward, was subject to Scipio and the Romans. The new general, Hanno, who had passed over from Africa, to supply the place of the Barcine Hasdrubal, with a new army, and formed a junction with Mago, having in a short time armed a large number of men in Celtiberia, which lies in the midway between the two seas, Scipio sent Marcus Silanus against him, with no more than ten thousand infantry and five hundred horse. Silanus, by marching with all the haste he could, (though the ruggedness of the roads, and narrow defiles obstructed with thick woods, which are very frequent in Spain, impeded him,) yet being guided by deserters from Celtiberia, natives of that place, reached the enemy, anticipating not only messengers but even all rumour of his coming. From the same source he ascertained, when they were about ten thousand paces from the enemy, that they had two camps, one on each side of the road in which they were marching; that the Celtiberians, a newly-raised army, in number above nine thousand, were on the left, and that the Carthaginian camp was stationed on the right. The latter was secured and protected by outposts, watches, and every kind of regular military guard, while the former was disorderly and neglected, as belonging to barbarians, who were raw soldiers, and were under the less apprehension, because they were in their own country. Silanus, concluding that this was the camp to be attacked first, ordered the troops to march as much as possible towards the left, lest he should be observed from any point by the Carthaginian outposts, and sending scouts in advance, pushed on towards the enemy at a rapid pace.

### 2

He was now about three thousand paces from the enemy, when as yet none of them had perceived him. The ground was covered with craggy places, and hills overgrown with bushes. Here in a hollow valley, and on that account unexposed to the view, he ordered his men to sit down and take refreshment. In the mean time the scouts returned, confirming the statements of the deserters. Then the Romans, collecting their baggage in the centre, took arms, and marched to battle in regular array. They were a thousand paces off when they were descried by the enemy, when suddenly all began to be in a state of hurry and confusion. At the first shout and tumult, Mago quitted the camp and

rode up at full speed. As there were in the Celtiberian army four thousand targeteers and two hundred horsemen, this regular legion, as it formed the flower of his troops, he stationed in the first line; the rest, composed of light-armed, he posted in reserve. While he was leading them out of the camp thus marshalled, the Romans discharged their javelins at them before they had scarcely cleared the rampart. The Spaniards stooped down to avoid the javelins thrown at them by the enemy, and then rose up to discharge their own in turn; which the Romans having received according to their custom in close array, with their shields firmly united, they then engaged foot to foot, and began to fight with their swords. But the ruggedness of the ground, while it rendered ineffectual the agility of the Celtiberians who were accustomed to a skirmishing kind of battle, was at the same time not unfavourable to the Romans, who were accustomed to a steady kind of fight, except that the narrow passes and the bushes, which grew here and there, broke their ranks, and they were compelled to engage one against one and two against two, as if matched together. The same circumstance which obstructed the enemy's flight, delivered them up, as it were, bound for slaughter. And now when almost all the targeteers had been slain, the light-armed and the Carthaginians, who had come up to their assistance from the other camp, having been thrown into confusion, were put to the sword. Not more than two thousand of the infantry, and all the cavalry, fled from the field with Mago before the battle was well begun. The other general, Hanno, was taken alive, together with those who came up when the battle was now decided. Almost the whole of the cavalry and the veteran infantry, following Mago in his flight, came to Hasdrubal on the tenth day in the province of Gades. The newly-raised Celtiberian troops, stealing off to the neighbouring woods, fled thence to their homes. By this very seasonable victory, a stop was put to a war which was not by any means so considerable as that to which it would have grown, had the enemy been allowed, after having prevailed upon the Celtiberians to join them, to solicit other nations also to take up arms. Scipio, therefore, having liberally bestowed the highest commendations on Silanus, and entertaining a hope that he might bring the war to a termination, if he did not impede it by a want of activity on his own part, proceeded into the remotest part of Spain against Hasdrubal. The Carthaginian, who then happened to be encamped in Baetica, in order to prevent his allies from wavering in their allegiance, retired quite to the ocean and Gades, in a manner much more resembling a flight than a march. He was afraid, however; that while he kept his forces together, he should form the principal object of attack. Before he crossed the strait to Gades he sent them into different cities, that they might both provide for their own safety by the help of walls, and for that of the town by their arms.

### 3

Scipio, seeing the enemy's forces thus distributed, and that to carry about his forces to each of the several cities would be rather tedious than important, marched his army back. Not to leave all that country, however, to the Carthaginians, he sent his brother, Lucius Scipio, at the head of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, to besiege the most important city of that quarter, called by the barbarians Orinx, and situated on the borders of the Milesians, a nation of Spain so called. The soil is fertile, and even silver is dug out of it by the inhabitants. This place served as a fort to Hasdrubal, from which he might make incursions on the inland states. Scipio encamped near the city. Before he formed his lines round it, he sent to the gates to sound the inclinations of the inhabitants, by a direct interview, and persuade them to make trial of the friendship of the Romans rather than of their power. As they answered nothing of a friendly nature,

he threw a double trench and rampart round the place, dividing his army into three parts, in order that one division might assault it while the other two rested. The first of these beginning the attack, a furious and doubtful contest ensued. It was by no means easy to approach and bring the ladders to the walls, on account of the weapons which fell upon them; and even of those persons who had raised them, some were thrown down with forks made for the purpose, others were in danger of being laid hold of by iron grapples, and dragged up hanging to the wall. Scipio, seeing that the contest was equalized owing to the fewness of his party, and that the enemy, fighting from the wall, were superior to him, called off the first division and attacked them with the two others together. This so terrified the besieged, who were already fatigued with fighting with the former, that not only the townsmen forsook the walls in sudden flight, but the Carthaginian garrison, fearing that the town had been betrayed, also quitted their posts and collected themselves into a body. Upon this the inhabitants began to be alarmed, lest if the enemy broke into the town they should kill all they met indiscriminately, Carthaginian or Spaniard. They therefore suddenly threw open the gates and rushed out of the town, holding their shields before them, lest any weapons should be cast at them from a distance, and stretching out to view their bare right hands, that it might be seen they had thrown away their swords. Whether this was not observed, in consequence of the distance, or whether some deception was suspected, is not known; but an attack was made on the deserters, and they were put to death as a hostile force. Through this gate the enemy marched into the city in battle-array. The other gates were cut through and broken down with axes and sledges; and as each horseman entered, he galloped off to seize the forum, as had been ordered. A body of veteran troops were also added to the horse to support them. The legionary troops spread themselves in every part of the city, but neither killed nor plundered any, except such as defended themselves with arms. All the Carthaginians were put under guard, with more than three hundred of the inhabitants, who had shut the gates. The rest had the town put into their hands, and their property restored. About two thousand of the enemy fell in the assault on this city, and not more than ninety of the Romans.

#### 4

As the taking of this town was a source of great joy to those who effected it, as well as to the general and the rest of the army, so their approach to their camp also presented a splendid spectacle, on account of the immense crowd of captives they drove before them. Scipio, having bestowed high commendations upon his brother, representing the capture of Orinx as equal in importance to the capture of Carthage by himself, led his forces back into hither Spain. He could not make an attempt on Gades, or pursue the army of Hasdrubal, now dispersed through all parts of the province, in consequence of the approach of winter. He therefore dismissed the legions into winter quarters, and sent his brother Lucius Scipio with Hanno, the enemy's general, and other distinguished prisoners, to Rome, while he retired himself to Tarraco. During the same year, the Roman fleet under Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the proconsul, sailing over from Sicily into Africa, devastated to a wide extent the fields about Utica and Carthage. They carried off plunder from the remotest borders of the Carthaginian territory around the very walls of Utica. On their return to Sicily they were met by a Carthaginian fleet of seventy ships of war, of which seventeen were taken and four sunk; the rest were dispersed and compelled to fly. The Romans, victorious both by land and sea, returned to Lilybaeum with immense booty of every kind. The ships of the enemy having thus been driven from the whole sea, large supplies of corn were conveyed to Rome.

## 5

In the beginning of the summer in which these events occurred, Publius Sulpicius, proconsul, and king Attalus, having passed the winter at Aegina, as before observed, united their fleets, consisting of twenty-three Roman quinqueremes and thirty-five belonging to the king, and proceeded to Lemnos. Philip also, that he might be prepared for every kind of measure, whether it should be necessary to meet the enemy on land or sea, came down to the coast of Demetrias and appointed to his army a day on which to meet him at Larissa. On the news of the king's arrival, ambassadors from his allies came to Demetrias from all sides. For the Aetolians, inspired both by their alliance with the Romans and the approach of king Attalus, were ravaging the neighbouring states; not only the Acarnanians, Boeotians, and Euboeans were very much alarmed, but the Achaeans also were kept in a state of terror, both by the hostile proceedings of the Aetolians, and also by Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedaemon, who had encamped at a short distance from the borders of the Argives. All of these stating the dangers which threatened their possessions, both by land and sea, entreated succour from the king. Philip received accounts even from his own kingdom, that things were not in a state of tranquillity; that both Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus were in motion, and that some of the Thracians, and particularly the Maedians, would certainly make incursions on the contiguous provinces of Macedonia, should the king be occupied with a distant war. The Boeotians, indeed, and the people inhabiting the inland parts of Greece, told him that the Aetolians had obstructed by a ditch and rampart the straits of Thermopylae, where the road is very narrow and confined, in order to prevent their passing to the assistance of the allied states. So many disturbances arising on all hands were sufficient to awaken an inactive general. He dismissed the ambassadors, promising to assist them all according as opportunity and circumstances allowed. For the present, he sent to Peparethus a body of troops to garrison the city, for this was the most urgent business, as information had been received thence that Attalus, crossing over to Lemnos, was devastating all the neighbouring country. He sent Polyphantas with a small detachment to Boeotia, and also Menippus, one of his guards, with one thousand targeteers (the target is not unlike the ordinary buckler) to Chalcis. Five hundred Agrianians were added, that every part of the island might be secured. He went himself to Scotussa, and ordered the Macedonian soldiers to be removed thither from Larissa. Here he heard that the Aetolians had been summoned to an assembly at Heraclea, and that king Attalus was to come and advise with them as to the conduct of the war. Determining to interrupt this meeting by his sudden approach, he led his troops by forced marches to Heraclea, where he arrived just after the assembly had broken up. However, he destroyed the crops, which were nearly ripe, particularly those round the Aenian bay. He then marched back to Scotussa, and leaving there the main army, retired to Demetrias with the royal guards. In order to be prepared against every attempt of the enemy, he sent persons hence to Phocis, Euboea, and Peparethus, to select elevated situations, from which fires lighted upon them might be seen from a distance. He fixed a watch-tower on Tisaeum, a mountain whose summit is prodigiously high, in order that when the enemy made any attempt he might instantly receive intimation of it by means of fires lighted up at a distance. The Roman general and king Attalus then passed over from Peparethus to Nicaea, and thence sailed to Orcus, the first city of Euboea, on the left as you proceed to Chalcis and the Euripus from the bay of Demetrias. It was agreed upon between Attalus and Sulpicius, that the Romans should attack the town on the side next the sea, and the king's forces on the land side.

## 6

Four days after the fleet arrived, they attacked the city. That time had been employed in private conferences with Plator, whom Philip had put in command of the place. The city has two citadels, one overhanging the coasts, the other in the middle of the town, from which there is a subterraneous passage to the ocean, whose entrance next the sea is defended by a strong fortification, a tower five stories high. Here the affair commenced with a most furious contest, the tower being furnished with all kinds of weapons, and engines and machines of every kind for the purpose of the assault having been landed from the ships. While the eyes and attention of all were turned to that quarter, Plator opened one of the gates and received the Romans into the citadel next the sea, which they instantly became masters of. The inhabitants, driven thence, fled to the other citadel in the middle of the city; but there had been troops posted there to shut the gates against them; so that, being thus excluded, they were surrounded and either slain or made prisoners. Meanwhile the Macedonian garrison stood under the wall of the citadel, formed into a compact body, neither confusedly attempting a retreat, nor obstinately engaging in a contest. These men Plator, after obtaining permission from Sulpicius, put on board ships and landed them at Demetrias in Phthiotis; he himself withdrew to Attalus. Sulpicius, elated with the success at Oreum, gained with so much ease, proceeded to Chalcis with his victorious fleet, where the issue by no means answered his expectations. The sea, which is wide on both sides, being here contracted into a narrow strait, might perhaps, at first view, exhibit the appearance of two harbours facing the two entrances of the Euripus. It would be difficult to find a station more dangerous for shipping; for not only do the winds come down with great violence from the high mountains on each side, but the strait itself of the Euripus does not ebb and flow seven times a day at stated times, as is reported, but the current changing irregularly, like the wind, now this way now that, is hurried along like a torrent rolling headlong down a steep mountain, so that no quiet is given to vessels there day or night. But not only did so perilous a station receive his ships, but the town was strong and impregnable, covered on one side by the sea, and very well fortified on the other towards the land, secured by a strong garrison, and above all, by the fidelity of the praefects and principal men, which was wavering and unsettled at Oreum. Though the business had been rashly undertaken, the Roman still acted with prudence, in so far as he speedily gave up the attempt, after he had seen all the difficulties which surrounded him, that he might not waste time, and passed his fleet over from thence to Cynus in Locris, the port of the town of Opus, which is one mile distant from the sea.

## 7

Philip had received notice of this from Oreum, by the signal fires; but through the treachery of Plator they were raised from the watch-tower at a later period. As he was not a match for the enemy's forces at sea, it was difficult for him to approach the island; and thus, by delay, the opportunity was lost. He moved with promptness to the assistance of Chalcis as soon as he received the signal. For although Chalcis is a city of the same island, yet it is separated from the continent by so narrow a strait, that they communicate by means of a bridge, and the approach to it is easier by land than by water. Philip therefore, going from Demetrias to Scotussa, and setting out thence at the third watch, dislodged the guard, put to flight the Aetolians who kept the pass of Thermopylae, and drove the enemy in confusion to Heraclea, marching in one day to Elatia in Phocis, a distance of above sixty miles. Almost on the same day the town of Opus was taken and plundered by Attalus. Sulpicius had given it up to the king because

Oreum had been plundered a few days before by the Roman soldiers, the royal soldiers not having shared the booty. The Roman fleet having retired thither, Attalus, who was not aware of Philip's approach, wasted time in levying contributions from the principal inhabitants, and so sudden was his coming, that had he not been descried by some Cretans, who happened to go farther from the town than usual in quest of forage, he might have been surprised. He fled hastily to the sea and his ships, without arms, and in the greatest disorder. Just as they were putting off from the land Philip arrived, and even from the shore created much alarm among the mariners. He returned thence to Opus, accusing both gods and men, because he had lost an opportunity of so great importance, almost snatched from his hands. He also reproached the Opuntians with the like anger, because they had, immediately on sight of the enemy, made almost a voluntary surrender, though they might have prolonged the siege till his arrival. Having settled affairs at Opus, he proceeded thence to Thronium. Attalus, too, at first retired from Oreum; but there receiving intelligence that Prusias, king of Bithynia, had invaded his kingdom, he withdrew his attention from the Romans and the Aetolian war, and passed over into Asia. Sulpicius also withdrew his fleet to Aegina, from whence he had set out in the beginning of spring. Philip took Thronium with as little difficulty as Attalus had at Opus. It was inhabited by foreigners, fugitives from Thebes in Phthiotis, who, on the capture of their own town by Philip, had fled to the protection of the Aetolians, and received from them a city as a settlement which had been laid waste and desolated in a former war by the same Philip. Having recovered Thronium, as has been a little before mentioned, he set out thence; and having taken Tritonos and Drymae, inconsiderable towns of Doris, he came thence to Elatia, where he had ordered the ambassadors of Ptolemy and the Rhodians to wait for him. While consulting there as to the best method of bringing the Aetolian war to a conclusion, (for these ambassadors attended the late council of the Romans and Aetolians at Heraclea,) intelligence is brought that Machanidas intended to attack the Elians while busied in preparing for the celebration of the Olympic games. Thinking it his duty to prevent such an attempt, he dismissed the ambassadors with a gracious answer to the effect, that he had neither caused the war, nor would he be any obstacle to the restoration of peace, if it should be possible on equitable and honourable terms; then marching quickly through Boeotia he came down from Megara, and thence to Corinth, where receiving supplies of provisions, he went to Phlius and Pheneus. And now, when he had proceeded as far as Heraea, having received intelligence that Machanidas, terrified at the news of his approach, had retreated to Lacedaemon, he betook himself to Aegium, where the Achaeans were assembled in council, expecting at the same time to meet there a Carthaginian fleet, which he had sent for, in order that he might accomplish something by sea. But the Carthaginians had left a few days before, and were gone to the Oxean islands; and thence, hearing that the Romans and Attalus had left Oreum, to the harbours of the Acarnanians, for they feared that it was intended to attack them, and that they would be overpowered while within the straits of Rhium, which is the name of the entrance of the Corinthian bay.

## 8

Philip was grieved and vexed when he reflected, that though he proceeded with the utmost speed on all occasions, yet he had not come up in time to accomplish any one object, and that fortune had frustrated his activity by snatching away every advantage from before his eyes. In the assembly, however, concealing his chagrin, he discoursed with elated spirits, calling gods and men to witness, that "he had never been wanting at any time or place, so as not to repair instantly wherever the enemy's arms resounded,

but that it was difficult to calculate whether the war was carried on more boldly by him or more pusillanimously by the enemy. Such was the manner in which Attalus had slipped out of his hands from Opus; Sulpicius from Chalcis; and so, within these few days, Machanidas. That flight, however, was not always successful; and that that should not be esteemed a difficult war in which victory would be certain if the enemy could be brought to a regular engagement. He had already obtained one very great advantage, which was a confession on the part of the enemy themselves, that they were not a match for him; and in a short time," he said, "he would be in possession of undoubted victory; for that he would engage with him with a result no better than their expectations." The allies listened to the king with great satisfaction. He then gave up to the Achaeans Heraera and Triphylia. Aliphera he restored to the Megalopolitans, they having brought satisfactory proof that it belonged to their territories. Then having received some ships from the Achaeans, three quadriremes and three biremes, he sailed to Anticyra, whence with seven quinqueremes and more than twenty barks, which he had sent to the bay of Corinth to join the Carthaginian fleet, he proceeded to Erythrae, a town of the Aetolians near Eupalium, where he made a descent. He was not unobserved by the Aetolians; for all who were either in the fields or in the neighbouring forts of Potidania and Apollonia, fled to the woods and mountains. The cattle which they could not drive off in their haste they seized and put on board. He sent Nicias, praetor of the Achaeans, to Aegium with these and the other booty; and then going to Corinth, ordered his army to march by land through Boeotia, while he himself, sailing from Cenchreae along the coast of Attica, round the promontory of Sunium, reached Chalcis, having passed almost through the midst of the enemy's fleet. After commending in the highest terms their fidelity and bravery, as neither fear nor hope had influenced their minds, and after exhorting them to show the same fidelity in maintaining the alliance, he sailed to Oreum; and having placed such of the chief inhabitants as chose to fly, rather than surrender to the Romans, in the command of the city and the direction of affairs, he sailed over from Euboea to Demetrias, from which place he at first set out to succour his allies. After this, having laid the keels of one hundred ships of war at Cassandrea, and collected a large number of ship carpenters for the completion of that business, and as both the departure of Attalus and the seasonable assistance he had brought to his allies had tranquillized affairs in Greece, he retired into his own dominions, in order to make war upon the Dardanians.

## 9

Just at the close of the summer during which these operations were carried on in Greece, when Quintus Fabius, son of Maximus, ambassador from Marcus Livius the consul, brought a message to Rome to the senate, to the effect, that the consul considered that Lucius Portius with his legions formed a sufficient protection for the province, that he might himself retire thence, and that the consular army might be withdrawn, the fathers directed that not only Livius should return to the city, but also his colleague, Caius Claudius. The only difference made between them in the decree was, that they ordered the army of Marcus Livius to be led back, and the legions of Nero to remain in their province opposed to Hannibal. The consuls agreed between themselves by letter, that as they had conducted the affairs of the commonwealth with unanimity, they should arrive at the city at the same time, though they came from different quarters. He who arrived first at Praeneste was enjoined to wait there for his colleague. It so happened that they both came to Praeneste on the same day, and thence, sending a proclamation before them, directing that there should be a full attendance of the senate

at the temple of Bellona, three days after, they came up to the city, when they were met by the whole body of the inhabitants. Not only did the whole body pour around them and salute them, but each person individually, desiring to touch the victorious right hands of the consuls, some congratulated them, while others thanked them because by their services the state had been preserved. In the senate, when, having made a recital of their services according to the custom observed by all generals, they had requested, that "in consideration of the brave and successful conduct of the affairs of the commonwealth, honours should be paid to the immortal gods, and they themselves enter the city in triumph;" the fathers replied, that "they most willingly decreed those things which they requested in gratitude to the gods in the first instance, and, next to them, to the consuls." A supplication in the name of both, and a triumph to both of them, having been decreed, lest after having carried on the war with entire unanimity they should have a separate triumph, they made the following agreement; that "since both the service had been performed in the province of Marcus Livius, and he was in possession of the command on the day on which the battle was fought, and further, that as the army of Livius had been withdrawn and had come to Rome, while Nero's could not be withdrawn from the province, Marcus Livius should enter the city in a four-horse chariot and followed by the soldiers; Caius Claudius on horseback without soldiers." This plan of associating the generals in the triumph increased the glory of both, but particularly of him who had yielded to his colleague in the honours he received, as much as he surpassed him in merit. The people said, that "the general on horseback had traversed the whole length of Italy in the space of six days, and had fought a pitched battle with Hasdrubal in Gaul, on the very day on which Hannibal supposed that he was occupying a camp pitched in Apulia to oppose him. That thus one consul, acting in defence of either extremity of Italy against two leaders, had opposed against one his skill, against the other his person. That the name of Nero had been sufficient to confine Hannibal within his camp, while with regard to Hasdrubal, by what, but his arrival, had he been overwhelmed and annihilated? The other consul might move along raised aloft in a chariot, drawn if he pleased by a number of horses, but that the real triumph was his who was conveyed by one horse; and that Nero, though he should go on foot, would be immortalized, whether on account of the glory he had acquired in the war, or the contempt he had shown for it in the triumph." Such continual expressions of the spectators attended Nero all the way to the Capitol. The money they brought into the treasury was three hundred thousand sesterces, with eighty thousand asses of brass. Marcus Livius distributed among the soldiers fifty-six asses each. Caius Claudius promised the same sum to his absent troops when he returned to the army. It was observed that more verses were written by the soldiery upon Caius Claudius in their jocular style, than upon their own consul; that the horsemen highly extolled Lucius Veturius and Quintus Caecilius, lieutenant-generals, and exhorted the commons to create them consuls for the ensuing year; that the consuls added their authority to the recommendation of the knights, relating in the public assembly the following day with what courage and fidelity their two lieutenant-generals in particular had served them.

## 10

When the time for the elections approached, and it was resolved that it should be held by a dictator, the consul Caius Claudius nominated as dictator his colleague Marcus Livius, who appointed Quintus Caecilius his master of the horse. Lucius Veturius and Quintus Caecilius were created consuls by Marcus Livius the dictator, the latter being then master of the horse. After this the election of praetors was held. The persons

appointed were, Caius Servilius, Marcus Caecilius Metellus, Titus Claudius Asellus, and Quintus Mamilius Turinus, who was at that time plebeian aedile. When the elections were finished, the dictator, having abdicated his office and dismissed his army, set out for his province of Etruria, according to a decree of the senate, to make inquiry what states of the Tuscans and Umbrians had formed schemes of revolt from the Romans to Hasdrubal at the time of his approach, and what states had assisted him with auxiliaries, provisions, or succours of any kind. Such were the transactions this year at home and abroad. The Roman games were thrice repeated in full by the curule aediles, Cneius Servilius Caepio and Servius Cornelius Lentulus. In the same manner the plebeian games also were once repeated entire by the plebeian aediles, Manius Pomponius Matho and Quintus Mamilius Thurinus.

In the thirteenth year of the Punic war, when Lucius Veturius Philo and Quintus Caecilius Metellus were consuls, Bruttium was assigned to both of them, as their province, to carry on the war with Hannibal. The praetors then cast lots for their provinces: Marcus Caecilius Metellus had the city jurisdiction; Quintus Mamilius, the foreign; Caius Servilius, Sicily; Tiberius Claudius, Sardinia. The armies were distributed thus: to one of the consuls was given the army which Caius Claudius the consul of the former year, to the other that which Quintus Claudius the propraeor, had commanded, consisting of two legions each. It was decreed that Marcus Livius, proconsul, who was continued in command for the year, should take the two legions of volunteer slaves from Caius Terentius the propraeor, and that Quintus Mamilius, transferring his judicial business to his colleague, should occupy Gaul with the army which Lucius Porcius, the praetor, had commanded, with orders to lay waste the lands of those Gauls who had revolted to the Carthaginians on the approach of Hasdrubal. The protection of Sicily was assigned to Caius Servilius with the two legions which fought at Cannae, in the same manner as Caius Mamilius had held it. The old army which Aulus Hostilius had commanded was conveyed out of Sardinia, and the consuls enlisted a new legion, which Tiberius Claudius might take over with him. Quintus Claudius and Caius Hostilius Tubulus were continued in command for a year, that the former might hold Tarentum as his province, the latter, Capua. Marcus Valerius, the proconsul, to whom had been committed the protection of the sea-coast round Sicily, was ordered to deliver thirty ships to Caius Servilius, and return to the city with all the rest of the fleet.

## 11

In a state where the greatest anxiety prevailed, in consequence of the very critical situation in which the war stood, and where all events, prosperous or adverse, were attributed to the interposition of the gods, accounts of many prodigies were received; that the temple of Jupiter at Tarracina, and that of Mater Matuta at Satricum, had been struck by lightning. The people of Satricum were no less terrified by two snakes gliding into the temple of Jupiter by the very doors. A report was brought from Antium, that bloody ears of corn had been seen by the reapers. At Caere a pig with two heads had been littered, and a lamb yeaned which was both male and female. Intelligence was brought that two suns had been seen at Alba, and that light had suddenly appeared during night at Fregellae. An ox was reported to have spoken in the Roman territory. A copious perspiration was said to have exuded from the altar of Neptune, in the Flaminian circus; and the temples of Ceres, Safety, and Quirinus were said to have been struck by lightning. The consuls were directed to expiate these prodigies with victims of the larger sort, and to make a supplication for one day. These things were executed according to a decree of the senate. The extinction of the fire in the temple of Vesta

struck more terror upon the minds of men than all the prodigies which were reported from abroad, or seen at home; and the vestal, who had the guarding of it for that night, was scourged by the command of Publius Licinius the pontiff. Although this event was not appointed by the gods as a portent, but had happened through human neglect, yet it was thought proper that it should be expiated with victims of the larger sort, and that a supplication should be made at the temple of Vesta.

Before the consuls set out for the campaign, they were cautioned by the senate to take care that the common people should be brought back into the country; for since, through the goodness of the gods, the war was removed from the city of Rome and Latium, the country might be inhabited without fear. That it was most inconsistent that greater care should be taken in cultivating Sicily than Italy. But it was a matter by no means easy for the people, the free labourers having been cut off by war, and there being a scarcity of slaves, their cattle having been carried off as booty, and the farmhouses pulled down or burnt. A large number, however, compelled by the authority of the consuls, returned into the country. The mention of this affair had been occasioned by ambassadors of Placentia and Cremona, who complained that their lands were being invaded and laid waste by the neighbouring Gauls; that a large portion of their settlers had dispersed; that their cities were thinly inhabited, and their lands devastated and deserted. Mamilius the praetor was charged with the protection of the colonies from the enemy. The consuls, in conformity with a decree of the senate, issued an edict that all who were citizens of Cremona and Placentia should return to those colonies before a certain day; after which, in the beginning of spring, they set out for the campaign. Quintus Caecilius, the consul, received the army from Caius Nero; Lucius Veturius received his from Quintus Claudius the proprætor, filling it up with new-raised soldiers, whom he had himself enlisted. The consuls marched their army into the territory of Consentia, and devastating the country on all hands, when the troops were loaded with plunder, they were thrown into such confusion by some Bruttians and Numidian spearmen, who attacked them in a narrow defile, that not only the booty but the troops were in danger. There was more of confusion, however than fighting; and sending the booty in advance, the legions themselves also escaped into a place free from danger. Proceeding thence into Lucania, the whole of that people returned, without a contest, into subjection to the Roman people.

## 12

No action with Hannibal took place this year; for neither did he present himself after the public and personal calamity so recently inflicted, and the Romans did not provoke him while he remained quiet, such power did they consider that single general possessed, though every thing else around him was falling into ruin. Indeed I know not whether he was not more deserving of admiration in adversity than in prosperity; inasmuch as though he carried on a war in the territory of enemies through a period of thirteen years, at so great a distance from home, with varying success, and with, an army not composed of his own countrymen, but made up of the offscouring of all nations, without communion of laws, customs, or language, different in their appearance, their dress, their arms, their religious ceremonies and observances, and I had almost said, their gods; yet he so effectually united them by some one bond, that no disturbance ever arose either among the soldiers themselves, or between them and their general, though he often wanted money to pay them, and provisions, as being in a hostile country, through want of which, in the former Punic war, many dreadful transactions had occurred between the generals and their soldiers. But after the destruction of Hasdrubal

and his army, in which all hopes of victory had been treasured up; and after retiring from the possession of every other part of Italy by withdrawing into Bruttium, one corner of it; to whom does it not appear wonderful that no disturbance arose in the camp? For to other circumstances this also was added, that he had no nope of subsisting his army, except from the lands of Bruttium, which, though they were all cultivated, would be very insufficient for the maintenance of so large an army. Besides, many of the youth were drawn off from the cultivation of the fields, and engaged in the war; and a custom also prevailed among the people of that nation, grafted on a naturally depraved inclination, of carrying on a predatory kind of warfare. Nor did he receive any supplies from home, where they were anxious about the retention of Spain, as if every thing was going on prosperously in Italy. In Spain the state of affairs was in one respect similar, but in another widely different; similar in that the Carthaginians, having been defeated with the loss of their general, had been driven to the remotest coast of that country, even to the ocean; but different, because Spain, both from the nature of the country and the genius of its inhabitants, was better adapted not only than Italy, but than any other part of the world, for renewing a war. And accordingly, therefore, though this was the first of the provinces on the continent which the Romans entered, it was the last which was at length reduced, in the present age, under the conduct and auspices of Augustus Caesar. Here Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, the greatest and most renowned general concerned in the war, next to the Barcine family, returning from Gades, and encouraged in his hopes of reviving the war by Mago, son of Hamilcar, by means of levies made throughout the Farther Spain, armed as many as fifty thousand foot and four thousand five hundred horse. With regard to his mounted force, authors are pretty much agreed, but some state that seventy thousand infantry were led to the city Silpia. Here the two Carthaginian generals sat down on open plains, with a determination not to avoid a battle.

### 13

When Scipio received an account of the collection of so large an army, he felt convinced that he would not be a match for so great a multitude with the Roman legions only, without making a show at least of the auxiliary troops of the barbarians; at the same time that he did not think it right that they should form so large a portion of his force as to occasion important consequences if they should change sides, which had brought ruin upon his father and his uncle. Therefore, sending forward Silanus to Colca, who was sovereign of twenty-eight towns, to receive from him the infantry and cavalry, which he promised to enlist during the winter, he himself set out from Tarraco; and collecting small bodies of auxiliaries from his allies, who lay near his road as he proceeded, he came to Castulo. To this place Silanus led the auxiliaries, consisting of three thousand infantry and five hundred horse. Thence he advanced to the city of Baecula, with his entire army of countrymen and allies, foot and horse, amounting to forty-five thousand. Mago and Masinissa attacked them with the whole body of their cavalry while forming their camp, and would have dispersed those engaged in the works, had not a party of horse, concealed by Scipio behind an eminence conveniently situated for the purpose, unexpectedly charged them when rushing on to the attack, and, ere the battle was well begun, routed all the most forward, both those who had advanced nearest the rampart, and those who were foremost in charging the very workmen. With the rest of the troops who came up with their standards, and in order of march, the contest lasted longer, and was for a considerable time doubtful. But when first the light cohorts from the outposts, and then the troops withdrawn from the works and ordered to take arms, came up,

being more numerous than those which had been engaged, and fresh while they were fatigued, and now a large body of armed troops rushed from the camp to the battle, the Carthaginians and Numidians at once turned their backs. At first they moved off in troops without breaking their ranks, through fear or precipitation; but afterwards, when the Romans pressed furiously upon their rear, and they were unable to bear the violence of their attack, then at length, utterly regardless of order, they fled precipitately in every direction, as suited each man's convenience. And although, in consequence of this battle, the spirits of the Romans were considerably raised, and those of the enemy depressed, yet, for several days following, the horsemen and light-armed troops never ceased from skirmishes.

#### 14

After having made sufficient trial of their strength in these slight engagements, Hasdrubal first led out his forces for battle, and then the Romans also advanced. But both the armies stood drawn up before their ramparts; and as neither party began the attack, and the sun was now going down, the Carthaginian first, and then the Roman, led back his troops into the camp. The same occurred for several days. The Carthaginian was always the first to lead out his troops into the field, and the first to give the signal for retiring, when they were weary with standing. Neither party sallied from their posts, nor was a weapon discharged, or a word uttered. On one side the Romans occupied the centre, on the other, the Carthaginians and Africans together; the allies occupied the wings, which were composed of Spaniards on both sides. The elephants which stood before the Carthaginian line, appeared at a distance like castles. It was now commonly talked of in both camps, that they would fight in the order in which they had stood when drawn up, and that their centres, composed of Romans and Carthaginians, who were the principals in the war, would engage with equal courage and strength. When Scipio perceived that this was firmly believed, he studiously altered all his arrangements against the day on which he intended to fight. He issued orders through the camp at evening, that the men and horses should be refreshed and fed before daylight, and that the horsemen, armed themselves, should keep their horses bridled and saddled. When it was scarcely yet daylight, he sent all his cavalry, with the light troops, against the Carthaginian outposts, and then without delay advanced himself, at the head of the heavy body of the legions, having strengthened his wings with Roman soldiers, and placed the allies in the centre, contrary to the full anticipations of his own men and of the enemy. Hasdrubal, alarmed by the shout of the cavalry, sprang out of his tent, and, perceiving a tumult before the rampart, and his own troops in a state of hurry and confusion, the standards of the legions gleaming at a distance, and the plain filled with the enemy, immediately sent out the whole body of his cavalry against the horsemen of the enemy; marching himself out of the camp, at the head of the infantry, without departing at all from the usual arrangement in forming his line. The battle between the cavalry had continued for a long time doubtful; nor could they decide it themselves, because, when repulsed, which was the case in a manner alternately, they had a safe retreat upon the line of infantry. But when the armies were not more than five hundred paces distant from each other, Scipio, sounding a retreat and opening his files, received into the midst of them the whole body of his cavalry and light-armed troops; and dividing them into two parts, placed them in reserve behind the wings. After this, when it was now time to commence the battle, he ordered the Spaniards, who formed the centre, to advance at a slow pace; he himself sent a messenger from the right wing, for that he commanded, to Silanus and Marcius to extend the wing on the left in the same

manner as they should see him extend that on the right, and engage the enemy with the light-armed of the horse and foot, before the two centres could meet. The wings being thus extended, they advanced against the enemy at a rapid pace, with three cohorts of infantry, and three troops of horse, each with the addition of skirmishers, the rest following them in an oblique line. There was a depression in the centre of the line, because the battalions of the Spaniards advanced slower than the rest, and the wings had already encountered the enemy, when the veteran Carthaginians and Africans had not yet come within distance to discharge their darts; nor dared they run in different directions to the wings to assist them when fighting, lest they should expose their centre to the enemy approaching over against them. The wings were hard pressed, by a twofold attack; the cavalry, the light-armed, and the skirmishers, wheeling round, charged their flanks, while the cohorts pressed them hard in front, in order to separate the wings from the rest of the line.

## 15

The battle was now extremely unequal in every part, both because an irregular band of Balearians and raw Spaniards were opposed to Roman and Latin soldiers, and further, because, as the day was now getting on, Hasdrubal's troops began to grow languid, having been dispirited by the alarm in the morning, and compelled to go out hastily into the field, without refreshing themselves with food. Scipio had designedly spun out the day, in order that the battle might take place at a late hour; for it was not until the seventh hour that the battalions of infantry charged the wings. It was considerably later before the battle reached the centres, so that the heat from the meridian sun, and the fatigue of standing under arms, together with hunger and thirst, enfeebled their bodies before they engaged the enemy. Thus they stood still, supporting themselves upon their shields. In addition to their other misfortunes, the elephants too, terrified at the tumultuous kind of attack of the cavalry, the skirmishers, and the light-armed, had transferred themselves from the wings to the centre. Fatigued therefore in mind and body, they gave ground, preserving their ranks, however, just as though the army were retreating entire at the command of their general. But when the victors, perceiving that the enemy had given way, charged them on all sides with increased vehemence on that very account, so that the shock could hardly be sustained, though Hasdrubal endeavoured to stop them and hinder them from retiring, vociferating, "that there were hills on their rear, and a safe refuge if they would retreat without precipitation;" yet, fear getting the better of their sense of shame, and all those who were nearest the enemy giving way, they immediately turned their backs, and all gave themselves up to disorderly flight. The first place they halted at was the foot of the hills, where they endeavoured to recall the soldiers to their ranks, the Romans hesitating to advance their line up the opposite steep; but afterwards, when they saw them push on briskly, renewing their flight, they were driven into their camp in extreme alarm. Nor were the Romans far from the rampart; and such was their impetuosity, that they would have taken their camp had not so violent a shower of rain suddenly poured down, while, as is usually the case, the solar rays darted with the greatest intensity between the clouds surcharged with water, that the victors with difficulty returned to their camp. Some were even deterred, by superstition, from making any further attempts that day. Though night and the rain invited the Carthaginians to take necessary rest, yet, as their fears and the danger would not allow them to delay, as it was expected that the enemy would assault their camp as soon as it was light, they raised their rampart by stones collected from the neighbouring valleys around them on all sides, with the

determination to defend themselves by works, since there was but little protection in their arms. But the desertion of their allies made it appear safer to fly than stay. Attanes, prince of the Turdetani, began this revolt; he deserted at the head of a numerous band of his countrymen. Then two fortified towns, together with their garrisons, were delivered up by their praefects to the Romans. And, lest the evil should spread more widely, now that the disposition to revolt from the Carthaginians had evinced itself in one instance, Hasdrubal decamped during the silence of the ensuing night.

## 16

The troops in the outposts having brought word, as soon as it was light, that the enemy had departed, Scipio, despatching his cavalry in advance, ordered the army to move forward; and so rapidly were they led, that had they directly followed the track of the fugitives, they would certainly have overtaken them; but they trusted to the report of their guides, that there was a shorter cut to the river Baetis, where they might attack them while crossing it. Hasdrubal, being precluded from passing the river, turned his course to the ocean; and they now advanced in disorder and in the manner of fugitives, so that the Roman legions were left considerably behind. The cavalry and light-armed, attacking sometimes their rear, and sometimes their flank, harassed and delayed them; and as they were obliged to halt, in consequence of these frequent annoyances, and engaged sometimes the cavalry, at other times the skirmishers and the auxiliary infantry, the legions came up. After this it was no longer a fight, but a butchering as of cattle, till the general himself, who was the first to run away, made his escape to the neighbouring hills with about six thousand men half armed; the rest were slain or made prisoners. The Carthaginians hastily fortified an irregular camp on the highest eminence, and from thence they defended themselves without difficulty, the enemy failing in his attempt to get at them, from the difficulty of the ascent. But a siege in a place bare and affording no means of subsistence, was hardly to be supported, even for a few days; the troops therefore deserted to the enemy. At last the general himself, having procured some ships, for the sea was not at a great distance, left his army by night and effected his escape to Gades. Scipio, having heard of the flight of the general of the enemy, left ten thousand foot and one thousand cavalry for Silanus to carry on the siege of the camp, and returned to Tarraco with the rest of the troops, after a march of seventy days, during which he took cognizance of the causes of the petty princes and states, in order that rewards might be conferred according to a just estimate of their merits. After his departure, Masinissa, having held a private conference with Silanus, passed over into Africa with a few of his countrymen, in order that he might induce his nation also to acquiesce in his new designs. The cause of this sudden change was not so evident at the time, as the proof was convincing which was afforded by his subsequent fidelity, preserved to extreme old age, that he did not on this occasion act without reasonable grounds. Mago went to Gades in the ships which had been sent back by Hasdrubal. Of the rest of the troops thus abandoned by their generals, some deserted and others betook themselves to flight, and in this manner were dispersed through the neighbouring states. There was no body of them considerable either for numbers or strength. Such were, as near as possible, the circumstances under which the Carthaginians were driven out of Spain, under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio, in the thirteenth year from the commencement of the war, and the fifth from the time that Publius Scipio received the province and the army. Not long after, Silanus returned to Tarraco to Scipio, with information that the war was at an end.

## 17

Lucius Scipio was sent to Rome to convey the news of the reduction of Spain, and with him a number of distinguished captives. While everybody else extolled this achievement as an event in the highest degree joyful and glorious, yet the author of it alone, whose valour was such that he never thought he had achieved enough, and whose search for true glory was insatiable, considered the reduction of Spain as affording but a faint idea of the hopes which his aspiring mind had conceived. He now directed his view to Africa and Great Carthage, and the glorious termination of the war, as redounding to his honour, and giving lustre to his name. Judging it therefore to be now necessary to pave the way to his object, and to conciliate the friendship of kings and nations, he resolved first to sound the disposition of Syphax, king of the Masaesylians, a nation bordering on the Moors, and lying for the most part over-against that quarter of Spain in which New Carthage is situated. The king was at the present juncture in league with the Carthaginians; and Scipio, concluding that he would not hold it as more binding and sacred than was customary with barbarians, sent Caius Laelius as envoy to him with presents. The barbarian, delighted with these, and seeing that the Roman cause was then successful in every quarter, but that the Carthaginians were unfortunate in Italy, and no longer existed in Spain, consented to accept the friendship of the Romans, but refused to give or receive a solemn ratification of it except the Roman general himself were present in person. This being the case, Laelius returned to Scipio, having received from the king merely an assurance of a safe journey. To one desirous of getting a footing in Africa, Syphax was of great importance, as he was the most powerful king in that country, had already had experience of the Carthaginians themselves in war, and the boundaries of his dominions lay very conveniently with respect to Spain, from which they are separated by a narrow strait. Scipio, therefore, considering it an object of sufficient importance to warrant his attempting it, notwithstanding the greatness of the danger which attended it, since he could not effect it otherwise, left for the protection of Spain Lucius Marcius at Tarraco, and Marcus Silanus at New Carthage, to which place he had gone on foot by long marches; and setting out himself in company with Caius Laelius, with two quinqueremes from Carthage, passed over into Africa, working the vessels with oars for the greatest part of the voyage, in consequence of the calmness of the sea, though sometimes they were assisted by a gentle breeze. It so happened, that just at that time Hasdrubal, having been driven out of Spain, had entered the harbour with seven triremes, and having cast anchor was mooring his ships. The sight of two quinqueremes, which it was the firm opinion of everybody belonged to the enemy, and might be overpowered by superior numbers before they entered the harbour, produced no other effect than a tumult and confusion among the soldiers and sailors, who endeavoured to no purpose to get their arms and ships ready; for their sails, impelled by a somewhat brisker gale from the sea, brought the quinqueremes into the harbour before the Carthaginians weighed their anchors, and no one dared make any further stir now that they were in the king's harbour. Thus Hasdrubal, who landed first, and Scipio and Laelius, who landed soon after, proceeded to the king.

## 18

Syphax considered it highly honourable to him, as it really was, that generals of the two most powerful people of the age should come to him on the same day to solicit peace and friendship with him. He invited them both to become his guests; and, as it was the will of fortune that they should be under one roof, and under the protection of the same household gods, he endeavoured to bring them together to a conference, in order to put an end to the difference between them; when Scipio declared, that there was no

personal enmity between the Carthaginian and himself which he might do away with by a conference, and that he could not transact any business relating to the republic with an enemy without the command of the senate. But the king being earnest in his endeavours to persuade him to come to the same entertainment, lest one of his guests should appear to be excluded, he did not withhold his assent. They supped together at the king's table, and Scipio and Hasdrubal even sat at meat on the same couch, because it was the king's pleasure. So courteous was the manner of Scipio, so naturally happy and universal was his genius, that by his conversation he gained the esteem not only of Syphax, a barbarian, and unused to Roman manners, but even of a most inveterate enemy, who openly avowed, that "he appeared to him more to be admired for the qualities he displayed on a personal interview with him, than for his exploits in war, and that he had no doubt that Syphax and his kingdom were already at the disposal of the Romans, such were the abilities that man possessed for gaining the esteem of others. That it, therefore, was incumbent upon the Carthaginians not more to inquire by what means they had lost Spain, than to consider how they might retain possession of Africa. That it was not from a desire to visit foreign countries, or to roam about delightful coasts, that so great a Roman captain, leaving a recently subdued province, and his armies, had crossed over into Africa with only two ships, entering an enemy's territory, and committing himself to the untried honour of the king, but in pursuance of a hope he had conceived of subduing Africa. That it had been long the object of his anxious solicitude, and had drawn from him open expressions of his indignation, that Scipio was not carrying on war in Africa in the same way as Hannibal was in Italy." Scipio, having formed a league with Syphax, set out from Africa, and, after having been tossed about during his voyage by variable and generally tempestuous winds, made the port of New Carthage on the fourth day.

## 19

As Spain was undisturbed by a Carthaginian war, so it was evident that some of the states remained quiet more from fear, arising from a consciousness of demerit, than from sincere attachment. The most remarkable of them, both for their greatness and guilt, were Illiturgi and Castulo. Castulo had been in alliance with the Romans when in prosperity, but had revolted to the Carthaginians after the destruction of the Scipios and their armies. The Illiturgians, by betraying and putting to death those who fled thither after that calamity, had added villany to revolt. It would have been more deserved than expedient to have executed severe vengeance upon these people on his first arrival, while the affairs of Spain were in an uncertain state; but now, when all was tranquil, as the time for visiting them with punishment appeared to have arrived, he summoned Lucius Marcius from Tarraco, and sent him with a third of his forces to attack Castulo, and with the rest of the army he himself reached Illiturgi, after about five days' march. The gates were closed, and every arrangement and preparation made for repelling an attack; so completely had the consciousness of what they deserved produced the same effect as a declaration of war against them. From this circumstance Scipio commenced his exhortation to his soldiers: he said, that "by closing their gates the Spaniards had themselves shown what their deserts were by what they feared, and that therefore they ought to prosecute the war against them with much greater animosity than against the Carthaginians. For with the latter the contest was carried on for empire and glory almost without any exasperated feeling, while they had to punish the former for perfidy, cruelty, and villany. That the time had now arrived when they should take vengeance for the horrid massacre of their fellow soldiers, and for the treachery which was prepared

for themselves, had they been carried in their flight to the same place; and by the severity of the punishment inflicted in the present instance, establish it as a law for ever, that no one should consider a Roman citizen and soldier, whatever his situation, a fit object for injurious treatment." Animated by this exhortation of their general, they distributed the scaling-ladders to men selected from each of the companies; and the army being divided into two parts, so that Laelius, as lieutenant-general, might command one, they attacked the city in two places at once; thus creating an alarm in two quarters at the same time. It was not by the exhortations of one general, nor of the several nobles who were present, that the townsmen were stimulated to a vigorous defence of the city, but by the fear which they themselves entertained; they bore in mind, and admonished each other, that the object aimed at was punishment, and not victory. That the only question for them was, where they should meet death, whether in the battle and in the field, where the indiscriminate chance of war frequently raised up the vanquished and dashed the victor to the ground; or whether, after a short interval, when the city was burnt and plundered, after suffering every horror and indignity, they should expire amid stripes and bonds before the eyes of their captive wives and children. Therefore, not only those who were of an age to bear arms, or men only, but women and children, beyond the powers of their minds and bodies, were there, supplying with weapons those who were fighting in defence of the place, and carrying stones to the walls for those who were strengthening the works; for not only was their liberty at stake, which excites the energies of the brave only, but they had before their eyes the utmost extremity of punishment, to be inflicted on all indiscriminately, and an ignominious death. Their minds were worked up to the highest pitch, both by emulation in toil and danger, and also by the mere sight of each other. Accordingly the contest was entered upon with such ardour, that the army which had subdued the whole of Spain was frequently driven back from the walls of one town, and exhibited such a want of resolution in the contest as was not very honourable to it. When Scipio perceived this, he was afraid lest, by the failure of his attempts, the courage of the enemy should be raised and his own troops be dispirited; and thinking it incumbent upon him to exert himself in person and share the danger, reproved his soldiers for their cowardice, and ordered the scaling-ladders to be brought, threatening to mount the wall himself, since the rest hesitated. He had now advanced near the walls with no small danger, when a shout was raised from all sides by the soldiers, who were alarmed at the danger their general was exposed to, and the scaling-ladders began to be reared in several places at once. Laelius too, in another quarter, pressed on vigorously. It was then that the energy of the townsmen was subdued, and those who defended the walls being beaten off, the Romans took possession of them. The citadel also was captured during the confusion on a side where it was thought impregnable.

## 20

Some African deserters, who were at that time among the Roman auxiliaries, while the townsmen were occupied in defending those quarters whence danger was apprehended, and the Romans were making approaches where they could gain access, observed that the most elevated part of the town, which was protected by a very high rock, was neither fortified by any work nor furnished with defenders. Being men of light make and nimble from being well exercised, they climbed up wherever they could gain access over the irregular projections of the rock, carrying with them iron spikes. If in any part they met with a cliff too steep and smooth, they fixed spikes at moderate intervals, and having thus formed a sort of steps, and those who were foremost pulling

up those who followed, and those who were behind lifting up those before them, they succeeded in gaining the summit, whence they ran down with a shout into the city, which had already been taken by the Romans. Then it became manifest indeed that it was resentment and hatred which prompted the assault upon the city. No one thought of taking any alive, nor of booty, though every thing lay exposed to plunder. They butchered all indiscriminately, armed and unarmed, male and female. Their cruel resentment extended to the slaughter of infants. They then set fire to the houses, and pulled down those which could not be consumed by fire, so bent were they upon erasing even every vestige of the city, and blotting out the memory of their enemies. Scipio marched his army thence to Castulo, which was defended, not only by Spaniards who had assembled there, but also by the remains of the Carthaginian army, which had gone there from the various places to which they had been dispersed in their flight. But the news of the calamity of the Illiturgians had reached them before the arrival of Scipio; and in consequence of this, dismay and desperation had seized them; and as their cases were differently circumstanced, and each party was desirous of consulting its own safety independent of the other, at first secret jealousy, and then an open rupture, created a separation between the Carthaginians and Spaniards. Cerdubellus without disguise advised the latter to surrender. Himilco commanded the Carthaginian auxiliaries, which, together with the city, Cerdubellus delivered up to the Romans, having secretly obtained terms. This victory was attended with less cruelty; for not only was the guilt of this people less than the others, but their voluntary surrender had considerably mitigated resentment.

## 21

Marcus was then sent against the barbarians, to reduce under the authority and dominion of the Romans such of them as had not yet been subdued. Scipio returned to Carthage, to pay his vows to the gods, and to exhibit a gladiatorial show, which he had prepared on account of the death of his father and uncle. This exhibition of gladiators was not formed from that description of men which the lanistae are accustomed to procure, such as slaves, or those who sell their blood. All the service of the combatants was voluntary and gratuitous; for some were sent by the petty princes, to show an example of the natural courage of their people; others came forward to fight, in compliment to their general; others were induced to give and accept challenges, by a spirit of emulation and a desire of victory. Some decided by the sword disputes which they either could not or were unwilling to determine by argument, with an agreement that the matter in question should be given up to the victor. Nor was it confined to men of obscure rank, but comprehended persons of distinction and celebrity; such were Corbis and Orsua, cousins-german, who, having a dispute about the sovereignty of a city called Ibis, declared that they would contest it with the sword. Corbis was the elder of the two. The father of Orsua was the last sovereign, having succeeded to that dignity on the death of his elder brother. When Scipio was desirous of settling the dispute by argument and allaying their irritation, they both declared that they had refused that to their mutual kinsmen, and that they would appeal to no other judge, whether god or man, than Mars. The elder presuming upon his strength, the younger on the prime of youth, each wished to die in the combat rather than become the subject of the other; and every effort failing to prevent their prosecuting their mad design, they exhibited to the army a most interesting spectacle, and a proof how great mischief is occasioned among men by a thirst for power. The elder, in consequence of his experience in arms and his address, easily mastered the unscientific efforts of the younger. To this show of

gladiators were added funeral games, proportioned to the means possessed, and with such magnificence as the provinces and the camp afforded.

## 22

Meanwhile the operations of the war were carried on with unabated activity by the lieutenant-generals. Marcius, crossing the river Baetis, which the natives call Certis, received the submission of two powerful cities without a contest. There was a city called Astapa, which had always sided with the Carthaginians; nor was it that which drew upon it the resentment of the Romans so much as the fact, that its inhabitants harboured an extraordinary animosity against them, which was not called for by the necessities of the war. Their city was not so secured by nature or art as to make their dispositions so fierce, but the natural disposition of the inhabitants, which took delight in plunder, had induced them to make excursions into the neighbouring lands belonging to the allies of the Romans, and to intercept such Roman soldiers, sutlers, and merchants as they found ranging about. They had also surrounded, by means of an ambuscade, and put to the sword on disadvantageous ground, a large company which was crossing their borders, for it had proved hardly safe to go in small parties. When the troops were marched up to assault this city, the inhabitants, conscious of their guilt, and seeing that it would be dangerous to surrender to an enemy so highly incensed, and that they could not hope to keep themselves in safety by means of their walls or their arms, resolved to execute upon themselves and those belonging to them a horrid and inhuman deed. They fixed upon a place in their forum, in which they collected the most valuable of their property, and having directed their wives and children to seat themselves upon this heap, they raised a pile of wood around it and threw on it bundles of twigs. They then ordered fifty armed youths to stand there and guard their fortunes, and the persons dearer to them than their fortunes, as long as the issue of the battle continued doubtful. If they should perceive that the battle went against them, and that it came to the point that the city must be captured, they might be assured that those whom they saw going out to engage the enemy would perish in the battle itself; but implored them by all the gods, celestial and infernal, that, mindful of their liberty, which must be terminated on that day either by an honourable death or ignominious servitude, they would leave nothing on which an exasperated enemy could wreak his fury; that they had fire and sword at their command, and it was better that friendly and faithful hands should destroy what must necessarily perish, than that enemies should insult it with haughty wantonness. To these exhortations a dreadful execration was added against any one who should be diverted from this purpose by hope or faint-heartedness. Then throwing open the gates, they rushed out at a rapid pace and with the utmost impetuosity. Nor was there any guard sufficiently strong opposed to them; for there could be nothing that was less apprehended than that they would have the courage to sally from their walls. A very few troops of horse, and the light-armed, hastily sent out of the camp for that purpose, opposed them. The battle was furious and spirited, rather than steady and regular in any degree. The horse, therefore, which had first encountered the enemy, being repulsed, created an alarm among the light-armed; and the battle would have been fought under the very rampart, had not the legions, which were their main strength, drawn out their line, though they had a very short time to form in. These too, for a short time, wavered around their standards, when the Astapans, blind with rage, rushed upon wounds and the sword with reckless daring; but afterwards the veteran soldiers, standing firm against their furious assaults, checked the violence of those that followed by the slaughter of the foremost. Soon after, the veteran

troops themselves made an attempt to charge them, but seeing that not a man gave ground, and that they were inflexibly determined on dying each in his place, they extended their line, which the number of their troops enabled them to do with ease, and, surrounding their flanks, slew them all to a man while fighting in a circle.

## 24

But these, however, were acts committed by exasperated enemies in the heat of battle, and executed, in conformity with the laws of war, upon men armed and most fiercely resisting; there was another more horrible carnage in the city, where a harmless and defenceless crowd of women and children were butchered by their own countrymen, who threw their bodies, most of them still alive, upon the burning pile while streams of blood damped the rising flame; and lastly, wearied with the piteous slaughter of their friends, they threw themselves, arms and all, into the midst of the flames. When the carnage was now completed the victorious Romans came up, and at the first sight of so revolting a transaction they stood for some time wrapt in wonder and amazement; but afterwards, from a rapacity natural to humanity, wishing to snatch out of the fire the gold and silver which glittered amid the heap of other materials, some were caught by the flames, others scorched by the hot blasts, as the foremost were unable to retreat, in consequence of the immense crowd which pressed upon them. In this manner was Astapa destroyed by the sword and fire, without affording any booty to the soldiers. After the rest of the people in that quarter, influenced by fear, had made submission to him, Marcius led his victorious troops to Scipio, at Carthage. Just at this same time deserters arrived from Gades, who promised to betray the town and Carthaginian garrison which occupied it, together with the commander and the fleet. Mago had halted there after his flight, and having collected some ships on the ocean, had got together a considerable number of auxiliaries from the coast of Africa, on the other side the strait, and also by means of Hanno the prefect from the neighbouring parts of Spain. After pledges had been exchanged with the deserters, Marcius and Laelius were sent thither, the former with the light cohorts, the latter with seven triremes and one quinquereme, in order that they might act in concert by land and sea.

## 24

In consequence of Scipio's being afflicted with a severe fit of illness, which rumour represented as more serious than it really was; for every one made some addition to the account he had received, from a desire inherent in mankind of intentionally exaggerating reports, the whole province, and more especially the distant parts of it, were thrown into a state of ferment; and it was evident what a serious disturbance would have been excited had he really died, when an unfounded report created such violent commotions. Neither the allies kept their allegiance, nor the army their duty. Mandonius and Indibilis, who were not at all satisfied with what had occurred, for they had anticipated with certainty that they would have the dominion of Spain on the expulsion of the Carthaginians, called together their countrymen the Lacetani, and summoning the Celtiberian youth to arms, devastated in a hostile manner the territories of the Suessetanians and Sedetanians, allies of the Romans. Besides, a mutiny arose in the camp at Sucro. Here were eight thousand men, stationed as a guard over the nations dwelling on this side the Iberus. It was not on hearing uncertain rumours respecting the life of the general that their minds were first excited, but previously, owing to the licentiousness which naturally results from long-continued idleness, and in some degree also owing to the restraint felt in time of peace by men who had been accustomed to live

freely on what they gained by plunder in an enemy's country. At first they only discoursed in private, asking what they were doing among people who were at peace with them, if there was a war in the province? if the war was terminated and the province completely subdued, why were they not conveyed back into Italy? The pay also was demanded with more insolence than was customary or consistent with military subordination, and the guards cast reproaches upon the tribunes while going round to the watches. Some too had gone out by night into the neighbouring lands, belonging to persons at peace with the Romans, to plunder; but at last they quitted their standards in the day-time and openly without furloughs. Every thing was done according to the caprice and unrestrained will of the soldiers, and nothing according to rule and military discipline, or the orders of those who were in command. The form, however, of a Roman camp was preserved solely in consequence of the hopes they entertained that the tribunes, catching the spirit of insubordination, would not be averse from taking part in the mutiny and defection, on which account they suffered them to dispense justice in their courts, went to them for the watch-word, and served in their turn on the outposts and watches; and as they had taken away the power of command, so they preserved the appearance of obedience to orders, by spontaneously executing their own. Afterwards, when they perceived that the tribunes censured and reprobated their proceedings, endeavoured to counteract them, and publicly declared that they would not take any share in their disorderly conduct, the mutiny assumed a decided character; when, after driving the tribunes from their courts, and shortly after from the camp, the command was conferred by universal consent upon Caius Albius of Cales and Caius Atrius of Umbria, common soldiers, who were the prime movers of the sedition. These men were so far from being satisfied with the ornaments used by tribunes, that they had the audacity to lay hold even of the insignia of the highest authority, the fasces and axes, without ever reflecting that their own backs and necks were in danger from those very rods and axes which they carried before them to intimidate others. Their mistaken belief of the death of Scipio had blinded their minds, and they doubted not that, in a short time, when that event should be made generally known, all Spain would blaze with war; that during this confusion money might be exacted from the allies and the neighbouring cities plundered; and that in this unsettled state of affairs, when there was nothing which any man would not dare, their own acts would be less conspicuous.

## 25

As they expected that other fresh accounts would follow those which they had received, not only of the death, but even of the burial, of Scipio, and yet none arrived; and as the rumour which had been so idly originated began to die away, the first author of it began to be sought out; and each backing out in order that he might appear rather to have inconsiderately credited than to have fabricated such a report, the leaders were forsaken, and began now to dread their own ensigns of authority, and to apprehend that, instead of that empty show of command which they wore, a legitimate and rightful power would be turned against them. The mutiny being thus paralysed, and credible persons bringing in accounts, first, that Scipio was alive, and, soon after, that he was even in good health, seven military tribunes were sent by Scipio himself. At the first arrival of these their minds were violently excited; but they were soon calmed by the mild and soothing language which they addressed to such of their acquaintance as they met with; for, going round first of all to the tents, and then entering the principia and the praetorium, wherever they observed circles of men conversing together, they addressed them, inquiring rather what it was that had occasioned their displeasure and

sudden consternation, than taxing them with what had occurred. "That they had not received their pay at the appointed time," was generally complained; and "that although at the time of the horrid transaction of the Illiturgians, and after the destruction of two generals and two armies, the Roman cause had been defended and the province retained by their valour; the Illiturgians had received the punishment due to their offence, but there was no one found to reward them for their meritorious services." The tribunes replied, "that, considering the nature of their complaints, what they requested was just, and that they would lay it before the general; that they were happy that there was nothing of a more gloomy and irremediable character; that both Publius Scipio, by the favour of the gods, and the commonwealth, were in a situation to requite them." Scipio, who was accustomed to war but inexperienced in the storms of sedition, felt great anxiety on the occasion, lest the army should run into excess in transgressing, or himself in punishing. For the present he resolved to persist in the lenient line of conduct with which he had begun, and sending collectors round to the tributary states, to give the soldiers hopes of soon receiving their pay. Immediately after this a proclamation was issued that they should come to Carthage to receive their pay, whether they wished to do so in detached parties or all in a body. The sudden suppression of the rebellion among the Spaniards had the effect of tranquillizing the mutiny, which was by this time beginning to subside of itself; for Mandonius and Indibilis, relinquishing their attempt, had returned within their borders when intelligence was brought that Scipio was alive; nor did there now remain any person, whether countryman or foreigner, whom they could make their companion in their desperate enterprise. On examining every method, they had no alternative except that which afforded a retreat from wicked designs, which was not of the safest kind, namely, to commit themselves either to the just anger of the general, or to his clemency, of which they need not despair. For he had pardoned even enemies whom he had encountered with the sword; while they reflected that their sedition had been unaccompanied with wounds or blood, and was neither in itself of an atrocious character nor merited severe punishment. So natural is it for men to be over-eloquent in extenuating their own demerit. They felt doubtful whether they should go to demand their pay in single cohorts or in one entire body; but the opinion that they should go in a body, which they regarded as the safer mode, prevailed.

## 26

At the same time, when they were employed in these deliberations, a council was held on their case at Carthage; when a warm debate took place as to whether they should visit with punishment the originators only of the mutiny, who were in number not more than thirty-five, or, whether atonement should be made for this defection, (for such it was rather than a mutiny,) of so dreadful a character as a precedent, by the punishment of a greater number. The opinion recommending the more lenient course, that the punishment should fall where the guilt originated, was adopted. For the multitude a reprimand was considered sufficient. On the breaking up of the council, orders were given to the army, which was in Carthage, to prepare for an expedition against Mandonius and Indibilis, and to get ready provisions for several days, in order that they might appear to have been deliberating about this. The seven tribunes who had before gone to Sucro to quell the mutiny, having been sent out to meet the army, gave in, each of them, five names of persons principally concerned in the affair, in order that proper persons might be employed to invite them to their homes, with smiles and kind words; and that, when overpowered with wine, they might be thrown into chains. They were not far distant from Carthage when the intelligence, received from persons on the road,

that the whole army was going the following day with Marcus Silanus against the Lacetianians, not only freed them from all the apprehensions which, though they did not give utterance to them, sat heavy upon their minds, but occasioned the greatest transport, because they would thus have the general alone, and in their power, instead of being themselves in his. They entered the city just at sun-set, and saw the other army making every preparation for a march. Immediately on their arrival they were greeted in terms feigned for the purpose, that their arrival was looked upon by the general as a happy and seasonable circumstance, for they had come when the other army was just on the point of setting out. After which they proceeded to refresh themselves. The authors of the mutiny, having been conveyed to their lodgings by proper persons, were apprehended by the tribunes without any disturbance, and thrown into chains. At the fourth watch the baggage belonging to the army, which, as it was pretended, was about to march, began to set out. As soon as it was light the troops marched, but were stopped at the gate, and guards were sent round to all the gates to prevent any one going out of the city. Then those who had arrived the day before, having been summoned to an assembly, ran in crowds into the forum to the tribunal of the general, with the presumptuous purpose of intimidating him by their shouts. At the same time that the general mounted the tribunal, the armed troops, which had been brought back from the gates, spread themselves around the rear of the unarmed assembly. Then all their insolence subsided; and, as they afterwards confessed, nothing terrified them so much as the unexpected vigour and hue of the general, whom they had supposed they should see in a sickly state, and his countenance, which was such as they declared that they did not remember to have ever seen it even in battle. He sat silent for a short time till he was informed that the instigators of the mutiny were brought into the forum, and that every thing was now in readiness.

## 27

Then, a herald having obtained silence, he thus began: "I imagined that language would never fail me in which to address my army; not that I have ever accustomed myself to speaking rather than action, but because, having been kept in a camp almost from my boyhood, I had become familiar with the dispositions of soldiers. But I am at a loss both for sentiments and expressions with which to address you, whom I know not even by what name I ought to call. Can I call you countrymen, who have revolted from your country? or soldiers, who have rejected the command and authority of your general, and violated the solemn obligation of your oath? Can I call you enemies? I recognise the persons, faces, dress, and mien of fellow countrymen; but I perceive the actions, expressions, intentions, and feelings of enemies. For what have you wished and hoped for, but what the Ilergetians and Lacetianians did. Yet they followed Mandonius and Indibilis, men of royal rank, who were the leaders of their mad project; you conferred the auspices and command upon the Umbrian, Atrius, and the Calenian, Albius. Deny, soldiers, that you were all concerned in this measure, or that you approved of it when taken. I shall willingly believe, when you disclaim it, that it was the folly and madness of a few. For the acts which have been committed are of such a nature, that, if the whole army participated in them, they could not be expiated without atonements of tremendous magnitude. Upon these points, like wounds, I touch with reluctance; but unless touched and handled, they cannot be cured. For my own part, I believed that, after the Carthaginians were expelled from Spain, there was not a place in the whole province where, or any persons to whom, my life was obnoxious; such was the manner in which I had conducted myself, not only towards my allies, but even towards my

enemies. But lo, even in my own camp, so much was I deceived in my opinion, the report of my death was not only readily believed, but anxiously waited for. Not that I wish to implicate you all in this enormity; for, be assured, if I supposed that the whole of my army desired my death, I would here immediately expire before your eyes; nor could I take any pleasure in a life which was odious to my countrymen and my soldiers. But every multitude is in its nature like the ocean; which, though in itself incapable of motion, is excited by storms and winds. So, also, in yourselves there is calm and there are storms; but the cause and origin of your fury is entirely attributable to those who led you on; you have caught your madness by contagion. Nay, even this day you do not appear to me to be aware to what a pitch of phrensy you have proceeded; what a heinous crime you have dared to commit against myself, your country, your parents, your children; against the gods, the witnesses of your oath; against the auspices under which you serve; against the laws of war, the discipline of your ancestors, and the majesty of the highest authority. With regard to myself, I say nothing. You may have believed the report of my death rather inconsiderately than eagerly. Lastly, suppose me to be such a man that it could not at all be a matter of astonishment that my army should be weary of my command, yet what had your country deserved of you, which you betrayed by making common cause with Mandonius and Indibilis? What the Roman people, when, taking the command from the tribunes appointed by their suffrages, you conferred it on private men? When, not content even with having them for tribunes, you, a Roman army, conferred the fasces of your general upon men who never had a slave under their command? Albius and Atrius had their tents in your general's pavilion. With them the trumpet sounded, from them the word was taken, they sat upon the tribunal of Scipio, upon whom the lictor attended, for them the crowd was cleared away as they moved along, before them the fasces with the axes were carried. When showers of stones descend, lightnings are darted from the heavens, and animals give birth to monsters, you consider these things as prodigies. This is a prodigy which can be expiated by no victims, by no supplications, without the blood of those men who have dared to commit so great a crime.

## 28

"Now, though villany is never guided by reason, yet so far as it could exist in so nefarious a transaction, I would fain know what was your design. Formerly, a legion which was sent to garrison Rhegium, wickedly put to the sword the principal inhabitants and kept possession of that opulent city through a space of ten years; on account of which enormity the entire legion, consisting of four thousand men, were beheaded in the forum at Rome. But they, in the first place, did not put themselves under the direction of Atrius the Umbrian, scarcely superior to a scullion, whose name even was ominous, but of Decius Jubellius, a military tribune; nor did they unite themselves with Pyrrhus, or with the Samnites or Lucanians, the enemies of the Roman people. But you made common cause with Mandonius and Indibilis, and intended also to have united your arms with them. They intended to have held Rhegium as a lasting settlement, as the Campanians held Capua, which they took from its ancient Tuscan inhabitants; and as the Mamertines held Messina in Sicily, without any design of commencing without provocation a war upon the Roman people or their allies. Was it your purpose to hold Sucro as a place of abode? where, had I, your general, left you on my departure after the reduction of the province, you would have been justified in imploring the interference of gods and men, because you could not return to your wives and children. But suppose that you banished from your minds all recollection of these,

as you did of your country and myself; I would wish to track the course of a wicked design, but not of one utterly insane. While I was alive, and the rest of the army safe, with which in one day I took Carthage, with which I routed, put to flight, and expelled from Spain four generals and four armies of the Carthaginians; did you, I say, who were only eight thousand men, all of course of less worth than Albius and Atrius, to whom you subjected yourselves, hope to wrest the province of Spain out of the hands of the Roman people? I lay no stress upon my own name, I put it out of the question. Let it be supposed that I have not been injured by you in any respect beyond the ready credence of my death. What! if I were dead, was the state to expire with me? was the empire of the Roman people to fall with me? Jupiter, most good and great, would not have permitted that the existence of the city, built under the auspices and sanction of the gods to last for ever, should terminate with that of this frail and perishable body. The Roman people have survived those many and distinguished generals who were all cut off in one war; Flaminius, Paulus, Gracchus, Posthumius Albinus, Marcus Marcellus, Titus Quinctius Crispinus, Cneius Fulvius, my kinsmen the Scipios; and will survive a thousand others who may perish, some by the sword, others by disease; and would the Roman state have been buried with my single corpse? You yourselves, here in Spain, when your two generals, my father and my uncle, fell, chose Septimus Marcius as your general to oppose the Carthaginians, exulting on account of their recent victory. And thus I speak, on the supposition that Spain would have been without a leader. Would Marcus Silanus, who was sent into the province with the same power and the same command as myself, would Lucius Scipio my brother, and Caius Laelius, lieutenant-generals, have been wanting to avenge the majesty of the empire? Could the armies, the generals themselves, their dignity or their cause, be compared with one another? And even had you got the better of all these, would you bear arms in conjunction with the Carthaginians against your country, against your countrymen? Would you wish that Africa should rule Italy, and Carthage the city of Rome? If so, for what offence on the part of your country?

## 29

"An unjust sentence of condemnation, and a miserable and undeserved banishment, formerly induced Coriolanus to go and fight against his country; he was restrained, however, by private duty from public parricide. What grief, what resentment instigated you? Was the delay of your pay for a few days, during the illness of your general, a reason of sufficient weight for you to declare war against your country? to revolt from the Roman people and join the Illyrians? to leave no obligation, divine or human, unviolated? Without doubt, soldiers, you were mad; nor was the disease which seized my frame more violent than that with which your minds were affected. I shrink with horror from the relation of what men believed, what they hoped and wished. Let oblivion cover all these things if possible; if not, however it be, let them be covered in silence. I must confess my speech must have appeared to you severe and harsh, but how much more harsh, think you, must your actions be than my words! Do you think it reasonable that I should suffer all the acts which you have committed, and that you should not bear with patience even to hear them mentioned? But you shall not be reproached even with these things any further. I could wish that you might as easily forget them as I shall. Therefore, as far as relates to the general body of you, if you repent of the error you have committed, I shall have received sufficient and more than sufficient atonement for it. Albius the Calenian, and Atrius the Umbrian, with the rest of the principal movers of this impious mutiny, shall expiate with their blood the crime

they have perpetrated. To yourselves, if you have returned to a sound state of mind, the sight of their punishment ought not only to be not unpleasant, but even gratifying; for there are no persons to whom the measures they have taken are more hostile and injurious than to you." He had scarcely finished speaking, when, according to the plan preconcerted, every object of terror was at once presented to their eyes and ears. The troops, which had formed a circle round the assembly, clashed their swords against their shields; the herald's voice was heard citing by name the persons who had been condemned in the council; the culprits were dragged naked into the midst of the assembly, and at the same time all the apparatus for punishment was brought forth. They were tied to the stake, scourged with rods, and decapitated; while those who were present were so benumbed with fear, that not only no expression of dissatisfaction at the severity of the punishment, but not even a groan was heard. They were then all dragged out, the place was cleared, and the men cited by name took the oath of allegiance to Scipio before the military tribunes, each receiving his full demand of pay as he answered to his name. Such was the termination and result which the insurrection of the soldiers, which began at Sucro, met with.

### 30

During the time of these transactions, Hanno, the lieutenant-general of Mago, having been sent from Gades to the river Baetis with a small body of Africans, by tempting the Spaniards with money, armed as many as four thousand men; but afterwards, being deprived of his camp by Lucius Marcius, and losing the principal part of his troops in the confusion occasioned by its capture, and some also in the flight, for the cavalry pursued them closely while they were dispersed, he made his escape with a few attendants. During these transactions on the river Baetis, Laelius in the mean time, sailing out of the straits into the ocean, came with his fleet before Carteia, a city situated on the coast of the ocean, where the sea begins to expand itself, after being confined in a narrow strait. He had entertained hopes of having Gades betrayed to him without a contest, persons having come unsolicited into the Roman camp to make promises to that effect, as has been before mentioned. The plot was discovered before it was ripe, and all having been apprehended, were placed by Mago in the hands of Adherbal the praetor, to be conveyed to Carthage. Adherbal, having put the conspirators on board a quinquereme, sent it in advance, because it sailed slower than a trireme, and followed himself at a moderate distance with eight triremes. The quinquereme was just entering the strait, when Laelius, who had himself also sailed out of the harbour of Carteia in a quinquereme, followed by seven triremes, bore down upon Adherbal and his triremes, feeling assured that the trireme, when once caught in the rapid strait, would not be able to return against the opposing current. The Carthaginian, alarmed by the suddenness of the affair, hesitated for some little time whether he should follow the trireme, or turn his prows against the enemy. This very delay put it out of his power to decline an action, for they were now within a weapon's cast, and the enemy were bearing down upon him on all sides. The current also had rendered it impossible to manage the ships. Nor was the action like a naval engagement, inasmuch as it was in no respect subject to the control of the will, nor afforded any opportunity for the exercise of skill or method. The nature of the strait and the tide, which solely and entirely governed the contest, carried the ships against those of their own and the enemy's party indiscriminately, though striving in a contrary direction; so that you might see one ship which was flying whirled back by an eddy and driven against the victors, and another which was engaged in pursuit, if it had fallen into an opposite current, turning itself away as if for flight. And

when actually engaged, one ship while bearing down upon another with its beak directed against it, assuming an oblique position itself, received a stroke from the beak of the other; while another which lay with its side exposed to the enemy, receiving a sudden impulse, was turned round so as to present its prow. While the triremes were thus engaged in a doubtful and uncertain contest, in which every thing was governed by chance, the Roman quinquereme, whether being more manageable in consequence of its weight, or by means of more banks of oars making its way through the eddies, sunk two triremes, and swept off the oars from one side of another, while sailing by it with great violence. The rest too, had they come in its way, it would have disabled; but Adherbal, with his remaining four ships, sailed over into Africa.

### 31

Laelius returned victorious into Carteia; and hearing there what had occurred at Gades, that the plot had been discovered, the conspirators sent to Carthage, and that the hopes which had brought them there had been completely frustrated, he sent a message to Lucius Marcius, to the effect that, unless they wished to waste time uselessly in lying before Gades, they should return to the general; and Marcius consenting to the proposal, they both returned to Carthage a few days after. In consequence of their departure, Mago not only obtained a temporary relief from the dangers which beset him on all sides, both by sea and land, but also on hearing of the rebellion of the Ilergetians, conceived hopes of recovering Spain, and sent messengers to Carthage to the senate, who, at the same time that they represented to them in exaggerated terms both the intestine dissension in the Roman camp and the defection of their allies, might exhort them to send succours by which the empire of Spain, which had been handed down to them by their ancestors, might be regained. Mandonius and Indibilis, retiring within their borders, remained quiet for a little time, not knowing what course to take, till they knew what was determined upon respecting the mutiny; but not distrusting that if Scipio pardoned the error of his own countrymen, they also might obtain the same. But when the severe punishment inflicted came to be generally known, concluding that their offence also would be considered as demanding a similar expiation, they again summoned their countrymen to arms; and assembling the auxiliaries which had joined them before, they crossed over into the Sedetanian territory, where they had had a fixed camp at the beginning of the revolt, with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse.

### 32

Scipio having without difficulty regained the affection of his soldiers, both by his punctuality in discharging the arrears of pay to all, as well the guilty as the innocent, and particularly by the looks and language of reconciliation towards all, before he quitted Carthage summoned an assembly; and after inveighing at large against the perfidy of the petty princes who were in rebellion, declared "that the feelings with which he set out to take revenge for their villany were widely different from those with which he lately corrected the error committed by his countrymen. That on the latter occasion, he had with groans and tears, as though he were cutting his own vitals, expiated either the imprudence or the guilt of eight thousand men with the heads of thirty; but now he was going to the destruction of the Ilergetians with joyful and animated feelings: for they were neither natives of the same soil, nor united with him by any bond of society. The only connexion which did subsist between them, that of honour and friendship, they had themselves severed by their wicked conduct." When he looked

at the troops which composed his army, besides that he saw that they were all either of his own country, or allies and of the Latin confederacy; he was also strongly affected by the circumstance, that there was scarcely a soldier in it who was not brought out of Italy into that country either by his uncle, Cneius Scipio, who was the first of the Roman name who had come into that province, or by his father when consul, or by himself. That they were all accustomed to the name and auspices of the Scipios; that it was his wish to take them home to their country to receive a well-earned triumph; and that he hoped that they would support him when he put up for the consulship, as if the honour sought were to be shared in common by them all. With regard to the expedition which they were just going to undertake, that the man who considered it as a war must be forgetful of his own achievements. That, by Hercules, Mago, who had fled for safety with a few ships beyond the limits of the world into an island surrounded by the ocean, was a source of greater concern to him than the Ilergetians; for in it there was both a Carthaginian general and a Carthaginian army, whatever might be its numbers; while here were only robbers and leaders of robbers, who, though they possessed sufficient energy for ravaging the lands of their neighbours, burning their houses, and carrying off their cattle, yet would have none at all in a regular and pitched battle; and who would come to the encounter relying more on the swiftness with which they can fly than on their arms. "Accordingly," he said, "that he had thought it right to quell the Ilergetians before he quitted the province, not because he saw that any danger could arise from them, or that a war of greater importance could grow out of these proceedings; but in the first place, that a revolt of so heinous a character might not go unpunished, and in the next place, that not a single enemy might be said to be left in a province which had been subdued with such valour and success. He bid them, therefore, follow him, with the assistance of the gods, not so much to make war upon, for the contest was not with an enemy who was upon an equality with them, but to take vengeance on the basest of men."

### 33

After this harangue he dismissed them, with orders to get themselves in readiness in every respect for marching the next day; when, setting out, he arrived at the river Iberus in ten days. Then crossing the river, he, on the fourth day, pitched his camp within sight of the enemy. Before him was a plain enclosed on all sides by mountains. Into the valley thus formed Scipio ordered some cattle, taken chiefly from the lands of the enemy, to be driven, in order to excite the rapacity of the barbarians, and then sent some light-armed troops as a protection for them, directing Laelius to charge the enemy from a place of concealment when they were engaged in skirmishing. A mountain which projected conveniently concealed the ambush of the cavalry, and the battle began without delay. The Spaniards, as soon as they saw the cattle at a distance, rushed upon them, and the light-armed troops attacked the Spaniards while occupied with their booty. At first they annoyed each other with missiles; but afterwards, having discharged their light weapons, which were calculated to provoke rather than to decide the contest, they drew their swords, and began to engage foot to foot. The fight between the infantry would have been doubtful, but that the cavalry then came up, and not only, charging them in front, trod down all before them, but some also, riding round by the foot of the hill, presented themselves on their rear, so that they might intercept the greater part of them; and consequently the carnage was greater than usually takes place in light and skirmishing engagements. The resentment of the barbarians was rather inflamed by this adverse battle, than their spirits depressed. Accordingly, that they might not appear cast

down, they marched out into the field the following day as soon as it was light. The valley, which was confined, as has been before stated, would not contain all their forces. About two-thirds of their foot and all their cavalry came down to the engagement. The remainder of their infantry they stationed on the declivity of the hill. Scipio, conceiving that the confined nature of the ground would be in his favour, both because the Roman troops were better adapted for fighting in a contracted space than the Spanish, and also because the enemy had come down and formed their line on ground which would not contain all their forces, applied his mind to a new expedient. For he considered that he could not himself cover his flanks with his cavalry, and that those of the enemy which they had led out, together with their infantry, would be unable to act. Accordingly he ordered Laelius to lead the cavalry round by the hills as secretly as possible, and separate, as far as he could, the fight between the cavalry from that between the infantry. He himself drew up the whole body of his infantry against the enemy, placing four cohorts in front, because he could not extend his line further. He commenced the battle without delay, in order that the contest itself might divert the attention of the enemy, and prevent their observing the cavalry which were passing along the hills. Nor were they aware that they had come round before they heard the noise occasioned by the engagement of the cavalry in their rear. Thus there were two battles; two lines of infantry and two bodies of horse being engaged within the space occupied by the plain lengthwise; and that because it was too narrow to admit of both descriptions of force being engaged in the same lines. When the Spanish infantry could not assist their cavalry, nor their cavalry the infantry, and the infantry, which had rashly engaged in the plain, relying on the assistance of the cavalry, were being cut to pieces, the cavalry themselves also, being surrounded and unable to stand the shock of the enemy's infantry in front, (for by this time their own infantry were completely overthrown,) nor of the cavalry in their rear, after having formed themselves into a circle and defended themselves for a long time, their horses standing still, were all slain to a man. Nor did one person, horse or foot, survive of those who were engaged in the valley. The third part, which stood upon the hill rather to view the contest in security than to take any part of it upon themselves, had both time and space to fly; among whom the princes themselves also fled, having escaped during the confusion, before the army was entirely surrounded.

### 34

The same day, besides other booty, the camp of the Spaniards was taken, together with about three thousand men. Of the Romans and their allies as many as one thousand two hundred fell in that battle; more than three thousand were wounded. The victory would have been less bloody had the battle taken place in a plain more extended, and affording facilities for flight. Indibilis, renouncing his purpose of carrying on war, and considering that his safest reliance in his present distress was on the tried honour and clemency of Scipio, sent his brother Mandonius to him; who, falling prostrate before his knees, ascribed his conduct to the fatal frenzy of those times, when, as it were from the effects of some pestilential contagion, not only the Iberetians and Lacetanians, but even the Roman camp had been infected with madness. He said that his own condition, and that of his brother and the rest of his countrymen, was such, that either, if it seemed good, they would give back their lives to him from whom they had received them, or if preserved a second time, they would in return for that favour devote their lives for ever to the service of him to whom alone they were indebted for them. They before placed their reliance on their cause, when they had not yet had experience of his clemency, but

now, on the contrary, placing no reliance on their cause, all their hopes were centred in the mercy of the conqueror. It was a custom with the Romans, observed from ancient times, not to exercise any authority over others, as subject to them, in cases where they did not enter into friendship with them by a league and on equal terms, until they had surrendered all they possessed, sacred and profane; until they had received hostages, taken their arms from them, and placed garrisons in their cities. In the present instance, however, Scipio, after inveighing at great length against Mandonius, who stood before him, and Indibilis, who was absent, said "that they had justly forfeited their lives by their wicked conduct, but that they should be preserved by the kindness of himself and the Roman people. Further, that he would neither take their arms from them, (which only served as pledges to those who feared rebellion,) but would leave them the free use of them, and their minds free from fear; nor would he take vengeance on their unoffending hostages, but upon themselves, should they revolt, not inflicting punishment upon a defenceless but an armed enemy. That he gave them the liberty of choosing whether they would have the Romans favourable to them or incensed against them, for they had experienced them under both circumstances." Thus Mandonius was allowed to depart, having only a pecuniary fine imposed upon him to furnish the means of paying the troops. Scipio himself, having sent Marcius in advance into the Farther Spain, and sent Silanus back to Tarraco, waited a few days until the Ilergetians had paid the fine imposed upon them; and then, setting out with some troops lightly equipped, overtook Marcius when he was now drawing near to the ocean.

### 35

The negotiation which had some time before commenced respecting Masinissa, was delayed from one cause after another; for the Numidian was desirous by all means of conferring with Scipio in person, and of touching his right hand in confirmation of their compact. This was the cause of Scipio's undertaking at this time a journey of such a length, and into so remote a quarter. Masinissa, when at Gades, received information from Marcius of the approach of Scipio, and by pretending that his horses were injured by being pent up in the island, and that they not only caused a scarcity of every thing to the rest, but also felt it themselves; moreover that his cavalry were beginning to lose their energy for want of employment; he prevailed upon Mago to allow him to cross over to the continent, to plunder the adjacent country of Spain. Having passed over, he sent forward three chiefs of the Numidians, to fix a time and place for the conference desiring that two might be detained by Scipio as hostages. The third being sent back to conduct Masinissa to the place to which he was directed to bring him, they came to the conference with a few attendants. The Numidian had long before been possessed with admiration of Scipio from the fame of his exploits; and his imagination had pictured to him the idea of a grand and magnificent person; but his veneration for him was still greater when he appeared before him. For besides that his person, naturally majestic in the highest degree, was rendered still more so by his flowing hair, by his dress, which was not in a precise and ornamental style, but truly masculine and soldier-like, and also by his age, for he was then in full vigour of body, to which the bloom of youth, renewed as it were after his late illness, had given additional fulness and sleekness. The Numidian, who was in a manner thunderstruck by the mere effect of the meeting, thanked him for having sent home his brother's son. He affirmed, that from that time he had sought for this opportunity, which being at length presented to him, by favour of the immortal gods, he had not allowed to pass without seizing it. That he desired to serve him and the Roman people in such a manner, as that no one foreigner should have aided

the Roman interest with greater zeal than himself. Although he had long since wished it, he had not been so able to effect it in Spain, a foreign and strange country; but that it would be easy for him to do so in that country in which he had been born and educated, under the hope of succeeding to his father's throne. If, indeed, the Romans should send the same commander, Scipio, into Africa, he entertained a well-grounded hope that Carthage would continue to exist but a short time. Scipio saw and heard him with the highest delight, both because he knew that he was the first man in all the cavalry of the enemy, and because the youth himself exhibited in his manner the strongest proof of a noble spirit. After mutual pledges of faith, he set out on his return to Tarraco. Masinissa, having laid waste the adjacent lands, with the permission of the Romans, that he might not appear to have passed over into the continent to no purpose, returned to Gades.

### 36

Mago, who despaired of success in Spain, of which he had entertained hopes, from the confidence inspired first by the mutiny of the soldiers, and afterwards by the defection of Indibilis, received a message from Carthage, while preparing to cross over into Africa, that the senate ordered him to carry over into Italy the fleet he had at Gades; and hiring there as many as he could of the Gallic and Ligurian youth, to form a junction with Hannibal, and not to suffer the war to flag which had been begun with so much vigour and still more success. For this object Mago not only received a supply of money from Carthage, but himself also exacted as much as he could from the inhabitants of Gades, plundering not only their treasury, but their temples, and compelling them individually to bring contributions of gold and silver, for the public service. As he sailed along the coast of Spain, he landed his troops not far from New Carthage, and after wasting the neighbouring lands, brought his fleet thence to the city. Here, keeping his troops in the ships by day, he landed them by night, and marched them to that part of the wall at which Carthage had been captured by the Romans; for he had supposed both that the garrison by which the city was occupied was not sufficiently strong for its protection, and that some of the townsmen would act on the hope of effecting a change. But messengers who came with the utmost haste and alarm from the country, brought intelligence at once of the devastation of the lands, the flight of the rustics, and the approach of the enemy. Besides, the fleet had been observed during the day, and it was evident that there was some object in choosing a station before the city. Accordingly, the troops were kept drawn up and armed within the gate which looks towards the lake and the sea. When the enemy, rushing forward in a disorderly manner, with a crowd of seamen mingled with soldiers, came up to the walls with more noise than strength; the gate being suddenly thrown open, the Romans sallied forth with a shout, and pursued the enemy, routed and put to flight at the first onset and discharge of their weapons, all the way to the shore, killing a great number of them; nor would one of them have survived the battle and the flight, had not the ships, which had been brought to the shore, afforded them a refuge in their dismay. Great alarm and confusion also prevailed in the ships, occasioned by their drawing up the ladders, lest the enemy should force their way in together with their own men, and by cutting away their halsers and anchors that they might not lose time in weighing them. Many, too, met with a miserable death while endeavouring to swim to the ships, not knowing, in consequence of the darkness, which way to direct their course, or what to avoid. On the following day, after the fleet had fled back to the ocean whence it had come, as many as eight hundred were slain between the wall and the shore, and two thousand stand of arms were found.

### 37

Mago, on his return to Gades, not being allowed to enter the place, brought his fleet to shore at Cimbis, a place not far distant from Gades; whence he sent ambassadors with complaints of their having closed their gates upon a friend and ally. While they endeavoured to excuse themselves on the ground that it was done by a disorderly assembly of their people, who were exasperated against them on account of some acts of plunder which had been committed by the soldiers when they were embarking, he enticed their suffetes, which is the name of the chief magistracy among the Carthaginians, together with their quaestor, to come to a conference; when he ordered them to be lacerated with stripes and crucified. He then passed over with his fleet to the island Pityusa, distant about a hundred miles from the continent, and inhabited at that time by Carthaginians; on which account the fleet was received in a friendly manner; and not only were provisions liberally furnished, but also young men and arms were given them to reinforce their fleet. Rendered confident by these supplies, the Carthaginians crossed over to the Balearian islands, fifty miles distant. The Balearian islands are two in number; one larger than the other, and more powerful in men and arms; having also a harbour in which, as it was now the latter end of autumn, he believed he might winter conveniently. But here his fleet was opposed with as much hostility as he would have met with had the Romans inhabited that island. The only weapons they used at that time, and which they now principally employ, were slings; nor is there an individual of any other nation who possesses such a degree of excellence in the skilful use of this weapon, as the Balearians universally possess over the rest of the world. Such a quantity of stones, therefore, was poured like the thickest hail on the fleet, when approaching the shore, that, not daring to enter the harbour, they made off for the main. They then passed over to the lesser Balearian island, which is of a fertile soil, but not equally powerful in men and arms. Here, therefore, they landed, and pitched a camp in a strong position above the harbour; and having made themselves masters of the city and country without a contest, they enlisted two thousand auxiliaries, which they sent to Carthage, and then hauled their ships on shore for the winter. After Mago had left the coast of the ocean, the people of Gades surrendered to the Romans.

### 38

Such were the transactions in Spain under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio. Scipio himself, having put Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus in charge of the province, returned to Rome with ten ships. Having obtained an audience of the senate without the city, in the temple of Bellona, he gave an account of the services he had performed in Spain; how often he had fought pitched battles, how many towns he had taken by force from the enemy, and what nations he had brought under the dominion of the Roman people. He stated that he had gone into Spain against four generals, and four victorious armies, but that he had not left a Carthaginian in that country. On account of these services he rather tried his prospect of a triumph, than pressed it pertinaciously; for it was quite clear, that no one had triumphed up to that time for services performed, when not invested with a magistracy. When the senate was dismissed he entered the city, and carried before him into the treasury fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds of silver, and a great quantity of coined silver. Lucius Veturius Philo then held the assembly for the election of consuls, when all the centuries, with the strongest marks of attachment, named Publius Scipio as consul. Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, was joined with him as his colleague. It is recorded, that this election was attended by a greater number of persons than any other during the war.

People had come together from all quarters, not only to give their votes, but also for the purpose of seeing Publius Scipio. They ran in crowds, not only to his house, but also to the Capitol; where he was engaged in offering a sacrifice of a hundred oxen to Jupiter, which he had vowed in Spain, impressed with a presentiment, that as Caius Lutatius had terminated the former Punic war, so Publius Scipio would terminate the present; and that as he had driven the Carthaginians out of every part of Spain, so he would drive them out of Italy; and dooming Africa to him as his province, as though the war in Italy were at an end. The assembly was then held for the election of praetors. Two were elected who were then plebeian aediles, namely, Spurius Lucretius and Cneius Octavius; and of private persons, Cneius Servilius Caepio and Lucius Aemilius Papus.

In the fourteenth year of the Punic war, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Licinius Crassus entered on the consulship, when the provinces assigned to the consuls were, to Scipio, Sicily, without drawing lots, his colleague not opposing it, because the care of the sacred affairs required the presence of the chief pontiff in Italy; to Crassus, Bruttium. The provinces of the praetors were then put to the determination of lots, when the city jurisdiction fell to Servilius; Ariminum, for so they called Gaul, to Spurius Lucretius; Sicily to Lucius Aemilius; Sardinia to Cneius Octavius. A senate was held in the Capitol, when, on the motion of Publius Scipio, a decree was made, that he should exhibit the games which he had vowed in Spain during the mutiny of the soldiers, out of the money which he had himself brought into the treasury.

### 39

He then introduced into the senate the Saguntine ambassadors, the eldest of whom thus spoke: "Although there remains no degree of suffering, conscript fathers, beyond what we have endured, in order that we might keep our faith towards you to the last; yet such are the benefits which we have received both from yourselves and your generals, that we do not repent of the calamities to which we have ourselves been exposed. On our account you undertook the war, and having undertaken it, you have continued to carry it on for now the fourteenth year with such inflexible perseverance, that frequently you have both yourselves been reduced, and have brought the Carthaginians to the last extremity. At a time when you had a war of such a desperate character in Italy, and Hannibal as your antagonist, you sent your consul with an army into Spain, to collect, as it were, the remains of our wreck. Publius and Cneius Cornelius, from the time they entered the province, never ceased from adopting such measures as were favourable to us and detrimental to our enemies. First of all, they restored to us our town; and, sending persons to collect our countrymen, who were sold and dispersed throughout all Spain, restored them from a state of slavery to freedom. When our circumstances, from being wretched in the extreme, had nearly assumed a desirable state, your generals Publius and Cneius Cornelius fell more to be lamented by ourselves even than by you. Then truly we seemed to have been dragged back from distant places to our ancient abode, to perish again, and witness the second destruction of our country. Nor did it appear that there was any need forsooth of a Carthaginian army or general to effect our destruction; but that we might be annihilated by the Turdulans, our most inveterate enemies, who had also been the cause of our former overthrow. When suddenly, to our great surprise, you sent us this Publius Scipio, in seeing whom declared consul, and in having it in our power to carry word back to our countrymen that we have seen it, for on him our hopes and safety entirely rest, we consider ourselves the most fortunate of all the Saguntines. He, when he had taken a great number of the cities of your enemies in Spain, on all occasions separated the Saguntines out of the mass of captives, and sent

them back to their country; and lastly, by his arms he reduced to so low a state Turdetania, which harboured such animosity against us, that if that nation continued to flourish it was impossible that Saguntum could stand, that it not only was not an object of fear to us, but, and may I say it without incurring odium, not even to our posterity. We see the city of those persons demolished, to gratify whom Hannibal destroyed Saguntum. We receive tribute from their lands, which is not more acceptable to us from the advantage we derive from it than from revenge. In consideration of these benefits, than which we could not hope or wish for greater from the immortal gods, the senate and people of Saguntum have sent us ten ambassadors to you to return their thanks; and at the same time to offer you their congratulations on your having carried on your operations in Spain and Italy so successfully of late years, that you have subdued by your arms, and have gotten possession of Spain, not only as far as the river Iberus, but also to where the ocean forms the limit of the remotest regions of the world; while in Italy you have left nothing to the Carthaginian except so much space as the rampart of his camp encloses. We have been desired, not only to return thanks for these blessings to Jove most good and great, the guardian deity of the capitoline citadel, but also, if you should permit us, to carry into the Capitol this present of a golden crown in token of victory. We request that you would permit us so to do; and, if you think proper, that you would, by your authority, perpetuate and ratify the advantages which your generals have conferred upon us." The senate replied to the Saguntines, "that the destruction and restoration of Saguntum would form a monument to all the nations of the world of social faith preserved on both sides. That, in restoring Saguntum, and rescuing its citizens from slavery, their generals had acted properly, regularly, and according to the wishes of the senate; and that, whatever other acts of kindness they had done to them, were in conformity with the wishes of the senate. That they gave them permission to deposit their present in the Capitol." Orders were then given to furnish the ambassadors with apartments and entertainment, and that not less than ten thousand *asses* should be given to each as a present. After this, the rest of the embassies were introduced and heard. On the request of the Saguntines that they might go and take a view of Italy as far as they could with safety, they were furnished with guides, and letters were sent to the several towns, requiring them to entertain the Spaniards kindly. The senate then took into consideration the state of public affairs, the levying troops, and the provinces.

#### 40

It being generally reported that Africa, as a new province, was destined for Publius Scipio without casting lots; and he himself, not content with any moderate share of glory, asserting that he had been declared consul, not only for prosecuting, but for finishing the war; that that object could not be accomplished by any other means than by his transporting an army into Africa; and himself openly declaring that he would do it through the people if the senate opposed him; the design by no means pleased the principal senators; and when the rest, either through fear or a wish to ingratiate themselves with him, only murmured, Quintus Fabius Maximus, being asked his opinion, thus spoke: "I know, conscript fathers, that by many of you the question which is this day agitated is considered as already determined; and that the man who shall deliver his sentiments on the subject of making Africa a province, as a new proposal, will speak to little purpose. But, in the first place, I cannot see how it can be considered as determined, that Africa shall be the province of the consul, that brave and active officer, when neither the senate have voted nor the people ordered that it should be constituted a province this year. In the next place, if it is determined, I think the consul

is to blame, who, by pretending to consult the senate on a question already decided, insults that body, and not the senator only who delivers his sentiments in his place on the subject of deliberation. Now I am well aware, that by disapproving of this excessive eagerness to pass over into Africa, I subject myself to two imputations: one grounded on the caution inherent in my disposition, which young men may if they please call cowardice and sloth, so long as we have the consolation to reflect, that though hitherto the measures of others have always appeared on the first view of them the more plausible, mine on experience have proved the sounder. The other imputation is that of jealousy and envy towards the daily increasing glory of this most valiant consul. But if neither my past life and character, nor a dictatorship, together with five consulships, and so much glory acquired, both in peace and war, that I am more likely to loathe it than desire more, exempt me from such a suspicion, let my age at least acquit me. For what rivalry can there exist between myself and a man who is not equal in years even to my son? When I was dictator, when as yet in the possession of full vigour, and engaged in a series of affairs of the utmost magnitude, no one heard me, either in the senate or in the popular assembly, express any reluctance to have the command equally shared between myself and the master of the horse, at the time when he was maligning me; a proposition which no one ever heard mention of before. I chose to bring it about by actions rather than by words, that he who was placed on the same footing with me in the judgment of others, should soon by his own confession declare me his superior. Much less, after having passed through these honours, would I propose to myself to enter the lists of competition and rivalry with a man in the very bloom of youth. And that, forsooth, in order that Africa, if it shall have been denied to him, may be assigned as a province to me, who am now weary of life, and not merely of active employments. I must live and die with that share of glory which I have already acquired. I prevented Hannibal from conquering, in order that he might even be conquered by you, whose powers are now in full vigour.

#### 41

"It is but fair, Publius Cornelius, that you should pardon me, if I, who in my own case never preferred the honour of men to the interest of the state, do not place even your fame before the public good. Although, if there were either no war in Italy, or an enemy of such a description that no glory could be acquired from conquering him, the man who would retain you in Italy, though actuated by a desire to promote the public good, might appear to wish to deprive you of an opportunity of acquiring renown when he objected to your removing the war. But since Hannibal is our antagonist, who is besieging Italy for now the fourteenth year, with an army unimpaired, will you have reason to be dissatisfied, Publius Cornelius, with the glory you will acquire, if you in your consulate shall drive out of Italy an enemy who has been the cause of so many deaths and so many disasters to us, and if you should enjoy the distinction of having terminated this, as Caius Lutatius did the former Punic war? Unless either Hamilcar is a general more worthy of consideration than Hannibal, or a war in Africa of more importance, or a victory there greater and more glorious, (should it be our lot to be victorious while you are consul,) than one here. Would you rather have drawn away Hamilcar from Drepanum and Eryx than have expelled the Carthaginians and Hannibal from Italy? Although you naturally prize more highly the renown which you have acquired than that which you hope for, yet surely you would not boast more of having freed Spain from war than of having freed Italy. Hannibal is not as yet in such a state as that the man who prefers another war would not appear to have feared rather than to have despised

him. Why then do you not apply yourself to this, and carry the war in a straightforward manner to the place where Hannibal is, rather than pursue that circuitous course, according to which you expect that when you shall have crossed over into Africa Hannibal will follow you thither? Do you seek to obtain the distinguished honour of having finished the Punic war? After you have defended your own possessions, for this is naturally the first object, then proceed to attack those of others. Let there be peace in Italy before war in Africa; and let us be free from fear ourselves before we bring it upon others. If it is possible that both objects may be accomplished under your conduct and auspices, having first conquered Hannibal here, then go and lay siege to Carthage; but if one or other of these conquests must be left for the succeeding consuls, the former is both the greater and more glorious, and also the cause of the second. For now indeed, besides that the treasury is not able to maintain two different armies, one in Italy and one in Africa; besides that we have nothing left from which we may equip fleets or be able to furnish provisions, who knows not how great danger would be incurred? Publius Licinius will wage war in Italy, Publius Scipio in Africa. What if, (an omen which may all the gods avert, and which my mind shrinks back with alarm from mentioning,--but what has happened may happen again,--) what I say, if Hannibal, having gained a victory, should advance to the city? Shall we then at length send for you, our consul, out of Africa, as we formerly sent for Quintus Fulvius from Capua? What shall we say when we consider that in Africa also both parties will be liable to the chances of war? Let your own house, your father and your uncle, slain together with their armies within the space of thirty days, after that, having spent several years in the performance of the most important services, both by sea and land, they had inspired foreign nations with the highest reverence for the name of the Roman people and your family, be a warning to you. The day would fail me were I disposed to enumerate the kings and generals who have brought the most signal calamities upon themselves and their armies by rashly passing into the territories of their enemies. The Athenians, a state distinguished for prudence, leaving a war at home, sent a great fleet into Sicily at the instance of a youth equally enterprising and illustrious; but by one naval battle they reduced their flourishing republic to a state of humiliation from which she could never recover.

## 42

"But I am adducing foreign and too remote examples. That same Africa, and Marcus Atilius, who was a signal example of both extremes of fortune, may form a warning to us. Without doubt, Publius Cornelius, when you shall have a view of Africa from the sea, the reduction of your province of Spain will appear to you to have been a mere matter of sport and pastime. For what similarity is there between them? After sailing along the coast of Italy and Gaul to Emporiae without any enemy to oppose you, you brought your fleet to land at a city of our allies. There landing your soldiers, you marched them through countries entirely secure from danger to Tarraco, to join the allies and friends of the Roman people. After that, from Tarraco you marched through places garrisoned by Roman troops. On the banks of the Iberus were the armies of your father and your uncle, rendered still more furious after the loss of their generals, even by the very calamity they had suffered. The general, indeed, Lucius Marcius, had been irregularly constituted and chosen for the time by the suffrages of the soldiers; but had he been adorned with noble birth and the regular gradation of preferment, he would have been equal to the most distinguished generals, from his skill in every art of war. You then laid siege to Carthage, quite at your leisure, not one of the three Punic armies coming to the defence of their allies. The rest of your achievements, nor do I wish to disparage them,

are by no means to be compared with what you will have to do in a war in Africa, where there is not a single harbour open to receive our fleet, no part of the country at peace with us, no state in alliance, no king in friendship with us, no room in any part either to take up a position or to advance. Whichever way you turn your eyes, all is hostility and danger. Do you trust in the Numidians and Syphax? Let it suffice to have trusted in them once. Temerity is not always successful, and the fraudulent usually pave the way to confidence in small matters, that when an advantageous opportunity occurs, they may deceive with great gain. Your father and uncle were not cut off by the arms of their enemies till they were duped by the treachery of their Celtiberian allies; nor were you yourself exposed to so much danger from Mago and Hasdrubal, the generals of your enemies, as from Indibilis and Mandonius, whom you had received into friendship. Can you place any confidence in Numidians after having experienced a defection in your own soldiers? Syphax and Masinissa would rather that they themselves should have the rule in Africa than the Carthaginians, but that the Carthaginians should rather than any other state. At present emulation and the various causes of dispute existing between them incite them against each other, because the fear of any foreign enemy is remote. But show them the Roman arms and a body of troops, natives of another country, and they will run together as if to extinguish a common conflagration. These same Carthaginians defended Spain in a different manner from that in which they will defend the walls of their capital, the temples of their gods, their altars, and their hearths; when their terrified wives will attend them on the way to the battle, and their little children will run to them. What, moreover, if the Carthaginians, feeling sufficiently secure in the harmony subsisting in Africa, in the attachment of the sovereigns in alliance with them, and their own fortifications, should, when they see Italy deprived of the support of yourself and your army, themselves assuming an offensive attitude, either send a fresh army out of Africa into Italy, or order Mago, who, it is certain, having passed over from the Baleares, is now sailing along the coast of Liguria and the Alps, to form a junction with Hannibal. Without doubt, we should be thrown into the same state of alarm as we were lately, when Hasdrubal passed over into Italy; that Hasdrubal, whom you, who are about to blockade, not Carthage only, but all Africa with your army, allowed to slip out of your hands into Italy. You will say that he was conquered by you. For that very reason I should be less willing, not on account of the commonwealth only, but of yourself, that, after having been defeated, he should be allowed to march into Italy. Suffer us to ascribe to your prudence all the successful events which have happened to you and the empire of the Roman people, and to impute all those of an adverse nature to the uncertain chances of war and to fortune. The more meritorious and brave you are, so much the more do your country and all Italy desire to retain you as their protector. You cannot even yourself pretend to deny, that where Hannibal is, there is the head and principal stress of the war, for you profess, that your motive in crossing over into Africa is to draw Hannibal thither. Whether, therefore, here or there, it is with Hannibal that you will have to contend. Will you then, I pray, have more power in Africa and alone, or here, with your own and your colleague's army united? Is not the great difference which this makes proved to you even by the recent precedent of Claudius and Livius, the consuls? What! will Hannibal, who has now for a long time been unavailingly soliciting succours from home, be rendered more powerful in men and arms when occupying the remotest corner of the Bruttian territory, or when near to Carthage and supported by all Africa? What sort of policy is that of yours, to prefer fighting where your own forces will be diminished by one half, and the enemy's greatly augmented, to encountering the enemy when you will have two armies against one, and that wearied with so many battles, and

so protracted and laborious a service? Consider how far this policy of yours corresponds with that of your parent. He, setting out in his consulship for Spain, returned from his province into Italy, that he might meet Hannibal on his descent from the Alps; while you are going to leave Italy when Hannibal is there, not because you consider such a course beneficial to the state, but because you think it will redound to your own honour and glory; acting in the same manner as you did when leaving your province and your army without the sanction of a law, without a decree of the senate, you, a general of the Roman people, intrusted to two ships the fortune of the commonwealth and the majesty of the empire, which were then hazarded in your person. In my estimation, conscript fathers, Publius Cornelius was elected consul for the service of the state and of us, and not to forward his own individual interest; and the armies were enlisted for the protection of the city and of Italy, and not for the consuls, like kings, to carry into whatever part of the world they please from motives of vanity."

### 43

Fabius having made a strong impression on a large portion of the senate, and especially those advanced in years, by this speech, which was adapted to the occasion, and also by his authority and his long-established reputation for prudence; and those who approved of the counsel of this old man being more numerous than those who commended the hot spirit of the young one; Scipio is reported thus to have spoken: "Even Quintus Fabius himself has observed, conscript fathers, in the commencement of his speech, that in the opinion he gave a feeling of jealousy might be suspected. And though I dare not myself charge so great a man with harbouring that feeling, yet, whether it is owing to a defect in his language, or to the fact, that suspicion has certainly not been removed. For he has so magnified his own honours and the fame of his exploits, in order to do away with the imputation of envy, that it would appear I am in danger of being rivalled by every obscure person, but not by himself, because, as he enjoys an eminence above every body else, an eminence to which I do not dissemble that I also aspire, he is unwilling that I should be placed upon a level with him. He has represented himself as an old man, and as one who has gone through every gradation of honour, and me as below the age even of his son; as if he supposed that the desire of glory did not exceed the limits of human life, and as if its chief part had not respect to memory and future ages. I am confident, that it is usual with all the most exalted minds, to compare themselves, not only with the illustrious men of the present, but of every age. For my own part, I do not dissemble that I am desirous, not only to attain to the share of glory which you possess, Quintus Fabius, but, (and in saying it I mean no offence,) if I can, even to exceed it. Let not such a feeling exist in your mind towards me, nor in mine towards those who are my juniors, as that we should be unwilling that any of our countrymen should attain to the same celebrity with ourselves; for that would be a detriment, not to those only who may be the objects of our envy, but to the state, and almost to the whole human race. He mentioned what a great degree of danger I should incur, should I cross over into Africa, so that he appeared solicitous on my account, and not only for the state and the army. But whence has this concern for me so suddenly sprung? When my father and uncle were slain; when their two armies were cut up almost to a man; when Spain was lost; when four armies of the Carthaginians and four generals kept possession of every thing by terror and by arms; when a general was sought for to take the command of that war, and no one came forward besides myself, no one had the courage to declare himself a candidate; when the Roman people had conferred the command upon me, though only twenty-four years of age; why was it that

no one at that time made any mention of my age, of the strength of the enemy, of the difficulty of the war, and of the recent destruction of my father and uncle? Has some greater disaster been suffered in Africa now than had at that time befallen us in Spain? Are there now larger armies in Africa, more and better generals, than were then in Spain? Was my age then more mature for conducting a war than now? Can a war with a Carthaginian enemy be carried on with greater convenience in Spain than in Africa? After having routed and put to flight four Carthaginian armies; after having captured by force, or reduced to submission by fear, so many cities; after having entirely subdued every thing as far as the ocean, so many petty princes, so many savage nations; after having regained possession of the whole of Spain, so that no trace of war remains, it is an easy matter to make light of my services; just as easy as it would be, should I return victorious from Africa, to make light of those very circumstances which are now magnified in order that they may appear formidable, for the purpose of detaining me here. He says that there is no possibility of entering Africa; that there are no ports open. He mentions that Marcus Atilius was taken prisoner in Africa, as if Marcus Atilius had miscarried on his first access to Africa. Nor does he recollect that the ports of Africa were open to that very commander, unfortunate as he was; that he performed some brilliant services during the first year, and continued undefeated to the last, so far as related to the Carthaginian generals. You will not, therefore, in the least deter me by that example of yours. If that disaster had been sustained in the present, and not in the former war, if lately, and not forty years ago, yet why would it be less advisable for me to cross over into Africa after Regulus had been made prisoner there, than into Spain after the Scipios had been slain there? I should be reluctant to admit that the birth of Xanthippus the Lacedaemonian was more fortunate for Carthage than mine for my country. My confidence would be increased by the very circumstance, that such important consequences depended upon the valour of one man. But further, we must take warning by the Athenians, who inconsiderately crossed over into Sicily, leaving a war in their own country. Why, therefore, since you have leisure to relate Grecian tales, do you not rather set before us the instance of Agathocles, king of Syracuse, who, when Sicily was for a long time wasted by a Punic war, by passing over into this same Africa, removed the war to the country from whence it came.

#### 44

"But what need is there of ancient and foreign examples to remind us what sort of thing it is boldly to carry terror against an enemy, and, removing the danger from oneself, to bring another into peril? Can there be a stronger instance than Hannibal himself, or one more to the point? It makes a great difference whether you devastate the territories of another, or see your own destroyed by fire and sword. He who brings danger upon another has more spirit than he who repels it. Add to this, that the terror excited by unknown circumstances is increased on that account. When you have entered the territory of an enemy, you may have a near view of his advantages and disadvantages. Hannibal did not expect that it would come to pass that so many of the states in Italy would come over to him as did so after the defeat at Cannae. How much less would any firmness or constancy be experienced in Africa by the Carthaginians, who are themselves faithless allies, oppressive and haughty masters! Besides, we, even when deserted by our allies, stood firm in our own strength, the Roman soldiery. The Carthaginians possess no native strength. The soldiers they have are obtained by hire;-- Africans and Numidians--people remarkable above all others for the inconstancy of their attachments. Provided no impediment arises here, you will hear at once that I have

landed, and that Africa is blazing with war; that Hannibal is preparing for his departure from this country, and that Carthage is besieged. Expect more frequent and more joyful despatches from Africa than you received from Spain. The considerations on which I ground my anticipations are the good fortune of the Roman people, the gods, the witnesses of the treaty violated by the enemy, the kings Syphax and Masinissa; on whose fidelity I will rely in such a manner as that I may be secure from danger should they prove perfidious. Many things which are not now apparent, at this distance, the war will develope; and it is the part of a man, and a general, not to be wanting when fortune presents itself, and to bend its events to his designs. I shall, Quintus Fabius, have the opponent you assign me, Hannibal; but I shall rather draw him after me than be kept here by him. I will compel him to fight in his own country, and Carthage shall be the prize of victory rather than the half-ruined forts of the Bruttians. With regard to providing that the state sustain no injury in the mean time, while I am crossing over, while I am landing my troops in Africa, while I am advancing my camp to the walls of Carthage; be not too sure that it is not an insult to Publius Licinius, the consul, a man of consummate valour, who did not draw lots for so distant a province merely that, as he was chief pontiff, he might not be absent from religious affairs, to say that he is unable to do that, now that the power of Hannibal is shaken, and in a manner shattered, which you Quintus Fabius, were able to effect when he was flying victorious throughout all Italy. By Hercules, even if the war would not be more speedily terminated by adopting the plan I propose, yet it were consistent with the dignity of the Roman people, and the high character they enjoy with foreign kings and nations, to appear to have had spirit not only to defend Italy, but also to carry hostilities into Africa; and that it should not be supposed and spread abroad that no Roman general dared what Hannibal had dared; that in the former Punic war, when the contest was about Sicily, Africa should have been so often attacked by our fleets and armies, and that now, when the contest is about Italy, Africa should be left undisturbed. Let Italy, which has so long been harassed, at length enjoy some repose; let Africa, in her turn, be fired and devastated. Let the Roman camp overhang the gates of Carthage rather than that we should again behold the rampart of the enemy from our walls. Let Africa be the seat of the remainder of the war. Let terror and flight, the devastation of lands, the defection of allies, and all the other calamities of war which have fallen upon us, through a period of fourteen years, be turned upon her. It is sufficient for me to have spoken on those matters which relate to the state, the war before us, and the provinces which form the subject of deliberation. My discourse would be tedious and uninteresting to you if, as Fabius has depreciated my services in Spain, I should also in like manner endeavour, on the other hand, to turn his glory into ridicule, and make the most of my own. I will do neither, conscript fathers; and if in nothing else, though a young man, I shall certainly have shown my superiority over this old man, in modesty and the government of my tongue. Such has been my life, and such the services I have performed, that I can gladly rest contented in silence with that opinion which you have spontaneously conceived of me."

#### 45

Scipio was heard less favourably, because, a report had been spread that, if he did not prevail with the senate to have Africa decreed to him as his province, he would immediately lay the matter before the people. Therefore, Quintus Fulvius, who had been consul four times, and censor, requested of the consul that he would openly declare in the senate whether "he submitted to the fathers to decide respecting the provinces; and whether he intended to abide by their determination, or to put it to the people." Scipio

having replied that he would act as he thought for the interest of the state, Fulvius then rejoined: "When I asked you the question I was not ignorant of what answer you would give, or how you would act; for you plainly show that you are rather sounding than consulting the senate; and, unless we immediately decree to you the province you wish, have a bill ready (to lay before the people). Therefore," said he, "I require of you, tribunes of the people, to support me in refusing to give my opinion, because, though my recommendation should be adopted, the consul is not disposed to abide by it." An altercation then arose, the consul asserting that it was unfair for the tribunes to interpose so as to prevent any senator from living his opinion in his place on being asked it. The tribunes came to the determination, "that if the consul submit to the senate the question relating to the provinces, whatever the senate decree we shall consider as final, nor will we allow a bill to be proposed to the people on the subject. If he does not submit it to them, we will support any one who shall refuse to deliver his sentiments upon the matter." The consul requested the delay of a day to confer with his colleague. The next day the decision was submitted to the senate. The provinces were assigned in this manner: to one of the consuls Sicily and thirty ships of war, which Caius Servilius had commanded the former year; he was also permitted to cross over into Africa if he conceived it to be for the advantage of the state. To the other consul Bruttium and the war with Hannibal were assigned; with either that army which Lucius Veturius or that which Quintus Caecilius commanded. The two latter were to draw lots, and settle between themselves which should act in Bruttium with the two legions which the consul gave up; and he to whose lot that province fell, was to be continued in command for a year. The other persons also, besides the consuls and praetors, who were to take the command of armies and provinces, were continued in command. It fell to the lot of Quintus Caecilius to carry on the war against Hannibal in Bruttium, together with the consul. The games of Scipio were then celebrated in the presence of a great number of persons, and with the approbation of the spectators. The deputies, Marcus Pomponius Matho and Quintus Cadius, sent to Delphi to convey a present out of the spoils taken from Hasdrubal, carried with them a golden crown of two hundred pounds' weight, and representations of the spoils made out of a thousand pounds' weight of silver. Scipio, though he could not obtain leave to levy troops, a point which he did not urge with great eagerness, obtained leave to take with him such as volunteered their services; and also, as he declared that the fleet would not be the occasion of expense to the state, to receive what was furnished by the allies for building fresh ships. First, the states of Etruria engaged to assist the consuls to the utmost of their respective abilities. The people of Caere furnished corn, and provisions of every description, for the crews; the people of Populoni furnished iron; of Tarquinii, cloth for sails; those of Volaterrae, planks for ships, and corn; those of Arretium, thirty thousand shields, as many helmets; and of javelins, Gallic darts, and long spears, they undertook to make up to the amount of fifty thousand, an equal number of each description, together with as many axes, mattocks, bills, buckets, and mills, as should be sufficient for fifty men of war, with a hundred and twenty thousand pecks of wheat; and to contribute to the support of the decurios and rowers on the voyage. The people of Perugia, Clusium, and Rusella furnished firs for building ships, and a great quantity of corn. Scipio had firs out of the public woods. The states of Umbria, and, besides them, the people of Nursia, Reate, and Amiternum, and all those of the Sabine territory, promised soldiers. Many of the Marsians, Pelignians, and Marrucinians volunteered to serve in the fleet. The Cameritans, as they were joined with the Romans in league on equal terms, sent an armed cohort of six hundred men. Having laid the keels of thirty ships, twenty of which were quinqueremes, and ten quadriremes,

he prosecuted the work with such diligence, that, on the forty-fifth day after the materials were taken from the woods, the ships, being fully equipped and armed, were launched.

#### 46

He set out into Sicily with thirty ships of war, with about seven thousand volunteers on board. Publius Licinius came into Bruttium to the two consular armies, of which he selected for himself that which Lucius Veturius, the consul, had commanded. He allowed Metellus to continue in the command of those legions which were before under him, concluding that he could act more easily with the troops accustomed to his command. The praetors also went to their different provinces. As there was a scarcity of money to carry on the war, the quaestors were ordered to sell a district of the Campanian territory extending from the Grecian trench to the sea, with permission to receive information as to what land belonged to a native Campanian, in order that it might be put into the possession of the Roman people. The reward fixed upon for the informer was a tenth part of the value of the lands so discovered. Cneius Servilius, the city praetor, was also charged with seeing that the Campanians dwelt where they were allowed, according to the decree of the senate, and to punish such as dwelt anywhere else. The same summer, Mago, son of Amilcar, setting out from the lesser of the Balearian islands, where he had wintered, having put on board his fleet a chosen body of young men, conveyed over into Italy twelve thousand foot, and about two thousand horse, with about thirty ships of war, and a great number of transports. By the suddenness of his arrival he took Genoa, as there were no troops employed in protecting the sea-coast. Thence he brought his fleet to shore, on the coast of the Alpine Ligurians, to see if he could create any commotion there. The Ingaunians, a tribe of the Ligurians, were at that juncture engaged in war with the Epanterians, a people inhabiting the mountains. The Carthaginian, therefore, having deposited his plunder at Savo, an Alpine town, left ten ships of war for its protection. He sent the rest to Carthage to guard the sea-coast, as it was reported that Scipio intended to pass over thither; formed an alliance with the Ingaunians, whose friendship he preferred; and commenced an attack upon the mountaineers. His army increased daily, the Gauls flocking to his standard from all sides, from the splendour of his fame. When the senate received information of these things, by a letter from Spurius Lucretius, they were filled with the most intense anxiety, lest the joy they had experienced on the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, two years before, should be rendered vain by another war's springing up in the same quarter, equal in magnitude, but under a new leader. They therefore ordered Marcus Livius, proconsul, to march his army of volunteer slaves out of Etruria to Ariminum, and gave in charge to Cneius Servilius to issue orders, if he thought it necessary for the safety of the state, that the city legions should be marched out under the command of any person he thought proper. Marcus Valerius Laevinus led those legions to Arretium. About the same time, as many as eighty transports of the Carthaginians were captured, near Sardinia, by Cneius Octavius, who had the government of that province. Caelius states that they were laden with corn and provisions, sent for Hannibal; Valerius, that they were conveying the plunder of Etruria, and the Ligurian mountaineers who had been captured, to Carthage. In Bruttium scarcely any thing was done this year worth recording. A pestilence had attacked both Romans and Carthaginians with equal violence; but the Carthaginian army, in addition to sickness, was distressed by famine. Hannibal passed the summer near the temple of Juno Lacinia, where he erected and dedicated an altar with an inscription engraved in

Punic and Greek characters, setting forth, in pompous terms, the achievements he had performed.

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## Book XXIX

*In Spain, Mandonius and Indibilis, reviving hostilities, are finally subdued. Scipio goes over from Syracuse to Locri; dislodges the Carthaginian general; repulses Hannibal, and recovers that city. Peace made with Philip. The Idaean Mother brought to Rome from Phrygia; received by Publius Scipio Nasica, judged by the senate the best man in the state. Scipio passes over into Africa. Syphax, having married a daughter of Hasdrubal, renounces his alliance with Scipio. Masinissa, who had been expelled his kingdom by Syphax, joins Scipio with two hundred horsemen; they defeat a large army commanded by Hanno. Hasdrubal and Syphax approach with a most numerous force. Scipio raises the siege of Utica, and fortifies a post for the winter. The consul Sempronius gets the better of Hannibal in a battle near Croton. Dispute between Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, censors.*

### 1

Scipio, after his arrival in Sicily, formed his volunteers into cohorts and centuries. Of these he kept about his person three hundred young men, in the bloom of their age and the prime of their strength, unarmed, and not knowing for what purpose they were reserved, as they were not included in the centuries, nor furnished with arms. He then selected out of the number of the youth of all Sicily three hundred horsemen, of the highest birth and fortune, who were to cross over with him into Africa, appointing a day on which they were to present themselves equipped and furnished with horses and arms. This severe service, far from their native land, appeared to them likely to be attended with many hardships, and great dangers, both by sea and land; nor did that anxiety affect themselves alone, but also their parents and relations. When the appointed day arrived, they exhibited their arms and horses. Then Scipio observed, "that an intimation had been conveyed to him that certain of the Sicilian horsemen felt a strong aversion to that service, as being severe and arduous. If there were any who entertained such a feeling, that he would rather they should then confess it to him, than, complaining afterwards, prove themselves slothful and useless soldiers to the state. He desired that they would openly avow their sentiments, for that he would hear them with kindly feeling." When one of the number took courage to declare, that if he were allowed the uncontrolled exercise of his will he certainly would not serve, Scipio replied to him thus: "Since then, young man, you have not dissembled your sentiments, I will furnish a substitute for you, to whom I request that you transfer your arms, your horse, and other appliances of war; and, taking him hence immediately to your house, train him, and take care that he is instructed in the management of his horse and arms." The youth accepted the terms joyfully, when Scipio delivered to him one of the three hundred whom he kept unarmed. The rest, seeing the horseman thus discharged without giving any offence to the general, began severally to excuse themselves and receive substitutes. Thus Roman horsemen were substituted for the three hundred Sicilian, without any expense to the state. The Sicilians had the care of instructing and training them, because the general had ordered that the man who should not do so, should serve himself. It is said that this turned out to be an admirable body of cavalry, and rendered effectual service to the state in many engagements. Afterwards, inspecting the legions, he chose out of them such soldiers as had served the greatest number of campaigns, particularly those who had acted under Marcellus; for he considered that they were formed under the best

discipline, and also, from the long time in which they were engaged in the siege of Syracuse, were most skilled in the assault of towns: for his thoughts were now occupied with no small object, but the destruction of Carthage. He then distributed his army through the towns; ordered the Sicilian states to furnish corn, sparing that which had been brought from Italy; repaired his old ships, and sent Caius Laelius with them into Africa to plunder. His new ships he hauled on shore at Panormus, that they might be kept on land during the winter, as they had been hastily built of unseasoned timber.

When every thing was got in readiness for the war he came to Syracuse, which had hardly yet returned to a state of tranquillity, after the violent commotions of the war. The Greeks, demanding restitution of their property, which had been granted to them by the senate, from certain persons of the Italian nation, who retained possession of it in the same forcible manner in which they had seized it in the war, Scipio, who deemed it of the first importance to preserve the public faith, restored their property to the Syracusans, partly by proclamation, and partly even by judgments pronounced against those who pertinaciously retained their unjust acquisitions. This measure was acceptable not only to the persons immediately concerned, but to all the states of Sicily, and so much the more energetically did they give aid in the war. During the same summer a very formidable war sprang up in Spain, at the instance of Indibilis the Hergetian, from no other cause than the contempt he conceived for the other generals, in consequence of his admiration of Scipio. He considered "that he was the only commander the Romans had left, the rest having been slain by Hannibal. That they had, therefore, no other general whom they could send into Spain after the Scipios were cut off there, and that afterwards, when the war in Italy pressed upon them with increased severity, he was recalled to oppose Hannibal. That, in addition to the fact that the Romans had the names only of generals in Spain, their old army had also been withdrawn thence. That all the troops they had there were irresolute, as consisting of an undisciplined multitude of recruits. That there would never again occur such an opportunity for the liberation of Spain. That up to that time they had been the slaves either of Carthaginians or Romans, and that not to one or the other in turns, but sometimes to both together. That the Carthaginians had been driven out by the Romans, and that the Romans might be driven out by the Spaniards, if they would unite: so that Spain, for ever freed from a foreign yoke, might return to her native customs and rites." By these and other observations he stirred up not only his countrymen, but the Ausetanians also, a neighbouring nation, as well as other states bordering on his own and their country. Accordingly, within a few days, thirty thousand foot and about four thousand horse assembled in the Sedetanian territory, according to the orders which had been given.

## 2

On the other side, the Roman generals also, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, lest by neglecting the first beginnings of the war it should increase in violence, having united their armies, and led their troops through the Ausetanian territory in a peaceable manner, as though it had been the territory of friends instead of enemies, came to the position of the enemy, and pitched their camp at a distance of three miles from theirs. At first an unsuccessful attempt was made, through ambassadors, to induce them to lay down their arms; then the Spanish cavalry making a sudden attack on the Roman foragers, a body of cavalry was sent to support them from the Roman outposts, when a battle between the cavalry took place with no memorable issue to either side. The next day, at sun-rise, the whole force displayed their line, armed and drawn out for

battle, at the distance of about a mile from the Roman camp. The Ausetanians were in the centre, the right wing was occupied by the Ilergetians, the left by some inconsiderable states of Spain. Between the wings and the centre they had left intervals of considerable extent, through which they might send out their cavalry when occasion required. The Romans also, drawing up their army in their usual manner, imitated the enemy in respect only of leaving themselves also intervals between the legions to afford passages for their cavalry. Lentulus, however, concluding that the cavalry could be employed with advantage by those only who should be the first to send them against the enemy's line, thus broken by intervals, ordered Servius Cornelius, a military tribune, to direct the cavalry to ride at full speed into the spaces left in the enemy's line. Lentulus himself, as the battle between the infantry was somewhat unfavourable in its commencement, waited only until he had brought up from the reserve into the front line the thirteenth legion to support the twelfth legion, which had been posted in the left wing, against the Ilergetians, and which was giving ground. And when the battle was thus placed on an equal footing in that quarter, he came to Lucius Manlius, who was exhorting the troops in the foremost line, and bringing up the reserves in such places as circumstances required, and told him that all was safe in the left wing, and that Cornelius Servius, who had been sent by him for that purpose, would soon pour round the enemy a storm of cavalry. He had scarcely uttered these words, when the Roman horse, riding into the midst of the enemy, at once threw their line of infantry into disorder, and closed up the passage by which the Spanish cavalry were to advance. The Spaniards, therefore, giving up all thoughts of fighting on horseback, dismounted and fought on foot. When the Roman generals saw that the ranks of the enemy were in confusion, that they were in a state of trepidation and dismay, their standards moving to and fro, they exhorted and implored their men to charge them while thus discomfited, and not allow them to form their line again. So desperate was their charge that the barbarians could not have withstood the shock, had not the prince Indibilis in person, together with the discounted cavalry, opposed himself to the enemy before the front rank of the infantry. There an obstinate contest continued for a considerable time; but those who fought round the king, who continued his resistance though almost expiring, and who was afterwards pinned to the earth by a javelin, having at length fallen, overwhelmed with darts, a general flight took place; and the number slain was the greater because the horsemen were prevented from remounting, and because the Romans pressed impetuously upon the discomfited troops; nor did they give over until they had deprived the enemy of their camp. On that day thirteen thousand Spaniards were slain, and about eight hundred captured. Of the Romans and allies there fell a little more than two hundred, and those principally in the left wing. Such of the Spaniards as were beaten out of their camp, or had escaped from the battle, at first dispersed themselves through the country, but afterwards returned each to his own state.

### 3

They were then summoned to an assembly by Mandonius, at which, after complaining bitterly of the losses they had sustained, and upbraiding the instigators of the war, they resolved that ambassadors should be sent with proposals to deliver up their arms and make a surrender. These, laying the blame on Indibilis, the instigator of the war, and the other chiefs, most of whom had fallen in the battle, and offering to deliver up their arms and surrender themselves, received for answer, that their surrender would be accepted on condition that they delivered up alive Mandonius and the rest of the persons who had fomented the war; but if they refused to comply, that armies should be marched

into the territories of the Illyrians and Ausetanians, and afterwards into those of the other states in succession. This answer given to the ambassadors, was reported to the assembly, and Mandonius and the other chiefs were there seized and delivered up for punishment. Peace was restored to the states of Spain, which were ordered to pay double taxes that year, and furnish corn for six months, together with cloaks and gowns for the army; and hostages were taken from about thirty of the states.

The tumult occasioned by the rebellion in Spain having been thus excited and suppressed within the space of a few days, without any great disturbance, the whole terror of the war was directed against Africa. Caius Laelius having arrived at Hippo Regius by night, at break of day led his soldiers and mariners in regular array to lay waste the country. As all the inhabitants were living unguardedly, as in a time of peace, great damage was done; and messengers, flying in terror, filled Carthage with alarm, by reporting that the Roman fleet and the general, Scipio, had arrived; for there was a rumour that Scipio had already crossed over into Sicily. Not knowing accurately how many ships they had seen, or how large a body of troops was devastating the country, they, under the influence of fear, which represented them as greater than they really were, exaggerated every thing. Accordingly, at first, terror and dismay took possession of their minds, but afterwards grief, when they reflected that their circumstances had undergone so great a change; that they, who lately as conquerors had an army before the walls of Rome, and, after having laid prostrate so many armies of the enemy, had received the surrender of all the states of Italy, either by force or choice, now, the war having taken an unfavourable turn, were destined to behold the devastation of Africa and the siege of Carthage, without any thing like the resources to enable them to bear up against those calamities which the Romans possessed. To the latter the Roman commons and Latium afforded a supply of young men, which continually grew up more vigorous and more numerous, in the room of so many armies destroyed, while their own people, both those in the city and those in the country, were unfit for military service; their troops consisted of auxiliaries, procured by hire from the Africans, a faithless nation, and veering about with every gale of fortune. Now too, with regard to the kings, Syphax was alienated from them since his conference with Scipio, and Masinissa, by an open defection, had become their most determined enemy. Wherever they turned their eyes there was no hope, no aid. Neither did Mago excite any commotion on the side of Gaul, nor join his forces with those of Hannibal; while Hannibal himself was now declining both in reputation and strength.

#### 4

Their minds, which had fallen into these melancholy reflections in consequence of the intelligence they had just received, were brought back by their immediate fears to deliberate how to oppose the instant danger. They resolved, that troops should be hastily levied both in the city and in the country; that persons should be sent to hire auxiliaries from the Africans; that the city should be fortified, corn collected, weapons and arms prepared, and ships equipped and sent to Hippo against the Roman fleet. But now, while engaged in these matters, news at length arrived that it was Laelius, and not Scipio; that the forces which he had brought over were only what were sufficient for making predatory incursions into the country, and that the principal stress of the war still lay in Sicily. Thus they were enabled to take breath, and they began to send embassies to Syphax and the other petty princes, for the purpose of strengthening their alliances. To Philip also ambassadors were sent, to promise him two hundred talents of silver, if he would cross over into Sicily or Italy. Ambassadors were also sent into Italy

to the two generals, to desire them to keep Scipio at home by terrifying the enemy in every way they could. To Mago, not only ambassadors were sent, but twenty-five men of war, six thousand infantry, eight hundred horse, and seven elephants, besides a large sum of money to be employed in hiring auxiliaries, in order that, encouraged by these aids, he might advance his army nearer to the city of Rome, and form a junction with Hannibal. Such were the preparations and plans at Carthage. While Laelius was employed in carrying off an immense quantity of booty from the country, the inhabitants of which had no arms, and which was destitute of forces, Masinissa, moved by the report of the arrival of the Roman fleet, came to him attended by a small body of horse. He complained that "Scipio had not acted with promptness in this business, in that he had not already passed his army over into Africa, while the Carthaginians were in consternation, and while Syphax was entangled in wars with the neighbouring states, and in doubt and uncertainty as to the course he should take; that if time was allowed to Syphax to adjust his own affairs according to his mind, he would not in any thing keep his faith with the Romans inviolate." He requested that he would exhort and stimulate Scipio not to delay. Though driven from his kingdom, he said he would join him with no despicable force of foot and horse. Nor was it right, said he that Laelius should continue in Africa, for he believed that a fleet had set sail from Carthage, with which, in the absence of Scipio, it would not be altogether safe to engage.

## 5

After this discourse Masinissa departed. Laelius, the next day, sailed from Hippo with his ships loaded with booty, and returning to Sicily, delivered to Scipio the injunctions of Masinissa. About the same time the ships which were sent from Carthage to Mago touched at the country between the Albingaunian Ligurians and Genoa. Mago happened to be lying here with his fleet at this time. After hearing the message of the ambassadors, directing him to collect as great a number of troops as possible, he immediately held a council of the Gauls and Ligurians, for a great number of both those nations were there. He said that he was sent to restore them to liberty, and, as they themselves might see, succours were sent him from home; but that it depended upon them with how great forces and how large an army the war for that purpose was to be carried on. That the Romans had two armies in the field, one in Gaul and another in Etruria. That he was well informed that Spurius Lucretius would form a junction with Marcus Livius, and that they on their part must arm many thousands, in order to cope with two Roman generals and two armies. The Gauls replied, that they had the strongest possible inclination to this, but as the Romans had one army within their borders, and another in the neighbouring country of Etruria, almost within sight, if it should be known that they had supported the Carthaginians with auxiliaries, those would immediately invade their territories on both sides with determined hostility. They requested that he would ask of the Gauls such aids as they could afford in a covert manner. The purposes of the Ligurians, they said, were unrestrained, because the Roman troops were at a distance from their lands and cities; that it was fair that they should arm their youth and take upon themselves a portion of the war. The Ligurians did not dissent; they only requested the space of two months to make their levies. Having dismissed the Gauls, Mago in the mean time secretly hired soldiers through their country. Provisions also of every description were sent to him privately by the Gallic states. Marcus Livius led his army of volunteer slaves out of Etruria into Gaul, and having joined Lucretius, prepared to meet Mago in case he should move from Liguria nearer to the city; but intending, if the Carthaginian should keep himself quiet under the

angle formed by the Alps, to remain himself also in the same quarter, near Ariminum, for the protection of Italy.

## 6

After the return of Caius Laelius from Africa, though Scipio was goaded on by the exhortations of Masinissa; and the soldiers, on seeing the booty which was taken from the enemy's country landed from the whole fleet, were inflamed with the strongest desire to cross over as soon as possible; this important object was interrupted by one of minor consideration, namely, that of regaining the town of Locri, which at the time of the general defection of Italy had itself also gone over to the Carthaginians. The hope of accomplishing this object beamed forth from a very trifling circumstance. The war was carried on in Bruttium rather in a predatory than a regular manner, the Numidians having set the example, and the Bruttians falling in with that practice, not more in consequence of their connexion with the Carthaginians, than from their natural inclination. At last the Romans also, who now took delight in plunder by a sort of infection, made excursions into the lands of their enemies so far as their leaders would permit it. Some Locrians who had gone out of the town, were surrounded by them and carried off to Rhegium. Among the number of the prisoners were certain artisans, who, as it happened, had been accustomed to work for the Carthaginians in the city of Locri for hire. They were recognised by some of the Locrian nobles, who having been driven out by the opposite faction, which had delivered up Locri to Hannibal, had retired to Rhegium; and having answered their other questions relative to what was going on at home, questions which are usually put by such as have been long absent, they gave them hopes that, if ransomed and sent back, they might be able to deliver up the citadel to them; for there they resided, and among the Carthaginians they enjoyed unlimited confidence. Accordingly, as these nobles were at once tormented with a longing for their country, and inflamed with a desire to be revenged on their enemies, they immediately ransomed the prisoners and sent them back, after having settled the plan of operation, and agreed upon the signals which were to be given at a distance and observed by them. They then went themselves to Scipio to Syracuse, with whom some of the exiles were; and having, by relating to him the promises made by the prisoners, inspired the consul with hopes which seemed likely to be realized, Marcus Sergius and Publius Matienus, military tribunes, were sent with them, and ordered to lead three thousand soldiers from Rhegium to Locri. A letter was also written to Quintus Pleminius, the proprætor, with directions that he should assist in the business. The troops, setting out from Rhegium and carrying with them ladders to suit the alleged height of the citadel, about midnight gave a signal to those who were to betray it from the place agreed upon. The latter were ready and on the watch, and having themselves also lowered down ladders made for the purpose, and received the Romans as they climbed up in several places at once, an attack was made upon the Carthaginian sentinels, who were fast asleep, as they were not afraid of any thing of the kind before any noise was made. Their dying groans were the first sound that was heard; then, awaking from their sleep, a sudden consternation and confusion followed, the cause of the alarm being unknown. At length, one rousing another, the fact became more certain, and now every one shouted "To arms" with all his might; "that the enemy were in the citadel and the sentinels slain;" and the Romans, who were far inferior in numbers, would have been overpowered, had not a shout raised by those who were outside of the citadel rendered it uncertain whence the noise proceeded, while the terror of an alarm by night magnified all fears, however groundless. The Carthaginians, therefore, terrified and supposing that the

citadel was already filled with the enemy, gave up all thoughts of opposition and fled to the other citadel; for there were two at no great distance from each other. The townsmen held the city, which lay between the two fortresses, as the prize of the victors. Slight engagements took place daily from the two citadels. Quintus Pleminius commanded the Roman, Hamilcar the Carthaginian garrison. They augmented their forces by calling in aids from the neighbouring places. At last Hannibal himself came; nor would the Romans have held out, had not the general body of the Locrians, exasperated by the pride and rapacity of the Carthaginians, leaned towards the Romans.

## 7

When Scipio received intelligence that the posture of affairs at Locri had become more critical, and that Hannibal himself was approaching, lest even the garrison might be exposed to danger; for it was not an easy matter for it to retire thence; as soon as the direction of the tide in the strait had changed, he let the ships drive with the tide from Messina, having left his brother, Lucius Scipio, in command there. Hannibal also sent a messenger in advance from the river Butrotus, which is not far from the town of Locri, to desire his party to attack the Romans and Locrians at break of day in the most vigorous manner, while he on the opposite side assaulted the town, which would be unprepared for such a measure, as every one would have his attention occupied with the tumult created in the other quarter. But when, as soon as it was light, he found that the battle had commenced, he was unwilling to shut himself up in the citadel, where, by his numbers, he would crowd that confined place; nor had he brought with him scaling-ladders to enable him to mount the walls. Having, however, had the baggage thrown together in a heap, and displayed his line at a distance from the walls to intimidate the enemy, while the scaling-ladders and other requisites for an assault were preparing, he rode round the city with some Numidian horsemen, in order to observe in what quarter the attack might be best made. Having advanced towards the rampart, the person who happened to stand next him was struck by a weapon from a scorpion; and, terrified at an accident in which he had been exposed to so much danger, he retired, gave directions for sounding a retreat, and fortified a camp out of the reach of weapons. The Roman fleet from Messina came to Locri several hours before night. The troops were all landed and had entered the city before sun-set. The following day the fight began from the citadel on the part of the Carthaginians, and Hannibal, having now prepared ladders and all the other requisites for an assault, was coming up to the walls; when, throwing open the gate, the Romans suddenly sallied out upon him, Hannibal fearing nothing less than such a step. They slew as many as two hundred in the attack, having taken them by surprise. The rest Hannibal withdrew into the camp when he found the consul was there; and having despatched a messenger to those who were in the citadel, to desire them to take measures for their own safety, he decamped by night. Those who were in the citadel also, after throwing fire upon the buildings they occupied, in order that the alarm thus occasioned might detain their enemy, went away with a speed which resembled flight, and overtook the body of their army before night.

## 8

Scipio, seeing that the citadel was abandoned by the enemy, and their camp deserted, called the Locrians to an assembly and rebuked them severely for their defection. He inflicted punishment on the persons principally concerned, and gave their effects to the leaders of the other party, in consideration of their extraordinary fidelity to the Romans. As to the Locrians in general, he said that he would neither grant them any thing, nor

take any thing from them. They might send ambassadors to Rome, and they should experience that treatment which the senate thought proper to adopt. Of one thing, however, he said he was confident, which was, that although they had deserved ill at the hands of the Romans, they would be better off when subject to them, though incensed against them, than they had been when in the power of their friends the Carthaginians. Leaving Quintus Pleminius lieutenant-general, and the garrison which had taken the citadel to defend the city, the general himself crossed over to Messana with the forces he had brought with him. The Locrians had been treated with such insolence and cruelty by the Carthaginians since their revolt from the Romans, that they were able to endure severities of an ordinary kind not only with patience but almost willingness. But indeed, so greatly did Pleminius surpass Hamilcar, who had commanded the garrison, so greatly did the Roman soldiers in the garrison surpass the Carthaginians in villany and rapacity, that it would appear that they endeavoured to outdo each other, not in arms, but in vices. None of all those things which render the power of a superior hateful to the powerless was omitted towards the inhabitants, either by the general or his soldiers. The most shocking insults were committed against their own persons, their children, and their wives, For their rapacity did not abstain from the spoliation even of sacred things; and not only were other temples violated, but even the treasures of Proserpine, which had never been touched through all ages, excepting that they were said to have been carried away by Pyrrhus, who restored the spoils, together with a costly offering in expiation of his sacrilege. Therefore, as on the former occasion, the royal ships, wrecked and shattered, brought nothing safe to land, except the sacred money of the goddess, which they were carrying away; so now also, that same money, by a different kind of calamity, cast a spirit of madness upon all who were contaminated by this violation of the temple, and turned them against each other with the fury of enemies, general against general, and soldier against soldier.

## 9

Pleminius had the chief command; that part of the soldiers which he had brought with him from Rhegium were under his own command, the rest were under the command of the tribunes. One of Pleminius's men, while running away with a silver cup which he had stolen from the house of a townsman, the owners pursuing him, happened to meet Sergius and Matienus, the military tribunes. The cup having been taken away from him at the order of the tribunes, abuse and clamour ensued, and at last a fight arose between the soldiers of Pleminius and those of the tribunes; the numbers engaged and the tumult increasing at the same time, as either party was joined by their friends who happened to come up at the time. When the soldiers of Pleminius, who had been worsted, had run to him in crowds, not without loud clamouring and indignant feelings, showing their blood and wounds, and repeating the reproaches which had been heaped upon him during the dispute, Pleminius, fired with resentment, flung himself out of his house, ordered the tribunes to be summoned and stripped, and the rods to be brought out. During the time which was consumed in stripping them, for they made resistance, and implored their men to aid them, on a sudden the soldiers, flushed with their recent victory, ran together from every quarter, as if there had been a shout to arms against enemies; and when they saw the bodies of their tribunes now mangled with rods, then indeed, suddenly inflamed with much, more ungovernable rage, without respect, not only for the dignity of their commander, but of humanity, they made an attack upon the lieutenant-general, having first mutilated the lictors in a shocking manner; they then cruelly lacerated the lieutenant-general himself, having cut him off from his party and

hemmed him in, and after mutilating his nose and ears left him almost lifeless. Accounts of these occurrences arriving at Messana, Scipio, a few days after, passing over to Locri in a ship with six banks of oars, took cognizance of the cause of Pleminius and the tribunes. Having acquitted Pleminius and left him in command of the same place, and pronounced the tribunes guilty and thrown them into chains, that they might be sent to Rome to the senate, he returned to Messana, and thence to Syracuse. Pleminius, unable to restrain his resentment, for he thought that the injury he had sustained had been treated negligently and too lightly by Scipio, and that no one could form an estimate of the punishment which ought to be inflicted in such a case, except the man who had in his own person felt its atrocity, ordered the tribunes to be dragged before him, and after lacerating them with every punishment which the human body could endure, put them to death; and not satisfied with the punishment inflicted on them while alive, cast them out unburied. The like cruelty he exercised towards the Locrian nobles, whom he heard had gone to Scipio to complain of the injuries he had done them. The horrid acts, prompted by lust and rapacity, which he had before perpetrated upon his allies, he now multiplied from resentment; thus bringing infamy and odium, not only upon himself, but upon the general also.

## 10

The time of the elections was now drawing near, when a letter from the consul Publius Licinius arrived at Rome, stating that "he himself and his army were afflicted with a severe sickness, nor could they have stood their ground had not the malady attacked the enemy with the same or even greater violence. Therefore, as he could not come himself to the election, he would, with the approbation of the senate, nominate Quintus Caecilius Metellus dictator, for the purpose of holding the election. That it was for the interest of the state that the army of Quintus Caecilius should be disbanded; for that it could not be made any use of under present circumstances, for Hannibal had now withdrawn his troops into winter quarters; and so violent was the malady which had infected that camp, that unless it was speedily broken up, there would not survive one man out of the whole army." The senate left it to the consul to settle these matters, as he should deem consistent with the interest of the state and his own honour. The state was at this time suddenly occupied with a question of a religious nature, in consequence of the discovery of a prediction in the Sibylline books, which had been inspected on account of there having been so many showers of stones this year. It ran thus: "Whensoever a foreign enemy should bring war into the land of Italy, he may be driven out of Italy and conquered, if the Idaean Mother should be brought from Pessinus to Rome." This prophecy, discovered by the decemviri, produced the greater impression upon the senate, because ambassadors also, who had carried a present to Delphi, had brought word back, that they had both obtained a favourable appearance in sacrificing to the Pythian Apollo, and that a response was delivered from the oracle, to the effect, that a much greater victory than that from the spoils of which they now brought presents, awaited the Roman people. They considered the presentiment which existed in the mind of Publius Scipio, with regard to the termination of the war, when he claimed Africa as his province, as corroborating the same anticipation. In order, therefore, that they might the more speedily put themselves in possession of victory, which was portended to them by the fates, omens, and oracles, they began to think what method could be adopted for conveying the goddess to Rome.

## 11

As yet the Roman people had none of the states of Asia in alliance with them. Recollecting, however, that formerly Aesculapius, on account of a sickness among the people, was fetched from Greece, which was not then united with them by any treaty; recollecting, also, that a friendship had already commenced between them and king Attalus, on account of the war which they waged in common against Philip, and that he would do whatever he could to oblige the Roman people, they resolved to send, as ambassadors to him, Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had been twice consul, and had carried on operations in Greece; Marcus Caecilius Metellus, who had been praetor; Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been aedile; and two who had been quaestors, Caius Tremellius Flaccus and Marcus Valerius Falto. To these five quinqueremes were assigned, in order that, in a manner suitable to the dignity of the Roman people, they might visit those lands where it was important to gain respect for the Roman name. The ambassadors, on their way to Asia, having landed at Delphi, immediately approached the oracle, inquiring what hopes the deity held out to themselves and the Roman people, of accomplishing the business for which they had been sent from home. It is said that the answer given was, "that they would obtain what they were seeking by means of king Attalus. When they had conveyed the goddess to Rome, they must take care that the best man at Rome should receive her to his hospitality." They came to Pergamus to the king, who received the ambassadors graciously, and conducted them to Pessinus in Phrygia, and putting into their hands a sacred stone, which the inhabitants said was the mother of the gods, bid them convey it to Rome. Marcus Valerius Falto, who was sent in advance, brought word that the goddess was on her way, and that the most virtuous man in the state must be sought out, who might in due form receive and entertain her. Quintus Caecilius Metellus was nominated dictator for holding the elections, by the consul in Bruttium, and his army was disbanded. Lucius Veturius Philo was made master of the horse. The elections were held by the dictator; the consuls elected were Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, who was absent, being engaged in his province of Greece. The praetors were then elected: Titus Claudius Nero, Marcus Marcius Ralla, Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Pomponius Matho. On the conclusion of the elections, the dictator abdicated his office. The Roman games were repeated thrice, the plebeian seven times. The curule aediles were Cneius and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus: Lucius had the province of Spain; he was elected in his absence, and was absent while he filled the office. The plebeian aediles were Titus Claudius Asellus and Marcus Junius Pennus. Marcus Marcellus this year dedicated the temple of Virtue at the Porta Capena, in the seventeenth year after it had been vowed by his father during his first consulate at Clastidium in Gaul: also Marcus Aemilius Regillus, flamen of Mars, died this year.

## 12

For the last two years the affairs of Greece had been neglected. Accordingly, as the Aetolians were deserted by the Romans, on whom alone they depended for assistance, Philip compelled them to sue for and agree to a peace on whatever conditions he pleased. Had he not exerted himself to the utmost in expediting this measure, he would have been overpowered, while engaged in war with the Aetolians, by Publius Sempronius, the proconsul, who had been sent to succeed Sulpicius in the command, with ten thousand infantry and a thousand horse, together with thirty-five ships of war, a force of no small importance to bring to the assistance of allies. Ere the peace was well concluded, news was brought to the king that the Romans had arrived at Dyrrachium; that the Parthinians, and other bordering nations, were up in arms on seeing hopes of

effecting a change; and that Dimallum was besieged. The Romans had turned their efforts to that quarter instead of assisting the Aetolians, for which purpose they had been sent, from resentment at the conduct of the Aetolians for making peace with the king without their sanction, contrary to the league. When Philip had received intelligence of these events, lest any greater commotion should arise in the neighbouring nations and states, he proceeded by forced marches to Apollonia, to which place Sempronius had retired, having sent Laetorius, his lieutenant-general, with a part of his forces and fifteen ships into Aetolia, to look into the state of affairs, and, if he could, dissolve the peace. Philip laid waste the lands of the Apollonians, and, advancing his troops to the tower, offered the Romans battle. But seeing that they remained quiet, only defending the walls, and not having sufficient confidence in his strength to assault the town, being desirous also of making peace with the Romans if possible, as he had with the Aetolians, or at least a truce, he withdrew into his own dominions, without further exciting their animosity by a fresh contest. During the same time the Epirots, wearied by the long continuance of the war, having first sounded the disposition of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Philip on the subject of a common peace; affirming that they were well satisfied that it might be arranged if he would come to a conference with Publius Sempronius, the Roman general. They easily prevailed on him to pass into Epirus, for neither were the king's own inclinations averse from this measure. Phoenice is a city of Epirus; here Philip first conferred with Aeropus Dardas and Philip, praetors of the Epirots, and afterwards met Publius Sempronius. Amynder, king of the Athamanians, and other magistrates of the Epirots and Acarnanians, were present at the conference. The praetor Philip spoke first, and requested at once of the king and the Roman general, that they would put an end to the war, and grant this boon to the Epirots. Publius Sempronius proposed as the conditions of the peace, that the Parthinians, and Dimallum, and Bargulum, and Eugenium, should be under the dominion of the Romans; that Atintania, if on sending ambassadors to Rome they could prevail upon the senate to acquiesce, should be added to the dominions of the Macedonian. The peace having been agreed upon on these terms, Prusias king of Bithynia, the Achaeans, the Boeotians, the Thessalians, the Acarnanians, and the Epirots, were included in the treaty by the king; by the Romans, the Ilians, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, the Eleans, the Messenians, and Athenians. These conditions were committed to writing and sealed; and a truce was agreed upon for two months, to allow time for ambassadors being sent to Rome, that the people might order the peace upon these terms. All the tribes agreed in ordering it, because now that the operations of the war were removed into Africa, they were desirous to be relieved for the present from all other wars. The peace being concluded, Publius Sempronius took his departure for Rome, to attend to the duties of his consulship.

### 13

To Publius Sempronius and Marcus Cornelius, the consuls in the fifteenth year of the Punic war, the provinces assigned were, to Cornelius, Etruria, with the old army; to Sempronius, Bruttium, with directions to levy fresh legions. Of the praetors, to Marcus Marcius fell the city jurisdiction; to Lucius Scribonius Libo, the foreign, together with Gaul; to Marcus Pomponius Matho, Sicily; to Titus Claudius Nero, Sardinia. Publius Scipio was continued in command with the army and fleet which he had under him, as was also Publius Licinius, with directions to occupy Bruttium with two legions, so long as the consul should deem it for the advantage of the state that he should continue in

the province with command. Marcus Livius and Spurius Lucretius were also continued in command, with the two legions with which they had protected Gaul against Mago; also Cneius Octavius, with orders that, after he had delivered up Sardinia and the legion to Titus Claudius, he should, with forty ships of war, protect the sea-coast within such limits as the senate should appoint. To Marcus Pomponius, the praetor in Sicily, the troops which had fought at Cannae, consisting of two legions, were assigned. It was decreed, that Titus Quinctius and Caius Tubulus, propraeors, should occupy, the former Tarentum, the latter Capua, as in the former year, each having his old army. With respect to the command in Spain, it was submitted to the people to decide on the two proconsuls to be sent into that province. All the tribes agreed in ordering that the same persons, namely, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, should, as proconsuls, hold the command of those provinces as they had the former year. The consuls set about making the levies, both to raise new legions for Bruttium, and recruit the other armies; for so were they directed by the senate.

#### 14

Although Africa had not as yet been openly declared a province, the senate keeping it a secret, I suppose, lest the Carthaginians should get intelligence of it beforehand, nevertheless, the most sanguine hopes were entertained in the city, that the enemy would be vanquished that year in Africa, and that the termination of the Punic war was at hand. This circumstance had filled the minds of the people with superstitious notions, and they were strongly disposed to credit and propagate accounts of prodigies, and for that reason more were reported. It was said, "that two suns had been seen; that it had become light for a time during the night; that at Setia a meteor had been seen, extending from the east to the west; that at Tarracina a gate, at Anagnia a gate and the wall in many places, had been struck by lightning; that in the temple of Juno Sospita, at Lanuvium, a noise had been heard, accompanied with a tremendous crash." There was a supplication for one day for the purpose of expiating these, and the nine days' sacred rite was celebrated on account of a shower of stones. In addition to these cares, they had to deliberate about the reception of the Idaean Mother; for besides that Marcus Valerius, one of the ambassadors who had come before the rest, had brought word that she would be in Italy forthwith a recent account had arrived that she was at Tarracina. The senate was occupied with the determination of a matter of no small importance, namely, who was the most virtuous man in the state. Every one doubtless would wish for himself the victory in this contest, rather than any office of command, or any honours, which could be conferred by the suffrages either of the senate or the people. Publius Scipio, son of Cneius who had fallen in Spain, a youth not yet of the age to be quaestor, they adjudged to be the best of the good men in the whole state. Though I would willingly record it for the information of posterity, had the writers who lived in the times nearest to those events mentioned by what virtues of his they were induced to come to this determination, yet I will not obtrude my own opinion, formed upon conjecture, relative to a matter buried in the obscurity of antiquity. Publius Cornelius was ordered to go to Ostia, attended by all the matrons, to meet the goddess; to receive her from the ship himself, and, when landed, place her in the hands of the matrons to convey her away. After the ship arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, Scipio, according to the directions given him, sailed out into the open sea, and, receiving the goddess from the priests, conveyed her to land. The chief matrons in the state received her, among whom the name of Claudia Quinta alone is worthy of remark. Her fame, which, as it is recorded, was before that time dubious, became, in consequence of her having assisted

in so solemn a business, illustrious for chastity among posterity. The matrons, passing her from one to another in orderly succession, conveyed the goddess into the temple of Victory, in the Palatium, on the day before the ides of April, which was made a festival, while the whole city poured out to meet her; and, placing censers before their doors, on the way by which she was conveyed in procession, kindled frankincense, and prayed that she would enter the city of Rome willingly and propitiously. The people in crowds carried presents to the goddess in the Palatium; a lectisternium was celebrated, with games called the Megalesian.

## 15

When the business of recruiting the legions in the provinces was under consideration, it was suggested by certain senators that now was the time, when, by the favour of the gods, their fears were removed, to put a stop to certain things, however they might have been tolerated in perilous circumstances. The senators, being intent in expectation, subjoined, that the twelve Latin colonies which had refused to furnish soldiers to the consuls, Quintus Fabius and Quintus Fulvius, were enjoying, for now the sixth year, exemption from military service, as though it had been granted to them a mark of honour and favour; while in the mean time their good and dutiful allies, in return for their fidelity and obedience to the Roman people, had been exhausted by continual levies every year. By these words the recollection of the senate was renewed touching a matter which was now almost obliterated, and their indignation equally excited. Accordingly, without allowing the consuls to lay any other business before the senate in priority, they decreed, "that the consuls should summon to Rome the magistrates, and ten principal inhabitants, from each of the colonies, Xepete, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carseoli, Sora, Suessa, Setia, Circeii, Narnia, and Interamna; for these were the colonies implicated in this affair; and command them that each of those colonies should furnish double the greatest number of foot soldiers which they had ever provided for the Roman people since the enemy had been in Italy, and one hundred and twenty horsemen each. If any of them was unable to make up that number of horsemen, that it should be allowed to furnish three foot soldiers for every horseman deficient. That both the foot and horse soldiers should be chosen from the wealthiest of the inhabitants, and should be sent out of Italy wheresoever there was want of recruits. If any of them refused to comply, it was their pleasure that the magistrates and ambassadors of such should be detained; and that, if they requested it, they should not be allowed an audience of the senate till they had obeyed these orders. Moreover, that an annual tax should be imposed upon them, and collected after the rate of one *as* for every thousand; and that a census should be taken in those colonies, according to a formula appointed by the Roman censors, which should be the same which was employed in the case of the Roman people; and that a return should be made at Rome by sworn censors of the colonies, before they retired from their office." The magistrates and principal men of these colonies having been summoned to Rome, when the consuls imposed upon them the contribution of men, and the management of the tax, they vied with each other in making excuses, and remonstrating against it. They said "it was impossible that so large a number of men could be raised. That they could scarcely accomplish it, if even the simple contribution only, according to the established ratio, were required of them. They entreated and besought them that they might be allowed to appear before the senate and deprecate their resolution. They had committed no crime for which they deserved to be ruined; but, even if they were to be ruined, neither their own crime nor the resentment of the Roman people could make them furnish a greater number of

soldiers than they had got." The consuls, persisting, ordered the ambassadors to remain at Rome, and the magistrates to go home to make the levies; observing, that "unless the amount of soldiers enjoined were brought to Rome, no one would give them an audience of the senate." All hope of appearing before the senate, and deprecating their decision, being then cut off, the levies were completed in the twelve colonies without difficulty, as the number of their youth had increased during their long exemption from service.

## 16

Another affair, likewise, which had been passed over in silence for an almost equally long period, was laid before the senate by Marcus Valerius Laevinus; who said, "that equity required that the monies which had been contributed by private individuals, when he and Marcus Claudius were consuls, should now at length be repaid. Nor ought any one to feel surprised that a case, where the public faith was pledged, should have engaged his attention in an especial manner; for, besides that the matter appertained, in some degree, peculiarly to the consul of that year in which the money was contributed, he was himself the author of the measure, as the treasury was drained, and the people unable to pay the taxes." This suggestion was well received by the senate, and, bidding the consuls to propose the question, they decreed, "that this money should be paid by three instalments; that the present consuls should make the first payment immediately, and the third and fifth consuls, from that time, the two remaining."

After this, all their other cares gave place to one alone when the sufferings of the Locrians, of which they had been ignorant up to that day, were made known by the arrival of their ambassadors. Nor was it the villany of Pleminius so much as the partiality or negligence of Scipio in that affair, which excited the resentment of the people. While the consuls were sitting in the comitium, ten ambassadors of the Locrians, covered with filth, and in mourning, and extending branches of olive, the badges of suppliants, according to the Grecian custom, prostrated themselves on the ground before the tribunal, with loud lamentations. In answer to the inquiry of the consuls, they said, "that they were Locrians, who had suffered such things at the hands of Pleminius the lieutenant-general, and the Roman soldiers, as the Roman people would not wish even the Carthaginians to experience. They requested that they would allow them to appear before the senate, and complain of their sufferings."

## 17

An audience having been granted, the eldest of them thus spoke: "I know, conscript fathers, that the importance you will attach to the complaints we make before you must depend, in a very great degree, upon your accurately knowing the manner in which Locri was betrayed to Hannibal, and placed again under your dominion after the expulsion of his garrison. Inasmuch as if the guilt of defection does not rest upon the public, and it is made apparent that our restoration to your dominion was effected, not only in concurrence with our wishes, but by our own co-operation and valour, you will be the more indignant that such atrocious and shameful injuries should have been inflicted upon good and faithful allies by your lieutenant-general and soldiers. But I think it proper that the subject of our changing sides, in both instances, should be deferred to another time, on two accounts: first, that it may be discussed in the presence of Publius Scipio, who retook Locri, and who witnessed all our acts, both good and bad; and secondly, because, whatever we are, we ought not to have suffered what we have. We cannot conceal, conscript fathers, that when we had a Carthaginian garrison in our

citadel we were exposed to many sufferings, of a shocking and shameful kind, from Hamilcar, the captain of the garrison, and the Numidians and Africans. But what are they compared with what we endure this day? I request, conscript fathers, that you will hear without offence what I am reluctant to mention. All mankind are now in a state of anxious suspense, whether they are to see you or the Carthaginians lords of the world. If an estimate is to be formed of the Roman and Carthaginian governments from what we Locrians have suffered from the Carthaginians on the one hand, or on the other, from what we are suffering, at the present time especially, from your garrison; there is no one who would not wish the Carthaginians to be his masters rather than the Romans. And yet observe what are the feelings which the Locrians have entertained towards you. When we were suffering injuries of much less magnitude from the Carthaginians, we fled for protection to your general; now we are suffering more than hostile indignities from your garrison, we have carried our complaints to no others than yourselves. Conscript fathers! either you will consider our forlorn condition or there is no other resource left us for which we can even pray to the immortal gods. Quintus Pleminius, the lieutenant-general, was sent with a body of troops to recover Locri from the Carthaginians, and was left there in command of the same as a garrison. In this your lieutenant-general there is neither any thing of a man, conscript fathers, but the figure and outward appearance, (for the extremity of our misery prompts me to speak freely,) nor of a Roman citizen, but the attire and dress, and the sound of the Latin language. He is a pest and savage monster, such as are fabled to have beset the strait by which we are separated from Sicily, for the destruction of mariners. And yet if he had been content to be the only person to vent his villany, his lust, and rapacity upon your allies, that one gulf, deep as it was, we would however have filled up by our patience. But the case is, he has made every one of your centurions and soldiers a Pleminius, so indiscriminately has he willed that licentiousness and wickedness should be practised. All plunder, spoil, beat, wound, and slay; all defile matrons, virgins, and free-born youths torn from the embraces of their parents. Our city is captured daily, plundered daily. Day and night, every place indiscriminately rings with the lamentations of women and children, seized and carried away. Any one, acquainted with our sufferings, might be astonished how it is that we are capable of bearing them, or that the authors of them are not yet satiated with inflicting such enormous cruelties. Neither am I able to go through with them, nor is it worth your while to listen to the particulars of our sufferings. I will embrace them all in a general description. I declare that there is not a house or a man at Locri exempt from injury. I say that there cannot be found any species of villany, lust, or rapacity which has not been exercised on every one capable of being the object of them. It would be difficult to determine in which case the city was visited with the more horrible calamity, whether when it was captured by an enemy, or when a sanguinary tyrant crushed it by violence and arms. Every evil, conscript fathers, which captured cities suffer, we have suffered, and do now as much as ever suffer. All the enormities which the most cruel and savage tyrants are wont to perpetrate upon their oppressed subjects, Pleminius has perpetrated upon ourselves, our children, and our wives.

## 18

"There is one circumstance, however, in complaining of which particularly we may be allowed to yield to our deeply-rooted sense of religion, and indulge a hope that you will listen to it; and, if it shall seem good to you, conscript fathers, free your state from the guilt of irreligious conduct. For we have seen with how great solemnity you not only worship your own deities, but entertain even those of foreign countries. We have a fane

dedicated to Proserpine, of the sanctity of which temple I imagine some accounts must have reached you, during the war with Pyrrhus; who, when sailing by Locri, on his return from Sicily, among other horrid enormities which he committed against our state, on account of our fidelity towards you, plundered also the treasures of Proserpine, which had never been touched up to that day; and then, putting the money on board his ships, proceeded on his journey himself by land. What, therefore, was the result, conscript fathers? The next day his fleet was shattered by a most hideous tempest, and all the ships which carried the sacred money were thrown on our shores. That most insolent king, convinced by this so great disaster that there were gods, ordered all the money to be collected and restored to the treasures of the goddess. However, he never met with any success afterwards; but, after being driven out of Italy, he died an ignoble and dishonourable death, having incautiously entered Argos by night. Though your lieutenant-general and military tribune had heard of these, and a thousand other circumstances, which were related not for the purpose of creating increased reverence, but frequently experienced by ourselves and our ancestors, through the special interposition of the goddess, they had, nevertheless, the audacity to apply their sacrilegious hands to those hallowed treasures, and pollute themselves, their own families, and your soldiers, with the impious booty. Through whom we implore you, conscript fathers, by your honour, not to perform any thing in Italy or in Africa, until you have expiated their guilty deed, lest they should atone for the crime they have committed, not with their own blood only, but by some disaster affecting their country. Although, even now, conscript fathers, the resentment of the goddess does not tarry either towards your generals or your soldiers. Already have they several times engaged each other in pitched battles, one party headed by Pleminius, and the other by the two military tribunes. Never did they employ their weapons with more fury against the Carthaginians than when encountering each other; and they would have afforded Hannibal an opportunity of retaking Locri, had not Scipio, whom we called in, come in time to prevent it. But, by Hercules, is it that the soldiers are impelled by frenzy, and that the influence of the goddess has not shown itself in punishing the generals themselves? Nay, herein her interposition was manifested in the most conspicuous manner. The tribunes were beaten with rods by the lieutenant-general. Then the lieutenant-general, treacherously seized by the tribunes, besides being mangled in every part of his body, had his nose and ears cut off, and was left for dead. Then, recovering from his wounds, he threw the tribunes into chains; beat them, tortured them with every species of degrading punishment, and put them to death in a cruel manner, forbidding them to be buried. Such atonements has the goddess exacted from the despoilers of her temple; nor will she cease to pursue them, with every species of vengeance, till the sacred money shall have been replaced in the treasury. Formerly, our ancestors, during a grievous war with the Crotonians, because the temple was without the town, were desirous of removing the money into it; but a voice was heard from the shrine, during the night, commanding them to hold off their hands, for the goddess would defend her own temple. As they were deterred, by religious awe, from removing the treasures thence, they were desirous of surrounding the temple with a wall. The walls were raised to a considerable height, when they suddenly fell down in ruins. But, both now, and frequently on other occasions, the goddess has either defended her own habitation and temple, or has exacted heavy expiations from those who had violated it. Our injuries she cannot avenge, nor can any but yourselves avenge them, conscript fathers. To you, and to your honour, we fly, as suppliants. It makes no difference to us whether you suffer Locri to be subject to that lieutenant-general and that garrison, or

whether you deliver us up for punishment to incensed Hannibal and the Carthaginians. We do not request that you should at once believe us respecting one who is absent, and when the cause has not been heard. Let him come; let him hear our charges in person, and refute them himself. If there is any enormity one man can commit against another which he has not committed upon us we do not refuse to suffer all the same cruelties over again, if it is possible we can endure them, and let him be acquitted of all guilt towards gods and men."

## 19

When the ambassadors had thus spoken, and Quintus Fabius had asked them whether they had carried those complaints to Publius Scipio, they answered, "that deputies were sent to him, but he was occupied with the preparations for the war, and had either already crossed over into Africa, or was about to do so within a few days. That they had experienced how highly the lieutenant-general was in favour with the general, when, after hearing the cause between him and the tribunes, he threw the tribunes into chains, while he left the lieutenant-general, who was equally or more guilty, in possession of the same power as before." The ambassadors, having been directed to withdraw from the senate-house, not only Pleminius, but even Scipio, was severely inveighed against by the principal men; but, above all, by Quintus Fabius, who endeavoured to show, "that he was born for the corruption of military discipline. It was thus," he said, "that in Spain he almost lost more men in consequence of mutiny than the war. That, after the manner of foreigners and kings, he indulged the licentiousness of the soldiers, and then punished them with cruelty." He then followed up his speech by a resolution equally harsh: that "it was his opinion, that Pleminius should be conveyed to Rome in chains, and in chains plead his cause; and, if the complaints of the Locrians were founded in truth, that he should be put to death in prison, and his effects confiscated. That Publius Scipio should be recalled, for having quitted his province without the permission of the senate; and that the plebeian tribunes should be applied to, to propose to the people the abrogation of his command. That the senate should reply to the Locrians, when brought before them, that the injuries which they complained of having received were neither approved of by the senate nor the people of Rome. That they should be acknowledged as worthy men, allies, and friends; that their children, their wives, and whatsoever else had been taken from them, should be restored; that the sum of money which had been taken from the treasures of Proserpine should be collected, and twice the amount placed in the treasury. That an expiatory sacred rite should be celebrated, first referring it to the college of pontiffs, to determine what atonements should be made, to what gods, and with what victims, in consequence of the sacred treasures' having been removed and violated. That the soldiers at Locri should be all transported into Sicily, and four cohorts of the allies of the Latin confederacy taken to Locri for a garrison." The votes could not be entirely collected that day in consequence of the warm feeling excited for and against Scipio. Besides the atrocious conduct of Pleminius, and the calamities of the Locrians, much was said about the dress of the general himself, as being not only not Roman, but even unsoldierlike. It was said, that "he walked about in the gymnasium in a cloak and slippers, and that he gave his time to light books and the palaestra. That his whole staff were enjoying the delights which Syracuse afforded, with the same indolence and effeminacy. That Carthage and Hannibal had dropped out of his memory; that the whole army, corrupted by indulgence, like that at Sucro in Spain, or that now at Locri, was more to be feared by its allies than by its enemies."

## 20

Though these charges, partly true, and partly containing a mixture of truth and falsehood, and therefore, probably, were urged with vehemence; the opinion, however, of Quintus Metellus prevailed, who, agreeing with Maximus on other points, differed from him in the case of Scipio. "For how inconsistent would it be," said he, "that the person whom the state a little while ago selected as their general, though a very young man, for the recovery of Spain; whom, after he had taken Spain out of the hands of their enemies, they elected their consul, for the purpose of putting an end to the Punic war; whom they marked out with the most confident anticipation as the person who would draw Hannibal out of Italy, and subdue Africa; how inconsistent would it be, that this man, like another Pleminius, condemned in a manner without a hearing, should suddenly be recalled from his province! when the Locrians asserted that the wicked acts which had been committed against them were done not even in the presence of Scipio, and no other charge could be brought against him, than that he spared the lieutenant-general, either from good nature or respect. He thought it advisable, that Marcus Pomponius the praetor, to whose lot the province of Sicily had fallen, should go to his province within the next three days; that the consuls should select out of the senate ten deputies, whomsoever they thought proper, and send them with the praetor, together with two tribunes of the people, and an aedile. That the praetor, assisted by this council, should take cognizance of the affair. If those acts of which the Locrians complained were committed at the command or with the concurrence of Scipio, that they should command him to quit the province. If Publius Scipio had already crossed over into Africa, that the tribunes of the people and the aedile, with two of the deputies, whom the praetor should judge most fit for it, should proceed into Africa; the tribunes and the aedile to bring Scipio back from thence, and the deputies to take the command of the army until a new general had come to it. But if Marcus Pomponius and the ten deputies should discover that those acts had been committed neither with the orders nor concurrence of Publius Scipio, that Scipio should then remain with the army and carry on the war as he had proposed." A decree of the senate having passed to this effect, application was made to the tribunes of the people to arrange among themselves, or determine by lot, which two should go with the praetor and the deputies. The advice of the college of pontiffs was taken on the subject of the expiations to be made, on account of the treasures in the temple of Proserpine, at Locri, having been touched, violated, and carried out of it. The tribunes of the people, who went with the praetor and ten deputies, were Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Cincius Alimentus. To these a plebeian aedile was given, whom, if Scipio, whether he was still in Sicily or had now crossed over into Africa, should refuse to obey the orders of the praetor, the tribunes might direct to apprehend him, and bring him home in right of their most sacred authority. The plan was, to go to Locri before they went to Messana.

## 21

With regard to Pleminius, there are two different accounts. Some relate that, having heard what measures had been adopted at Rome, as he was going into exile to Naples, he accidentally fell in with Quintus Metellus, one of the deputies, by whom he was forcibly conveyed back to Rhegium. Others say, that Scipio himself sent a lieutenant-general with thirty of the most distinguished of the cavalry to throw Quintus Pleminius into chains, and with him the principal movers of the mutiny. All these, whether by the orders of Scipio before, or of the praetor now, were delivered over to the Rhegians to be kept in custody. The praetor and the deputies going to Locri, gave their attention first to the affair relating to religion, agreeably to their instructions; for, collecting all the sacred

money, whether in the possession of Pleminius or the soldiers, they replaced it in the treasury, together with that which they had brought with them, and performed an expiatory sacred rite. The praetor then, summoning the soldiers to an assembly, ordered them to march out of the city, and pitched a camp in the plain, issuing an edict which threatened severe punishment to any soldier who either had remained behind in the city, or had carried out with him what did not belong to him. He gave permission to the Locrians to seize whatever each of them identified as his property, and demand restitution to be made of any thing which was concealed. Above all, he was resolved that the free persons should be restored to the Locrians without delay. That the man who did not restore them should be visited with no light punishment. He then held an assembly of the Locrians, and told them, that "the people and senate of Rome restored to them their liberty and their laws. That if any one was desirous of bringing charges against Pleminius, or any one else, he should follow them to Rhegium. If they were desirous of complaining, in the name of their state, of Publius Scipio, as having ordered and approved of the nefarious acts which had been committed at Locri against gods and men, that they should send deputies to Messana, where, with the assistance of his council, he would hear them." The Locrians returned thanks to the praetor and deputies, and to the senate and people of Rome, and said that they would go and bring their charge against Pleminius. That Scipio, though he had evinced too little sympathy in the injuries inflicted on their state, was such a man as they would rather have their friend than their enemy; that they were convinced that the many and horrid acts which had been committed were done neither by the orders nor with the approval of Publius Scipio; that he had either placed too much confidence in Pleminius, or too little in them; that the natural disposition of some men was such, that they rather were unwilling that crimes should be committed, than had sufficient resolution to punish them when committed. Both the praetor and his council were relieved from a burden of no ordinary weight in not having to take cognizance of charges against Scipio. Pleminius, and as many as thirty-two persons with him, they condemned and sent in chains to Rome. They then proceeded to Scipio, that they might carry to Rome a statement attested by their own observation relative to the facts which had been so generally talked of, concerning the dress and indolent habits of the general, and the relaxation of military discipline.

## 22

While they were on their way to Syracuse, Scipio prepared to clear himself, not by words but facts. He ordered all his troops to assemble there, and the fleet to be got in readiness, as though a battle had been to be fought that day with the Carthaginians, by sea and land. On the day of their arrival he entertained them hospitably, and on the next day presented to their view his land and naval forces, not only drawn up in order, but the former performing evolutions, while the fleet in the harbour itself also exhibited a mock naval fight. The praetor and the deputies were then conducted round to view the armouries, the granaries, and other preparations for the war. And so great was the admiration excited in them of each particular, and of the whole together, that they firmly believed, that under the conduct of that general, and with that army, the Carthaginians would be vanquished, or by none other. They bid him, with the blessing of the gods, cross over, and, as soon as possible, realize to the Roman people the hopes they conceived on that day when all the centuries concurred in naming him first consul. Thus they set out on their return in the highest spirits, as though they were about to carry to Rome tidings of a victory, and not of a grand preparation for war. Pleminius, and those who were implicated in the same guilt with him, when they arrived at Rome,

were thrown immediately into prison. At first, when brought before the people by the tribunes, they found no place in their compassion, as their minds were previously engrossed by the sufferings of the Locrians; but afterwards, being repeatedly brought before them, and the hatred with which they were regarded subsiding, their resentment was softened. Besides, the mutilated appearance of Pleminius, and their recollections of the absent Scipio, operated in gaining them favour with the people. Pleminius, however, died in prison, before the people had come to a determination respecting him. Clodius Licinius, in the third book of his Roman history, relates, that this Pleminius, during the celebration of the votive games, which Africanus, in his second consulate, exhibited at Rome, made an attempt, by means of certain persons whom he had corrupted by bribes, to set fire to the city in several places, that he might have an opportunity of breaking out of prison, and making his escape; and that afterwards, the wicked plot having been discovered, he was consigned to the Tullian dungeon, according to a decree of the senate. The case of Scipio was considered no where but in the senate; where all the deputies and tribunes, bestowing the highest commendations on the fleet, the army, and the general, induced the senate to vote that he should cross over into Africa as soon as possible; and that permission should be given him to select himself, out of those armies which were in Sicily, those forces which he would carry with him into Africa, and those which he would leave for the protection of the province.

### 23

While the Romans were thus employed, the Carthaginians, on their part, though they had passed an anxious winter, earnestly inquiring what was going on, and terrified at the arrival of every messenger, with watch-towers placed on every promontory, had gained a point of no small importance for the defence of Africa, in adding to their allies king Syphax, in reliance on whom chiefly they believed the Romans would cross over into Africa. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, not only formed a connexion of hospitality with the before-named king, when Scipio and Hasdrubal happened to come to him at the same time out of Spain, but mention had also been slightly made of an affinity to take place between them, by the king's marrying the daughter of Hasdrubal. Hasdrubal, who had gone for the purpose of completing this business, and fixing a time for the nuptials, for the virgin was now marriageable, perceiving that the king was inflamed with desire, for the Numidians are, beyond all the other barbarians, violently addicted to love, sent for the virgin from Carthage, and hastened the nuptials. Among the other proofs of joy felt upon the occasion, and in order that a public connexion might be added to this private one, an oath was taken in confirmation of an alliance between the Carthaginian people and the king, and faith reciprocally pledged that they would have the same friends and enemies. But Hasdrubal, recollecting both the alliance which had been entered into by the king and Scipio, and how inconstant and changeable were the minds of the barbarians, was afraid that, if Scipio were to invade Africa, that marriage would prove but a slight bond of union, he therefore took advantage of the Numidian while under the influence of the first transports of love, and calling to his aid the caresses of the bride, prevailed upon him to send ambassadors into Sicily to Scipio, and by them to warn him "not to cross over into Africa in reliance upon his former promises. That he was united to the Carthaginians both by a marriage with a Carthaginian citizen, the daughter of Hasdrubal, whom he saw entertained at his house, and likewise by a public treaty. That his first wish was that the Romans would carry on the war with the Carthaginians at a distance from Africa, as they had hitherto done, lest he should be compelled to interfere with their disputes, and join one of the two contending parties, renouncing his alliance

with the other. If Scipio should not keep away from Africa, and should advance his army to Carthage, it would be incumbent upon him to fight for the land of Africa, which gave him birth, and for the country of his spouse, for her parent, and household gods."

## 24

The ambassadors, sent to Scipio by the king with these instructions, met him at Syracuse. Scipio, though disappointed in an affair which was of the greatest importance with regard to his operations in Africa, and in the sanguine expectations he had formed from it, sent the ambassadors back into Africa speedily, before their business was made known, giving them letters for the king, in which he warned him over and over again "not to violate the laws of hospitality which bound them together; the obligation of the alliance entered into with the Roman people; nor make light of justice, honour, their right hands pledged, and the gods the witnesses and arbitrators of compacts." But, as the coming of the Numidians could not be concealed, for they lounged about the city, and had frequently appeared at the pavilion; and as, if nothing were said about the object of their visit, there was danger lest the truth, from the very circumstance of its being made a secret, should spontaneously spread the more; and, in consequence, the troops become alarmed lest they should have to wage war at once with the king and the Carthaginians, Scipio endeavoured to divert their attention from the truth by preoccupying their minds with false information; and, summoning his soldiers to an assembly, said, "that it was not expedient to delay any longer. That the kings, their allies, urged them to cross over into Africa with all speed. That Masinissa himself had before come to Laelius, complaining that time was consumed in delays, and that now Syphax sent ambassadors, expressing his astonishment on the same account, namely, what could be the cause of such long delay; and requesting either that the army would now at length be transported into Africa, or, if the plan was changed, that he might be informed so that he might himself take measures for the safety of himself and his dominions. Therefore, as every thing was now ready and prepared, and as the business admitted of no further delay, he was resolved, after having removed the fleet to Lilybaeum, and collected here all his forces of foot and horse, with the blessing of the gods to pass over into Africa the first day the ships could sail." He sent a letter to Marcus Pomponius, directing him, if he thought proper, to come to Lilybaeum, that they might consult together as to what legions, in preference to any others, and how large a number of soldiers, they should convey into Africa; he also sent round to every part of the sea-coast, with directions that all the ships of burthen should be seized and collected at Lilybaeum. When all the soldiers and ships in Sicily were assembled at Lilybaeum, and neither the city could contain the multitude of men, nor the harbour the ships, so ardent was the desire possessed by all of passing over to Africa, that they did not appear as if going to wage war, but to reap the certain rewards of victory. Particularly those who remained of the soldiers who had fought at Cannae felt convinced that under Scipio, and no other general, they would be enabled, by exerting themselves in the cause of the state, to put an end to their ignominious service. Scipio was very far from feeling contempt for that description of soldiers, inasmuch as he knew that the defeat sustained at Cannae was not attributable to their cowardice, and that there were no soldiers in the Roman army who had served so long, or were so experienced not only in the various kinds of battles, but in assaulting towns also. The legions which had fought at Cannae were the fifth and sixth. After declaring that he would take these with him into Africa, he inspected them man by man; and leaving those whom he considered unfit for service, he substituted for them those whom he had brought from Sicily, filling up those legions so

that each might contain six thousand two hundred infantry and three hundred horse. The horse and foot of the allies, of the Latin confederacy, he also chose out of the army of Cannae.

## 25

There is a wide difference among historians as to the number of men transported into Africa. In some I find ten thousand infantry and two hundred horse; in others, sixteen thousand infantry and sixteen hundred horse. In others, again, I find it stated that thirty-five thousand infantry and cavalry were put on board the fleet, making the number more than one half greater. Some have not added an account of the number; among whom, as the matter is doubtful, I should rather have myself ranked. Caelius, though he abstains from specifying the number, increases the impression of their multitude indefinitely. He says, that birds fell to the ground from the shout of the soldiers, and that so great a multitude went on board the fleet, that it seemed as if there was not a man left in Italy or Sicily. Scipio took upon himself the care of seeing that the soldiers embarked orderly and without confusion. The seamen, who were made to embark first, Caius Laelius, the admiral of the fleet, kept in order on board the ships. The task of the putting on board the provisions was assigned to Marcus Pomponius, the praetor. Food for forty-five days, of which enough for fifteen was cooked, was put on board. When they were all embarked, he sent boats round with directions that the pilots and masters, with two soldiers from each ship, should assemble in the forum to receive orders. After they had assembled, he first asked them whether they had put on board water for the men and cattle, sufficient to last as many days as the corn would. When they answered that there was water on board sufficient for five and forty days' consumption, he then charged the soldiers that, conducting themselves submissively, and keeping quiet, they would not make any noise or disturb the mariners in the execution of their duties. He informed them, that he himself and Lucius Scipio in the right wing, with twenty ships of war, and Caius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, together with Marcus Porcius Cato, who was then quaestor, with the same number of ships of war in the left wing, would protect the transports. That the ships of war should carry each a single light, the transports two each. That in the ship of the commander-in-chief there would be three lights as a distinction by night. He desired the pilots to make for Emporia, where the land is remarkably fertile; and on that account the district abounds with plenty of every thing, and the barbarous inhabitants are unwarlike, which is usually the case where the soil is rich. It was supposed that they might, therefore, be overpowered before assistance could be brought them from Carthage. After these commands were delivered, they were ordered to return to their ships, and the next day, with the blessing of the gods, on the signal being given, to set sail.

## 26

Many Roman fleets had set sail from Sicily, and from that very harbour. But not only during this war, nor is that surprising, (for most of the fleets went out for the purpose of getting plunder,) but even in any former war, never did a fleet on setting out exhibit so grand a spectacle. And yet, if the estimate is to be formed with reference to the magnitude of the fleet, it must be owned that two consuls with their armies had passed from thence before, and there were almost as many ships of war in those fleets as the transports with which Scipio was crossing. For, besides fifty men of war, he conveyed his army over in four hundred transports. But what made the Romans consider one war as more formidable than the other, the second than the first, was, that it was carried on

in Italy, and that so many armies had been destroyed, and their commanders slain. The general, Scipio, also, who enjoyed the highest degree of renown, partly from his brave achievements, and partly from a peculiar felicity of fortune, which conducted him to the acquisition of boundless glory, attracted extraordinary regard. At the same time, the very project of passing over into the enemy's country, which had not been formed by any general before during that war, had made him an object of admiration; for he had commonly declared, that he passed over with the object of drawing Hannibal out of Italy, of removing the seat of war into Africa, and terminating it there. A crowd of persons of every description had assembled in the harbour to view the spectacle; not only the inhabitants of Lilybaeum, but all the deputies from Sicily, who had come together out of compliment to witness the departure of Scipio, and had followed Marcus Pomponius, the praetor of the province. Besides these, the legions which were to be left in Sicily had come forth to do honour to their comrades on the occasion; and not only did the fleet form a grand sight to those who viewed it from the land, but the shore also, crowded as it was all around, afforded the same to those who were sailing away.

## 27

As soon as day appeared, silence having been obtained by a herald, Scipio thus spoke from the ship of the commander-in-chief: "Ye gods and goddesses who preside over the seas and lands, I pray and entreat you, that whatever things have been, are now, or shall be performed during my command, may turn out prosperously to myself, the state, and commons of Rome, to the allies and the Latin confederacy, and to all who follow my party and that of the Roman people, my command and auspices, by land, by sea, and on rivers. That you would lend your favourable aid to all those measures, and promote them happily. That you would bring these and me again to our homes, safe and unhurt; victorious over our vanquished enemies, decorated with spoils, loaded with booty, and triumphant. That you would grant us the opportunity of taking revenge upon our adversaries and foes, and put it in the power of myself and the Roman people to make the Carthaginian state feel those signal severities which they endeavoured to inflict upon our state." After these prayers, he threw the raw entrails of a victim into the sea, according to custom, and, with the sound of a trumpet, gave the signal for sailing. Setting out with a favourable wind, which blew pretty strong, they were soon borne away out of sight of the land; and in the afternoon a mist came over them, so that they could with difficulty prevent the ships from running foul of each other. The wind abated when they got into the open sea. The following night the same haziness prevailed; but when the sun rose it was dispelled, and the wind blew stronger. They were now within sight of land, and, not long after, the pilot observed to Scipio, that "Africa was not more than five miles off; that he could discern the promontory of Mercury, and that if he gave orders to direct their course thither, the whole fleet would presently be in harbour." Scipio, when the land was in sight, after praying that his seeing Africa might be for the good of the state and himself, gave orders to make for another place of landing, lower down. They were borne along by the same wind; but a mist, arising nearly about the same time as on the preceding day, hid the land from them; and the wind fell as the mist grew more dense. Afterwards, the night coming on increased the confusion in every respect; they therefore cast anchor, lest the ships should either run foul of each other, or be driven on shore. At daybreak the wind, rising in the same quarter, dispelled the mist and discovered the whole coast of Africa. Scipio asked what was the name of the nearest promontory, and, on being told that it was called the cape of Pulcher, he observed, "the omen pleases me, direct your course to it." To this place the fleet ran down, and all the

troops were landed. I have adopted the accounts given by a great many Greek and Latin authors, who state that the voyage was prosperous, and unattended with any cause of alarm or confusion. Caelius alone, except that he does not state that the ships were sunk in the waves, says that they were exposed to all the terrors of the heavens and the sea, and that at last the fleet was driven by tempest from Africa to the island Aegimurus, from which, with great difficulty, they got into the right course; and that, the ships almost foundering, the soldiers, without orders from their general, got into boats, just as if they had suffered shipwreck, and escaped to land without arms, and in the utmost disorder.

## 28

The troops being landed, the Romans marked out their camp on the nearest rising grounds. By this time, not only the parts bordering on the sea were filled with consternation and alarm, first in consequence of the fleet being seen, and afterwards from the bustle of landing, but they had extended to the cities also. For not only multitudes of men, mixed with crowds of women and children, had filled up all the roads in every direction, but the rustics also drove away their cattle before them, so that you would say that Africa was being suddenly deserted. In the cities, indeed, they occasioned much greater terror than they felt themselves. At Carthage, particularly, the tumult was almost as great as if it had been captured. For since the time of Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Manlius, which was almost fifty years ago, the Carthaginians had seen no Roman armament, with the exception of fleets sent for plundering, from which troops had made descents upon the lands bordering on the sea, and after carrying away every thing which chance threw in their way, had always returned to their ships before their noise had collected the peasantry. For this reason the hurry and consternation in the city was, on the present occasion, the greater. And, by Hercules, they had neither an efficient army at home, nor a general, whom they could oppose to their enemy. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, was by far the first man in their state in respect of birth, fame, opulence, and, at that time, also by reason of an affinity with the king. But they recollected that he had been routed in several battles and driven out of Spain by this very Scipio; and that therefore, as a general, he was no more a match for the general of the enemy than their tumultuary army was for that of the Romans. Therefore they shouted to arms, as if Scipio were coming immediately to attack the city; the gates were hastily closed, armed men placed upon the walls, guards and outposts stationed in different places, and the following night was spent in watching. The next day, five hundred horsemen, sent to the coast to reconnoitre and interrupt the enemy while landing, fell in with the advanced guards of the Romans; for by this time Scipio, having sent his fleet to Utica, had proceeded a short distance from the sea, and occupied the nearest heights. He had also placed outposts of cavalry in proper situations, and sent troops through the country to plunder.

## 29

These, engaging the body of Carthaginian horse, slew a few of them in the fight, and the greater part of them as they pursued them when they were flying; among whom was Hanno, their captain, a young man of distinction. Scipio not only devastated the lands in the country round him, but also took a very wealthy city of the Africans which lay nearest to him; where, besides other things which were immediately put on board the transports and sent into Sicily, eight thousand free persons and slaves were captured. But the most gratifying circumstance to the Romans was, the arrival of Masinissa just at

the commencement of their operations. Some say that he came with not more than two hundred horse, but most authors say with a body of two thousand cavalry. But, as this man was by far the greatest king of his age, and rendered most essential service to the Romans, it seems worth while to digress a little, to give a full account of the great vicissitudes of fortune he experienced in the loss and recovery of his father's kingdom. While he was serving in Spain in the cause of the Carthaginians, his father, named Gala, died. The kingdom, according to the custom of the Numidians, came to Oesalces, the brother of the late king, who was very aged. Not long after, Oesalces also dying, the elder of his two sons, named Capusa, the other being quite a boy, succeeded to his father's kingdom. But, as he occupied the throne more by right of descent than from the esteem in which he was held among his countrymen, or the power he possessed, there stood forth a person named Mezetulus, not unrelated by blood to the kings, of a family which had always been hostile to them, and had continually contested the right to the throne with those who then occupied it, with various success. This man, having roused his countrymen to arms, over whom he possessed a great influence, from the hatred felt towards the kings, openly pitched his camp, and compelled the king to come into the field and fight for the throne. Capusa, with many of his nobles, falling in the action, the whole nation of the Massylians came under the dominion and rule of Mezetulus. He abstained, however, from assuming the title of king; and, contenting himself with the modest appellation of protector, gave the name of king to the boy Lacumaces, a surviving branch of the royal stock. In the hope of an alliance with the Carthaginians, he formed a matrimonial connexion with a noble Carthaginian lady, daughter of Hannibal's sister, who had been lately married to the king Oesalces; and, sending ambassadors for that purpose, renewed an old connexion of hospitality with Syphax, taking all these measures with a view to obtain assistance against Masinissa.

### 30

Masinissa, hearing of the death of his uncle, and afterwards that his cousin-german was slain, passed over out of Spain into Mauritania. Bocchar was king of the Moors at that time. Applying to him as a suppliant, he succeeded, by means of the most humble entreaties, in obtaining from him four thousand Moors to escort him on his march, since he could not procure his co-operation in the war. With these, after sending a messenger before him to his own and his father's friends, he arrived on the frontiers of the kingdom, when about five hundred Numidians came to join him. Having, therefore, sent back the Moors to their king, as had been agreed, though the numbers which joined him were much less than he had anticipated, not being such as to inspire him with sufficient confidence for so great an attempt, yet, concluding that by action, and by making some effort, he should collect sufficient strength to enable him to effect something, he threw himself in the way of the young king Lacumaces, at Thapsus, as he was going to Syphax. The troops which attended him having fled back to the town in consternation, Masinissa took it at the first assault. Of the royal party, some who surrendered themselves he received, others he slew while attempting resistance. The greater part, with the young king himself, escaped during the confusion and came to Syphax, to whom they intended to go at first. The fame of this success, in the commencement of his operations, though of no great magnitude, brought the Numidians over to the cause of Masinissa; and the veteran soldiers of Gala flocked to his standard from all quarters, from the country and the towns, inviting the youth to come and recover his paternal dominions. Mezetulus had somewhat the advantage in the number of his soldiers, for he had himself both the army with which he had conquered Capusa, and also some troops who had submitted to

him after the king was slain; and the young king Lacumaces had brought him very large succours from Syphax. Mezetulus had fifteen thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry. With these Masinissa engaged in battle, though he had by no means so many horse or foot. The valour, however, of the veteran troops, and the skill of the general, who had been exercised in the war between the Romans and Carthaginians, prevailed. The young king, with the protector and a small body of Massylians, escaped into the territories of the Carthaginians. Masinissa thus recovered his paternal dominions; but, as he saw that there still remained a struggle considerably more arduous with Syphax, he thought it advisable to come to a reconciliation with his cousin-german. Having, therefore sent persons to give the young king hopes, that if he put himself under the protection of Masinissa, he would be held in the same honour by him as Oesalces had formerly been by Gala; and to promise Mezetulus, in addition to impunity, a faithful restitution of all his property; as both of them preferred a moderate share of fortune at home to exile, he brought them over to his side, notwithstanding the Carthaginians studiously exerted every means to prevent it.

### 31

It happened that Hasdrubal was with Syphax at the time these things were taking place. He told the Numidian, who considered that it could make very little difference to him whether the government of the Massylians was in the hands of Lacumaces or Masinissa, that "he was very much mistaken if he supposed that Masinissa would be content with the same power which his father Gala or his uncle Oesalces enjoyed. That he possessed a much greater degree of spirit, and a more enterprising turn of mind, than had ever existed in any one of that race. That he had frequently, when in Spain, exhibited proofs to his allies, as well as to his enemies, of such valour as was rarely found among men. That both Syphax and the Carthaginians, unless they smothered that rising flame, would soon find themselves enveloped in a vast conflagration, when they could not help themselves. That as yet his strength was feeble, and such as might easily be broken, while he was trying to keep together a kingdom, which was not yet firmly cemented." By continually urging and goading him on, he succeeded in inducing him to lead an army to the frontiers of the Massylians, and to pitch his camp in a country for which he had not only disputed verbally, but had fought battles with Gala, as though it had been his own by uncontested right. He alleged, that "if any one should attempt to dislodge him, which was what he most wanted, he would have an opportunity of fighting; but, if the ground were given up to him through fear, he must march into the heart of the kingdom. That the Massylians would either submit to his authority without a contest, or would be inferior to him in arms." Syphax, impelled by these arguments, made war on Masinissa, and, in the first engagement, routed and put him to flight. Masinissa, with a few horsemen, effected his escape from the field to a mountain called by the natives Balbus. Several families, with their tents and cattle, which form their wealth, followed the king; the rest of the Massylian people submitted to Syphax. The mountain, which the exiles had seized, had plenty of grass and water; and, as it was well adapted for feeding cattle, afforded an abundant supply of food for men who live upon flesh and milk. From this place they infested all the surrounding country; at first with nightly and clandestine incursions, but afterwards with open depredations. The lands of the Carthaginians suffered the severest devastation, because there was not only a greater quantity of booty there than among the Numidians, but their plunder would be safer. And now they did it with so much boldness and defiance, that, carrying their booty down to the sea, they sold it to merchants, who brought their ships to land for that very purpose; while a

greater number of Carthaginians were slain and made prisoners, than frequently happens in a regular war. The Carthaginians complained bitterly of these occurrences to Syphax, and urged him strongly to follow up this remnant of the war, though he was himself highly incensed at them. But he considered it hardly suitable to the dignity of a king to pursue a vagabond robber through the mountains.

### 32

Bocchar, one of the king's generals, an enterprising and active officer, was chosen for this service. Four thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry were assigned him; and having been loaded with promises of immense rewards if he brought back the head of Masinissa, or if, which would be a source of incalculable joy, he took him alive; he unexpectedly attacked his party while dispersed and carelessly employed, and after cutting off an immense quantity of cattle and men from the troops which guarded them, drove Masinissa himself with a small body of attendants to the summit of the mountain. On this, considering the business as in a manner settled, he not only sent the booty of cattle and the prisoners he had made to the king, but also sent back a part of his forces, as being considerably more than were necessary to accomplish what remained of the war; and then pursuing Masinissa, who had come down from the top of the mountain with not more than five hundred foot and two hundred horse, shut him up in a narrow valley, both the entrances of which he blocked up. Here great slaughter was made of the Massylians. Masinissa, with not more than fifty horsemen, disengaged himself from the defile by passing through steep descents of the mountains, which were not known to his pursuers. Bocchar, however, followed close upon him, and overtaking him in the open plains near Clupea, so effectually surrounded him, that he slew every one of his attendants except four horsemen. These, together with Masinissa himself, who was wounded, he let slip, in a manner, out of his hands during the confusion. The fugitives were in sight, and a body of horse, dispersed over the whole plain, pursued the five horsemen of the enemy, some of them pushing off in an oblique direction, in order to meet them. The fugitives met with a very broad river, into which they unhesitatingly plunged their horses, as they were pressed by greater danger from behind, and carried away by the current were borne along obliquely. Two of them having sunk in the rapid eddy in the sight of the enemy, Masinissa himself was supposed to have perished; but he with the two remaining had emerged among the bushes on the farther bank. Here Bocchar stopped his pursuit, as he neither had courage to enter the river, nor believed that he now had any one to pursue. Upon this he returned to the king, with the false account of the death of Masinissa. Messengers were despatched to Carthage to convey this most joyful event, and all Africa rang with the news of Masinissa's death; but the minds of men were variously affected by it. Masinissa, while curing his wound by the application of herbs, was supported for several days in a secret cave by what the two horsemen procured by plunder. As soon as it was cicatrized, and he thought himself able to bear the motion, with extraordinary resolution he set out to recover his kingdom; and collecting not more than forty horsemen during his progress, when he arrived among the Massylians, where he now made himself known, he produced such a sensation among them, both by reason of their former regard for him, and also from the unhopèd-for joy they experienced at seeing him safe whom they supposed to have perished, that within a few days six thousand armed foot and four thousand horse came and joined him; and now he not only was in possession of his paternal dominions, but was also laying waste the lands of the states in alliance with the Carthaginians, and the frontiers of the Massylians, the dominions of Syphax. Then, having provoked Syphax to

war, he took up a position between Cirta and Hippo, on the tops of mountains which were conveniently situated for all his purposes.

### 33

Syphax, considering this an affair of too great importance to be managed by one of his generals, sent a part of his army with his son Vermina, a youth, with orders to march his troops round and attack the enemy in the rear, while he engaged their attention in front. Vermina set out by night, as he was to fall upon the enemy unawares; but Syphax decamped in the day-time and marched openly, intending to fight a pitched battle. When it was thought that sufficient time had elapsed for those who were sent round to have reached their destination, Syphax himself, relying upon his numbers and on the ambuscade prepared on the enemy's rear, led his troops up the mountain which lay before him, by a gentle acclivity which led towards the enemy. Masinissa, relying chiefly on the great superiority he would have over his opponents in respect of the ground, on his part also formed his troops. The battle was furious, and for a long time doubtful; Masinissa having the advantage in point of situation and the courage of his troops, and Syphax in respect of his numbers, which were much the greater of the two. His numerous troops, which were divided, some of them pressing upon the enemy in front, while others surrounded them on the rear, gave Syphax a decisive victory; and, enclosed as they were in front and rear, the enemy had not even a way to escape. Accordingly, all their troops, both horse and foot, were slain and made prisoners, except about two hundred horsemen, which Masinissa having collected round him in a compact body, and divided into three squadrons, ordered to force their way through, first naming a place where they were to meet after being separated in their flight. Masinissa himself escaped through the midst of the enemy's weapons in the quarter to which he had directed his course; two of the squadrons were unable to extricate themselves; one of them surrendered to the enemy through fear, the other, taking a more obstinate resistance, was overwhelmed with weapons and annihilated. Vermina followed Masinissa, treading almost in his steps; but he eluded him by continually turning out of one road into another, till at length he obliged him, wearied with the hopeless task, to desist from the pursuit, and arrived at the Lesser Syrtis with sixty horsemen. Here, in the country lying between the Carthaginian Emporia and the nation of the Garamantians, he passed all the time till the coming of Caius Laelius and the Roman fleet into Africa, with the proud consciousness of having made every exertion to recover his paternal dominions. These are the circumstances which incline me to the opinion, that afterwards also, when Masinissa came to Scipio, he brought with him a smallish rather than a large body of cavalry to succour him; for the large number would seem to suit only with the condition of a reigning king, while the small number corresponds with the circumstances of an exile.

### 34

The Carthaginians having lost a detachment of cavalry together with the commander, got together another body by means of a new levy, and gave the command of it to Hanno son of Hamilcar. They frequently sent for Hasdrubal and Syphax by letters and messengers, and lastly even by ambassadors, ordering Hasdrubal to bring assistance to his almost besieged country, and imploring Syphax to bring relief to Carthage, nay to all Africa. At that time Scipio had his camp about five miles from the city of Utica, having removed it from the sea, where he had continued encamped for a few days near the fleet. Hanno, having received the body of horse, which was far from being strong

enough, not only to attack the enemy, but even to protect the country from devastation, made it his first business to augment the number of his cavalry by pressing; and though he did not despise the men of other nations, he enlisted principally from the Numidians, who are by far the first horsemen in Africa. He had now as many as four thousand horsemen, when he took possession of a town named Salera, about fifteen miles from the Roman camp. When Scipio was told of this, he said, "What! cavalry lodging in houses during the summer! Let them be even more in number while they have such a leader." Concluding that the more dilatory they were in their operations, the more active he ought to be, he sent Masinissa forward with the cavalry, directing him to ride up to the gates of the enemy and draw them out to battle; and when their whole force had poured out and pressed upon him with such impetuosity in the contest that they could not easily be withstood, then to retire by degrees, and he would himself come up and join in the battle in time. Waiting only till he thought he had allowed sufficient time for the advanced party to draw out the enemy, he followed with the Roman cavalry, proceeding without being seen, as he was covered by some rising grounds, which lay very conveniently between him and the enemy, round the windings of the road. Masinissa, according to the plan laid down, at one time as if menacing the enemy, at another as if he had been afraid, either rode up to the gates, or else by retiring when his counterfeited fears had inspired them with courage, tempted them to pursue him with inconsiderate ardour. They had not as yet all gone out, and the general was wearying himself with various occupations, compelling some who were oppressed with sleep and wine to take arms and bridle their horses, and preventing others from running out at all the gates in scattered parties and in disorder, without keeping their ranks or following their standards. At first, those who incautiously rushed out were overpowered by Masinissa; but then a greater number pouring out of the gate at once in a dense body, placed the contest on an equal footing; and at last the whole of their cavalry coming up and joining in the battle, they could now no longer be withstood. Masinissa, however, did not receive their charge in hasty flight, but retired slowly, until he drew them to the rising grounds which covered the Roman cavalry. The Roman cavalry then rising up, their own strength unimpaired and their horses fresh, spread themselves round Hanno and the Africans, fatigued with the fight and the pursuit, and Masinissa, suddenly turning his horses round, came back to the battle. About a thousand who formed the first line and could not easily retreat, together with Hanno their general, were surrounded and slain. The victors pursuing the rest through a space of three miles, as they fled with the most violent haste, being terrified, principally on account of the death of their leader, either took or slew as many as two thousand horsemen more. It appeared that there were not less than two hundred Carthaginian horsemen among them, some of whom were distinguished by birth and fortune.

### 35

It happened that the same day on which these events occurred, the ships which had carried the plunder to Sicily returned with provisions, as if divining that they came to take another cargo of booty. All the writers do not vouch for the fact that two generals of the Carthaginians bearing the same name were slain in the battles of the cavalry; fearing, I believe, lest the same circumstance related twice should lead them into error. Caelius, indeed, and Valerius, make mention of a Hanno also who was made prisoner. Scipio rewarded his officers and horsemen according to the service they had respectively rendered, but he presented Masinissa above all the rest with distinguished gifts. Leaving a strong garrison at Salera, he set out with the rest of his army; and having

not only devastated the country wherever he marched, but taken some cities and towns, thus spreading the terrors of war far and wide, he returned to his camp on the seventh day after he set out, bringing with him an immense quantity of men and cattle, and booty of every description, and sent away his ships again loaded with the spoils of the enemy. Then giving up all expeditions of a minor kind, and predatory excursions, he directed the whole force of the war to the siege of Utica, that he might make it for the time to come, if he took it, a position from which he might set out for the execution of the rest of his designs. At one and the same time his marines attacked the city from the fleet in that part which is washed by the sea, and the land forces were brought up from a rising ground which almost immediately overhung the walls. He had also brought with him engines and machines which had been conveyed from Sicily with the stores, and fresh ones were made in the armoury, in which he had for that purpose employed a number of artificers skilled in such works. The people of Utica, thus beset on all sides with so formidable a force, placed all their hopes in the Carthaginians, and the Carthaginians in the chance there was that Hasdrubal could induce Syphax to take arms. But all their movements were made too slowly for the anxiety felt by those who were in want of assistance. Hasdrubal, though he had by levies, conducted with the utmost diligence, made up as many as thirty thousand infantry and three thousand horse, yet dared not move nearer to the enemy before the arrival of Syphax. Syphax came with fifty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and, immediately decamping from Carthage, took up a position not far from Utica and the Roman works. Their arrival produced, however, this effect, that Scipio, who had been besieging Utica for forty days, during which he had tried every expedient without effect, left the place without accomplishing his object; and as the winter was now fast approaching, fortified a camp for the winter upon a promontory, which being attached to the continent by a narrow isthmus, stretched out a considerable way into the sea. He included his naval camp also within one and the same rampart. The camp for the legions being stationed on the middle of the isthmus, the ships, which were drawn on land, and the mariners occupied the northern shore, the cavalry a valley on the south inclining towards the other shore. Such were the transactions in Africa up to the close of autumn.

### 36

Besides the corn collected from all parts of the surrounding country by plunder, and the provisions imported from Italy and Sicily, Cneius Octavius, propraetor, brought a vast quantity out of Sardinia from Tiberius Claudius the praetor, whose province Sardinia was; and not only were the granaries already built filled, but new ones were erected. The army wanted clothing, and Octavius was instructed to consult with the praetor in order to ascertain if any could be procured and sent out of that province. This business was also diligently attended to. One thousand two hundred gowns and twelve thousand tunics were in a short time sent. During the summer in which these operations were carried on in Africa, Publius Sempronius, the consul, who had the province of Bruttium, fought an irregular kind of battle with Hannibal in the Crotonian territory while actually on march; they fought with their troops drawn more in order of march than of battle. The Romans were driven back, and as many as twelve hundred of the army of the consul were slain in this affair, which was more a tumult than a battle. They returned in confusion to their camp. The enemy, however, dared not assault it. But, during the silence of the following night, the consul marched away, and having sent a messenger before him to Publius Licinius, the proconsul, to bring up his legions, united his forces with his. Thus two generals and two armies returned to Hannibal. Nor did either party

delay to fight, as the forces of the consul were doubled, and the Carthaginian was inspired by recent victory. Sempronius led his legions into the front line; those of Licinius were placed in reserve. The consul, in the beginning of the battle, vowed a temple to Fortuna Primigenia if he routed the enemy that day, and he obtained the object of that vow. The Carthaginians were routed and put to flight; above four thousand armed men were slain, a little under three hundred taken alive, with forty horses and eleven military standards. Hannibal, dispirited by this adverse battle, led his troops away to Croton. At the same time, in another part of Italy, Etruria, almost the whole of which had espoused the interest of Mago, and had conceived hopes of effecting a revolution through his means, was kept in subjection by the consul Marcus Cornelius, not so much by the force of his arms as the terror of his judicial proceedings. In the trials he had instituted there, in conformity with the decree of the senate, he had shown the utmost impartiality; and many of the Tuscan nobles, who had either themselves gone, or had sent others to Mago respecting the revolt of their states, at first standing their trials, were condemned; but afterwards others, who, from a consciousness of guilt, had gone into voluntary exile, were condemned in their absence, and by thus withdrawing left their effects only, which were liable to confiscation, as a pledge for their punishment.

### 37

While the consuls were thus engaged in different quarters, in the mean time, at Rome, the censors, Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, called over the senate roll. Quintus Fabius was again chosen chief of the senate; seven were stigmatized, of whom there was not one who had sat in the curule chair. They inquired into the business relating to the repair of public edifices with diligence and the most scrupulous exactness. They set by contract the making of a road out of the ox market to the temple of Venus, with public seats on each side of it, and a temple to be built in the palatium for the great mother. They established also a new tax out of the price of salt. Salt, both at Rome, and throughout all Italy, was sold at the sixth part of an *as*. They contracted for the supply of it at Rome at the same price, at a higher price in the country towns and markets, and at different prices in different places. They felt well convinced that this tax was invented by one of the censors, out of resentment to the people because he had formerly been condemned by an unjust sentence, and that in fixing the price of salt, those tribes had been most burdened by whose means he had been condemned. Hence Livius derived the surname of Salinator. The closing of the lustrum was later than usual, because the censors sent persons through the provinces, that a report might be made of the number of Roman citizens in each of the armies. Including these, the number of persons returned in the census was two hundred and fourteen thousand. Caius Claudius Nero closed the lustrum. They then received a census of the twelve colonies, which had never been done before, the censors of the colonies themselves presenting it, in order that there might appear registers among the public records, stating the extent of their resources, both in respect of furnishing soldiers and money. The review of the knights then began to be made, and it happened that both the censors had a horse at the public expense. When they came to the Pollian tribe, in which was the name of Marcus Livius, and the herald hesitated to cite the censor himself, Nero said, "Cite Marcus Livius;" and whether it was that he was actuated by the remains of an old enmity, or that he felt a ridiculous pride in this ill-timed display of severity, he ordered Marcus Livius to sell his horse, because he had been condemned by the sentence of the people. In like manner, when they came to the Narnian tribe, and the name of his colleague, Marcus Livius

ordered Caius Claudius to sell his horse, for two reasons; one, because he had given false evidence against him; the other, because he had not been sincere in his reconciliation with him. Thus a disgraceful contest arose, in which each endeavoured to asperse the character of the other, though not without detriment to his own. On the expiration of the office, when Caius Claudius had taken the oath respecting the observance of the laws, and had gone up into the treasury, he gave the name of his colleague among the names of those whom he left disfranchised. Afterwards, Marcus Livius came into the treasury, and excepting only the Maecian tribe, which had neither condemned him nor made him consul or censor when condemned, left all the Roman people, four and thirty tribes, disfranchised, because they had both condemned him when innocent, and when condemned had made him consul and censor; and therefore could not deny that they had been guilty of a crime, either once in his condemnation, or twice at the elections. He said that the disfranchisement of Caius Claudius would be included in that of the thirty-four tribes, but that if he were in possession of a precedent for leaving the same person disfranchised twice he would have left his name particularly among the disfranchised. This contest between censors, endeavouring to brand each other, was highly improper, while the correction applied to the inconstancy of the people was suitable to the office of a censor, and worthy of the strict discipline of the times. As the censors were labouring under odium, Cneius Babius, tribune of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity of advancing himself at their expense, summoned them both to trial before the people. This proceeding was quashed by the unanimous voice of the senate, lest in future this office of censor should become subject to the caprice of the people.

### 38

The same summer Clamptia in Bruttium was taken by the consul by storm. Consentia and Pandosia, with some other inconsiderable states, submitted voluntarily. As the time for the elections was now drawing near, it was thought best that Cornelius should be summoned to Rome from Etruria, as there was no war there. He elected, as consuls, Cneius Servilius Caepio and Caius Servilius Geminus. The election of praetors was then held. The persons elected were, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Publius Quinctilius Varus, Publius Aelius Paetus, and Publius Villius Tappulus. The last two were plebeian aediles when elected praetors. The elections finished, the consul returned into Etruria to his army. The priests who died this year, and those who were put in their places, were Tiberius Veturius Philo, flamen of Mars, elected and inaugurated in the room of Marcus Aemilius Regillus, who died the year before: in the room of Marcus Pomponius Matho, augur and decemvir, were elected Marcus Aurelius Cotta, decemvir, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, augur, being then a very young man; an instance of very rare occurrence in the disposal of the priests' offices in those times. Golden four-horsed chariots were placed this year in the Capitol by the curule aediles, Caius Livius and Marcus Servilius Geminus. The Roman games were repeated during two days. During two days also the plebeian games were repeated by the aediles, Publius Aelius and Publius Villius. There was likewise a feast of Jupiter on occasion of the games.

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## Book XXX

*Scipio, aided by Masinissa, defeats the Carthaginians, Syphax and Hasdrubal, in several battles. Syphax taken by Laelius and Masinissa. Masinissa espouses Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax, Hasdrubal's daughter; being reproved by Scipio, he sends her poison, with which she puts an end to her life. The Carthaginians, reduced to great extremity by Scipio's repeated victories, call Hannibal home from Italy; he holds a conference with Scipio on the subject of peace, and is again defeated by him in battle. The Carthaginians sue for peace, which is granted them. Masinissa reinstated in his kingdom. Scipio returns to Rome; his splendid triumph; is surnamed Africanus.*

### 1

Cneius Servilius and Caius Servilius Geminus, the consuls in the sixteenth year of the Punic war, having consulted the senate respecting the state, the war, and the provinces, they decreed that the consuls should arrange between themselves, or draw lots, which of them should have the province of Bruttium, to act against Hannibal, and which that of Etruria and Liguria; that the consul to whose lot Bruttium fell should receive the army from Publius Sempronius; that Publius Sempronius, who was continued in command as proconsul for a year, should succeed Publius Licinius, who was to return to Rome. In addition to the other qualifications with which he was adorned in a degree surpassed by no citizen of that time, for in him were accumulated all the perfections of nature and fortune, Licinius was also esteemed eminent in war. He was at once a man of noble family and great wealth; possessing a fine person and great bodily strength. He was considered an orator of the highest order, both in respect of judicial eloquence, and also when engaged in promoting or opposing any measure in the senate, or before the people. He was also accurately skilled in the pontifical law. In addition to all these recommendations, the consulship enabled him to acquire military glory. The senate adopted the same course in the decree with respect to the province of Etruria and Liguria as had been observed with regard to Bruttium. Marcus Cornelius was ordered to deliver his army to the new consul, and with continued command to hold himself the province of Gaul, with those legions which the praetor Lucius Scribonius had commanded the former year. The consuls then cast lots for their provinces: Bruttium fell to the lot of Caepio, Etruria to the lot of Servilius Geminus. The provinces of the praetors were then put to the lot. Paetus Aelius obtained the city jurisdiction; Publius Lentulus, Sardinia; Publius Villius, Sicily; Quinctilius Varus, Ariminum, with two legions which had served under Lucretius Spurius. Lucretius also was continued in command that he might complete the building of the town of Genoa, which had been destroyed by Mago the Carthaginian. Publius Scipio was continued in command for a period not limited in point of time, but the object he had to achieve, namely, till the war in Africa had been brought to a termination; and a decree was passed, ordering a supplication to be made that the circumstance of his crossing over into Africa might be beneficial to the Roman people, the general himself, and his army.

### 2

Three thousand men were enlisted for Sicily, and lest any fleet should go thither from Africa, as all the efficient troops that province had possessed had been transported into Africa, it was resolved that the sea-coast of that island should be guarded with forty

ships. Villius took with him into Sicily thirteen ships, the rest consisted of the old ones, which were repaired. Marcus Pomponius, the praetor of the former year, who was continued in command, having been placed at the head of this fleet, put on board the fresh soldiers brought from Italy. The senate assigned by a decree an equal number of ships to Cneius Octavius, who was also a praetor of the former year, with a similar privilege of command, for the protection of the coast of Sardinia. Lentulus the praetor was ordered to furnish two thousand soldiers to put on board it. The protection of the coast of Italy was assigned to Marcus Marcius, a praetor of the former year, with the same number of ships; for it was uncertain to what quarter the Carthaginians would send a fleet, though it was supposed that they would attack any quarter which was destitute of defence. The consuls, in conformity with a decree of the senate, enlisted three thousand soldiers for this fleet, and two city legions with a view to the hazards of war. The Spains were assigned to the former generals, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, who were continued in command, and retained their former armies. The operations of the war on the part of the Romans this year were carried on with twenty legions in all, and one hundred and sixty ships of war. The praetors were ordered to proceed to their provinces. Directions were given to the consuls, that before they left the city they should celebrate the great games which Titus Manlius Torquatus, when dictator, had vowed to exhibit in the fifth year, if the condition of the state remained unaltered. Accounts of prodigies brought from several places excited fresh superstitious fears in the minds of men. It was believed that crows had not only torn with their beaks some gold in the Capitol, but had even eaten it. At Antium mice gnawed a golden crown. An immense quantity of locusts filled the whole country around Capua, nor could it be made appear satisfactorily whence they came. At Reate a foal was produced with five feet. At Anagnia at first scattered fires appeared in the sky, afterwards a vast meteor blazed forth. At Frusino a circle surrounded the sun with a thin line, which was itself afterwards included within the sun's disc which extended beyond it. At Arpinum the earth sank into an immense gulf, in a place where the ground was level. When one of the consuls was immolating the first victim, the head of the liver was wanting. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the larger kind. The college of pontiffs gave out to what gods sacrifice was to be made.

### 3

After these matters were finished, the consuls and praetors set out for their provinces. All, however, made Africa the great object of their concern, as though it had been allotted to them; whether it was because they saw that the welfare of the state and the issue of the war turned upon the operations there, or that they might oblige Scipio, on whom the whole state was then intent. Accordingly, not only from Sardinia, as has been before mentioned, but from Sicily also and Spain, clothing and corn, and from Sicily arms also, together with every kind of stores, were conveyed thither. Nor did Scipio at any time during the winter relax in any of the various military operations in which he was engaged on all sides. He continued the siege of Utica. His camp was within sight of Hasdrubal. The Carthaginians had launched their ships, and had a fleet prepared and equipped to intercept his supplies. Amid these occupations he had not even lost sight of his endeavours to regain the friendship of Syphax, whose passion for his bride he thought might now perhaps have become satiated from unlimited enjoyment. From Syphax he received terms of peace with the Carthaginians, with proposals that the Romans should evacuate Africa, and the Carthaginians Italy, rather than any ground of hope that he would desert their cause if the war proceeded. For my part I am of opinion,

and in this I am countenanced by the majority of writers, that these negotiations were carried on through messengers, rather than that Syphax himself came to the Roman camp to hold a conference, as Antias Valerius relates. At first the Roman general scarcely allowed these terms to be mentioned, but afterwards, in order that there might exist a plausible pretext for his emissaries to go frequently into the camp of the enemy, he rejected these same terms in a more qualified manner, holding out a hope that they might eventually come to an agreement by agitating the question on both sides. The winter huts of the Carthaginians, which were constructed from materials hastily collected out of the fields, were almost entirely of wood. The Numidians, particularly, lay for the most part in huts formed of interwoven reeds, and covered with mats, dispersed up and down without any regard to order; while some of them, having chosen the situations for their tents without waiting for orders, lay even without the trench and rampart. These circumstances having been reported to Scipio, gave him hopes that he might have an opportunity of burning the enemy's camp.

#### 4

In company with the ambassadors whom he sent to Syphax, he also sent some centurions of the first rank, of tried valour and prudence, dressed as servants, in lieu of soldiers' drudges; in order that, while the ambassadors were engaged in conference, they might ramble through the camp, one in one direction and another in another, and thus observe all the approaches and outlets, the situation and form both of the camp in general and of its parts; where the Carthaginians lay, where the Numidians, and what was the distance between the camp of Hasdrubal and that of the king; and that they might at the same time acquaint themselves with their customary mode of stationing outposts and watches, and learn whether they were more open to stratagem by night or by day. During the frequent conferences which were held, several different persons were purposely sent, in order that every circumstance might be known to a greater number. When the more frequent agitation of the matter had given to Syphax a daily increasing hope of peace, and to the Carthaginians through him, the Roman ambassadors at length declared that they were forbidden to return to their general unless a decisive answer was given, and that, therefore, if his own determination was now fixed, he should declare it, or if Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians were to be consulted, he should consult them. That it was time either that an accommodation should be settled or the war vigorously prosecuted. While Hasdrubal was consulted by Syphax, and the Carthaginians by Hasdrubal, the spies had time to inspect every thing, and Scipio to get together what was necessary for the accomplishment of his project. In consequence of the mention and prospect of a peace, neglect arose among the Carthaginians and Numidians, as is usually the case, to take precautions in the mean time that they might not suffer an attack of the enemy. At length an answer was returned; and as the Romans appeared excessively eager for peace, advantage was taken of that circumstance to add certain unreasonable conditions, which afforded Scipio a very seasonable pretext for putting an end to the truce according to his wishes; and telling the king's messenger that he would refer the matter to his council, he answered him the next day. He said, that while he alone had in vain endeavoured to restore peace, no one else had desired it. That he must, therefore, carry word back that Syphax must hope for peace on no other condition than his abandonment of the Carthaginians. Thus he put an end to the truce, in order that he might be free to execute his designs without breaking his faith; and, launching his ships, for it was now the beginning of spring, he put on board machines and engines, with the purpose of

assaulting Utica from the sea. He also sent two thousand men to seize the eminence which commanded that place, and which he had before occupied, at once with the view of turning the attention of the enemy from the design he was endeavouring to effect to another object of concern, and to prevent any sally or attack which might be made from the city upon his camp, which would be left with a slight force to protect it, while he himself went against Syphax and Hasdrubal.

## 5

Having made these preparations, he called a council and after ordering the spies to give an account of the discoveries they had made, and requesting Masinissa, who was acquainted with every circumstance relating to the enemy, to state what he knew, lastly, he himself laid before the council the plan proposed for the following night. He gave directions to the tribunes, that when, after the breaking up of the council, the trumpets had sounded, they should immediately march the legions out of the camp. Agreeably to his commands, the standards began to be carried out about sun-set. About the first watch they formed the troops in marching order. At midnight, for it was seven miles' march, they came up at a moderate pace to the camp of the enemy. Here Scipio assigned a part of his forces, together with Masinissa and the Numidians, to Laelius, ordering them to fall upon the camp of Syphax, and throw fire upon it. Then taking each of the commanders, Masinissa and Laelius, aside, he implored them separately to make up by diligence and care for the absence of that foresight which the night rendered it impossible to exercise. He said, that he should himself attack Hasdrubal and the Carthaginian camp; but that he should not begin till he saw the fire in that of the king. Nor did this delay him long; for when the fire thrown upon the nearest huts had taken effect, immediately communicating with all those which were within the shortest distance, and those connected with them in regular succession, it spread itself throughout the whole camp. The confusion and alarm which took place, in consequence of so widely extended a fire breaking out during the night, were as great as might naturally be expected; but as they concluded that it was the effect of chance, and not produced by the enemy, or connected with the war, they rushed out in a disorderly manner, without their arms, to extinguish the flames, and fell in with armed enemies, particularly the Numidians, who on account of their knowledge of the king's camp were placed by Masinissa in convenient places at the openings of the passes. Many perished in the flames in their beds while half asleep; and many, tumbling over one another in their haste to escape, were trampled to death in the narrow passages of the gates.

## 6

When first the Carthaginian sentinels, and afterwards the rest, roused by the terrifying effects of a tumult by night, beheld the light emitted from the flames, they also, labouring under the same delusion, imagined that the fire had originated from accidental causes; while the shout raised amidst the slaughter and wounds, being of a confused kind, prevented their distinguishing whether it was occasioned by the trepidation of an alarm by night. Accordingly, rushing out one and all at every gate, each man taking the nearest road, without their arms, as not suspecting any hostile attack, and carrying with them only such things as might be useful in extinguishing the flames, they fell upon the Roman troops. After all these had been slain, not only with the animosity of enemies, but also that no one might escape as a messenger, Scipio immediately attacked the gates, which were unguarded in consequence of the confusion; and, having thrown fire upon the nearest huts, at first the flames blazed forth

with great fury, in several places at once, in consequence of the fire having been applied to different parts, but afterwards extending themselves along the contiguous huts, they suddenly enveloped the whole camp in one general conflagration. Men and cattle scorched with the flames blocked up the passages of the gates, first in a terrible rush to escape, and afterwards with their prostrate bodies. Those who got out of the way of the fire were cut off by the sword, and the two camps were involved in one common destruction. The two generals, however, and out of so many thousand troops only two thousand foot and five hundred horsemen, escaped, half armed, a great many of them being wounded and scorched. Forty thousand men were either slain or destroyed by the flames, and above five thousand captured. Among the captured were many Carthaginian nobles, eleven senators, with a hundred and seventy-four military standards, above two thousand seven hundred Numidian horses, and six elephants. Eight elephants were destroyed either by fire or sword, and a great quantity of arms taken. All the latter the general dedicated to Vulcan and burnt.

## 7

Hasdrubal, in his flight, had made for the nearest city of the Africans, accompanied by a few attendants; and hither all those who survived, following the footsteps of their general had betaken themselves. But afterwards, fearing lest he should be given up to Scipio, he quitted that city. Soon after the Romans were received there with open gates; nor was any act of hostility committed, because the inhabitants had surrendered voluntarily. Shortly after, two other cities were captured and plundered. The booty found there, together with what had been rescued from the camps when burning, and from the flames, was given up to the soldiers. Syphax took up a position in a fortified place about eight miles off. Hasdrubal hastened to Carthage, lest the apprehensions occasioned by the recent disaster should lead to any timorous measures. So great was the consternation created there on the first receipt of the news, that it was fully anticipated that Scipio, suspending his operations against Utica, would immediately lay siege to Carthage. The suffetes, therefore, who form with them an authority similar to the consular, summoned the senate, when the three following opinions were given. The first proposed, that a decree should be passed to the effect, that ambassadors should be sent to Scipio to treat of peace; the second, that Hannibal should be recalled to defend his country from a war which threatened its annihilation; the third breathed the spirit of Roman constancy under adversity; it recommended that the losses of the army should be repaired, and that Syphax should be exhorted not to abandon the war. The latter opinion prevailed, because it was that which Hasdrubal, who was present, and all the members of the Barcine faction, preferred. After this, the levy commenced in the city and country, and ambassadors were despatched to Syphax, who was himself employing every effort to restore the war; for his wife had prevailed upon him, not, as heretofore, by caresses, powerful as they are in influencing the mind of a lover, but by prayers and appeals to his compassion, imploring him, with streaming eyes, not to betray her father and her country, nor suffer Carthage to be consumed by the same flames which had reduced the camps to ashes. In addition to this, the ambassadors informed him of a circumstance which had occurred very seasonably to raise their hopes; that they had met with four thousand Celtiberians in the neighbourhood of a city named Abba, a fine body of young men who had been enlisted by their recruiting officers in Spain; and that Hasdrubal would very soon arrive with a body of troops by no means contemptible. Accordingly, he not only returned a kind answer to the ambassadors, but also showed them a multitude of Numidian rustics, whom he had lately furnished with arms and

horses; and at the same time assured them that he would call out all the youth in his kingdom. He said, he well knew that the loss sustained had been occasioned by fire, and not by battle, and that he was inferior to his adversary in war who was overcome by force of arms. Such was the answer given to the ambassadors; and, after a few days, Hasdrubal and Syphax again united their forces. This army consisted of about thirty-five thousand fighting men.

## 8

Scipio, considering that Syphax and the Carthaginians could make no further efforts, gave his whole attention to the siege of Utica, and was now bringing up his engines to the walls, when he was diverted from his purpose by a report of the renewal of the war; and, leaving small forces merely to keep up the appearance of a siege by sea and land, he set out himself with the main strength of his army to meet the enemy. At first he took up his position on an eminence about five miles distant from the king's camp. The next day, coming down with his cavalry into a place called the great plains, which lay at the foot of that eminence, he spent the day in advancing up to the outposts of the enemy, and provoking them by skirmishing attacks. During the ensuing two days, irregular excursions were made by both sides alternately, but nothing worthy of notice was achieved. On the fourth day, both sides came down in battle-array. The Romans placed their principes behind the spearmen, which latter formed the front line, and the triarii they stationed in reserve; the Italian cavalry they opposed to the enemy in the right wing, the Numidians and Masinissa on the left. Syphax and Hasdrubal, placing the Numidians against the Italian cavalry, and the Carthaginians opposite to Masinissa, received the Celtiberians into the centre of their line, to face the Roman legions. Thus arranged, they then commenced the encounter. At the first charge, both the wings, the Numidians and Carthaginians, were together driven from their ground; for neither could the Numidians, who consisted principally of rustics, sustain the shock of the Roman cavalry, nor the Carthaginians, who were also raw soldiers, withstand Masinissa, who, in addition to other circumstances, was rendered formidable by his recent victory. The Celtiberian line, though stripped of the support of both the wings, stood their ground; for neither did any hope of safety by flight present itself, as they were ignorant of the country, nor could they expect pardon from Scipio, against whom, though he had deserved well both of them and their nation, they had come into Africa to fight for hire. Surrounded therefore, on all sides by the enemy, they died with obstinate resolution, falling one upon another; and, while the attention of all was turned upon them, Syphax and Hasdrubal gained a considerable space of time to effect their escape. The victors, fatigued with the slaughter, which had continued for a greater length of time than the battle, were interrupted by the night.

## 9

The next day Scipio sent Laelius and Masinissa, with all the Roman and Numidian cavalry, and the light infantry, to pursue Syphax and Hasdrubal. He himself, with the main strength of the army, reduced the neighbouring towns, which were all subject to the Carthaginians, some by holding out hopes to them, some by threats, and others by force. At Carthage, indeed, the consternation was extreme; and it was fully anticipated there, that Scipio, who was carrying his arms to the different places around, would, after having rapidly subdued all the neighbouring parts, suddenly attack Carthage itself. Their walls were repaired and protected with outworks; and every man individually exerted himself to the utmost in collecting from the country the requisites for holding

out against a protracted siege. Mention was seldom made of peace, but not so seldom of sending deputies to recall Hannibal. The majority of them urged that the fleet, which had been equipped to intercept the convoys of the enemy, should be sent to surprise the ships stationed near Utica, which were lying in an unguarded state. It was also urged that they might perhaps overpower the naval camp, which was left under the protection of a trifling force. They chiefly inclined to the latter plan, though they thought, nevertheless, that deputies should be sent to Hannibal; for should the operations of the fleet succeed in the highest degree, the siege of Utica would be partially raised, but they had no general remaining but Hannibal, and no army but his which could defend Carthage itself. The ships were therefore launched the following day, and, at the same time, the deputies set out for Italy; and, their position stimulating them, every thing was done with the greatest expedition; each man considering, that the safety of all was betrayed in whatever degree he remitted his own individual exertions. Scipio, who drew after him an army now encumbered with the spoils of many cities, sent his prisoners, and other booty, to his old camp at Utica, and, as his views were now fixed on Carthage, he seized on Tunes, which was abandoned in consequence of the flight of the garrison. This city is about fifteen miles distant from Carthage, being a place secured both by works, and also by its own natural position; it may be seen from Carthage, and itself affords a prospect both of that city and of the sea which washes it.

## 10

From this place the Romans, while diligently employed in raising a rampart, descried the fleet of the enemy, on its way to Utica from Carthage. Desisting from their work, therefore, orders for marching were given, and the troops began to move with the utmost haste, lest the ships which were turned towards the land, and occupied with the siege, and which were far from being in a condition for a naval battle, should be surprised and overpowered. For how could ships, carrying engines and machines, and either converted to the purposes of transports, or brought up to the walls so as to afford the means of mounting up, in lieu of a mound and bridges, resist a fleet, with nothing to impede its movements, furnished with every kind of naval implement, and prepared for action. Scipio, therefore, contrary to his usual practice in naval engagements, drew the ships of war, which might have been employed in defending the rest, into the rear, and formed them into a line near the land; opposing to the enemy a row of transports, four deep, to serve as a wall; and, lest these same transports should be thrown into disorder during the confusion of the battle, he bound them together by placing masts and yard-arms across them, from one vessel to the other; and, by means of strong ropes, fastened them together, as it were, by one uninterrupted bond. He also laid planks upon them, so as to form a free passage along the line, leaving spaces under these bridges of communication by which the vessels of observation might run out towards the enemy, and retreat with safety. Having hastily made these arrangements as well as the time would permit, he put on board the transports about a thousand picked men, to keep off the enemy, with a very large store of weapons, particularly missiles, that they might hold out, however long the contest lasted. Thus prepared, and on the watch, they waited the approach of the enemy. The Carthaginians, who, if they had made haste would, on the first assault, have surprised their adversaries while every thing was in a state of confusion, from the hurry and bustle attending the preparations, were so dismayed at their losses by land, and thereby had lost so much confidence even in their strength by sea, in which they had the advantage, that, after consuming the day, in consequence of the slow rate at which they sailed, about sun-set they put in to a harbour which the

Africans call Ruscino. The following day, at sun-rise, they drew up their ships towards the open sea, as for a regular naval battle, and with the expectation that the Romans would come out to engage them. After they had continued stationary for some time, and saw that no movement was made on the part of the enemy, then, at length, they attacked the transports. The affair bore no resemblance to a naval fight, but rather had the appearance of ships attacking walls. The transports had considerably the advantage in respect of height; and as the Carthaginians had to throw their weapons upward, against a mark which was above them, most of them failed of taking effect; while the weapons thrown from the transports from above fell with increased force, and derived additional impetus from their very weight. The vessels of observation, and even the lighter kind of barks, which went out through the spaces left under the flooring, which formed a communication between the ships, were at first run down by the mere momentum and bulk of the ships of war; and afterwards they proved a hindrance to the troops appointed to keep the enemy off; for as they mixed with the ships of the enemy, they were frequently under the necessity of withholding their weapons for fear, by a misdirected effort, they should fall on their friends. At length, beams with iron hooks at their ends, called harpoons, began to be thrown from the Carthaginian upon the Roman ships; and, as they could not cut the harpoons themselves, nor the chains suspended by which they were thrown upon their ships, as each of the ships of war of the enemy, being pulled back, drew with it a transport, connected with it by a harpoon, you might see the fastenings by which the transports were joined together rent asunder, and in another part a series of many vessels dragged away together. In this manner chiefly were all the bridges of communication torn to pieces, and scarcely had the troops who fought in front time to leap to the second line of ships. About six transports were towed away to Carthage, where the joy felt was greater than the occasion warranted; but their delight was increased from the reflection, that, in the midst of so many successive disasters and woes, one event, however trifling, which afforded matter of joy, had unexpectedly occurred; besides which, it was manifest that the Roman fleet would have been well nigh annihilated, had not their own commanders been wanting in diligence, and had not Scipio come up to its assistance in time.

## 11

It happened about the same time, that Laelius and Masinissa having arrived in Numidia after a march of about fifteen days, the Massylians, Masinissa's hereditary kingdom, placed themselves under the protection of their king with the greatest joy, as they had long wished him among them. After the commanders and garrisons of Syphax had been expelled from thence, that prince kept himself within the limits of his original dominions, but without any intention of remaining quiet. Subdued by the power of love, he was spurred on by his wife and father-in-law; and he possessed such an abundance of men and horses, that a review of the resources of his kingdom, which had flourished for so many years, was calculated to infuse spirit into a mind even less barbarous and impetuous than his. Wherefore, collecting together all who were fit for service, he distributed among them horses, armour, and weapons. He divided his horsemen into troops, and his infantry into cohorts, as he had formerly learnt from the Roman centurions. With an army not less than that which he had before, but almost entirely raw and undisciplined, he set out to meet the enemy, and pitched his camp at a short distance from them. At first a few horsemen advanced cautiously from the outposts to reconnoitre, and being compelled to retire, from a discharge of javelins, they ran back to their friends. Then skirmishing parties were sent out from both sides, and the

vanquished, fired with indignation, returned to the encounter with increased numbers. This is the usual incitement of battles between cavalry, when the victors are joined by more of their party from hope, and the vanquished from resentment. Thus, on the present occasion, the action commencing with a few, at last the whole body of the cavalry on both sides poured out to join in it from the zeal excited by the contest. While the cavalry only were engaged, it was scarcely possible to withstand the numbers of the Masaesylians, which Syphax sent out in immense bodies. But afterwards, when the Roman infantry, suddenly coming up between the troops of horse which made way for them, gave stability to their line, and checked the enemy, who were charging furiously, at first the barbarians slackened their speed, then halted, and were in a manner confounded at this novel kind of battle. At length, they not only retired before the infantry, but were unable to sustain the shock even of the cavalry, who had assumed courage from the support of the infantry. By this time the legions also were approaching; when, indeed, the Masaesylians not only dared not await their first charge, but could not bear even the sight of the standards and arms; so powerful was either the recollection of their former defeats, or their present fears.

## 12

It was then that Syphax, while riding up to the troops of the enemy to try if, either by shame or by exposing his own person to danger, he could stop their flight, being thrown from his horse, which was severely wounded, was overpowered, and being made prisoner, was dragged alive into the presence of Laelius; a spectacle calculated to afford peculiar satisfaction to Masinissa. Cirta was the capital of the dominions of Syphax; to which a great number of men fled. The number of the slain in this battle was not so great as the victory was important, because the cavalry only had been engaged. Not more than five thousand were slain, and less than half that number were made prisoners in an attack upon the camp, to which the multitude, dismayed at the loss of their king, had fled. Masinissa declared that nothing could be more highly gratifying to him than, having gained this victory, to go now and visit his hereditary dominions, which he had regained after having been kept out of them so long a time; but it was not proper in prosperity any more than in adversity to lose any time. That if Laelius would allow him to go before him to Cirta with the cavalry and the captive Syphax, he should overpower the enemy while all was in a state of consternation and dismay; and that Laelius might follow with the infantry at a moderate rate. Laelius assenting, he advanced to Cirta, and ordered the principal inhabitants to be called out to a conference. But as they were not aware of what had befallen their king, he was unable to prevail upon them, either by laying before them what had passed, by threats, or by persuasion, until the king was presented to their view in chains. A general lamentation arose at this shocking exhibition, and while some deserted the walls in a panic, others, who sought to ingratiate themselves with the victor, suddenly came to an agreement to throw open the gates. Masinissa, having sent troops to keep guard near the gates, and at such parts of the wall as required it, that no one might have a passage out to escape by, galloped off to seize the palace. While entering the porch, Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax and daughter of Hasdrubal the Carthaginian, met him in the very threshold, and seeing Masinissa in the midst of the armed band, for he was distinguished both by his arms and also by his habiliments, she concluded, as was really the case, that he was the king; and, falling down at his knees, thus addressed him: "The gods, together with your own valour and good fortune, have given you the power of disposing of us as you please. But if a captive may be allowed to give utterance to the voice of supplication before him who is the

sovereign arbiter of her life or death; if she may be permitted to touch his knees and his victorious right hand, I entreat and beseech, you by the majesty of royalty, which we also a short time ago possessed; by the name of the Numidian race, which was common to Syphax and yourself; by the guardian deities of this palace, (and O! may they receive you more auspiciously than they sent Syphax from it!) that you would indulge a suppliant by determining yourself whatever your inclination may suggest respecting your captive, and not suffer me to be placed at the haughty and merciless disposal of any Roman. Were I nothing more than the wife of Syphax, yet would I rather make trial of the honour of a Numidian, one born in Africa, the same country which gave me birth than of a foreigner and an alien. You know what a Carthaginian, what the daughter of Hasdrubal, has to fear from a Roman. If you cannot effect it by any other means, I beg and beseech you that you will by my death rescue me from the power of the Romans." She was remarkably beautiful, and in the full bloom of youth. Accordingly, while she pressed his right hand, and only implored him to pledge himself that she should not be delivered up to any Roman, her language assuming the character of amorous blandishment rather than entreaty, the heart of the conqueror not only melted with compassion, but, as the Numidians are an excessively amorous race, he became the slave of his captive; and giving his right hand as a pledge for the performance of her request, withdrew into the palace. He then set upon reflecting in what manner he could make good his promise; and not being able to hit upon any expedient, his passion suggested to him an inconsiderate and barefaced alternative. He ordered that preparations should be instantly made for celebrating the nuptials that very day; in order that he might not leave it at all open to Laelius, or Scipio himself, to adopt any measure respecting her as a captive who had become the wife of Masinissa. After the nuptials were concluded, Laelius came up: and so far was he from dissembling his disapprobation of the proceeding, that at first he would even have had her dragged from the marriage bed and sent with Syphax and the rest of the captives to Scipio: but afterwards, having been prevailed upon by the entreaties of Masinissa, who begged of him to leave it to Scipio to decide which of the two kings should have his fortunes graced by the accession of Sophonisba he sent away Syphax and the prisoners; and, aided by Masinissa, employed himself in reducing the rest of the cities of Numidia, which were occupied by the king's garrisons.

### 13

When it was announced that Syphax was being brought into the camp, the whole multitude poured out, as if to behold a triumphal pageant. The king himself walked first in chains, and a number of Numidian nobles followed. On this occasion every one strove to the utmost to increase the splendour of their victory, by magnifying the greatness of Syphax and the renown of his nation. "That was the king," they said, "to whose dignity the two most powerful nations in the world the Roman and the Carthaginian, had paid so much deference, that their own general, Scipio, leaving his province of Spain and his army, sailed into Africa with only two quinqueremes to solicit his friendship; while Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, not only visited him in his dominions, but gave him his daughter in marriage. That he had in his power two commanders, one a Roman and the other a Carthaginian, at the same time. That as both the contending parties sought the favour of the immortal gods by the immolation of victims, so had they both equally solicited his friendship. That he had lately possessed such great power, that after expelling Masinissa from his kingdom, he reduced him to such a state, that his life was protected by a report of his death, and by concealment, while he supported himself in

the woods on prey after the manner of wild beasts." Thus signalized by the observations of the surrounding multitude, the king was brought into the pavilion before Scipio, who was moved by the former condition of the man compared with his present, and particularly by the recollection of their relation of hospitality, his right hand pledged, and the public and private connexion which had been formed between them. These same considerations inspired Syphax also with confidence in addressing the conqueror; for when Scipio asked what had been his object in not only renouncing his alliance with the Romans, but in making war against them without provocation, he fully admitted "that he had indeed done wrong, and acted like a madman; but not at that time only when he took up arms against the Roman people; that was the consummation of his frenzy, not its commencement. Then it was that he is mad; then it was that he banished from his mind all regard for private friendship and public treaties, when he received a Carthaginian wife into his house. It was by the flames kindled by those nuptial torches that his palace had been consumed. That fury and pest had by every kind of fascination engrossed his affections and obscured his reason; nor had she rested till she had with her own hands clad him with impious arms against his guest and friend. Yet ruined and fallen as he was, he derived some consolation in his misfortunes when he saw that that same pest and fury had been transferred to the dwelling and household gods of the man who was of all others his greatest enemy. That Masinissa was neither more prudent nor more firm than Syphax; but even more incautious by reason of his youth. Doubtless he had shown greater folly and want of self-control in marrying her than he himself had."

#### 14

These words, dictated not merely by the hatred naturally felt towards an enemy, but also by the anguish of jealousy, on seeing the object of his affections in the possession of his rival, affected the mind of Scipio with no ordinary degree of anxiety. His accusations against Masinissa derived credibility from the fact of the nuptials having, been celebrated in the most violent hurry, almost amid the clash of arms, without consulting or waiting for Laelius, and with such precipitate haste, that on the very day on which he saw the captive enemy he united himself with her in matrimony, and performed the nuptial rite in the presence of the household gods of his enemy. This conduct appeared the more heinous to Scipio, because when a very young man in Spain he had not allowed himself to be influenced by the beauty of any captive. While ruminating on these circumstances, Laelius and Masinissa came up. Without making any distinction between them he received them both with a cheerful countenance, and having bestowed upon them the highest commendations before a full assembly of his officers, he took Masinissa aside and thus addressed him: "I suppose, Masinissa, that it was because you saw in me some good qualities that you at first came to me when in Spain, for the purpose of forming a friendship with me, and that afterwards in Africa you committed yourself and all your hopes to my protection. But of all those virtues, on account of which I seemed to you worthy of your regard, there is not one in which I gloried so much as temperance and the control of my passions. I could wish that you also, Masinissa, had added this to your other distinguished qualities. There is not, believe me, there is not so much danger to be apprehended by persons at our time of life from armed foes, as from the pleasures which surround us on all sides. The man who by temperance has curbed and subdued his appetite for them, has acquired for himself much greater honour and a much more important victory than we now enjoy in the conquest of Syphax. I have mentioned with delight, and I remember with pleasure, the instances of fortitude and courage which you displayed in my absence. As to other

matters, I would rather that you should reflect upon them in private, than that you should be put to the blush by my reciting them. Syphax was subdued and captured under the auspices of the Roman people; therefore he himself, his wife his kingdom, his territories, his towns and their inhabitants, in short, every thing which belonged to him, is the booty of the Roman people, and it was proper that the king himself and his consort, even though she had not been a citizen of Carthage, even though we did not see her father commanding the armies of our enemies, should be sent to Rome, and that the senate and people of Rome should judge and determine respecting her who is said to have alienated from us a king in alliance with us, and to have precipitated him into war with us. Subdue your passions. Beware how you deform many good qualities by one vice, and mar the credit of so many meritorious deeds by a degree of guilt more than proportioned to the value of its object."

## 15

While Masinissa heard these observations, he not only became suffused with blushes, but burst into tears; and after declaring that he would submit to the discretion of the general, and imploring him that, as far as circumstances would permit, he would consider the obligation he had rashly imposed upon himself, for he had promised that he would not deliver her into the power of any one, he retired in confusion from the pavilion into his own tent. There, dismissing his attendants, he spent a considerable time amid frequent sighs and groans, which could be distinctly heard by those who stood around the tent. At last, heaving a deep groan, he called one of his servants in whom he confided, in whose custody poison was kept, according to the custom of kings, as a remedy against the unforeseen events of fortune, and ordered him to mix some in a cup and carry it to Sophonisba; at the same time informing her that Masinissa would gladly have fulfilled the first obligation which as a husband he owed to her his wife; but since those who had the power of doing so had deprived him of the exercise of that right, he now performed his second promise, that she should not come alive into the power of the Romans. That, mindful of her father the general, of her country, and of the two kings to whom she had been married, she would take such measures as she herself thought proper. When the servant came to Sophonisba bearing this message and the poison, she said, "I accept this nuptial present; nor is it an unwelcome one, if my husband can render me no better service. Tell him, however, that I should have died with greater satisfaction had I not married so near upon my death." The spirit with which she spoke was equalled by the firmness with which she took and drained the chalice, without exhibiting any symptom of perturbation. When Scipio was informed of this event, fearful lest the high-spirited young man should in the distempered state of his mind adopt some desperate resolution, he immediately sent for him, and at one time endeavoured to solace him, at another gently rebuked him for expiating one act of temerity with another, and rendering the affair more tragical than was necessary. The next day, in order to divert his mind from his present affliction, he ascended his tribunal and ordered an assembly to be summoned, in which having first saluted Masinissa with the title of king, and distinguished him with the highest encomiums, he presented him with a golden goblet, a curule chair, an ivory sceptre, an embroidered gown, and a triumphal vest. He increased the honour by observing, that among the Romans there was nothing more magnificent than a triumph; and that those who triumphed were not arrayed with more splendid ornaments than those with which the Roman people considered Masinissa alone, of all foreigners, worthy. He then bestowed the highest commendations upon Laelius also, and presented him with a golden crown, and gave

presents to the other military characters proportioned to their respective merits. By these honours the king's mind was soothed, and encouraged to hope that he would speedily become master of all Numidia, now that Syphax was removed.

## 16

Scipio, having sent Caius Laelius with Syphax and the rest of the prisoners to Rome, with whom went also ambassadors from Masinissa, led his troops back again to Tunes, and completed the fortifications which he had before begun. The Carthaginians, who had experienced not only a short-lived but almost groundless joy, from their attack upon the fleet, which, under existing circumstances, was tolerably successful, were so dismayed at the account of the capture of Syphax, in whom they reposed almost greater confidence than in Hasdrubal and his army, that now listening no longer to any who advocated war, they sent thirty of their principal elders as deputies to solicit peace. With them the council of elders is held in the highest reverence, and has supreme power even to control the senate itself. When they came into the Roman camp and entered the pavilion, they prostrated themselves after the manner of those who pay profound adoration to kings, adopting the custom, I suppose, from the country from which they derived their origin. Their language corresponded with such abject humiliation, for they did not endeavour to deny their guilt, but charged Hannibal and the favourers of his violent measures with being the originators of it. They implored pardon for their state, which had been now twice brought to the brink of ruin by the temerity of its citizens, and would again owe its safety to the indulgence of its enemies. They said, the object the Roman people aimed at in the subjugation of their enemies was dominion, and not their destruction; that he might enjoin what he pleased upon them, as being prepared submissively to obey. Scipio replied, "that he had come into Africa with the hope, and that hope had been increased by the success he had experienced in his operations, that he should carry home victory and not terms of peace. Still, though he had victory in a manner within his grasp, he would not refuse all accommodation, that all the nations of the world may know that the Roman people both undertake and conclude wars with justice." The terms of peace which he prescribed were these: "That they should restore the prisoners, deserters, and fugitives; withdraw their armies from Italy and Gaul; give up all claim to Spain; retire from all the islands between Italy and Africa; deliver up all their ships of war except twenty, and furnish five hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley." Authors are not agreed as to the sum of money he demanded. In some I find five thousand talents; in others five thousand pounds' weight of silver; in others, that double pay for the troops was required. "Three days," he said, "shall be allowed to deliberate whether you accept of peace on these terms. If you do accept it, make a truce within me, and send deputies to Rome to the senate." The Carthaginians being thus dismissed, as they thought it proper to accept of any conditions of peace, for their only object was to gain time for Hannibal to cross over into Africa, sent some ambassadors to Scipio to conclude a truce, and others to Rome to solicit peace; the latter taking with them a few prisoners, deserters, and fugitives, in order to facilitate the attainment of peace.

## 17

Laelius with Syphax and the principal Numidian prisoners arrived at Rome several days before, and laying before the senate all the transactions which had occurred in Africa in order, the greatest joy was felt for the present, and the most sanguine anticipations formed of the future. The sense of the senate being then taken upon the subject, they

resolved that the king should be sent to Alba to be kept in custody, and that Laelius should be detained until the arrival of the Carthaginian ambassadors. A supplication for four days was decreed. The senate breaking up and an assembly of the people being then called, Publius Aelius the praetor accompanied by Caius Laelius, mounted the rostrum. There, on hearing that the armies of the Carthaginians had been routed, that a king of the greatest renown had been vanquished and made prisoner, that all Numidia had been overrun with brilliant success, the people were unable to refrain from expressing their delight, but manifested their transports by shouts and all the other means usually resorted to by the multitude. The praetor, therefore, immediately issued orders that the keepers should open all the temples throughout the city, and that the people should be allowed during the whole day to go round and make their adoration to the gods, and return their thanks. The next day he brought the ambassadors of Masinissa before the senate. They in the first place congratulated the senate on the successes of Scipio in Africa, and then thanked them, not only for having saluted him with the title of king, but for having made him one, by reinstating him in his paternal dominions, where, now that Syphax was removed, he would reign, if it was the pleasure of the senate, without fear or opposition. Next, for having bestowed upon him the highest commendations in the assembly, and decorated him with the most magnificent presents, of which Masinissa had endeavoured, and would in future endeavour, to render himself worthy. They requested that the senate would by a decree confirm the title of king with the other favours and benefits conferred by Scipio, and, if it were not troublesome, they said, that Masinissa further Requested that they would send home the Numidian captives who were detained at Rome; for that this boon would procure him the esteem and honour of his countrymen. On these points the senate replied to the ambassadors, "that they reciprocated the congratulations of the king on the successes in Africa. That Scipio was considered to have acted properly and regularly in saluting him with the title of king, and that the senate applauded and approved of every thing else he had done which was gratifying to Masinissa." They appointed by a decree what presents the ambassadors should carry to the king; they were, two purple cloaks, each having a golden clasp, and each accompanied with vests and broad purple borders, two horses arrayed with trappings, two suits of equestrian armour with coats of mail, together with tents and other military apparatus such as those usually provided for a consul. These the praetor was directed to send for the king. The ambassadors were severally presented with not less than five thousand *asses*, their attendants with one thousand. Two suits of apparel were presented to each of the ambassadors, and one to each of their attendants and to the Numidians, who were discharged from custody and given back to the king. In addition to these, dwellings, reserved by the state for such purposes, grounds, and entertainment, were assigned to the ambassadors.

## 18

The same summer during which these decrees were passed at Rome, and these transactions took place in Africa, Publius Quinctilius Varus, the praetor, and Marcus Cornelius, the proconsul, fought a pitched battle with Mago the Carthaginian in the territories of the Insubrian Gauls. The legions of the praetor were in the first line; Cornelius kept his in reserve, riding forward into the front himself, and the praetor and proconsul, leading on the two wings, exhorted the soldiers to attack the enemy with the utmost vigour. Finding they produced no impression upon the enemy, Quinctilius said to Cornelius: "The battle, as you perceive, does not proceed with spirit, the enemy, having succeeded in their resistance beyond expectation, have become callous to fear,

and there is danger lest it should be converted into boldness. We must stir up a tempest of cavalry if we wish to disorder and drive them from their ground; therefore, either do you sustain the fight in front, and I will lead the cavalry into the action; or else, I will act in the front line and you send out the cavalry of the four legions against the enemy." The proconsul offering to take whichever part of the service the praetor pleased, Quintilius the praetor, with his son, surnamed Marcus, a spirited youth, went off to the cavalry, and desiring them to mount, instantly led them to the charge. The confusion on occasioned by these was increased by a shout raised by the legions; nor would the line of the enemy have stood unbroken, had not Mago, as soon as he saw the cavalry in motion, immediately brought into the action his elephants, which he kept in readiness. The horses were so terrified at the snorting, the smell, and appearance of these animals, that the aid of the cavalry was rendered ineffectual. As the Roman horseman had the advantage in point of efficiency in a close fight, when he could use his javelin and sword hand to hand, so the Numidians had the advantage when throwing their darts from a distance upon enemies borne away from them by their terrified horses. At the same time the twelfth legion, though a great number of them were slain, maintained their ground through shame rather than a reliance on their strength; but they would not have continued to do so longer, had not the thirteenth legion, brought up into the front line from the reserve, taken up the doubtful conflict. Mago, also, bringing up the Gauls from his reserve, opposed them to the fresh legion. The Gauls being routed without any great effort, the spearmen of the eleventh legion formed themselves into a circular body and charged the elephants, which were now disordering the line of infantry; and as scarcely one of the javelins which they threw upon them failed of taking effect, as they were close together, they turned them all upon the line of their own party. Four of them fell overpowered with wounds. It was then that the front line of the enemy gave ground, the whole body of the Roman infantry at the same time rushing forward to increase the panic and confusion, on seeing the elephants turn their backs. As long as Mago stood in front, the troops stepped back slowly, preserving their ranks and not relaxing their ardour in fighting; but when they saw him falling, from a wound in his thigh, which was transfixed, and carried off the field almost lifeless, in an instant they all betook themselves to flight. As many as five thousand of the enemy were slain, and twenty-two military standards captured on that day. Nor did the Romans obtain a bloodless victory. Two thousand three hundred of the army of the praetor, by far the greater part of whom belonged to the twelfth legion, were lost. Two military tribunes, Marcus Cosconius and Marcus Maenius, of the same legion; and of the thirteenth legion also, which joined in the action at its close, Cneius Helvius, a military tribune, fell in restoring the fight; and about twenty-two distinguished horsemen, together with several centurions, were trampled upon and killed by the elephants. The contest would have continued longer, had not the enemy conceded the victory, in consequence of the wound of their general.

## 19

Mago, setting out during the silence of the succeeding night, and marching as far at a time as his wounds would allow him, reached the sea-coast in the territory of the Ingaunian Ligurians. Here ambassadors from Carthage, who had put into the Gallic bay a few days before, came to him with directions to cross over into Africa with all speed; informing him that his brother Hannibal, for to him also they said ambassadors had gone with similar directions, would do the same, for the affairs of the Carthaginians were not in a condition to admit of their occupying Gaul and Italy with armies. Mago, not only influenced by the command of the senate and the danger which threatened his

country, but fearful also lest the victorious enemy should be upon him if he delayed, and lest the Ligurians themselves, seeing that the Carthaginians were leaving Italy, should pass over to those under whose power they were likely soon to be placed; at the same time hoping that his wound would be less irritated by the motion of sailing than marching, and that he would have greater facilities for the cure of it, put his troops on board and set sail. But he had scarcely cleared Sardinia when he died of his wound. Several also of his ships, which had been dispersed in the main sea, were captured by the Roman fleet which lay near Sardinia. Such were the transactions by sea and land in that part of Italy which is adjacent to the Alps. The consul, Caius Servilius, without having performed any memorable achievement in Etruria, his province, and in Gaul, for he had advanced thither also, but having rescued from slavery, which they had endured for now the sixteenth year, his father, Caius Servilius, and his uncle, Caius Lutatius, who had been taken by the Boians at the village of Tanetum, returned to Rome with his father on one side of him and his uncle on the other, distinguished, by family, rather than by public, honours. It was proposed to the people, that Caius Servilius should be indemnified for having filled the offices of plebeian tribune and plebeian aedile contrary to what was established by the laws, while his father, who had sat in the curule chair, was still alive, he being ignorant of that circumstance. This proposition having been carried, he returned to his province. The towns Consentia, Uffugum, Vergae, Besidia, Hetriculum, Sypheum, Argentanum, Clampetia, and many other inconsiderable states, perceiving that the Carthaginian cause was declining, went over to Cneius Servilius the consul in Bruttium. The same consul fought a battle with Hannibal, in the territory of Croto. The accounts of this battle are not clear. Valerius Antias states that five thousand men were slain. But this is an event of such magnitude, that either it must be an impudent fiction, or negligently omitted. It is certain that nothing further was done by Hannibal in Italy; for ambassadors from Carthage, recalling him into Africa, came to him, as it happened, at the same time that they came to Mago.

## 20

It is said that when Hannibal heard the message of the ambassadors he gnashed with his teeth, groaned, and scarcely refrained from shedding tears. After they had delivered the commands with which they were charged, he said: "Those who have for a long time been endeavouring to drag me home, by forbidding the sending of supplies and money to me, now recall me, not indirectly, but openly. Hannibal, therefore, hath been conquered, not by the Roman people, who have been so often slain and routed, but by the Carthaginian senate, through envy and detraction; nor will Publius Scipio exult and glory in this unseemly return so much as Hanno, who has crushed our family, since he could not effect it by any other means, by the ruins of Carthage." Already had his mind entertained a presentiment of this event, and he had accordingly prepared ships beforehand. Having, therefore, sent a crowd of useless soldiers under pretence of garrisons into the towns in the Bruttian territory, a few of which continued their adherence to him, more through fear than attachment, he transported the strength of his army into Africa. Many natives of Italy who, refusing to follow him into Africa had retired to the shrine of Juno Lacinia, which had never been violated up to that day, were barbarously massacred in the very temple. It is related, that rarely any person leaving his country to go into exile exhibited deeper sorrow than Hannibal did on departing from the land of his enemies; that he frequently looked back upon the shores of Italy, and, arraigning both gods and men, cursed himself and his own head that he did not lead his troops, while reeking with blood from the victory at Cannae, to Rome. Scipio,

who since his appointment to the office of consul had not looked at the Carthaginian enemy in Italy, had dared, he said, to go and attack Carthage, while he, after slaying a hundred thousand fighting men at Trasimenus and Cannae, had suffered his strength to wear away around Casilinum, Cumae, and Nola. Amid these reproaches and complaints he was borne away from his long occupation of Italy.

## 21

At the same time intelligence was brought to Rome that both Mago and Hannibal had taken their departure. But the delight occasioned by this twofold source of joy was diminished by the reflection that their commanders had wanted either spirit or strength sufficient to detain them, for they had been charged by the senate to do so; and also in consequence of the anxiety they felt for the issue of a contest, in which the whole weight of the war rested on the efforts of one general and his army. About the same time ambassadors from Saguntum arrived, bringing with them some Carthaginians who had crossed over into Spain for the purpose of hiring auxiliaries, having seized them and the money they had with them. They laid down in the vestibule of the senate-house two hundred and fifty pounds' weight of gold, and eight hundred of silver. After the men had been received and thrown into prison, and the gold and silver returned, the ambassadors were thanked, and received, besides, presents and ships to convey them back into Spain. Some of the older senators then observed, that men were less powerfully affected by prosperity than adversity. That they themselves remembered what terror and consternation had been occasioned by the passage of Hannibal into Italy; what disasters and what lamentations had followed that event. When the camp of the enemy was seen from their walls, what vows were poured forth by each and all! How often, extending their hands to heaven, exclamations were heard in their assemblies. Oh! will that day ever arrive when we shall behold Italy cleared of her enemies and enjoying the blessings of peace! The gods, they said, had at length, in the sixteenth year, granted that favour and yet there was no one who proposed that thanks should be returned to them for it. That if men received a present blessing so ungratefully, they would not be very mindful of it when it was past. In consequence of this a general shout was raised from every part of the senate-house, that Publius Aelius the praetor, should lay the matter before the senate, and a decree was passed, that a supplication should be performed at all the shrines for the space of five days, and that a hundred and twenty victims of the larger sort should be immolated. Laelius and the ambassadors of Masinissa having been by this time dismissed, and intelligence having arrived that ambassadors of the Carthaginians, who were coming to the senate to treat about peace, had been seen at Puteoli, and would proceed thence by land, it was resolved, that Caius Laelius should be recalled, that the negotiations respecting the peace might take place in his presence. Quintus Fulvius Gillo, a lieutenant-general of Scipio, conducted the Carthaginians to Rome; and as they were forbidden to enter the city, they were lodged in a country-house belonging to the state, and admitted to an audience of the senate at the temple of Bellona.

## 22

They addressed the senate in nearly the same terms as they had employed before Scipio; laying the whole blame of the war upon Hannibal, and exculpating their state. They declared, that he had not only crossed the Alps, but the Iberus also, without the sanction of the senate; and that he had made war not only on the Romans, but previously on the Saguntines also, on his own individual responsibility. That, if the

question were viewed in its proper light, it would be found that the league between the senate and people of Carthage and the Romans remained unbroken up to that day. Accordingly, all they had in charge to solicit was, that they might be allowed to continue in the enjoyment of that peace which was last entered into with the consul Caius Lutatius. When the praetor, according to the custom handed down from their ancestors, had given the fathers permission to ask the ambassadors any questions they might be pleased to put, and the older members who had been present at the making of the treaties had put some one question and others another, the ambassadors declared that they were not old enough to recollect, for they were nearly all of them young men. Upon this every part of the senate-house resounded with exclamations, that with Carthaginian knavery men had been chosen to solicit a renewal of the old peace who did not recollect its terms.

### 23

After this, the ambassadors having been removed out of the senate-house, the senators began to be asked their opinions. Marcus Livius recommended, that Caius Servilius, the consul nearest home, should be sent for, that he might be present at the proceedings relative to the peace; for as it was impossible that any subject of deliberation could occur of greater importance than the present, he did not see how it could be discussed, consistently with the dignity of the Roman people, in the absence of one or both of the consuls. Quintus Metellus, who three years before had been consul, and had filled the office of dictator, said that, since Publius Scipio, by destroying the armies and by devastating the lands of the enemy, had reduced them to such a state that they were compelled as supplicants to sue for peace; and as no one could estimate with more truth the intentions with which it was solicited, than he who was prosecuting the war before the gates of Carthage; the peace should be rejected or adopted on the advice of none other than Scipio. Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had been twice consul, endeavoured to show that those who had come were spies, and not ambassadors; that they ought to be ordered to depart from Italy; that guards should be sent with them to their very ships, and that Scipio should be written to not to relax in prosecuting the war. Laelius and Fulvius added, that Scipio had grounded his hopes of effecting a peace on Hannibal and Mago not being recalled from Italy. He considered that the Carthaginians would practise every species of dissimulation, in expectation of the arrival of those generals and their armies, and then, forgetful of all treaties, however recent, and all gods, would proceed with the war. For these reasons they were the more disposed to adopt the opinion of Laevinus. The ambassadors were dismissed without having accomplished the peace, and almost without an answer.

### 24

About the same time Cneius Servilius, the consul, not doubting but that he should enjoy the glory of having restored Italy to a state of peace, pursued Hannibal, whom he considered had fled before him, and crossed over into Sicily, with the intention of proceeding thence into Africa. As soon as this became known at Rome, at first the fathers gave it as their opinion, that the praetor should inform the consul by letter that the senate thought it proper that he should return into Italy; but afterwards, the praetor declaiming that he would not heed his letter, Publius Sulpicius, who was created dictator for this very purpose, recalled the consul to Italy, in virtue of his superior authority. The remainder of the year he employed in conjunction with Marcus Servilius, his master of the horse, in going round to the cities of Italy, which had been alienated

from the Romans during the war, and in taking cognizance of the cases of each. During the time of the truce, Lentulus the praetor sent over into Africa, from Sardinia, a hundred transports with stores, under a convoy of twenty ships of war, without meeting with any injury either from the enemy or storms. The same good fortune did not attend Cneius Octavius, while crossing over from Sicily with two hundred transports and thirty men of war. Having experienced a prosperous voyage until he arrived almost within sight of Africa, at first the wind dropped, but afterwards changing to the south-west, it dispersed his ships in every direction. He himself with the ships of war, having struggled through the opposing billows by the extraordinary exertions of his rowers, made the promontory of Apollo. The greater part of the transports were driven to Aegimurus, an island filling the mouth of the bay on which Carthage stands, and about thirty miles from the city; the rest were driven on shore directly opposite the city, near the warm baths. The whole occurrence was within sight of Carthage, and, accordingly, the people ran in crowds to the forum, from every part of the city. The magistrates summoned the senate, and the people were yelling in the vestibule of the senate-house, lest so great a booty should escape from their hands and their sight. Though some urged as an objection the obligation imposed upon them by having solicited peace, and others the restraint occasioned by the existence of a truce, the period of which had not yet expired, it was agreed in an assembly, made up almost of a mixture of the senate and people, that Hasdrubal should cross over to Aegimurus with fifty ships, and, proceeding thence, pick up the Roman ships scattered along the coasts and in the different ports. First the transports from Aegimurus, and then those from the baths, abandoned by the crews, were towed to Carthage.

## 25

The ambassadors had not as yet returned from Rome, nor was it known whether the Roman senate had pronounced in favour of peace or war; nor as yet had the period of the truce expired. Scipio, therefore, considering that the malignity of their offence was heightened by the fact, that, though they had solicited peace and a truce, they had cut off all hopes of the former and violated the latter, immediately despatched Lucius Baebius, Lucius Sergius, and Lucius Fabius, as ambassadors to Carthage. These, having narrowly escaped violence from the assembled multitude, and perceiving that they would be exposed to similar danger on their return, requested of the magistrates, by whose aid they had been protected from violence, to send ships to escort them. Two triremes were assigned them, which, when they had come to the river Bagradas, whence the Roman camp could be seen, returned to Carthage. The Carthaginian fleet was stationed at Utica, and from this three quadriremes were despatched, which suddenly attacked the Roman quinquereme from the main sea, while doubling the promontory, either owing to a message sent from Carthage that this should be done, or that Hasdrubal, who commanded the fleet, perpetrated the atrocity without public connivance. But neither could they strike it with their beaks from the rapidity with which it evaded them, nor could the fighting men board the higher from lower vessels. The quinquereme was gallantly defended as long as their weapons lasted; but these failing, and there being now nothing which could save them but the nearness of the land, and the multitude which had poured out from the camp upon the shore, they communicated a rapid motion to the vessel by means of their oars, and running her against the shore with all the force they could, they escaped themselves without injury, and only lost the vessel. Thus when the truce had been unequivocally violated by repeated acts of villany, Laelius and Fulvius arrived from Rome with the Carthaginian ambassadors. Scipio told them,

that although the Carthaginians had not only broken their faith pledged in the truce, but had also violated the laws of nations in the persons of his ambassadors, yet he would not in their case do any thing unworthy of the maxims of the Roman people or his own principles; after saying which, he dismissed the ambassadors and prepared for war. When Hannibal was now drawing near land, one of the sailors, who was ordered to climb the mast to see what part of the country they were making, said the prow pointed toward a demolished sepulchre, when Hannibal, recognising the inauspicious omen, ordered the pilot to steer by that place, and putting in his fleet at Leptis, landed his forces there.

## 26

Such were the transactions in Africa this year. Those which followed extended themselves into that year in which Marcus Servilius Geminus, who was then master of the horse and Tiberius Claudius Nero were consuls. However, at the close of the former year, deputies from the allied states in Greece having arrived with complaints that their lands had been devastated by the king's garrisons, and that their ambassadors, who had gone into Macedonia to demand restitution had not been admitted into the presence of Philip; and having also brought information that four thousand men were said to have been conveyed over into Africa, under the conduct of Sopater, to assist the Carthaginians, and that a considerable quantity of money had been sent with them; the senate resolved that ambassadors should be sent to the king to inform him that the fathers considered that these acts were contrary to the treaty. The persons sent were Caius Terentius Varro, Caius Mamilius, and Marcus Aurelius. Three quinqueremes were assigned to them. This year was rendered remarkable by a most extensive fire, by which the buildings on the Publician hill were burned to the ground, and by the greatness of the floods. But still provisions were cheap, not only because, as it was a time of peace, supplies could be obtained from every part of Italy, but also because Marcus Valerius Falto and Marcus Fabius Buteo, the curule aediles, distributed to the people, so much for each street, at the rate of four *asses* a bushel, a great quantity of corn which had been sent out of Spain. The same year died Quintus Fabius Maximus at an advanced age, if, indeed, it be true that he was augur sixty-two years, which some historians relate. He was a man unquestionably worthy of the high surname which he bore, even had it begun with him. He surpassed the honours of his father, and equalled those of his grandfather. His grandfather, Rullus, was distinguished by a greater number of victories and more important battles; but one antagonist like Hannibal is sufficient to counterbalance them all. He was esteemed rather cautious than spirited; and though it may be questioned whether he was naturally dilatory, or whether he adopted that kind of conduct because it was peculiarly suited to the war which he was carrying on, yet nothing can be more clear that he was that one man who by his delay retrieved our affairs, as Ennius says. Quintus Fabius Maximus, his son, was consecrated augur in his room. In the room of the same, for he held two priesthoods, Servius Sulpicius Galba was consecrated pontiff. The Roman games were repeated for one day, the plebeian were thrice repeated entire by the aediles, Marcus Sextius Sabinus and Cneius Tremellius Flaccus. Both these were elected praetors, and with them Caius Livius Salinator and Caius Aurelius Cotta. The difference in the accounts of historians renders it uncertain whether Caius Servilius the consul presided in the elections this year, or Publius Sulpicius, nominated dictator by him, because business detained him in Etruria; being engaged, according to a decree of the senate, in making inquisitions respecting the conspiracies of the principal inhabitants.

## 27

In the beginning of the following year, Marcus Servilius and Tiberius Claudius, having assembled the senate, consulted them respecting the provinces. As both were desirous of having Africa, they wished Italy and Africa to be disposed of by lots; but, principally in consequence of the exertions of Quintus Metellus, Africa was neither assigned to any one nor withheld. The consuls were ordered to make application to the tribunes of the people, to the effect, that, if they thought proper, they should put it to the people to decide whom they wished to conduct the war in Africa. All the tribes nominated Publius Scipio. Nevertheless, the consuls put the province of Africa to the lot, for so the senate had decreed. Africa fell to the lot of Tiberius Claudius, who was to cross over into Africa with a fleet of fifty ships, all quinqueremes, and have an equal command with Scipio. Marcus Servilius obtained Etruria. Caius Servilius was continued in command in the same province, in case the senate resolved that the consul should remain at the city. Of the praetors, Marcus Sextus obtained Gaul; which province, together with two legions, Publius Quinctilius Varus was to deliver to him; Caius Livius obtained Bruttium, with the two legions which Publius Sempronius, the proconsul, had commanded the former year; Cneius Tremellius had Sicily, and was to receive the province and two legions from Publius Villius Tappulus, a praetor of the former year; Villius, as propraetor, was to protect the coast of Sicily with twenty men of war, and a thousand soldiers; and Marcus Pomponius was to convey thence to Rome one thousand five hundred soldiers, with the remaining twenty ships. The city jurisdiction fell to Caius Aurelius Cotta; and the rest of the praetors were continued in command of the respective provinces and armies which they then had. Not more than sixteen legions were employed this year in the defence of the empire. And, that they might have the gods favourably disposed towards them in all their undertakings and proceedings, it was ordered that the consuls, before they set out to the war, should celebrate those games, and sacrifice those victims of the larger sort, which, in the consulate of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Titus Quinctius, Titus Manlius, the dictator, had vowed, provided the commonwealth should continue in the same state for the next five years. The games were exhibited in the circus during four days, and the victims sacrificed to those deities to whom they had been vowed.

## 28

Meanwhile, hope and anxiety daily and simultaneously increased; nor could the minds of men be brought to any fixed conclusion, whether it was a fit subject for rejoicing, that Hannibal had now at length, after the sixteenth year, departed from Italy, and left the Romans in the unmolested possession of it, or whether they had not greater cause to fear, from his having transported his army in safety into Africa. They said that the scene of action certainly was changed, but not the danger. That Quintus Fabius, lately deceased, who had foretold how arduous the contest would be, was used to predict, not without good reason, that Hannibal would prove a more formidable enemy in his own country than he had been in a foreign one; and that Scipio would have to encounter not Syphax, a king of undisciplined barbarians, whose armies Statorius, a man little better than a soldier's drudge, was used to lead; nor his father-in-law, Hasdrubal, that most fugacious general; nor tumultuary armies hastily collected out of a crowd of half-armed rustics, but Hannibal, born in a manner in the pavilion of his father, that bravest of generals, nurtured and educated in the midst of arms, who served as a soldier formerly, when a boy, and became a general when he had scarcely attained the age of manhood; who, having grown old in victory, had filled Spain, Gaul, and Italy, from the Alps to the strait, with monuments of his vast achievements; who commanded troops who had

served as long as he had himself; troops hardened by the endurance of every species of suffering, such as it is scarcely credible that men could have supported; stained a thousand times with Roman blood, and bearing with them the spoils not only of soldiers but of generals. That many would meet the eyes of Scipio in battle who had with their own hands slain Roman praetors, generals, and consuls; many decorated with crowns, in reward for having scaled walls and crossed ramparts; many who had traversed the captured camps and cities of the Romans. That the magistrates of the Roman people had not then so many fasces as Hannibal could have carried before him, having taken them from generals whom he had slain. While their minds were harassed by these apprehensions, their anxiety and fears were further increased from the circumstance, that, whereas they had been accustomed to carry on war for several years, in different parts of Italy, and within their view, with languid hopes, and without the prospect of bringing it to a speedy termination, Scipio and Hannibal had stimulated the minds of all, as generals prepared for a final contest. Even those persons whose confidence in Scipio and hopes of victory were great, were affected with anxiety, increasing in proportion as they saw their completion approaching. The state of feeling among the Carthaginians was much the same; for, when they turned their eyes on Hannibal, and the greatness of his achievements, they repented having solicited peace; but when again they reflected that they had been twice defeated in a pitched battle, that Syphax had been made prisoner, that they had been driven out of Spain and Italy, and that all this had been effected by the valour and conduct of Scipio alone, they regarded him with horror, as a general marked out by destiny, and born, for their destruction.

## 29

Hannibal had by this time arrived at Adrumetum; from which place, after employing a few days there in refreshing his soldiers, who had suffered from the motion by sea, he proceeded by forced marches to Zama, roused by the alarming statements of messengers, who brought word, that all the country around Carthage was filled with armed troops. Zama is distant from Carthage a five days' journey. Some spies, whom he sent out from this place, being intercepted by the Roman guard, and brought before Scipio, he directed that they should be handed over to the military tribunes, and after having been desired fearlessly to survey every thing, to be conducted through the camp wherever they chose; then, asking them whether they had examined every thing to their satisfaction, he assigned them an escort, and sent them back to Hannibal. Hannibal received none of the circumstances which were reported to him with feelings of joy; for they brought word that, as it happened, Masinissa had joined the enemy that very day, with six thousand infantry and four thousand horse; but he was principally dispirited by the confidence of his enemy, which, doubtless, was not conceived without some ground. Accordingly, though he himself was the originator of the war, and by his coming had upset the truce which had been entered into, and cut off all hopes of a treaty, yet concluding that more favourable terms might be obtained if he solicited peace while his strength was unimpaired, than when vanquished, he sent a message to Scipio, requesting permission to confer with him. I have no means of affirming whether he did this on his own spontaneous suggestion, or by the advice of his state. Valerius Antias says, that after having been beaten by Scipio in a battle, in which twelve thousand armed men were slain, and one thousand seven hundred made prisoners, he came himself with ten other deputies into the camp to Scipio. However, as Scipio did not decline the proposal for a conference, both the generals, by concert, brought their camps forward in order to facilitate their meeting by shortening the distance. Scipio

took up his position not far from the city Naragara, in a situation convenient not only for other purposes, but also because there was a watering place within a dart's throw. Hannibal took possession of an eminence four miles thence, safe and convenient in every respect, except that he had a long way to go for water. Here, in the intermediate space, a place was chosen, open to view from all sides, that there might be no opportunity for treachery.

### 30

Their armed attendants having retired to an equal distance, they met, each attended by one interpreter, being the greatest generals not only of their own times, but of any to be found in the records of the times preceding them, and equal to any of the kings or generals of any nation whatever. When they came within sight of each other they remained silent for a short time, thunderstruck, as it were, with mutual admiration. At length Hannibal thus began: "Since fate hath so ordained it, that I, who was the first to wage war upon the Romans, and who have so often had victory almost within my reach, should voluntarily come to sue for peace, I rejoice that it is you, above all others, from whom it is my lot to solicit it. To you, also, amid the many distinguished events of your life, it will not be esteemed one of the least glorious, that Hannibal, to whom the gods had so often granted victory over the Roman generals, should have yielded to you; and that you should have put an end to this war, which has been rendered remarkable by your calamities before it was by ours. In this also fortune would seem to have exhibited a disposition to sport with events, for it was when your father was consul that I first took up arms; he was the first Roman general with whom I engaged in a pitched battle; and it is to his son that I now come unarmed to solicit peace. It were indeed most to have been desired, that the gods should have put such dispositions into the minds of our fathers, that you should have been content with the empire of Italy, and we with that of Africa: nor, indeed, even to you, are Sicily and Sardinia of sufficient value to compensate you for the loss of so many fleets, so many armies, so many and such distinguished generals. But what is past may be more easily censured than retrieved. In our attempts to acquire the possessions of others we have been compelled to fight for our own; and not only have you had a war in Italy, and we also in Africa, but you have beheld the standards and arms of your enemies almost in your gates and on your walls, and we now, from the walls of Carthage, distinctly hear the din of a Roman camp. What, therefore, we should most earnestly deprecate, and you should most devoutly wish for, is now the case: peace is proposed at a time when you have the advantage. We who negotiate it are the persons whom it most concerns to obtain it, and we are persons whose arrangements, be they what they will, our states will ratify. All we want is a disposition not averse from peaceful counsels. As far as relates to myself, time, (for I am returning to that country an old man which I left a boy,) and prosperity, and adversity, have so schooled me, that I am more inclined to follow reason than fortune. But I fear your youth and uninterrupted good fortune, both of which are apt to inspire a degree of confidence ill comporting with pacific counsels. Rarely does that man consider the uncertainty of events whom fortune hath never deceived. What I was at Trasimenus, and at Cannae, that you are this day. Invested with command when you had scarcely yet attained the military age, though all your enterprises were of the boldest description, in no instance has fortune deserted you. Avenging the death of your father and uncle, you have derived from the calamity of your house the high honour of distinguished valour and filial duty. You have recovered Spain, which had been lost, after driving thence four Carthaginian armies. When elected consul, though all others wanted courage to defend

Italy, you crossed over into Africa; where having cut to pieces two armies, having at once captured and burnt two camps in the same hour; having made prisoner Syphax, a most powerful king, and seized so many towns of his dominions and so many of ours, you have dragged me from Italy, the possession of which I had firmly held for now sixteen years. Your mind, I say, may possibly be more disposed to conquest than peace. I know the spirits of your country aim rather at great than useful objects. On me, too, a similar fortune once shone. But if with prosperity the gods would also bestow upon us sound judgment, we should not only consider those things which have happened, but those also which may occur. Even if you should forget all others, I am myself a sufficient instance of every vicissitude of fortune. For me, whom a little while ago you saw advancing my standards to the walls of Rome, after pitching my camp between the Anio and your city, you now behold here, bereft of my two brothers, men of consummate bravery, and most renowned generals, standing before the walls of my native city, which is all but besieged, and deprecating, in behalf of my own city, those severities with which I terrified yours. In all cases, the most prosperous fortune is least to be depended upon. While your affairs are in a favourable and ours in a dubious state, you would derive honour and splendour from granting peace; while to us who solicit it, it would be considered as necessary rather than honourable. A certain peace is better and safer than a victory in prospect; the former is at your own disposal, the latter depends upon the gods. Do not place at the hazard of a single hour the successes of so many years. When you consider your own strength, then also place before your view the power of fortune, and the fluctuating nature of war. On both sides there will be arms, on both sides human bodies. In nothing less than in war do events correspond (with men's calculations). Should you be victorious in a battle, you will not add so much to that renown which you now have it in your power to acquire by granting peace, as you will detract from it should any adverse event befall you. The chance of a single hour may at once overturn the honours you have acquired and those you anticipate. Every thing is at your own disposal in adjusting a peace; but, in the other case, you must be content with that fortune which the gods shall impose upon you. Formerly, in this same country, Marcus Atilius would have formed one among the few instances of good fortune and valour, if, when victorious, he had granted a peace to our fathers when they requested it; but by not setting any bounds to his success, and not checking good fortune, which was elating him, he fell with a degree of ignominy proportioned to his elevation. It is indeed the right of him who grants, and not of him who solicits it, to dictate the terms of peace; but perhaps we may not be unworthy to impose upon ourselves the fine. We do not refuse that all those possessions on account of which the war was begun should be yours; Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, with all the islands lying in any part of the sea, between Africa and Italy. Let us Carthaginians, confined within the shores of Africa, behold you, since such is the pleasure of the gods, extending your empire over foreign nations, both by sea and land. I cannot deny that you have reason to suspect the Carthaginian faith, in consequence of their insincerity lately in soliciting a peace and while awaiting the decision. The sincerity with which a peace will be observed, depends much, Scipio, on the person by whom it is sought. Your senate, as I hear, refused to grant a peace in some measure because the deputies were deficient in respectability. It is I, Hannibal, who now solicit peace; who would neither ask for it unless I believed it expedient, nor will I fail to observe it for the same reason of expedience on account of which I have solicited it. And in the same manner as I, because the war was commenced by me, brought it to pass that no one regretted it till the gods began to regard me with displeasure; so will I also exert myself that no one may regret the peace procured by my means."

**31**

In answer to these things the Roman general spoke nearly to the following effect: "I was aware that it was in consequence of the expectation of your arrival, that the Carthaginians violated the existing faith of the truce and broke off all hope of a peace. Nor, indeed, do you conceal the fact; inasmuch as you artfully withdraw from the former conditions of peace every concession except what relates to those things which have for a long time been in our own power. But as it is your object, that your countrymen should be sensible how great a burden they are relieved from by your means, so it is incumbent upon me to endeavour that they may not receive, as the reward of their perfidy, the concessions which they formerly stipulated, by expunging them now from the conditions of the peace. Though you do not deserve to be allowed the same conditions as before, you now request even to be benefited by your treachery. Neither did our fathers first make war respecting Sicily, nor did we respecting Spain. In the former case the danger which threatened our allies the Mamertines, and in the present the destruction of Saguntum, girded us with just and pious arms. That you were the aggressors, both you yourselves confess, and the gods are witnesses, who determined the issue of the former war, and who are now determining and will determine the issue of the present according to right and justice. As to myself, I am not forgetful of the instability of human affairs, but consider the influence of fortune, and am well aware that all our measures are liable to a thousand casualties. But as I should acknowledge that my conduct would savour of insolence and oppression, if I rejected you on your coming in person to solicit peace, before I crossed over into Africa, you voluntarily retiring from Italy, and after you had embarked your troops; so now, when I have dragged you into Africa almost by manual force, notwithstanding your resistance and evasions, I am not bound to treat you with any respect. Wherefore, if in addition to those stipulations on which it was considered that a peace would at that time have been agreed upon, and what they are you are informed, a compensation is proposed for having seized our ships, together with their stores, during a truce, and for the violence offered to our ambassadors, I shall then have matter to lay before my council. But if these things also appear oppressive, prepare for war, since you could not brook the conditions of peace." Thus, without effecting an accommodation, when they had returned from the conference to their armies, they informed them that words had been bandied to no purpose, that the question must be decided by arms, and that they must accept that fortune which the gods assigned them.

**32**

When they had arrived at their camps, they both issued orders that their soldiers should get their arms in readiness, and prepare their minds for the final contest; in which, if fortune should favour them, they would continue victorious, not for a single day, but for ever. "Before to-morrow night," they said, "they would know whether Rome or Carthage should give laws to the world; and that neither Africa nor Italy, but the whole world, would be the prize of victory. That the dangers which threatened those who had the misfortune to be defeated, were proportioned to the rewards of the victors." For the Romans had not any place of refuge in an unknown and foreign land, and immediate destruction seemed to await Carthage, if the troops which formed her last reliance were defeated. To this important contest, the day following, two generals, by far the most renowned of any, and belonging to two of the most powerful nations in the world, advanced, either to crown or overthrow, on that day, the many honours they had previously acquired. Their minds, therefore, were agitated with the opposite feelings of

hope and fear; and while they contemplated at one time their own troops, at another those of their enemy, estimating their powers more by sight than by reason, they saw in them at once the grounds for joy and grief. Those circumstances which did not occur to the troops themselves spontaneously, their generals suggested by their admonitions and exhortations. The Carthaginian recounted his achievements in the land of Italy during sixteen years the many Roman generals and armies annihilated, reminding each individually of the honours he had acquired as he came to any soldier who had obtained distinction in any of his battles. Scipio referred to Spain, the recent battles in Africa and the enemy's own confession, that they could not through fear but solicit peace, nor could they, through their inveterate perfidy, abide by it. In addition to this he gave what turn he pleased to his conference with Hannibal, which was held in private, and was therefore open to misrepresentation. He augured success that the gods had exhibited the same omens to them on going out to battle on the present occasion, as they had to their fathers when they fought at the islands Aegates. He told them that the termination of the war, and their hardships, had arrived; that they had within their grasp the spoils of Carthage, and the power of returning home to their country, their parents, their children, their wives, and their household gods. He delivered these observations with a body so erect, and with a countenance so full of exultation, that one would have supposed that he had already conquered. He then drew up his troops, posting the hastati in front, the principes behind them, and closing his rear line with the triarii.

### 33

He did not draw up his cohorts in close order, but each before their respective standards; placing the companies at some distance from each other, so as to leave a space through which the elephants of the enemy passing might not at all break their ranks. Laelius, whom he had employed before as lieutenant-general, but this year as quaestor, by special appointment, according to a decree of the senate, he posted with the Italian cavalry in the left wing, Masinissa and the Numidians in the right. The open spaces between the companies of those in the van he filled with velites, which then formed the Roman light-armed troops, with an injunction, that on the charge of the elephants they should either retire behind the files, which extended in a right line, or, running to the right and left and placing themselves by the side of those in the van, afford a passage by which the elephants might rush in between weapons on both sides. Hannibal, in order to terrify the enemy, drew up his elephants in front, and he had eighty of them, being more than he had ever had in any battle; behind these his Ligurian and Gallic auxiliaries, with Balearians and Moors intermixed. In the second line he placed the Carthaginians, Africans, and a legion of Macedonians; then, leaving a moderate interval, he formed a reserve of Italian troops, consisting principally of Bruttians, more of whom had followed him on his departure from Italy by compulsion and necessity than by choice. His cavalry also he placed in the wings, the Carthaginian occupying the right, the Numidian the left. Various were the means of exhortation employed in an army consisting of a mixture of so many different kinds of men; men differing in language, customs laws, arms, dress, and appearance, and in the motives for serving. To the auxiliaries, the prospect both of their present pay, and many times more from the spoils, was held out. The Gauls were stimulated by their peculiar and inherent animosity against the Romans. To the Ligurians the hope was held out of enjoying the fertile plains of Italy, and quitting their rugged mountains, if victorious. The Moors and Numidians were terrified with subjection to the government of Masinissa, which he would exercise with despotic severity. Different grounds of hope and fear were

represented to different persons. The view of the Carthaginians was directed to the walls of their city, their household gods, the sepulchres of their ancestors, their children and parents, and their trembling wives; they were told, that either the destruction of their city and slavery or the empire of the world awaited them; that there was nothing intermediate which they could hope for or fear. While the general was thus busily employed among the Carthaginians, and the captains of the respective nations among their countrymen, most of them employing interpreters among troops intermixed with those of different nations, the trumpets and cornets of the Romans sounded; and such a clamour arose, that the elephants, especially those in the left wing, turned round upon their own party, the Moors and Numidians. Masinissa had no difficulty in increasing the alarm of the terrified enemy, and deprived them of the aid of their cavalry in that wing. A few, however, of the beasts which were driven against the enemy, and were not turned back through fear, made great havoc among the ranks of the velites, though not without receiving many wounds themselves; for when the velites, retiring to the companies, had made way for the elephants, that they might not be trampled down, they discharged their darts at them, exposed as they were to wounds on both sides, those in the van also keeping up a continual discharge of javelins; until, driven out of the Roman line by the weapons which fell upon them from all quarters, these elephants also put to flight even the cavalry of the Carthaginians posted in their right wing. Laelius, when he saw the enemy in disorder, struck additional terror into them in their confusion.

### 34

The Carthaginian line was deprived of the cavalry on both sides, when the infantry, who were now not a match for the Romans in confidence or strength, engaged. In addition to this there was one circumstance, trifling in itself, but at the same time producing important consequences in the action. On the part of the Romans the shout was uniform, and on that account louder and more terrific; while the voices of the enemy, consisting as they did of many nations of different languages, were dissonant. The Romans used the stationary kind of fight, pressing upon the enemy with their own weight and that of their arms; but on the other side there was more of skirmishing and rapid movement than force. Accordingly, on the first charge, the Romans immediately drove back the line of their opponents; then pushing them with their elbows and the bosses of their shields, and pressing forward into the places from which they had pushed them, they advanced a considerable space, as though there had been no one to resist them, those who formed the rear urging forward those in front when they perceived the line of the enemy giving way; which circumstance itself gave great additional force in repelling them. On the side of the enemy, the second line, consisting of the Africans and Carthaginians, were so far from supporting the first line when giving ground, that, on the contrary, they even retired, lest their enemy, by slaying those who made a firm resistance, should penetrate to themselves also. Accordingly, the auxiliaries suddenly turned their backs, and facing about upon their own party, fled, some of them into the second line, while others slew those who did not receive them into their ranks, since before they did not support them, and now refused to receive them. And now there were, in a manner, two contests going on together, the Carthaginians being compelled to fight at once with the enemy and with their own party. Not even then, however, did they receive into their line the terrified and exasperated troops; but, closing their ranks, drove them out of the scene of action to the wings and the surrounding plain, lest they should mingle these soldiers, terrified with defeat and

wounds, with that part of their line which was firm and fresh. But such a heap of men and arms had filled the space in which the auxiliaries a little while ago had stood, that it was almost more difficult to pass through it than through a close line of troops. The spearmen, therefore, who formed the front line, pursuing the enemy as each could find a way through the heap of arms and men, and streams of blood, threw into complete disorder the battalions and companies. The standards also of the principes had begun to waver when they saw the line before them driven from their ground. Scipio, perceiving this, promptly ordered the signal to be given for the spearmen to retreat, and, having taken his wounded into the rear, brought the principes and triarii to the wings, in order that the line of spearmen in the centre might be more strong and secure. Thus a fresh and renewed battle commenced, inasmuch as they had penetrated to their real antagonists, men equal to them in the nature of their arms, in their experience in war, in the fame of their achievements, and the greatness of their hopes and fears. But the Romans were superior both in numbers and courage, for they had now routed both the cavalry and the elephants, and having already defeated the front line, were fighting against the second.

### 35

Laelius and Masinissa, who had pursued the routed cavalry through a considerable space, returning very opportunely, charged the rear of the enemy's line. This attack of the cavalry at length routed them. Many of them, being surrounded, were slain in the field; and many, dispersed in flight through the open plain around, were slain on all hands, as the cavalry were in possession of every part. Of the Carthaginians and their allies, above twenty thousand were slain on that day; about an equal number were captured, with a hundred and thirty-three military standards, and eleven elephants. Of the victors as many as two thousand fell. Hannibal, slipping off during the confusion, with a few horsemen came to Adrumetum, not quitting the field till he had tried every expedient both in the battle and before the engagement; having, according to the admission of Scipio, and every one skilled in military science, acquired the fame of having marshalled his troops on that day with singular judgment. He placed his elephants in the front, in order that their desultory attack, and insupportable violence, might prevent the Romans from following their standards, and preserving their ranks, on which they placed their principal dependence. Then he posted his auxiliaries before the line of Carthaginians, in order that men who were made up of the refuse of all nations and who were not bound by honour but by gain, might not have any retreat open to them in case they fled; at the same time that the first ardour and impetuosity might be exhausted upon them, and, if they could render no other service, that the weapons of the enemy might be blunted in wounding them. Next he placed the Carthaginian and African soldiers, on whom he placed all his hopes, in order that, being equal to the enemy in every other respect, they might have the advantage of them, inasmuch as, being fresh and unimpaired in strength themselves, they would fight with those who were fatigued and wounded. The Italians he removed into the rear, separating them also by an intervening space, as he knew not, with certainty, whether they were friends or enemies. Hannibal, after performing this as it were his last work of valour, fled to Adrumetum, whence, having been summoned to Carthage, he returned thither in the six and thirtieth year after he had left it when a boy; and confessed in the senate-house that he was defeated, not only in the battle, but in the war, and that there was no hope of safety in any thing but in obtaining peace.

### 36

Immediately after the battle, Scipio, having taken and plundered the enemy's camp, returned to the sea and his ships, with an immense booty, news having reached him that Publius Lentulus had arrived at Utica with fifty men of war, and a hundred transports laden with every kind of stores. Concluding that he ought to bring before Carthage every thing which could increase the consternation already existing there, after sending Laelius to Rome to report his victory, he ordered Cneius Octavius to conduct the legions thither by land; and, setting out himself from Utica with the fresh fleet of Lentulus, added to his former one, made for the harbour of Carthage. When he had arrived within a short distance, he was met by a Carthaginian ship decked with fillets and branches of olive. There were ten deputies, the leading men in the state, sent at the instance of Hannibal to solicit peace; to whom, when they had come up to the stern of the general's ship, holding out the badges of suppliants, entreating and imploring the protection and compassion of Scipio, the only answer given was, that they must come to Tunes, to which place he would move his camp. After taking a view of the site of Carthage, not so much for the sake of acquainting himself with it for any present object, as to dispirit the enemy, he returned to Utica, having recalled Octavius to the same place. As they were proceeding thence to Tunes, they received intelligence that Vermina, the son of Syphax, with a greater number of horse than foot, was coming to the assistance of the Carthaginians. A part of his infantry, with all the cavalry, having attacked them on their march on the first day of the Saturnalia, routed the Numidians with little opposition; and as every way by which they could escape in flight was blocked up, for the cavalry surrounded them on all sides, fifteen thousand men were slain, twelve hundred were taken alive, with fifteen hundred Numidian horses, and seventy-two military standards. The prince himself fled from the field with a few attendants during the confusion. The camp was then pitched near Tunes in the same place as before, and thirty ambassadors came to Scipio from Carthage. These behaved in a manner even more calculated to excite compassion than the former, in proportion as their situation was more pressing; but from the recollection of their recent perfidy, they were heard with considerably less pity. In the council, though all were impelled by just resentment to demolish Carthage, yet, when they reflected upon the magnitude of the undertaking, and the length of time which would be consumed in the siege of so well fortified and strong a city, while Scipio himself was uneasy in consequence of the expectation of a successor, who would come in for the glory of having terminated the war, though it was accomplished already by the exertions and danger of another, the minds of all were inclined to peace.

### 37

The next day the ambassadors being called in again, and with many rebukes for their perfidy, warned that, instructed by so many disasters, they would at length believe in the existence of the gods, and the obligation of an oath, these conditions of the peace were stated to them: "That they should enjoy their liberty and live under their own laws; that they should possess such cities and territories as they had enjoyed before the war, and with the same boundaries, and that the Romans should on that day desist from devastation. That they should restore to the Romans all deserters and fugitives, giving up all their ships of war except ten triremes, with such tamed elephants as they had, and that they should not tame any more. That they should not carry on war in or out of Africa without the permission of the Roman people. That they should make restitution to Masinissa, and form a league with him. That they should furnish corn, and pay for the auxiliaries until the ambassadors had returned from Rome. That they should pay ten thousand talents of silver, in equal annual instalments distributed over fifty years. That

they should give a hundred hostages, according to the pleasure of Scipio, not younger than fourteen nor older than thirty. That he would grant them a truce on condition that the transports, together with their cargoes, which had been seized during the former truce, were restored. Otherwise they would have no truce, nor any hope of a peace." When the ambassadors who were ordered to bear these conditions home reported them in an assembly, and Gisgo had stood forth to dissuade them from the terms, and was being listened to by the multitude, who were at once indisposed for peace and unfit for war, Hannibal, indignant that such language should be held and listened to at such a juncture, laid hold of Gisgo with his own hand, and dragged him from his elevated position. This unusual sight in a free state having raised a murmur among the people, the soldier, disconcerted at the liberties which the citizens took, thus addressed them: "Having left you when nine years old, I have returned after a lapse of thirty-six years. I flatter myself I am well acquainted with the qualifications of a soldier, having been instructed in them from my childhood, sometimes by my own situation, and sometimes by that of my country. The privileges, the laws, and customs of the city and the forum you ought to teach me." Having thus apologized for his indiscretion, he discoursed largely concerning the peace, showing how inoppressive the terms were, and how necessary it was. The greatest difficulty was, that of the ships which had been seized during the truce nothing was to be found except the ships themselves: nor was it easy to collect the property, because those who were charged with having it were opposed to the peace. It was resolved that the ships should be restored, and that the men at least should be looked up; and as to whatever else was missing, that it should be left to Scipio to put a value upon it, and that the Carthaginians should make compensation accordingly in money. There are those who say that Hannibal went from the field of battle to the sea-coast; whence he immediately sailed in a ship, which he had ready for the purpose, to king Antiochus; and that when Scipio demanded above every thing that Hannibal should be given up to him, answer was made that Hannibal was not in Africa.

### 38

After the ambassadors returned to Scipio, the quaestors were ordered to give in an account, made out from the public registers, of the public property which had been in the ships; and the owners to make a return of the private property. For the amount of the value twenty-five thousand pounds of silver were required to be paid down; and a truce for three months was granted to the Carthaginians. It was added, that during the time of the truce they should not send ambassadors any where else than to Rome; and that, whatever ambassadors came to Carthage, they should not dismiss them before informing the Roman general who they were, and what they sought. With the Carthaginian ambassadors, Lucius Veturius Philo, Marcus Marcius Ralla, and Lucius Scipio, brother of the general, were sent to Rome. At the time in which these events took place, the supplies sent from Sicily and Sardinia produced such cheapness of provisions, that the merchant gave up the corn to the mariners for their freight. At Rome alarm was excited at the first intelligence of the renewal of hostilities by the Carthaginians; and Tiberius Claudius was directed to conduct the fleet with speed into Sicily, and cross over from that place into Africa. The other consul, Marcus Servilius, was directed to stay at the city until the state of affairs in Africa was ascertained. Tiberius Claudius, the consul, proceeded slowly with every thing connected with the equipment and sailing of the fleet, because the senate had decided that it should be left to Scipio, rather than to the consul, to determine the conditions on which the peace should be granted. The accounts also of prodigies which arrived just at the time of the news of the revival of the war, had

occasioned great alarm. At Cumae the orb of the sun seemed diminished, and a shower of stones fell; and in the territory of Veliternum the earth sank in great chasms, and trees were swallowed up in the cavities. At Aricia the forum and the shops around it, at Frusino a wall in several places, and a gate, were struck by lightning; and in the Palatium a shower of stones fell. The latter prodigy, according to the custom handed down by tradition, was expiated by a nine days' sacred rite; the rest with victims of the larger sort. Amid these events an unusually great rising of the waters was converted into a prodigy; for the Tiber overflowed its banks to such a degree, that as the circus was under water, the Apollinarian games were got up near the temple of Venus Erycina, without the Colline gate. However, the weather suddenly clearing up on the very day of the celebration, the procession, which had begun to move at the Colline gate, was recalled and transferred to the circus, on its being known that the water had retired thence. The joy of the people and the attraction of the games were increased by the restoration of this solemn spectacle to its proper scene.

### 39

The consul Claudius, having set out at length from the city, was placed in the most imminent danger by a violent tempest, which overtook him between the ports of Cosa and Laurentum. Having reached Populonii, where he waited till the remainder of the tempest had spent itself, he crossed over to the island Ilva. From Ilva he went to Corsica, and from Corsica to Sardinia. Here, while sailing round the Montes Insani, a tempest much more violent in itself, and in a more dangerous situation, dispersed his fleet. Many of his ships were shattered and stripped of their rigging, and some were wrecked. His fleet thus weatherbeaten and shattered arrived at Carales, where the winter came on while the ships were drawn on shore and refitted. The year having elapsed, and no one proposing to continue him in command, Tiberius Claudius brought back his fleet to Rome in a private capacity. Marcus Servilius set out for his province, having nominated Caius Servilius Geminus as dictator, that he might not be recalled to the city to hold the elections. The dictator appointed Publius Aelius Paetus master of the horse. It frequently happened, that the elections could not be held on account of bad weather, though the days were fixed for them; and, therefore, as the magistrates of the former year retired from their offices on the day before the ides of March, and fresh ones were not appointed to succeed them, the state was without curule magistrates. Lucius Manlius Torquatus, a pontiff, died this year. Caius Sulpicius Galba was elected in his room. The Roman games were thrice repeated by the curule aediles, Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Quintus Fulvius. Some scribes and runners belonging to the aediles were found, on the testimony of an informer, to have privately conveyed money out of the treasury, and were condemned, not without disgrace to the aedile Lucullus. Publius Aelius Tubero and Lucius Laetorius, plebeian aediles, on account of some informality in their creation, abdicated their office, after having celebrated the games, and the banquet on occasion of the games, in honour of Jupiter, and after having placed in the Capitol three statues made out of silver paid as fines. The dictator and master of the horse celebrated the games in honour of Ceres, in conformity with a decree of the senate.

### 40

The Roman, together with the Carthaginian ambassadors, having arrived at Rome from Africa, the senate was assembled at the temple of Bellona; when Lucius Veturius Philo stated, to the great joy of the senate, that a battle had been fought with Hannibal, which was decisive of the fate of the Carthaginians, and that a period was at length put to that

calamitous war. He added what formed a small accession to their successes, that Vermina, the son of Syphax, had been vanquished. He was then ordered to go forth to the public assembly, and impart the joyful tidings to the people. Then, a thanksgiving having been appointed, all the temples in the city were thrown open, and supplications for three days were decreed. The ambassadors of the Carthaginians, and those of king Philip, for they also had arrived, requesting an audience of the senate, answer was made by the dictator, by order of the fathers, that the new consuls would give them an audience. The elections were then held. The consuls elected were Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Aelius Paetus. The praetors elected were Marcus Junius Pennus, to whose lot the city jurisdiction fell, Marcus Valerius Falto, who received Bruttium, Marcus Fabius Buteo, who received Sardinia, and Publius Aelius Tubero, who received Sicily. It was the pleasure of the senate that nothing should be done respecting the provinces of the consuls, till the ambassadors of king Philip and the Carthaginians had been heard; for they foresaw the termination of one war and the commencement of another. Cneius Lentulus, the consul, was inflamed with a strong desire to have the province of Africa, looking forward to an easy victory if there was still war, or, if it was on the point of being concluded, to the glory of having it terminated in his consulate. He therefore refused to allow any business to be transacted before the province of Africa was assigned him; his colleague, who was a moderate and prudent man, giving up his claim to it, for he clearly saw that a contest with Scipio for that honour would be not only unjust but unequal. Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, tribunes of the people, said that Cneius Cornelius was endeavouring to effect the same object which had been attempted in vain by the consul Tiberius Claudius the former year. That, by the direction of the senate, it had been proposed to the people to decide whom they wished to have the command in Africa, and all the thirty-five tribes had concurred in assigning that command to Publius Scipio. After many discussions, both in the senate and popular assembly, it was at length determined to leave it to the senate. The fathers, therefore, on oath, for so it had been agreed, voted, that as to the provinces, the consuls should settle between themselves, or determine by lots, which of them should have Italy, and which a fleet of fifty ships. That he to whose lot the fleet fell should sail to Sicily, and if peace could not be concluded with the Carthaginians, that he should cross over into Africa. That the consul should act by sea, and Scipio by land, with the same right of command as heretofore. If an agreement should be come to, as to the terms of the peace, that then the plebeian tribunes should consult the commons as to whether they ordered the consul or Publius Scipio to grant the peace; and if the victorious army was to be brought home out of Africa, whom they ordered to bring it. That if they ordered that the peace should be granted by Publius Scipio, and that the army should be brought home likewise by him, then the consul should not pass out of Sicily into Africa. That the other consul, to whose lot Italy fell, should receive two legions from Marcus Sextius the praetor.

#### 41

Publius Scipio was continued in command in the province of Africa, with the armies which he then had. To the praetor Marcus Valerius Falto the two legions in Bruttium, which Caius Livius had commanded the preceding year, were assigned. Publius Aelius, the praetor, was to receive two legions in Sicily from Cneius Tremellius. To Marcus Fabius was assigned one legion, which Publius Lentulus, propraetor, had commanded, to be employed in Sardinia; Marcus Servilius, the consul of the former year, was continued in command in Etruria, with his own two legions likewise. As to Spain, it

appeared that Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus had been there for now several years. It was resolved, therefore, that the consuls should make application to the plebeian tribunes to take the opinion of the people, if they thought proper, as to whom they ordered to have command in Spain; that the person so ordered should form one legion of Roman soldiers out of the two armies, and also fifteen cohorts of the allies of the Latin confederacy, with which he should occupy the province. That Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus should convey the old soldiers into Italy. To Cornelius, the consul, was assigned a fleet of fifty ships formed out of the two fleets, one of which was under Cneius Octavius in Africa, the other employed in protecting the coast of Sicily, under Publius Villius. He was to select such ships as he pleased. That Publius Scipio should still have the forty ships of war which he before had, or if he wished that Cneius Octavius should command it, as he had commanded a fleet there before, that Octavius should be continued in command for a year as *propraetor*; but if he appointed Laelius to the command of it, Octavius should retire to Rome, and bring with him the ships which the consul did not want. To Marcus Fabius also ten men of war were assigned for Sardinia. The consuls were directed to enlist two city legions, so that the operations of the state might be carried on this year with fourteen legions, and one hundred men of war.

#### 42

Then the business relating to the ambassadors of Philip and the Carthaginians was considered. It was resolved that the Macedonians should be brought before the senate first. Their address comprehended a variety of subjects, being employed partly in clearing themselves from the charges relative to the depredations committed against the allies, which the deputies sent to the king from Rome had brought against them; and partly in preferring accusations themselves against the allies of the Roman people, but particularly against Marcus Aurelius, whom they inveighed against with much greater acrimony; for they said that, being one of the three ambassadors sent to them, he had staid behind, and levying soldiers, had assailed them with hostilities contrary to the league, and frequently fought pitched battles with their prefects; and partly in preferring a request that the Macedonians and their general, Sopater, who had served in the army of Hannibal for hire, and having been made prisoners were kept in bondage, should be restored to them. In opposition to these things Marcus Furius, who had been sent from Macedonia for the express purpose by Aurelius, thus argued: he said, "that Aurelius, having been left behind, lest the allies of the Roman people, wearied by devastations and injuries, should revolt to the king, had not gone beyond the boundaries of the allies; but had taken measures to prevent plundering parties from crossing over into their lands with impunity. That Sopater was one of those who wore purple, and was related to the king; that he had been lately sent into Africa with four thousand Macedonians and a sum of money to assist Hannibal and the Carthaginians." The Macedonians, on being interrogated on these points, proceeded to answer in a subtle and evasive manner; but without waiting for the conclusion of their reply they were told, "that the king was seeking occasion for war, and that if he persisted he would soon obtain his object. That the treaty had been doubly violated by him, both by offering insults to the allies of the Roman people, by assaulting them with hostilities and arms, and also by aiding their enemies with auxiliaries and money. That Publius Scipio was deemed to have acted properly and regularly in keeping in chains, as enemies, those who had been made prisoners while bearing arms against the Romans; and that Marcus Aurelius had consulted the interest of the state, and the senate were thankful to him for

it, in protecting the allies of the Roman people by arms, since he could not do it by the obligation of the treaty." The Macedonian ambassadors having been dismissed with this unpleasant answer, the Carthaginian ambassadors were called. On observing their ages and dignified appearance, for they were by far the first men of the state, all promptly declared their conviction, that now they were sincere in their desire to effect a peace. Hasdrubal, however, surnamed by his countrymen Haedus, who had invariably recommended peace, and was opposed to the Barcine faction, was regarded with greater interest than the rest. On these accounts the greater weight was attached to him when transferring the blame of the war from the state at large to the cupidity of a few. After a speech of varied character, in which he sometimes refuted the charges which had been brought, at other times admitted some, lest by impudently denying what was manifestly true their forgiveness might be the more difficult; and then, even admonishing the conscript fathers to be guided by the rules of decorum and moderation in their prosperity, he said, that if the Carthaginians had listened to himself and Hanno, and had been disposed to make a proper use of circumstances, they would themselves have dictated terms of peace, instead of begging it as they now did. That it rarely happened that good fortune and a sound judgment were bestowed upon men at the same time. That the Roman people were therefore invincible, because when successful they forgot not the maxims of wisdom and prudence; and indeed it would have been matter of astonishment did they act otherwise. That those persons to whom success was a new and uncommon thing, proceeded to a pitch of madness in their ungoverned transports in consequence of their not being accustomed to it. That to the Roman people the joy arising from victory was a matter of common occurrence, and was now almost become old-fashioned. That they had extended their empire more by sparing the vanquished than by conquering. The language employed by the others was of a nature more calculated to excite compassion; they represented from what a height of power the Carthaginian affairs had fallen. That nothing, besides the walls of Carthage, remained to those who a little time ago held almost the whole world in subjection by their arms; that, shut up within these, they could see nothing any where on sea or land which owned their authority. That they would retain possession of their city itself and their household gods only, in case the Roman people should refrain from venting their indignation upon these, which is all that remains for them to do. When it was manifest that the fathers were moved by compassion, it is said that one of the senators, violently incensed at the perfidy of the Carthaginians, immediately asked with a loud voice, by what gods they would swear in striking the league, since they had broken their faith with those by whom they swore in striking the former one? By those same, replied Hasdrubal, who have shown such determined hostility to the violators of treaties.

#### 43

The minds of all being disposed to peace, Cneius Lentulus, whose province the fleet was, protested against the decree of the senate. Upon this, Manius Acilius and Quintus Minucius, tribunes of the people, put the question to the people, whether they willed and ordered that the senate should decree that peace should be made with the Carthaginians? whom they ordered to grant that peace, and whom to conduct the army out of Africa? All the tribes ordered respecting the peace according as the question had been put. That Publius Scipio should grant the peace, and that he also should conduct the army home. Agreeably to this order, the senate decreed that Publius Scipio, acting according to the opinion of the ten deputies, should make peace with the Carthaginian people on what terms he pleased. The Carthaginians then returned thanks to the senate,

and requested that they might be allowed to enter the city and converse with their countrymen who had been made prisoners and were in custody of the state; observing, that some of them were their relations and friends, and men of rank, and some, persons to whom they were charged with messages from their relations. Having obtained these requests, they again asked permission to ransom such of them as they pleased; when they were desired to give in their names. Having given in a list of about two hundred, a decree of the senate was passed to the effect, that the Carthaginian ambassadors should be allowed to take away into Africa to Publius Cornelius Scipio two hundred of the Carthaginian prisoners, selecting whom they pleased; and that they should convey to him a message, that if the peace were concluded, he should restore them to the Carthaginians without ransom. The heralds being; ordered to go into Africa to strike the league, at their own desire the senate passed a decree that they should take with them flint stones of their own, and vervain of their own; that the Roman praetor should command them to strike the league, and that they should demand of him herbs. The description of herb usually given to the heralds is taken from the Capitol. Thus the Carthaginians, being allowed to depart from Rome, when they had gone into Africa to Scipio concluded the peace on the terms before mentioned. They delivered up their men-of-war, their elephants, deserters, fugitives, and four thousand prisoners, among whom was Quintus Terentius Culleo, a senator. The ships he ordered to be taken out into the main and burnt. Some say there were five hundred of every description of those which are worked with oars, and that the sudden sight of these, when burning, occasioned as deep a sensation of grief to the Carthaginians as if Carthage had been in flames. The measures adopted respecting the deserters were more severe than those respecting the fugitives. Those who were of the Latin confederacy were decapitated; the Romans were crucified.

#### 44

The last peace with the Carthaginians was made forty years before this, in the consulate of Quintus Lutatius and Aulus Manlius. The war commenced twenty-three years afterwards, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius. It was concluded in the seventeenth year, in the consulate of Cneius Cornelius and Publius Aelius Paetus. It is related that Scipio frequently said afterwards, that first the ambition of Tiberius Claudius, and afterwards of Cneius Cornelius, were the causes which prevented his terminating the war by the destruction of Carthage. The Carthaginians, finding difficulty in raising the first sum of money to be paid, as their finances were exhausted by a protracted war, and in consequence great lamentation and grief arising in the senate-house, it is said that Hannibal was observed laughing; and when Hasdrubal Haedus rebuked him for laughing amid the public grief, when he himself was the occasion of the tears which were shed, he said: "If, as the expression of the countenance is discerned by the sight, so the inward feelings of the mind could be distinguished, it would clearly appear to you that that laughter which you censure came from a heart not elated with joy, but frantic with misfortunes. And yet it is not so ill-timed as those absurd and inconsistent tears of yours. Then you ought to have wept, when our arms were taken from us, our ships burnt, and we were forbidden to engage in foreign wars, for that was the wound by which we fell. Nor is it just that you should suppose that the measures which the Romans have adopted towards you have been dictated by animosity. No great state can remain at rest long together. If it has no enemy abroad it finds one at home, in the same manner as over-robust bodies seem secure from external causes, but are encumbered with their own strength. So far, forsooth, we

are affected with the public calamities as they reach our private affairs; nor is there any circumstance attending them which is felt more acutely than the loss of money. Accordingly, when the spoils were torn down from vanquished Carthage, when you beheld her left unarmed and defenceless amid so many armed nations of Africa, none heaved a sigh. Now, because a tribute is to be levied from private property, you lament with one accord, as though at the funeral of the state. How much do I dread lest you should soon be made sensible that you have shed tears this day for the lightest of your misfortunes!" Such were the sentiments which Hannibal delivered to the Carthaginians. Scipio, having summoned an assembly, presented Masinissa, in addition to his paternal dominions, with the town of Cirta, and the other cities and territories which had passed from the kingdom of Syphax into the possession of the Romans. He ordered Cneius Octavius to conduct the fleet to Sicily and deliver it to Cneius Cornelius the consul, and directed the Carthaginian ambassadors to go to Rome, that the arrangements he had made, with the advice of the ten deputies, might be ratified by the sanction of the fathers and the order of the people.

#### 45

Peace having been established by sea and land, he embarked his troops and crossed over to Lilybaeum in Sicily; whence, having sent a great part of his soldiers by ships, he himself proceeded through Italy, which was rejoicing, not less on account of the peace than the victory; while not only the inhabitants of the cities poured out to show him honour, but crowds of rustics thronged the roads. He arrived at Rome and entered the city in a triumph of unparalleled splendour. He brought into the treasury one hundred and twenty-three thousand pounds of silver. He distributed to each of his soldiers four hundred asses out of the spoils. By the death of Syphax, which took place but a short time before at Tibur, whither he had been removed from Alba, a diminution was occasioned in the interest of the pageant rather than in the glory of him who triumphed. His death, however, was attended with circumstances which produced a strong sensation, for he was buried at the public expense. Polybius, an author by no means to be despised, asserts that this king was led in the triumph. Quintus Terentius Culleo followed Scipio in his triumph with a cap of liberty on his head, and during the remainder of his life treated him with the respect due to him as the author of his freedom. I have not been able to ascertain whether the partiality of the soldiers or the favour of the people fixed upon him the surname of Africanus, or whether in the same manner as Felix was applied to Sulla, and Magnus to Pompey, in the memory of our fathers, it originated in the flattery of his friends. He was, doubtless, the first general who was distinguished by a name derived from the nation which he had conquered. Afterwards, in imitation of his example, some, by no means his equals in his victories, affixed splendid inscriptions on their statues and gave honourable surnames to their families.

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# Book XXXI

*Renewal of the war with Philip, king of Macedon. Successes of Publius Sulpicius, consul, who had the conduct of that war. The Abydenians, besieged by Philip, put themselves to death, together with their wives and children. Lucius Furius, praetor, defeats the Insubrian Gauls who had revolted; and Hamilcar, who stirred up the insurrection, is slain, with thirty-five thousand men. Further operations of Sulpicius, Attalus, and the Rhodians against Philip.*

## 1

It is delightful even to me to have come to the end of the Punic war, as if I myself had borne a share of the toil and danger. For though it by no means becomes a person, who has ventured to promise an entire history of all the Roman affairs, to be fatigued by any particular parts of so extensive a work; yet when I reflect that sixty-three years (for so many there are from the first Punic war to the end of the second) have occupied as many of my volumes, as the four hundred and eighty-seven years, from the building of the city to the consulate of Appius Claudius, who first made war on the Carthaginians, I plainly perceive that, like those who, tempted by the shallows near the shore, walk into the sea, the farther I advance, I am carried, as it were, into a greater depth and abyss; and that my work almost increases on my hands which seemed to be diminished by the completion of each of its earlier portions. The peace with Carthage was quickly followed by a war with Macedonia: a war, not to be compared to the former, indeed, either in danger, or in the abilities of the commander, or the valour of the soldiers; but almost more remarkable with regard to the renown of their former kings, the ancient fame of that nation, and the vast extent of their empire, in which they had formerly comprehended a large part of Europe, and the greater part of Asia. The contest with Philip, which had begun about ten years before, had been intermitted for the three last years; the Aetolians having been the occasion both of the war and the peace. The entreaties of the Athenians whom, having ravaged their lands, Philip had driven into their city, excited the Romans to a renewal of the war, left, as they were, disengaged by the Carthaginian peace, and incensed against him as well for his treacherous negotiation of peace with the Aetolians and the other allies in that region, as on account of the auxiliaries sent by him with money into Africa to Hannibal and the Carthaginians.

## 2

About the same time, ambassadors arrived both from king Attalus, and from the Rhodians, with information that the Macedonian was tampering with the states of Asia. To these embassies an answer was given, that the senate would give attention to the affairs of Asia. The determination with regard to the making war on him, was left open to the consuls, who were then in their provinces. In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, namely, Caius Claudius Nero, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, to announce their conquest of Hannibal and the Carthaginians; to give thanks to the king for his faithful adherence to his engagements in the time of their distress, when even the nearest allies of the Romans abandoned them; and to request that if, compelled by ill treatment, they should undertake a war with Philip, he would preserve his former disposition towards the Roman people. In Gaul, about this time, the consul, Publius Aelius, having heard that,

before his arrival, the Boians had made inroads on the territories of the allies, levied two occasional legions on account of this disturbance; and adding to them four cohorts from his own army, ordered Caius Oppius, the praefect, to march with this tumultuary band through Umbria, (which is called the Sappinian district,) and to invade the territories of the Boians. He himself led his own troops thither openly, over the intervening mountains. Oppius, on entering the same, for some time committed depredations with tolerable success and safety. But afterwards, having pitched on a place near a fort called Mutilus, convenient enough for cutting down the corn, (for the crops were now ripe,) and setting out without having reconnoitred around, and without establishing armed posts of sufficient strength to protect those who were unarmed and intent on their work, he was suddenly surrounded, together with his foragers, by an unexpected invasion of the Gauls. On this, panic and flight seized even on those who were furnished with weapons. Seven thousand men, dispersed through the corn fields, were put to the sword, among whom was the commander himself, Caius Oppius. The rest were driven by terror into the camp; from whence, in consequence of a resolution of the soldiers, they set out on the following night, without any particular commander; and, leaving behind a great part of their baggage, made their way, through woods almost impassable, to the consul, who returned to Rome without having performed any thing in his province worth notice, except that he ravaged the lands of the Boians, and made a treaty with the Ingaunian Ligurians.

### 3

The first time he assembled the senate, it was unanimously ordered that he should propose no other business before that which related to Philip and the complaints of the allies. It was immediately taken into consideration, and a numerous senate decreed, that Publius Aelius, consul, should send such person as he might think proper, vested with command, to receive the fleet which Cneius Octavius was bringing home from Sicily, and pass over to Macedonia. Accordingly Marcus Valerius Laevinus, proprætor, was sent; and, receiving thirty-eight ships from Cneius Octavius, near Vibo, he sailed to Macedonia, where, when Marcus Aurelius, the ambassador, had come to him and informed him what numerous forces and what large fleets the king had prepared, and how he was arousing the inhabitants to arms, partly by visiting them himself and partly by ambassadors, not only through all the cities of the continent, but even in the islands, (Laevinus was convinced) that the war ought to be undertaken by the Romans with greater vigour; lest, if they were dilatory, Philip might attempt that which had been formerly undertaken by Pyrrhus, who possessed not such large dominions. He therefore desired Aurelius to convey this intelligence by letter to the consuls and to the senate.

### 4

Towards the end of this year the senate, taking into consideration the lands to be given to the veteran soldiers, who, under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio, had finished the war in Africa, decreed that Marcus Tunius, prætor of the city, should, if he thought proper, appoint ten commissioners to survey, and distribute among them, that part of the Samnite and Apulian lands which was the property of the Roman people. For this purpose were appointed, Publius Servilius, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, Caius and Marcus Servilius, both surnamed Geminus, Lucius and Aulus Hostilius Cato, Publius Villius Tappulus, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, Publius Aelius Paetus, and Quintus Flaminius. At the same time, Publius Aelius presiding at the election of consuls, Publius Sulpicius Galba and Caius Aurelius Cotta were elected. Then were chosen prætors, Quintus

Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Fulvius Gillo, Cneius Sergius Plancus. The Roman stage-games were exhibited, in a sumptuous and elegant manner, by the curule aediles, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Lucius Quintus Flaminius, and repeated for two days; and a vast quantity of corn, which Scipio had sent from Africa, was distributed by them to the people, with strict impartiality and general satisfaction, at the rate of four *asses* a peck. The plebeian games were thrice repeated entire by the plebeian aediles, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Quintus Minucius Rufus; the latter of whom was, from the aedileship, elected praetor. There was also a feast of Jove on occasion of the games.

## 5

In the year five hundred and fifty-two from the building of the city, Publius Sulpicius Galba and Caius Aurelius being consuls, within a few months after the conclusion of the peace with the Carthaginians, the war was entered upon against king Philip. This was the first business introduced by the consul, Publius Sulpicius, on the ides of March, the day on which, in those times, the consulship commenced; and the senate decreed, that the consul should perform sacrifices with the greater victims, to such gods as they should judge proper, with prayers to this purpose,--that "the business which the senate and people of Rome had then under deliberation, concerning the state, and the entering on a new war, might issue prosperously and happily to the Roman people, the allies, and the Latin confederacy;" and that, after the sacrifices and prayers, they should consult the senate on the state of public affairs, and the provinces. At this time, very opportunely for exciting their minds to war, the letters were brought from Marcus Aurelius, the ambassador, and Marcus Valerius Laevinus, proprætor. A fresh embassy, likewise, arrived from the Athenians, to acquaint them that the king was approaching their frontiers, and that in a short time, not only their lands, but their city also, must fall into his hands, unless they received aid from the Romans. When the consuls had made their report, that the sacrifices had been duly performed, and that the gods had accepted their prayers; that the aruspices had declared that the entrails showed good omens, and that enlargement of territory, victory, and triumph were portended; the letters of Valerius and Aurelius were read, and audience given to the ambassadors of the Athenians. After which, a decree of the senate was passed, that thanks should be given to their allies, because, though long solicited, they had not, even when in fear of a siege, renounced their fidelity. With regard to sending assistance to them, they resolved, that an answer should be given as soon as the consuls should have cast lots for the provinces; and when the consul to whose lot Macedonia fell should have proposed to the people, that war should be declared against Philip, king of the Macedonians.

## 6

The province of Macedonia fell by lot to Publius Sulpicius; and he proposed to the people to declare, "that they chose and ordered, that on account of the injuries and hostilities committed against the allies of the Roman people, war should be proclaimed against king Philip, and the Macedonians under his government." The province of Italy fell to the lot of the other consul, Aurelius. The prætors then cast lots: to Cneius Sergius Plancus fell the city jurisdiction; to Quintus Fulvius Gillo, Sicily; to Quintus Minucius Rufus, Bruttium; and to Lucius Furius Purpureo, Gaul. At the first meeting of the people, the proposal concerning the Macedonian war was rejected by almost all the tribes. This was done partly spontaneously, as the people were wearied by the length and severity of the late war, and disgusted with toils and dangers; and partly by Quintus Baebius,

tribune of the people, who, pursuing the old practice of criminating the patricians, charged them with multiplying wars one after another, so that the people could never enjoy peace. This proceeding the patricians with difficulty brooked, and the tribune was severely reprehended in the senate; where each severally urged the consul to call a new assembly, for passing the proposal; to rebuke the backwardness of the people; and to prove to them how much loss and disgrace the delay of this war would occasion.

## 7

The consul, having assembled the people in the field of Mars, before he dismissed the centuries to the vote, required their attention, and addressed them thus: "Citizens, you seem to me not to understand that the question before you is not whether you choose to have peace or war: for Philip, having already commenced hostilities with a formidable force, both on land and sea, allows you not that option. The question is, Whether you must transport your legions to Macedonia, or admit the enemy into Italy? How important the difference is, if you never experienced it before, you certainly did in the late Punic war. For who entertains a doubt, but if, when the Saguntines were besieged, and implored our protection, we had assisted them with vigour, as our fathers did the Mamertines, we should have averted the whole weight of the war upon Spain; which, by our dilatory proceedings, we suffered to our extreme loss to fall upon Italy? Nor does it admit a doubt, that we confined this same Philip in Macedonia, (after he had entered into an engagement with Hannibal by ambassadors and letters, to cross over into Italy,) by sending Laevinus with a fleet to make war aggressively upon him. And what we did at that time, when we had Hannibal to contend with in Italy, do we hesitate to do now, after Hannibal has been expelled Italy, and the Carthaginians subdued? Suppose that we allow the king to experience the same inactivity on our part, while he is taking Athens, as we suffered Hannibal to experience while he was taking Saguntum: it will not be in the fifth month, as Hannibal came from Saguntum, but on the fifth day after he sets sail from Corinth, that he will arrive in Italy. Perhaps you may not consider Philip as equal to Hannibal; or the Macedonians to the Carthaginians: certainly, however, you will allow him equal to Pyrrhus. Equal, do I say? what a vast superiority has the one man over the other, the one nation over the other! Epirus ever was, and is at this day, deemed but an inconsiderable accession to the kingdom of Macedonia. Philip has the entire Peloponnesus under his dominion; even Argos itself, not more celebrated for its ancient glory than for the death of Pyrrhus. Now compare our situation. How much more nourishing was Italy, how much greater its strength, with so many commanders, so many armies unimpaired, which the Punic war afterwards consumed, when Pyrrhus attacked and shook it, and advanced victorious almost to the Roman capital! and not the Tarentines only, and the inhabitants of that tract of Italy which they call the greater Greece, whom you may suppose to have been led by the similarity of language and name, but the Lucanian, the Bruttian, and the Samnite revolted from us. Do you believe that these would continue quiet and faithful, if Philip should come over to Italy? They subsequently continued faithful, forsooth, during the Punic war! Be assured those states will never fail to revolt from us, except when there is no one to whom they can go over. If you had been annoyed at passing into Africa, you would this day have had Hannibal and the Carthaginians to contend with in Italy. Let Macedonia, rather than Italy, be the seat of war. Let the cities and lands of the enemy be wasted with fire and sword. We have already found by experience, that our arms are more powerful and more successful abroad than at home. Go to the vote with the blessing of the gods; and what the senate have voted, do you ratify by your order. This resolution is recommended to

you, not only by your consul, but even by the immortal gods themselves; who, when I offered sacrifice, and prayed that the issue of this war might be happy and prosperous to me and to the senate, to you and the allies and Latin confederates, to our fleets and armies, portended all joyful and prosperous results."

## 8

After this speech of Sulpicius, being sent to give their votes, they declared for the war as he had proposed. On which, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, a supplication for three days was proclaimed by the consuls; and prayers were offered to the gods at all the shrines, that the war which the people had ordered against Philip might turn out well and happily. The consul Sulpicius inquiring of the heralds, whether they would direct the declaration of the war against king Philip to be made to himself in person, or whether it would be sufficient to publish it in the nearest garrison, within the frontiers of his kingdom, they answered, that they would do rightly whichever course they should adopt. The consul received authority from the senate to send any person whom he thought proper, not being a senator, as ambassador, to denounce war against the king. They then arranged for the armies of the consuls and praetors. The consuls were ordered to levy two legions, and to disband the veteran troops. Sulpicius, to whom the management of this new and highly important war had been decreed, was allowed permission to carry with him as many volunteers as he could procure out of the army which Publius Scipio had brought home from Africa; but he was not empowered to take with him any veteran soldier against his will. They ordered that the consul should give to the praetors, Lucius Furius Purpureo and Quintus Minucius Rufus, five thousand of the allies of the Latin confederacy; with which forces they should hold, one, the province of Gaul, the other, Bruttium. Quintus Fulvius Gillo was ordered, in like manner, to select out of the army which Publius Aelius, late consul, had commanded, such as had been the shortest time in the service, until he also made up five thousand of the allies and Latin confederates; that this was to be the protection of the province of Sicily. To Marcus Valerius Falto, who, during the former year, had held the province of Campania, as praetor, the command was continued for a year; in order that he might go over, as propraeor, to Sardinia, and choose out of the army there five thousand of the allies of the Latin confederacy, who had served the fewest campaigns. The consuls were at the same time ordered to levy two legions for the city, which might be sent wherever occasions should require; as there were many states in Italy infected with an attachment to the Carthaginians, which they had formed during the war, and, in consequence, swelling with resentment. The state was to employ during that year six Roman legions.

## 9

In the midst of the preparations for war, ambassadors came from king Ptolemy, who delivered a message; that "the Athenians had petitioned the king for aid against Philip; but that although they were their common allies, yet the king would not, except with the sanction of the Roman people, send either fleet or army into Greece, for the purpose of defending or attacking any person. That he would either remain quiet in his kingdom, if the Romans were at leisure to protect their allies; or, if more agreeable to them to be at rest, would himself send such aid as might easily secure Athens against Philip." Thanks were returned to the king by the senate, and this answer: that "it was the intention of the Roman people to protect their allies; that if they should have occasion for any assistance towards carrying on the war, they would acquaint the king; and that they

were fully sensible, that the resources of his kingdom were the sure and faithful support of their own state." Presents were then, by order of the senate, sent to the ambassadors, of five thousand *asses*<sup>192</sup> to each. While the consuls were engaged in the levy, and preparing what was necessary for the war, the people, prone to religious observances, especially at the beginning of new wars, after supplications had been already performed, and prayers offered up at all the shrines, lest any thing should be omitted that had ever been practised, ordered, that the consul who was to have the province of Macedonia should vow games and a present to Jove. Licinius, the chief pontiff, occasioned some delay to this public vow, alleging, that "it ought not to be fulfilled from promiscuous funds. For as the sum to be named should not be applied to the uses of the war, it should be immediately set apart, and not to be intermixed with other money; and that, unless this were done, the vow could not be properly performed." Although the objection and the author of it were influential, yet the consul was ordered to consult the college of pontiffs, whether a vow could be undertaken at an indeterminate expense? The pontiffs determined, that it could; and that it would be even more in order to do it in that way. The consul, therefore, repeating after the chief pontiff, made the vow in the same words in which those made for five years of safety used to be expressed; only that he engaged to perform the games, and make the offerings, at such expense as the senate should direct by their vote, at the time when the vow was performed. Before this, the great games so often vowed, were constantly rated at a certain expense: these first at an unspecified amount.

## 10

While every one's attention was turned to the Macedonian war, and at a time when people apprehended nothing less, a sudden account was brought of an inroad of the Gauls. The Insubrians, Caenomanians, and Boians, having been joined by the Salyans, Ilvatiens, and other Ligurian states, and putting themselves under the command of Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, who, having been in the army of Hasdrubal, had remained in those parts, had fallen upon Placentia; and, after plundering the city, and, in their rage, burning a great part of it, leaving scarcely two thousand men among the flames and ruins, passed the Po, and advanced to plunder Cremona. The news of the calamity which had fallen on a city in their neighbourhood, having reached thither, the inhabitants had time to shut their gates, and place guards on the walls, that they might, at least, be besieged before they were taken, and send messengers to the Roman praetor. Lucius Furius Purpureo, who had then the command of the province, had, in pursuance of the decree of the senate, disbanded the army, excepting five thousand of the allies and Latin confederacy; and had remained, with these troops, in the nearest district of the province about Ariminum. He immediately informed the senate, by letter, in what confusion the province was. That, "of the two colonies which had escaped in the dreadful storm of the Punic war, one was taken and sacked by the present enemy, and the other besieged. Nor was his army capable of affording sufficient protection to the distressed colonists, unless he chose to expose five thousand allies to be slaughtered by forty thousand invaders (for so many there were in arms); and by such a loss, on his side, to augment the courage of the enemy, already elated on having destroyed one Roman colony."

## 11

This letter having been read they decreed, that the consul Aurelius should order the army which he had appointed to assemble on a certain day in Etruria, to attend him on

<sup>192</sup> £16. 2s. 1d.

the same day at Ariminum; and should either go in person, if the public business would permit, to suppress the tumult of the Gauls, or write to the praetor Lucius Furius, that, as soon as the legions from Etruria came to him, he should send five thousand of the allies to guard that place in the mean time, and should himself proceed to relieve the colony from the siege. They also determined, that ambassadors should be sent to Carthage, and also into Numidia, to Masinissa: to Carthage, to announce that "their countryman, Hamilcar, having been left in Gaul, (either with a part of the army formerly commanded by Hasdrubal, or with that of Mago--they did not with certainty know which,) was waging war, contrary to the treaty. That he had excited the armies of the Gauls and Ligurians to arms against the Roman people. That, if they wished for peace, they must recall him, and give him up to the Roman people." They were ordered at the same time to tell them, that "all the deserters had not been sent back; that a great part of them were said to appear openly in Carthage, who ought to be sought after, and surrendered according to the treaty." Such was the message to the Carthaginians. To Masinissa they were charged with congratulations, on his "having not only recovered the kingdom of his father, but enlarged it by the acquisition of the most flourishing parts of Syphax's territories." They were ordered also to acquaint him, that "a war had been undertaken against Philip, because he had given aid to the Carthaginians, while, by the injuries which he offered to the allies of the Roman people, he had obliged them to send fleets and armies into Greece, while Italy was blazing with war; and that by thus making them separate their forces, had been the principal cause of their being so late passing over into Africa; and to request him to send to that war supplies of Numidian horsemen." Ample presents were given them to be carried to the king; vases of gold and silver, a purple robe, and a tunic adorned with palms of purple, an ivory sceptre, and a robe of state, with a curule chair. They were also directed to assure him, that if he deemed any thing further requisite to confirm and enlarge his kingdom, the Roman people, in return for his good services, would exert their utmost zeal to effect it. At this time, too, ambassadors from Vermina, son of Syphax, came to the senate apologizing for his mistaken conduct, on account of his youth and want of judgment, and throwing all the blame on the deceitful policy of the Carthaginians: adding, "that as Masinissa had from an enemy become a friend to the Romans, so Vermina would also use his best endeavours that he should not be outdone in offices of friendship to the Roman people either by Masinissa, or by any other; and requesting that he might receive from the senate the title of king, friend, and ally." The answer given to these ambassadors was, that "not only his father Syphax, from a friend and ally, had on a sudden, without any reason, become an enemy to the Roman people, but that he himself had made his first essay of manhood in bearing arms against them. He must, therefore, sue to the Roman people for peace, before he could expect to be acknowledged king, ally, and friend; that it was the practice of that people to bestow the honour of such title, in return for great services performed by kings towards them; that the Roman ambassadors would soon be in Africa, to whom the senate would give instructions to regulate conditions of peace with Vermina, if he would leave the terms of it entirely to the will of the Roman people; and that, if he wished that any thing should be added, left out, or altered, he must make a second application to the senate." The ambassadors sent to Africa on those affairs, were Caius Terentius Varro, Publius Lucretius, and Cneius Octavius, each of whom had a quinquereme assigned him.

A letter was then read in the senate, from Quintus Minucius, the praetor, who held the province of Bruttium, that "the money had been privately carried off by night out of the treasury of Proserpine at Locri; and that there were no traces to those to whom the charge applied." The senate was highly incensed at finding that the practice of sacrilege continued, and that even the fate of Pleminius, an example so recent and so conspicuous both of the guilt and of the punishment, did not deter men from it. They ordered the consul, Cneius Aurelius, to signify to the praetor in Bruttium, that "it was the pleasure of the senate, that an inquiry be made concerning the robbery of the treasury, according to the method used by Marcus Pomponius, praetor, three years before; that the money which could be discovered should be restored, that what was not found should be made up, and that if he thought proper, atonements should be made for the purpose of expiating the violation of the temple, in the manner formerly prescribed by the pontiffs." At the same time, also, prodigies were announced as having happened in many places. It was said, that in Lucania the sky had been seen in a blaze; that at Privernum, in clear weather, the sun had been of a red colour during a whole day; that at Lanuvium, in the temple of Juno Sospita, a very loud noise had been heard in the night. Besides, monstrous births of animals were related to have occurred in many places: in the country of the Sabines, an infant was born whose sex was doubtful; and another was found, sixteen years old, of doubtful sex. At Frusino a lamb was born with a swine's head; at Sinuessa, a pig with a human head; and in Lucania, in the land belonging to the state, a foal with five feet. All these were considered as horrid and abominable, and as if nature were straying to strange productions. Above all, the people were particularly shocked at the hermaphrodites, which were ordered to be immediately thrown into the sea, as had been lately done with a production of the same monstrous kind, in the consulate of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius. Notwithstanding they ordered the decemvirs to inspect the books in regard of that prodigy; and the decemvirs, from the books, directed the same religious ceremonies which had been performed on an occasion of the same kind. They ordered, besides, a hymn to be sung through the city by thrice nine virgins, and an offering to be made to imperial Juno. The consul, Caius Aurelius, took care that all these matters were performed according to the direction of the decemvirs. The hymn was composed by Publius Licinius Tegula, as a similar one had been, in the memory of their fathers, by Livius.

### 13

All religious scruples were fully removed by expiations; at Locri, too, the affair of the sacrilege had been thoroughly investigated by Quintus Minucius, and the money replaced in the treasury out of the effects of the guilty. When the consuls wished to set out to their provinces, a number of private persons, to whom the third payment became due that year, of the money which they had lent to the public in the consulate of Marcus Valerius and Marcus Claudius, applied to the senate. The consuls, however, declared that the treasury being scarcely sufficient for the exigencies of a new war, in which a great fleet and great armies must be employed, there were no means of paying them at present. The senate could not stand against them when they complained, that "if the state intended to use, for the purpose of the Macedonian war, the money which had been lent for the Punic war, as one war constantly arose after another, what would be the issue, but that, in return for their generosity, their property would be confiscated as for some crime?" The demands of the private creditors being equitable, and the state being in no capacity of discharging the debt, they decreed a middle course between equity and convenience; resolving that "whereas many of them mentioned that lands

were frequently exposed to sale, and that they themselves wished to become purchasers, they should, therefore, have liberty to purchase any belonging to the public, and which lay within fifty miles of the city. That the consuls should make a valuation of these, and impose on each acre one *as*, as an acknowledgment that the land was the property of the public, in order that, when the people should become able to pay, if any one chose rather to have the money than the land, he might restore it." The private creditors accepted the terms with joy; and that land was called *Trientius* and *Tabulius*, because it was given in lieu of the third part of their money.

#### 14

Publius Sulpicius, after making his vows in the Capitol, set out robed from the city with his lictors, and arrived at Brundisium; where, having formed into legions the veteran soldiers of the African army who were willing to follow him, and chosen his ships out of the fleet of the late consul, Cornelius, he crossed and arrived in Macedonia the day after he had set sail from Brundisium. There he was met by ambassadors from the Athenians, entreating him to relieve them from the siege. Immediately, Caius Claudius Centho was despatched to Athens, with twenty ships of war, and a thousand of land forces. For it was not the king himself who carried on the siege of Athens; he was at that time besieging Abydus, after having tried his strength in naval contests against Attalus, and against the Rhodians, without success in either engagement. But, besides the natural presumptuousness of his temper, he acquired confidence from a treaty which he had formed with Antiochus, king of Syria, in which they had divided the wealth of Egypt between them; on which, on hearing of the death of Ptolemy, they were both intent. The Athenians now had entangled themselves in a war with Philip on too trifling an occasion, and at a time when they retained nothing of their former condition but their pride. During the celebration of the mysteries, two young men of Acarnania, who were not initiated, unapprized of its being an offence against religion, entered the temple of Ceres along with the rest of the crowd: their discourse readily betrayed them, by their asking some absurd questions; whereupon, being carried before the presidents of the temple, although it was evident that they went in through mistake, yet they were put to death, as if for a heinous crime. The Acarnanian nation made complaint to Philip of this barbarous and hostile act, and prevailed on him to grant them some aid of Macedonian soldiers, and to allow them to make war on the Athenians. At first this army, after ravaging the lands of Attica with fire and sword, retired to Acarnania with booty of all kinds. This was the first provocation to hostilities. The Athenians afterwards, on their side, entered into a regular war, and proclaimed it by order of the state. For king Attalus and the Rhodians, having come to Aegina in pursuit of Philip, who was retiring to Macedonia, the king crossed over to Piraeus, for the purpose of renewing and confirming his alliance with the Athenians. On entering the city, the whole inhabitants received him, pouring forth with their wives and children to meet him; the priests, with their emblems of religion; and in a manner the gods themselves, called forth from their abodes.

#### 15

Immediately the people were summoned to an assembly, that the king might treat with them in person on such subjects as he chose; but afterwards it was judged more suitable to his dignity to explain his sentiments in writing, than, being present, to be forced to blush, either at the recital of his favours to the state, or at the immoderate applause of the multitude, which would overwhelm his modesty with acclamations and other signs

of approbation. In the letter which he sent, and which was read to the assembly, was contained first, a recapitulation of his acts of kindness to the state, as his ally; then, of the actions which he had performed against Philip; and lastly, an exhortation to "enter immediately on the war; while they had himself, the Rhodians, and the Romans also to assist them;" not omitting to warn them that "if they were backward now, they would hereafter wish in vain for the opportunity which they neglected." They then gave audience to the ambassadors of the Rhodians, to whom they were under a recent obligation for having retaken, and sent home, four of their ships of war, which had been lately seized by the Macedonians. War was determined upon against Philip with universal consent. Unbounded honours were conferred on king Attalus, and then on the Rhodians. At that time, mention was made of adding a tribe, which they were to call Attalus, to the ten ancient tribes; the Rhodian state was presented with a golden crown, as an acknowledgment of its bravery, and the freedom of the city was given to the inhabitants, in like manner as the Rhodians had formerly given it to the Athenians. After this, king Attalus returned to his fleet at Aegina. From Aegina, the Rhodians sailed to Cia, and thence to Rhodes, through the islands, all of which they brought to join in the alliance, except Andros, Paros, and Cythnus, which were held by Macedonian garrisons. Attalus, having sent messengers to Aetolia, and expecting ambassadors from thence, was detained at Aegina for some time in a state of inaction; failing also in his endeavours to excite the Aetolians to arms, for they were rejoiced at having made peace with Philip on any terms. Had Attalus and the Rhodians pressed Philip vigorously, they might have acquired the illustrious title of the deliverers of Greece, but by suffering him to pass over again into Hellespontus, and to strengthen himself by seizing the advantageous posts in Greece, they increased the difficulties of the war, and yielded up to the Romans the glory of having conducted and finished it.

## 16

Philip acted with a spirit more becoming a king; for, though he had found himself unequal to the forces of Attalus and the Rhodians, yet he was not dismayed, even by the Roman war with which he was threatened. Sending Philocles, one of his generals, with two thousand foot and two hundred horse, to ravage the lands of the Athenians, he gave the command of his fleet to Heraclides, to make for Maronea, and marched thither himself by land, with two thousand foot lightly equipped, and two hundred horse. Maronea he took at the first assault; and afterwards, with a good deal of trouble, got possession of Aenus, which was at last betrayed to him by Ganymede, the lieutenant of Ptolemy. He then seized on other forts, Cypselus, Doriscos, and Serrheus; and, advancing from thence to the Chersonesus, received Elaeus and Alopeconnesus, which were surrendered by the inhabitants. Callipolis also, and Madytos, were given up to him, with several forts of but little consequence. The people of Abydus shut their gates against him, not admitting the ambassadors. This siege detained Philip a long time; and it might have been relieved, had not Attalus and the Rhodians been dilatory. The king sent only three hundred men for a garrison, and the Rhodians one quadrireme from their fleet, although it was lying idle at Tenedos: and afterwards, when the besieged could with difficulty hold out any longer, Attalus, going over in person, did nothing more than show them some hope of relief being near, giving no assistance to these his allies either by land or sea.

## 17

At first the people of Abydus, by means of engines placed along the walls, not only prevented the approaches by land, but annoyed the enemy's ships in their station. Afterwards a part of the wall being thrown down, and the assailants having penetrated by mines to an inner wall, which had been hastily raised to oppose their entrance, they sent ambassadors to the king about the conditions of the surrender of the city. They demanded permission to send away the Rhodian quadrireme, with the crew, and the troops of Attalus in the garrison; and that they themselves might depart from the city, each with one suit of apparel. When Philip's answer afforded no hopes of accommodation, unless they surrendered at discretion, this repudiation of their embassy so exasperated them, at once through indignation and despair, that, seized with the same kind of fury which had possessed the Saguntines, they ordered all the matrons to be shut up in the temple of Diana, and the free-born youths and virgins, and even the infants with their nurses, in the place of exercise; the gold and silver to be carried into the forum; their valuable garments to be put on board the Rhodian ship, and another from Cyzicum, which lay in the harbour; the priests and victims to be brought, and altars to be erected in the midst. There they appointed a select number, who, as soon as they should see the army of their friends cut off in defending the breach, were instantly to slay their wives and children; to throw into the sea the gold, silver, and apparel that was on board the ships, and to set fire to the buildings, public and private: and to the performance of this deed they were bound by an oath, the priests repeating before them the verses of execration. Those who were of an age capable of fighting then swore that they would not leave their ranks alive unless victorious. These, regardless of the gods, (by whom they had sworn,) maintained their ground with such obstinacy, that although the night would soon have put a stop to the fight, yet the king, terrified by their fury, first desisted from the fight. The chief inhabitants, to whom the more shocking part of the plan had been given in charge, seeing that few survived the battle, and that these were exhausted by fatigue and wounds, sent the priests (having their heads bound with the fillets of suppliants) at the dawn of the next day to surrender the city to Philip.

## 18

Before the surrender, one of the Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to Alexandria, Marcus Aemilius, being the youngest of them, on the joint resolution of the three, on hearing of the present siege, came to Philip, and complained of his having made war on Attalus and the Rhodians; and particularly that he was then besieging Abydus; and on Philip's saying that he had been forced into the war by Attalus and the Rhodians commencing hostilities against him,--"Did the people of Abydus, too," said he, "commence hostilities against you?" To him, who was unaccustomed to hear truth, this language seemed too arrogant to be used to a king, and he answered,--"Your youth, the beauty of your form, and, above all, the name of Roman, render you too presumptuous. However, my first desire is, that you would observe the treaties, and continue in peace with me; but if you begin an attack, I am, on my part, determined to prove that the kingdom and name of the Macedonians is not less formidable in war than that of the Romans." Having dismissed the ambassador in this manner, Philip got possession of the gold and silver which had been thrown together in a heap, but lost his booty with respect to prisoners: for such violent frenzy had seized the multitude, that, on a sudden, taking up a persuasion that those who had fallen in the battle had been treacherously sacrificed, and upbraiding one another with perjury, especially the priests, who would surrender alive to the enemy those persons whom they themselves had devoted, they all at once ran different ways to put their wives and children to death; and then they put

an end to their own lives by every possible method. The king, astonished at their madness, restrained the violence of his soldiers, and said, "that he would allow the people of Abydus three days to die in;" and, during this space, the vanquished perpetrated more deeds of cruelty on themselves than the enraged conquerors would have committed; nor did any one of them come into his hands alive, except such as chains, or some other insuperable restraint, forbade to die. Philip, leaving a garrison in Abydus, returned to his kingdom; and, just when he had been encouraged by the destruction of the people of Abydus to proceed in the war against Rome, as Hannibal had been by the destruction of Saguntum, he was met by couriers, with intelligence that the consul was already in Epirus, and had drawn his land forces to Apollonia, and his fleet to Corcyra, into winter quarters.

## 19

In the mean time, the ambassadors who had been sent into Africa, on the affair of Hamilcar, the leader of the Gallic army, received from the Carthaginians this answer: that "it was not in their power to do more than to inflict on him the punishment of exile, and to confiscate his effects; that they had delivered up all the deserters and fugitives, whom, on a diligent inquiry, they had been able to discover, and would send ambassadors to Rome, to satisfy the senate on that head." They sent two hundred thousand measures of wheat to Rome, and the same quantity to the army in Macedonia. From thence the ambassadors proceeded into Numidia, to the king; delivered to Masinissa the presents and the message according to their instructions, and out of two thousand Numidian horsemen, which he offered, accepted one thousand. Masinissa superintended in person the embarkation of these, and sent them, with two hundred thousand measures of wheat, and the same quantity of barley, into Macedonia. Their third commission was with Vermina. He advanced to meet them as far as the utmost limits of his kingdom, and left it to themselves to prescribe such conditions of peace as they thought proper, declaring, that "he should consider any peace with the Roman people as just and advantageous." The terms were then settled, and he was ordered to send ambassadors to Rome to procure a ratification of the treaty.

## 20

About the same time, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, proconsul, came home from Spain; and having laid before the senate an account of his brave and successful conduct, during the course of many years, demanded that he might be allowed to enter the city in triumph. The senate gave their opinion that "his services were, indeed, deserving of a triumph; but that they had no precedent left them by their ancestors of any person enjoying a triumph, who had not performed the service either of dictator, consul, or praetor; that he had held the province of Spain in quality of proconsul, and not of consul, or praetor." They determined, however, that he might enter the city in ovation. Against this, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, tribune of the people, protested, alleging, that such proceedings would be no more in accordance with the custom of their ancestors, or with any precedent, than the other; but, overcome at length by the unanimous desire of the senate, the tribune withdrew his opposition, and Lucius Lentulus entered the city in ovation. He carried to the treasury forty-four thousand pounds weight of silver, and two thousand four hundred pounds weight of gold. To each of the soldiers he distributed, of the spoil, one hundred and twenty *asses*.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>193</sup> 7s. 9d.

**21**

The consular army had, by this time, been conducted from Arretium to Ariminum, and the five thousand Latin confederates had crossed from Gaul into Etruria. Lucius Furius, therefore, advanced from Ariminum, by forced marches, against the Gauls, who were then besieging Cremona, and pitched his camp at the distance of one mile and a half from the enemy. Furius had an opportunity of performing a splendid exploit, had he, without halting, led his troops directly to attack their camp; scattered hither and thither, they were wandering through the country; and the guard, which they had left, was not sufficiently strong; but he was apprehensive that his men were too much fatigued by their hasty march. The Gauls, recalled from the fields by the shouts of their party, returned to the camp without seizing the booty within their reach, and, next day, marched out to offer battle. The Roman did not decline the combat, but had scarcely time to draw up his forces, so rapidly did the enemy advance to the fight. The right brigade (for he had the troops of the allies divided into brigades) was placed in the first line, the two Roman legions in reserve. Marcus Furius was at the head of the right brigade, Marcus Caecilius of the legions, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus of the cavalry; these were all lieutenant-generals. Two other lieutenant-generals, Cneius Laetorius and Publius Titinnius, the praetor kept near himself, that, with their assistance, he might observe and take proper measures against all sudden attempts of the enemy. At first, the Gauls, bending their whole force to one point, were in hopes of being able to overwhelm, and trample under foot, the right brigade, which was in the van; but not succeeding, they endeavoured to turn round the flanks, and to surround their enemy's line, which, considering the multitude of their forces, and the small number of the others, seemed easy to be done. On observing this, the praetor, in order to extend his own line, brought up the two legions from the reserve, and placed them on the right and left of the brigade which was engaged in the van; vowing a temple to Jupiter, if he should rout the enemy on that day. To Lucius Valerius he gave orders, to make the horsemen of the two legions on one flank, and the cavalry of the allies on the other, charge the wings of the enemy, and not suffer them to come round to his rear. At the same time, observing that the centre of the line of the Gauls was weakened, from having extended the wings, he directed his men to make an attack there in close order, and to break through their ranks. The wings were routed by the cavalry, and, at the same time, the centre by the foot; and suddenly, being worsted in all parts with great slaughter, the Gauls turned their backs, and fled to their camp in hurry and confusion. The cavalry pursued them as they fled; and the legions, coming up in a short time after, assaulted the camp, from whence there did not escape so many as six thousand men. There were slain and taken above thirty-five thousand, with seventy standards, and above two hundred Gallic waggons laden with much booty. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, fell in that battle, and three distinguished generals of the Gauls. The prisoners taken at Placentia, to the number of two thousand freemen, were restored to the colony.

**22**

This was an important victory, and caused great joy at Rome. On receipt of the praetor's letter, a supplication for three days was decreed. In that battle, there fell of the Romans and allies two thousand, most of them in the right brigade, against which, in the first onset, the most violent efforts of the enemy had been directed. Although the praetor had brought the war almost to a conclusion, yet the consul, Cneius Aurelius, having finished the business which was necessary to be done at Rome, set out for Gaul, and received the victorious army from the praetor. The other consul, arriving in his province towards the

end of autumn, passed the winter in the neighbourhood of Apollonia. Caius Claudius, and the Roman triremes which had been sent to Athens from the fleet that was laid up at Corcyra, as was mentioned above, arriving at Piraeus, greatly revived the hopes of their allies, who were beginning to give way to despair. For not only did those inroads by land cease, which used to be made from Corinth through Megara, but the ships of the pirates from Chalcis, who had been accustomed to infest both the Athenian sea and coast, were afraid not only to venture round the promontory of Sunium, but even to trust themselves out of the straits of the Euripus. In addition to these came three quadriremes from Rhodes, the Athenians having three open ships, which they had equipped for the protection of their lands on the coast. While Claudius thought, that if he were able with his fleet to give security to the Athenians it was as much as could be expected at present, a fortunate opportunity was thrown in his way of accomplishing a much more important enterprise.

### 23

Some exiles driven from Chalcis, by ill treatment received from the king's party, brought intelligence, that the place might be taken without even a contest; for that both the Macedonians, being under no immediate apprehension from an enemy, were straying idly about the country; and that the townsmen, depending on the Macedonian garrison, neglected the guard of the city. Claudius, on this authority, set out and though he arrived at Sunium early enough to have sailed forward to the entrance of the strait of Euboea, yet fearing that, on doubling the promontory, he might be descried by the enemy, he lay by with the fleet until night. As soon as it grew dark he began to move, and, favoured by a calm, arrived at Chalcis a little before day; and then, approaching the city, on a side where it was thinly inhabited, with a small party of soldiers, and by means of scaling ladders, he got possession of the nearest tower, and the wall on each side; the guards being asleep in some places, and in others no one being on the watch. Thence they advanced to the more populous parts of the town, and having slain the sentinels, and broke open a gate, they gave an entrance to the main body of the troops. These immediately spread themselves throughout the whole city, and increased the tumult by setting fire to the buildings round the forum, by which means both the granaries belonging to the king, and his armoury, with a vast store of machines and engines, were reduced to ashes. Then commenced a general slaughter of those who fled, as well as of those who made resistance; and after having either put to the sword or driven out every one who was of an age fit to bear arms, (Sopater also, the Acarnanian, who commanded the garrison, being slain,) they first collected all the spoils in the forum, and then carried it on board the ships. The prison, too, was forced open by the Rhodians, and those prisoners whom Philip had shut up there, as in the safest custody, were set at liberty. They next pulled down and mutilated the statues of the king; and then, on a signal being given for a retreat, re-embarked and returned to Piraeus, from whence they had set out. If there had been so large a force of Roman soldiers that Chalcis might have been retained and the protection of Athens not neglected, Chalcis and Euripus might have been taken from the king;--a most important advantage at the commencement of the war. For as the pass of Thermopylae is the principal barrier of Greece by land, so is the strait of the Euripus by sea.

### 24

Philip was then at Demetrias, and as soon as the news arrived there of the calamity which had befallen the city of his allies, although it was too late to carry assistance to

those who were already ruined, yet anxious to accomplish what was next to assistance, revenge, he set out instantly with five thousand foot lightly equipped, and three hundred horse. With a speed almost equal to that of racing, he hastened to Chalcis, not doubting but that he should be able to surprise the Romans. Being disappointed in this expectation, and having arrived, with no other result than a melancholy view of the smoking ruins of that friendly city, (so few being left, that they were scarcely sufficient to bury those who had fallen in the conflict,) with the same rapid haste which he had used in coming, he crossed the Euripus by the bridge, and led his troops through Boeotia to Athens, in hopes that a similar issue would correspond to a similar attempt. And it would have corresponded, had not a scout, (one of those whom the Greeks call day-runners,<sup>194</sup> because they run through a journey of great length in one day,) descrying from his post of observation the king's army in its march, set out at midnight and arrived before them at Athens. The same sleep, and the same negligence, prevailed there which had proved the ruin of Chalcis a few days before. Roused, however, by the alarming intelligence, the praetor of the Athenians, and Dioxippus, commander of a cohort of mercenary auxiliaries, called the soldiers together in the forum, and ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm from the citadel, that all might be informed of the approach of the enemy. On which the people ran from all quarters to the gates, and afterwards to the walls. In a few hours after, and still some time before day, Philip approached the city, and observing a great number of lights, and hearing the noise of the men hurrying to and fro, as usual on such an alarm, he halted his troops, and ordered them to sit down and take some rest; resolving to use open force, since his stratagem had not succeeded. Accordingly he advanced on the side of Dipylos. This gate, being situated in the principal approach of the city, is somewhat larger and wider than the rest. Both within and without the streets are wide, so that the townsmen could form their troops from the forum to the gate, while on the outside a road of about a mile in length, leading to the school of the academy, afforded open room to the foot and horse of the enemy. The Athenians, who had formed their troops within the gate, marched out with Attalus's garrison, and the cohort of Dioxippus, along that road. Which, when Philip observed, thinking that he had the enemy in his power, and was now about to sate himself with their long wished for destruction, (being more incensed against them than any of the Grecian states,) he exhorted his men to keep their eyes on him during the fight, and to take notice, that wherever the king was, there the standards and the army ought to be. He then spurred on his horse against the enemy, animated not only with resentment, but with a desire of gaining honour, for he reckoned it a glorious thing to be beheld fighting from the walls, which were filled with an immense multitude, for the purpose of witnessing the engagement. Advancing far before the line, and with a small body of horse, rushing into the midst of the enemy, he inspired his men with great ardour, and the Athenians equally with terror. Having wounded many with his own hand, both in close fight and with missive weapons, and driven them back within the gate, he still pursued them closely; and having made greater slaughter among them while embarrassed in the narrow pass, rash as the attempt was, he yet had an unmolested retreat, because those who were in the towers withheld their weapons lest they should hit their friends, who were mingled in confusion among their enemies. The Athenians, after this, confining their troops within the walls, Philip sounded a retreat, and pitched his camp at Cynosarges, a temple of Hercules, and a school surrounded by a grove. But Cynosarges, and Lycaeum, and whatever was sacred or pleasant in the

<sup>194</sup> Hemerodromoi.

neighbourhood of the city, he burned to the ground, and levelled not only the houses, but sepulchres, nor was any thing either in divine or human possession preserved amidst the violence of his rage.

## 25

Next day, the gates having at first been shut, and afterwards suddenly thrown open, in consequence of a body of Attalus's troops from Aegina, and the Romans from Piraeus, having entered the city, the king removed his camp to the distance of about three miles. From thence he proceeded to Eleusis, in hopes of surprising the temple, and a fort which overlooks and surrounds it; but, finding that the watches had not been neglected, and that the fleet was coming from Piraeus to support them, he laid aside the design, and led his troops, first to Megara, and then to Corinth; where, on hearing that the council of the Achaeans was then sitting at Argos, he went and joined the assembly, unexpected by the Achaeans. They were at the time consulting about a war against Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians; who, on the command being transferred from Philopoemen to Cycliades, a general by no means his equal, perceiving that the confederates of the Achaeans were falling off, had renewed the war, was ravaging the territories of his neighbours, and had become formidable even to the cities. While they were deliberating what number of men should be raised out of each of the states to oppose this enemy, Philip promised that he would relieve them of that care, as far as concerned Nabis and the Lacedaemonians; and that he would not only secure the lands of their allies from devastation, but transfer the whole terror of the war on Laconia itself, by leading his army thither instantly. This discourse being received with general approbation, he added,—"It is but reasonable, however, that while I am employed in protecting your property by my arms, my own should not be deprived of protection; therefore, if you think proper, provide such a number of troops as will be sufficient to secure Orcus, Chalcis, and Corinth; that my affairs being in a state of safety behind me, I may without anxiety make war on Nabis and the Lacedaemonians." The Achaeans were not ignorant of the tendency of this so kind promise, and of his proffered assistance against the Lacedaemonians; that his purpose was to draw the Achaean youth out of Peloponnesus as hostages, in order to implicate the nation in a war with the Romans. Cycliades, the Achaean praetor, thinking that it was irrelevant to develop the matter by argument, said nothing more than that it was not allowable, according to the laws of the Achaeans, to take any matters into consideration except those on which they had been called together: and the decree for levying an army against Nabis being passed, he dismissed the assembly, after having presided in it with much resolution and public spirit, and until that day having been reckoned among the partisans of the king. Philip, disappointed in a high expectation, after having collected a few voluntary soldiers, returned to Corinth, and from thence into the territories of Athens.

## 26

In those days in which Philip was in Achaia, Philocles, one of the king's generals, marching from Euboea with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians, in order to lay waste the territories of the Athenians, crossed the forest of Cithaeron opposite to Eleusis. Despatching half of his troops, make depredations in all parts of the country, he himself lay concealed with the remainder in a place convenient for an ambush; in order that, if any attack should be made from the fort at Eleusis on his men employed in plundering, he might suddenly fall upon the enemy unawares, and while they were in disorder. His stratagem did not escape discovery: wherefore calling back the soldiers,

who had gone different ways in pursuit of booty, and drawing them up in order, he advanced to assault the fort at Eleusis; but being repulsed from thence with many wounds, he formed a junction with Philip on his return from Achaia. The storming of this fort was also attempted by the king in person: but the Roman ships coming from Piraeus, and a body of forces thrown into the fort, compelled him to relinquish the design. On this the king, dividing his army, sent Philocles with one part to Athens, and went himself with the other to Piraeus; that, while his general, by advancing to the walls and threatening an assault, might keep the Athenians within the city, he might be able to make himself master of the harbour, when left with only a slight garrison. But he found the attack of Piraeus no less difficult than that of Eleusis, the same persons for the most part acting in its defence. He therefore hastily led his troops to Athens, and being repulsed by a sudden sally of both foot and horse, who engaged him in the narrow ground, enclosed by the half-ruined wall, which, with two arms, joins Piraeus to Athens, he desisted from the assault of the city, and, dividing his forces again with Philocles, set out to complete the devastation of the country. As, in his former ravages, he had employed himself in levelling the sepulchres round the city, so now, not to leave any thing unviolated, he ordered the temples of the gods, of which they had one consecrated in every village, to be demolished and burned. The country of Attica afforded ample matter for the exercise of this barbarous rage: being highly embellished with works of that kind, having plenty of indigenous marble, and abounding with artists of exquisite ingenuity. Nor was he satisfied with merely destroying the temples themselves, and overthrowing the images, but he ordered even the stones to be broken, lest, remaining whole, they should give stateliness to the ruins; and then, his rage not being satiated, but no object remaining on which it could be exercised, he retired from the country of the enemy into Boeotia, without having performed in Greece any thing else worth mention.

## 27

The consul, Sulpicius, who was at that time encamped; on the river Apsus, between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, having ordered Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, thither, sent him with part of the forces to lay waste the enemy's territory. Apustius, after ravaging the frontiers of Macedonia, and having, at the first assault, taken the forts of Corragos, Gerrunios, and Orgessos, came to Antipatria, a city situated in a narrow gorge; where, at first inviting the leading men to a conference, he endeavoured to entice them to commit themselves to the good faith of the Romans; but finding that from confidence in the size, fortifications, and situation of their city, they paid no regard to his discourse, he attacked the place by force of arms, and took it by assault: then, putting all the young men to death, and giving up the entire spoil to his soldiers, he razed the walls and burned the city. This proceeding spread such terror, that Codrion, a strong and well-fortified town, surrendered to the Romans without a struggle. Leaving a garrison there, he took Ilion by force, a name better known than the town, on account of that of the same name in Asia. As the lieutenant-general was returning to the consul with a great quantity of spoil, Athenagoras, one of the king's generals, falling on his extreme rear, in its passage over a river, threw the hindmost into disorder. On hearing the shouting and tumult, Apustius rode back in full speed, ordered the troops to face about, and drew them up in order, arranging the baggage in the centre. The king's troops could not support the onset of the Roman soldiers, many of them were slain, and more made prisoners. The lieutenant-general, having brought back the army without loss to the consul, was despatched immediately to the fleet.

## 28

The war commencing thus brilliantly with this successful expedition, several petty kings and princes, neighbours of the Macedonians, came to the Roman camp: Pleuratus, son of Scerdilaedus, and Amynder, king of the Athamanians; and from the Dardanians, Bato, son of Longarus. This Longarus had, in his own quarrel, supported a war against Demetrius, father of Philip. To their offers of aid, the consul answered, that he would make use of the assistance of the Dardanians, and of Pleuratus, when he should lead his troops into Macedonia. To Amynder he allotted the part of exciting the Aetolians to war. To the ambassadors of Attalus, (for they also had come at the same time,) he gave directions that the king should wait at Aegina, where he wintered, for the arrival of the Roman fleet; and when joined by that, he should, as before, harass Philip with attacks by sea. To the Rhodians, also, an embassy was sent, to engage them to contribute their share towards carrying on the war. Nor was Philip, who had by this time arrived in Macedonia, remiss in his preparations for the campaign. He sent his son Perseus, then very young, with part of his forces to block up the pass near Pelagonia, appointing persons out of the number of his friends to direct his inexperienced age. Sciathus and Peparethus, no inconsiderable cities, he demolished, lest they should become a prey and prize to the enemy's fleet; despatching at the same time ambassadors to the Aetolians, lest that restless nation might change sides on the arrival of the Romans.

## 29

The assembly of the Aetolians, which they call Panaetolium, was to meet on a certain day. In order to be present at this, the king's ambassadors hastened their journey, and Lucius Furius Purpureo also arrived, deputed by the consul. Ambassadors from the Athenians, likewise, came to this assembly. The Macedonians were first heard, as with them the latest treaty had been made; and they declared, that as no change of circumstances had occurred, they had nothing new to introduce: for the same reasons which had induced them to make peace with Philip, after experiencing the unprofitableness of an alliance with the Romans, should engage them to preserve it now that it was established. "Do you rather choose," said one of the ambassadors, "to imitate the inconsistency, or levity, shall I call it, of the Romans, who ordered this answer to be given to your ambassadors at Rome: 'Why, Aetolians, do you apply to us, when, without our approbation, you have made peace with Philip?' Yet these same people now require that you should, in conjunction with them, wage war against Philip. Formerly, too, they pretended that they took arms on your account, and in your defence against Philip: now they do not allow you to continue at peace with him. To assist Messana, they first embarked for Sicily; and a second time, that they might redeem Syracuse to freedom when oppressed by the Carthaginians. Both Messana and Syracuse, and all Sicily, they hold in their own possession, and have reduced it into a tributary province under their axes and rods. You imagine, perhaps, that in the same manner as you hold an assembly at Naupactus, according to your own laws, under magistrates created by yourselves, at liberty to choose allies and enemies, and to have peace or war at your own option, so the assembly of the states of Sicily is summoned, to Syracuse, or Messana, or Lilybaeum. No, a Roman praetor presides at the meeting; summoned by his command they assemble; they behold him, attended by his lictors seated on a lofty throne, issuing his haughty edicts. His rods are ready for their backs, his axes for their necks, and every year they are allotted a different master. Neither ought they nor can they, wonder at this, when they see all the cities of Italy bending under the same yoke,--Rhegium, Tarentum Capua, not to mention those in their own neighbourhood, out of the ruins of

which their city of Rome grew into power. Capua indeed subsists, the grave and monument of the Campanian people, that entire people having been either cut off or driven into banishment; the mutilated carcass of a city, without senate, without commons, without magistrates; a sort of prodigy, the leaving which to be inhabited, showed more cruelty than if it had been utterly destroyed. If foreigners who are separated from us to a greater distance by their language, manners, and laws, than by the distance by sea and land, are allowed to get footing here, it is madness to hope that any thing will continue in its present state. Does the sovereignty of Philip seem in any degree incompatible with your freedom, who, at a time when he was justly incensed against you, demanded nothing more of you than peace; and at present requires no more than the observance of the peace which he agreed to? Accustom foreign legions to these countries, and receive the yoke; too late, and in vain, will you look for Philip as an ally, when you shall have the Roman as a master. Trifling causes occasionally unite and disunite the Aetolians, Acarnanians, and Macedonians, men speaking the same language. With foreigners, with barbarians, all Greeks have, and ever will have, eternal war: because they are enemies by nature, which is always the same, and not from causes which change with the times. My discourse shall conclude with the same argument with which it began. Three years since, the same persons, assembled in this same place, determined on peace with the same Philip, contrary to the inclinations of the same Romans, who now wish that the peace should be broken, after it has been adjusted and ratified. In the subject of your deliberation, fortune has made no change; why you should make any, I do not see."

### 30

Next, after the Macedonians, with the consent and at the desire of the Romans, the Athenians were introduced; who, having suffered grievously, could, with the greater justice, inveigh against the cruelty and inhumanity of the king. They represented, in a deplorable light, the miserable devastation and spoliation of their fields; adding, that "they did not complain on account of having, from an enemy, suffered hostile treatment; for there were certain rights of war, according to which, as it was just to act, so it was just to endure. Their crops being burned, their houses demolished, their men and cattle carried off as spoil, were to be considered rather as misfortunes to the sufferer than as ill-treatment. But of this they had good reason to complain, that he who called the Romans foreigners and barbarians, had himself so atrociously violated all rights, both divine and human, as, in his former inroad, to have waged an impious war against the infernal gods, in the latter, against those above. That the sepulchres and monuments of all within their country had been demolished, the graves laid open, and the bones left unprotected by the soil. There had been several temples, which, in former times, when their ancestors dwelt in the country in their separate districts, had been consecrated in each of their little forts and villages, and which, even after they were incorporated into one city, they did not neglect or forsake. That around all these temples Philip had scattered his destructive flames, and left the images of the gods lying scorched and mutilated among the prostrated pillars of their fanes. Such as he had rendered the country of Attica, formerly opulent and adorned, such, if he were suffered, would he render Aetolia and the whole of Greece. That the mutilation of their own city, also, would have been similar, if the Romans had not come to its relief: for he had shown the same wicked rage against the gods who are the guardians of the city, and Minerva who presides over the citadel; the same against the temple of Ceres at Eleusis; the same against Jupiter and Minerva at Piraeus. In a word, having been repelled by force of

arms not only from their temples, but even from their walls, he had vented his fury on those sacred edifices which were protected by religion alone. They therefore entreated and besought the Aetolians, that, compassionating the Athenians, and with the immortal gods for their leaders, and, under them, the Romans, who, next to the gods, possessed the greatest power they would take part in the war."

### 31

The Roman ambassador then replied: "The Macedonians first, and afterwards the Athenians, have obliged me to change entirely the method of my discourse. For, on the one hand, the Macedonians, by aggressively introducing charges against the Romans, when I had come prepared to make complaint of the injuries committed by Philip against so many cities in alliance with us, have obliged me to think of defence rather than accusation; and, on the other hand, what have the Athenians, after relating his inhuman and impious crimes against the gods both celestial and infernal, left for me, or any one else, which I can further urge against him. You are to suppose, that the same complaints are made by the Cianians, Abydenians, Aeneans, Maronites, Thasians, Parians, Samians, Larissenians, Messenians, on the side of Achaia; and complaints, still heavier and more grievous, by those whom he had it more in his power to injure. For as to those proceedings which he censures in us, if they are not deserving of honour, I will admit that they cannot be defended at all. He has objected to us, Rhegium, and Capua, and Syracuse. As to Rhegium, during the war with Pyrrhus, a legion which, at the earnest request of the Rhegians themselves, we had sent thither as a garrison, wickedly possessed themselves of the city which they had been sent to defend. Did we then approve of that deed? or did we exert the force of our arms against that guilty legion, until we reduced them under our power; and then, after making them give satisfaction to the allies, by their stripes and the loss of their heads, restore to the Rhegians their city, their lands, and all their effects, together with their liberty and laws? To the Syracusans, when oppressed, and that by foreign tyrants, which was a still greater indignity, we lent assistance; and after enduring great fatigues in carrying on the siege of so strong a city, both by land and sea, for almost three years, (although the Syracusans themselves chose to continue in slavery to the tyrants rather than be taken to us,) yet, becoming masters of the place, and by exertion of the same force setting it at liberty, we restored it to the inhabitants. At the same time, we do not deny that Sicily is our province, and that the states which sided with the Carthaginians, and, in conjunction with them, waged war against us, pay us tribute and taxes; on the contrary, we wish that you and all nations should know, that the condition of each is such as it has deserved at our hands: and ought we to repent of the punishment inflicted on the Campanians, of which even they themselves cannot complain? These men, after we had on their account carried on war against the Samnites for near seventy years, with great loss on our side; had united them to ourselves, first by treaty, and then by intermarriages, and the relationships arising thence; and lastly, by the right of citizenship; yet, in the time of our adversity, were the first of all the states of Italy which revolted to Hannibal, after basely putting our garrison to death, and afterwards, through resentment at being besieged by us, sent Hannibal to attack Rome. If neither their city nor one man of them had been left remaining, who could take offence, or consider them as treated with more severity than they had deserved? From consciousness of guilt, greater numbers of them perished by their own hands, than by the punishments inflicted by us. And while from the rest we took away the town and the lands, still we left them a place to dwell in, we suffered the city which partook not of the guilt to stand uninjured; so that he who should see it this

day would find no trace of its having been besieged or taken. But why do I speak of Capua, when even to vanquished Carthage we granted peace and liberty? The greatest danger is, that, by our too great readiness to pardon the conquered, we may encourage others to try the fortune of war against us. Let so much suffice in our defence, and against Philip, whose domestic crimes, whose parricides and murders of his relations and friends, and whose lust, more disgraceful to human nature, if possible, than his cruelty, you, as being nearer to Macedonia, are better acquainted with. As to what concerns yourselves, Aetolians, we entered into a war with Philip on your account: you made peace with him without consulting us. Perhaps you will say, that while we were occupied in the Punic war, you were constrained by fear to accept terms of pacification, from him who at that time possessed superior power; and that on our side, pressed by more urgent affairs we suspended our operations in a war which you had laid aside. At present, as we, having, by the favour of the gods brought the Punic war to a conclusion, have fallen on Macedonia with the whole weight of our power, so you have an opportunity offered you of regaining a place in our friendship and alliance, unless you choose to perish with Philip, rather than to conquer with the Romans."

### 32

When these things had been said by the ambassador the minds of all leaning towards the Romans, Damocritus, praetor of the Aetolians, (who, it was reported, had received money from the king,) assenting in no degree to one party or the other, said,--that "in consultations of great and critical importance, nothing was so injurious as haste. That repentance, indeed, generally followed, and that quickly but yet too late and unavailing; because designs carried on with precipitation could not be recalled, nor matters brought back to their original state. The time, however, for determining the point under consideration, which, for his part, he thought should not be too early, might yet immediately be fixed in this manner. As it had been provided by the laws, that no determination should be made concerning peace or war, except in the Panaetolic or Pylaic councils; let them immediately pass a decree, that the praetor, when he chooses to treat respecting war and peace, may have full authority to summon a council, and that whatever shall be then debated and decreed, shall be, to all intents and purposes, legal and valid, as if it had been transacted in the Panaetolic or Pylaic assembly." And thus dismissing the ambassadors, with the matter undetermined, he said, that therein he had acted most prudently for the interest of the state; for the Aetolians would have it in their power to join in alliance with whichever of the parties should be more successful in the war. Such were the proceedings in the council of the Aetolians.

### 33

Meanwhile Philip was making vigorous preparations for carrying on the war both by sea and land. His naval forces he drew together at Demetrias in Thessaly; supposing that Attalus, and the Roman fleet, would move from Aegina in the beginning of the spring. He gave the command of the fleet and of the sea-coast to Heraclides, to whom he had formerly intrusted it. The equipment of the land forces he took care of in person; considering that he had deprived the Romans of two powerful auxiliaries, the Aetolians on the one side and the Dardanians on the other, by making his son Perseus block up the pass at Pelagonia. The consul was employed, not in preparations, but in the operations of war. He led his army through the country of the Dassaretians, conveying the corn untouched which he had brought from his winter quarters, for the fields afforded supplies sufficient for the consumption of the troops. The towns and villages

surrendered to him, some through inclination, others through fear; some were taken by assault, others were found deserted, the barbarians flying to the neighbouring mountains. He fixed a standing camp at Lycus near the river Bevus, and from thence sent to bring in corn from the magazines of the Dassaretians. Philip saw the whole country filled with consternation, and not knowing the designs of the consul, he sent a party of horse to discover whither he was directing his course. The same state of uncertainty possessed the consul; he knew that the king had moved from his winter quarters, but in what direction he had proceeded he knew not: he also had sent horsemen to gain intelligence. These two parties, having set out from opposite quarters, after wandering a long time among the Dassaretians, through unknown roads, fell at length into the same track. Neither doubted, as soon as the noise of men and horses was heard at a distance, that the enemy was approaching, therefore, before they came within sight of each other, they got their arms in readiness, nor, when they saw their foe, was there any delay in engaging. As they happened to be nearly equal in number and valour, being picked men on both sides, they fought during several hours with vigour, until fatigue, both of men and horses, put an end to the fight, without deciding the victory. Of the Macedonians there fell forty horsemen; of the Romans thirty-five. Still, however, neither did the one party carry back to the king, nor the other to the consul, any certain information in what quarter the camp of his enemy lay. But this was soon made known to them by deserters, whom their recklessness of disposition supplies in all wars in sufficient number to discover the affairs of the contending parties.

### 34

Philip, judging that he should make some progress towards conciliating the affections of his men, and induce them to face danger more readily on his account, if he bestowed some pains on the burial of the horsemen who fell in that expedition, ordered them to be conveyed into the camp, in order that all might be spectators of the honours paid them at their funeral. Nothing is so uncertain, or so difficult to form a judgment of, as the minds of the multitude. That which seems calculated to increase their alacrity, in exertions of every sort, often creates in them fear and inactivity. Accordingly, those who, being always accustomed to fight with Greeks and Illyrians, had only seen wounds made with javelins and arrows, seldom even by lances, came to behold bodies dismembered by the Spanish sword, some with their arms lopped off, with the shoulder or the neck entirely cut through, heads severed from the trunk, and the bowels laid open, with other frightful exhibitions of wounds: they therefore perceived, with horror, against what weapons and what men they were to fight. Even the king himself was seized with apprehensions, having never yet engaged the Romans in a regular battle. Wherefore, recalling his son, and the guard posted at the pass of Pelagonia, in order to strengthen his army by the addition of those troops, he thereby opened a passage into Macedonia for Pleuratus and the Dardanians. Then, taking deserters for guides, he marched towards the enemy with twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, and at the distance of somewhat more than a thousand paces from the Roman camp, and near Ithacus, he fortified a hill with a trench and rampart. From this place, taking a view of the Roman station in the valley beneath, he is said to have been struck with admiration, both at the general appearance of the camp, and the regular disposition of each particular part; then with the disposition of the tents, and the intervals of the passages; and to have declared, that, certainly, that could not be regarded by any as the camp of barbarians. For two days, the consul and the king, each waiting for the other's making

some attempt, kept their troops within the ramparts. On the third day, the Roman led out all his forces, and offered battle.

### 35

But the king, not daring to risk so hastily a general engagement, sent four hundred Trallians, who are a tribe of the Illyrians, as we have said in another place, and three hundred Cretans; adding to this body of infantry an equal number of horse, under the command of Athenagoras, one of his nobles honoured with the purple, to make an attack on the enemy's cavalry. When these troops arrived within a little more than five hundred paces, the Romans sent out the light infantry, and two cohorts of horse, that both cavalry and infantry might be equal in number to the Macedonians. The king's troops expected that the method of fighting would be such as they had been accustomed to; that the horsemen, pursuing and retreating alternately, would at one time use their weapons, at another time turn their backs; that the agility of the Illyrians would be serviceable for excursions and sudden attacks, and that the Cretans might discharge their arrows against the enemy, as they advanced eagerly to the charge. But the onset of the Romans, which was not more vigorous than persevering, entirely disconcerted this method of fighting: for the light infantry, as if they were fighting with their whole line of battle, after discharging their javelins, carried on a close fight with their swords; and the horsemen, when they had once made a charge, stopping their horses, fought, some on horseback, while others dismounted and intermixed themselves with the foot. By this means neither were the king's cavalry, who were unaccustomed to a steady fight, a match for the others; nor were the infantry, who were only skirmishing and irregular troops, and were besides but half covered with the kind of harness which they used, at all equal to the Roman infantry, who carried a sword and buckler, and were furnished with proper armour, both to defend themselves and to annoy the enemy: nor did they sustain the combat, but fled to their camp, trusting entirely to their speed for safety.

### 36

After an interval of one day, the king, resolving to make an attack with all his forces of cavalry and light-armed infantry, had, during the night, placed in ambush, in a convenient place between the two camps, a body of targeteers, whom they call Peltastae, and given orders to Athenagoras and the cavalry, if they found they had the advantage in the open fight, to pursue their success; if otherwise, that they should retreat leisurely, and by that means draw on the enemy to the place where the ambush lay. The cavalry accordingly did retreat; but the officers of the body of targeteers, by bringing forward their men before the time, and not waiting for the signal, as they ought, lost an opportunity of performing considerable service. The Romans, having gained the victory in open fight, and also escaped the danger of the ambuscade, retired to their camp. Next day the consul marched out with all his forces, and offered battle, placing his elephants in the front of the foremost battalions. Of this resource the Romans then for the first time availed themselves; having a number of them which had been taken in the Punic war. Finding that the enemy kept himself quiet behind his intrenchments, he advanced close up to them, upbraiding him with cowardice; and as, notwithstanding, no opportunity of an engagement was afforded, the consul, considering how dangerous foraging must be while the camps lay so near each other, where the cavalry were ready at any moment to attack the soldiers, when dispersed through the country, removed his camp to a place called Ortholophus, distant about eight miles, where by reason of the intervening distance he could forage with more

safety. While the Romans were collecting corn in the adjacent fields, the king kept his men within the trenches, in order to increase both the negligence and confidence of the enemy. But, when he saw them scattered, he set out with all his cavalry, and the auxiliary Cretans, and marching with such speed that the swiftest footmen could, by running, but just keep up with the horse, he planted his standards between the camp of the Romans and their foragers. Then, dividing the forces, he sent one part of them in quest of the marauders, with orders to leave not one alive; with the other, he himself halted, and placed guards on the roads through which the enemy seemed likely to fly back to their camp. And now carnage and flight prevailed in all directions, and no intelligence of the misfortune had yet reached the Roman camp, because those who fled towards the camp fell in with the guards, which the king had stationed to intercept them, and greater numbers were slain by those who were placed in the roads, than by those who had been sent out to attack them. At length, a few effected their escape, through the midst of the enemy's posts, but were so filled with terror, that they excited a general consternation in the camp, rather than brought intelligible information.

### 37

The consul, ordering the cavalry to carry aid to those who were in danger, in the best manner they could, drew out the legions from the camp, and led them drawn up in a square towards the enemy. The cavalry, taking different ways through the fields, missed the road, being deceived by the various shouts raised in several quarters. Some of them met with the enemy, and battles began in many places at once. The hottest part of the action was at the station where the king commanded; for the guard there was, in numbers both of horse and foot, almost a complete army; and, as they were posted on the middle road, the greatest number of the Romans fell in with them. The Macedonians had also the advantage in this, that the king himself was present to encourage them; and the Cretan auxiliaries, fighting in good order, and in a state of preparation, against troops disordered and irregular, wounded many at a distance, where no such danger was apprehended. If they had acted with prudence in the pursuit, they would have secured an advantage of great importance, not only in regard to the glory of the present contest, but to the general interest of the war; but, greedy of slaughter, and following with too much eagerness, they fell in with the advanced cohorts of the Romans under the military tribunes. The horsemen who were flying, as soon as they saw the ensigns of their friends, faced about against the enemy, now in disorder; so that in a moment's time the fortune of the battle was changed, those now turning their backs who had lately been the pursuers. Many were slain in close fight, many in the pursuit; nor was it by the sword alone that they perished; several, being driven into morasses, were, together with their horses, swallowed up in the deep mud. The king himself was in danger; for his horse falling, in consequence of a wound, threw him headlong to the ground, and he very narrowly escaped being overpowered while prostrate. He owed his safety to a trooper, who instantly leaped down and mounted the affrighted king on his horse; himself, as he could not on foot keep up with the flying horsemen, was slain by the enemy, who had collected about the place where Philip fell. The king, in his desperate flight, rode about among the morasses, some of which were easily passed, and others not; at length, when most men despaired of his ever escaping in safety, he arrived in safety at his camp. Two hundred Macedonian horsemen perished in that action; about one hundred were taken: eighty horses, richly caparisoned, were led off the field; at the same time the spoils of arms were also carried off.

### 38

There were some who found fault with the king, as guilty of rashness on that day; and with the consul, for want of energy. For Philip, they say, on his part, ought to have avoided coming to action, knowing that in a few days the enemy, having exhausted all the adjacent country, must be reduced to the extremity of want; and that the consul, after having routed the Macedonian cavalry and light infantry, and nearly taken the king himself, ought to have led on his troops directly to the enemy's camp, where, dismayed as they were, they would have made no stand, and that he might have finished the war in a moment's time. This, like most other matters, was easier to be talked about than to be done. For, if the king had brought the whole of his infantry into the engagement, then, indeed, during the tumult, and while, vanquished and struck with dismay, they fled from the field into their intrenchments, (and even continued their flight from thence on seeing the victorious enemy mounting the ramparts,) the king might have been deprived of his camp. But as some forces of infantry had remained in the camp, fresh and free from fatigue, with outposts before the gates, and guard properly disposed, what would he have done but imitated the rashness of which the king had just now been guilty, by pursuing the routed horse? On the other side, the king's first plan of an attack on the foragers, while dispersed through the fields, would not have been a subject of censure, could he have satisfied himself with a moderate degree of success: and it is the less surprising that he should have made a trial of fortune, as there was a report, that Pleuratus and the Dardanians had set out from home with very numerous forces, and had already passed into Macedonia; so that if he should be surrounded on all sides by these forces, there was reason to think that the Roman might put an end to the war without stirring from his seat. Philip, however, considered, that after his cavalry had been defeated in two engagements, he could with much less safety continue in the same post; accordingly, wishing to remove from thence, and, at the same time, to keep the enemy in ignorance of his design, he sent a herald to the consul a little before sun-set, to demand a truce for the purpose of burying the horsemen; and thus imposing on him, he began his march in silence, about the second watch, leaving a number of fires in all parts of his camp.

### 39

The consul was now taking refreshment, when he was told that the herald had arrived, and on what business; he gave him no other answer, than that he should be admitted to an audience early the next morning: by which means Philip gained what he wanted--the length of that night, and part of the following day, during which he might get the start on his march. He directed his route towards the mountains, a road which he knew the Romans with their heavy baggage would not attempt. The consul, having, at the first light, dismissed the herald with a grant of a truce, in a short time after discovered that the enemy had gone off; but not knowing what course to take in pursuit of them, he remained in the same camp for several days, which he employed in collecting forage. He then marched to Stubera, and brought thither, from Pelagonia, the corn that was in the fields. From thence he advanced to Pluvina, not having yet discovered to what quarter the Macedonian had bent his course. Philip, having at first fixed his camp at Bryanium, marched thence through cross-roads, and gave a sudden alarm to the enemy. The Romans, on this, removed from Pluvina, and pitched their camp near the river Osphagus. The king also sat down at a small distance, forming his intrenchment on the bank of a river which the inhabitants call Erigonus. Having there received certain information that the Romans intended to proceed to Eordaea, he marched away before them, in order to take possession of the defiles, and prevent the enemy from making

their way, where the roads are confined in narrow straits. There, with great haste, he fortified some places with a rampart, others with a trench, others with stones heaped up instead of walls, others with trees laid across, according as the situation required, or as materials lay convenient; and thus a road, in its own nature difficult, he rendered, as he imagined, impregnable by the works which he drew across every pass. The adjoining ground, being mostly covered with woods, was exceedingly incommodious to the phalanx of the Macedonians, which is of no manner of use, except when they extend their very long spears before their shields, forming as it were a palisade; to perform which, they require an open plain. The Thracians, too, were embarrassed by their lances, which also are of a great length, and were entangled among the branches that stood in their way on every side. The body of Cretans alone was not unserviceable; and yet even these, though, in case of an attack made on them, they could to good purpose discharge their arrows against the horses or riders, where they were open to a wound, yet against the Roman shields they could do nothing, because they had neither strength sufficient to pierce through them, nor was there any part exposed at which they could aim. Perceiving, therefore, that kind of weapon to be useless, they annoyed the enemy with stones, which lay in plenty in all parts of the valley: the strokes made by these on their shields, with greater noise than injury, for a short time retarded the advance of the Romans; but quickly disregarding these missiles also, some, closing their shields in form of a tortoise, forced their way through the enemy in front; others having, by a short circuit, gained the summit of the hill, dislodged the dismayed Macedonians from their guards and posts, and even slew the greater part of them, their retreat being embarrassed by the difficulties of the ground.

#### 40

Thus, with less opposition than they had expected to meet, the defiles were passed, and they came to Eordaea; then, having laid waste the whole country, the consul withdrew into Elimea. From thence he made an irruption into Orestis, and attacked the city Celetrum, situated in a peninsula: a lake surrounds the walls; and there is but one entrance from the main land along a narrow isthmus. Relying on their situation, the townsmen at first shut the gates, and refused to submit; but afterwards, when they saw the troops in motion, and advancing in the tortoise method, and the isthmus covered by the enemy marching in, they surrendered in terror rather than hazard a struggle. From Celetrum he advanced into the country of the Dassaretians, took the city Pelium by storm, carried off the slaves with the rest of the spoil, and discharging the freemen without ransom, restored the city to them, after placing a strong garrison in it, for it was very conveniently situated for making inroads into Macedonia. Having thus traversed the enemy's country, the consul led back his forces into those parts which were already reduced to obedience near Apollonia, from whence the campaign had commenced. Philip's attention had been drawn to other quarters by the Aetolians, Athamanians, and Dardanians: so many were the wars that started up on different sides of him. Against the Dardanians, who were now retiring out of Macedonia, he sent Athenagoras with the light infantry and the greater part of the cavalry, and ordered him to hang on their rear as they retreated; and, by cutting off their hindmost troops, make them more cautious for the future of leading out their armies from home. As to the Aetolians, Damocritus, their praetor, the same who at Naupactum had persuaded them to defer passing a decree concerning the war, had in the next meeting roused them to arms, after the report of the battle between the cavalry at Ortholophus; the irruption of the Dardanians and of Pleuratus, with the Illyrians, into Macedonia; of the arrival of the Roman fleet,

too, at Oreus; and that Macedonia, besides being beset on all sides by so many nations, was in danger of being invested by sea also.

#### 41

These reasons had brought back Damocritus and the Aetolians to the interest of the Romans. Marching out, therefore, in conjunction with Amynder, king of the Athamanians, they laid siege to Cercinium. The inhabitants here had shut their gates, whether of their own choice or by compulsion is unknown, as they had a garrison of the king's troops. However, in a few days Cercinium was taken and burned; and after great slaughter had been made, those who survived, both freemen and slaves, were carried off amongst other spoil. This caused such terror, as made all those who dwelt round the lake Baebius abandon their cities and fly to the mountains: and the Aetolians, in the absence of booty, turned away from thence, and proceeded into Perrhaebia. There they took Cyretiae by storm and sacked it unmercifully. The inhabitants of Mallaea, making a voluntary submission, were received into alliance. From Perrhaebia, Amynder advised to march to Gomphi, because that city lies close to Athamania, and there was reason to think that it might be reduced without any great difficulty. But the Aetolians, for the sake of plunder, directed their march to the rich plains of Thessaly. Amynder following, though he did not approve either of their careless method of carrying on their depredations, or of their pitching their camp in any place which chance presented, without choice, and without taking any care to fortify it. Therefore, lest their rashness and negligence might be the cause of some misfortune to himself and his troops, when he saw them forming their camp in low grounds, under the city Phecadus, he took possession, with his own troops, of an eminence about five hundred paces distant, which could be rendered secure by a slight fortification. The Aetolians seemed to have forgotten that they were in an enemy's country, excepting that they continued to plunder, some straggling about half-armed, others spending whole days and nights alike in drinking and sleeping in the camp, neglecting even to fix guards, when Philip unexpectedly came upon them. His approach being announced by those who had fled out of the fields in a fright, Damocritus and the rest of the officers were thrown into great confusion. It happened to be mid-day, and when most of the men after a hearty meal lay fast asleep. Their officers roused them, however, as fast as possible; ordered them to take arms; despatched some to recall those who were straggling through the fields in search of plunder; and so violent was their hurry, that many of the horsemen went out without their swords, and but few of them put on their corslets. After marching out in this precipitate manner, (the whole horse and foot scarcely making up six hundred,) they met the king's cavalry, superior in number, in spirit, and in arms. They were, therefore, routed at the first charge; and having scarcely attempted resistance, returned to the camp in shameful flight. Several were slain; and some taken, having been cut off from the main body of the fugitives.

#### 42

Philip, when his troops had advanced almost to the rampart, ordered a retreat to be sounded, because both men and horses were fatigued, not so much by the action, as at once by the length of their march, and the extraordinary celerity with which they had made it. He therefore despatched the horsemen by troops, and the companies of light infantry in turn, to procure water and take refreshment. The rest he kept on guard, under arms, waiting for the main body of the infantry, which had marched with less expedition, on account of the weight of their armour. As soon as these arrived, they also

were ordered to fix their standards, and, laying down their arms before them, to take food in haste; sending two, or at most three, out of each company, to provide water. In the mean time the cavalry and light infantry stood in order, and ready, in case the enemy should make any movement. The Aetolians, as if resolved to defend their fortifications, (the multitude which had been scattered about the fields having, by this time, returned to the camp,) posted bodies of armed men at the gates, and on the rampart, and from this safe situation looked with a degree of confidence on the enemy, as long as they continued quiet. But, as soon as the troops of the Macedonians began to move, and to advance to the rampart, in order of battle, and ready for an assault, they all quickly abandoned their posts, and fled through the opposite part of the camp, to the eminence where the Athamanians were stationed. During their flight in this confusion, many of the Aetolians were slain, and many made prisoners. Philip doubted not that, had there been daylight enough remaining, he should have been able to make himself master of the camp of the Athamanians also; but the day having been spent in the fight, and in plundering the camp afterwards, he sat down under the eminence, in the adjacent plain, determined to attack the enemy at the first dawn of the following day. But the Aetolians, under the same apprehensions which had made them desert their camp, dispersed, and fled during the following night. Amynder was of the greatest service; for, by his directions, the Athamanians, who were acquainted with the roads, conducted them into Aetolia, whilst the Macedonians pursued them over the highest mountains, through unknown paths. In this disorderly flight, a few, missing their way, fell into the hands of the Macedonian horsemen, whom Philip, at the earliest dawn, on seeing the eminence abandoned, had sent to harass the marching body of the enemy.

#### 43

About the same time also Athenagoras, one of the king's generals, overtaking the Dardanians in their retreat homeward, at first threw their rear into disorder; but these unexpectedly facing about, and forming their line, the fight became like a regular engagement. When the Dardanians began again to advance, the Macedonian cavalry and light infantry harassed those who had no troops of that kind to aid them, and were, besides, burdened with unwieldy arms. The ground, too, favoured the assailants: very few were slain, but many wounded; none were taken, because they rarely quit their ranks, but both fight and retreat in a close body. Thus Philip, having checked the proceedings of those two nations by these well-timed expeditions, gained reparation for the damages sustained from the operations of the Romans; the enterprise being as spirited as the issue was successful. An occurrence which accidentally happened to him lessened the number of his enemies on the side of Aetolia. Scopas, a man of considerable influence in his own country, having been sent from Alexandria by king Ptolemy, with a great sum of gold, hired and carried away to Egypt six thousand foot and four hundred horse; nor would he have suffered one of the young Aetolians to remain at home, had not Damocritus, (it is not easy to say, whether out of zeal for the good of the nation, or out of opposition to Scopas, for not having secured his interest by presents,) by sometimes reminding them of the war which threatened them, at other times, of the solitary condition in which they would be, detained some of them at home by severe reproaches. Such were the actions of the Romans, and of Philip, during that summer.

#### 44

In the beginning of the same summer, the fleet under Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, setting sail from Corcyra, and passing by Malea, formed a junction with king

Attalus, off Scyllaeum, which lies in the district of Hermione. The Athenian state, which had for a long time, through fear, restrained their animosity against Philip within some bounds, in the expectation of approaching aid afforded them, gave full scope to it all. There are never wanting in that city orators, who are ready on every occasion to inflame the people; a kind of men, who, in all free states, and more particularly in that of Athens, where eloquence flourishes in the highest degree, are maintained by the favour of the multitude. These immediately proposed a decree, and the commons passed it, that "all the statues and images of Philip, with their inscriptions, and likewise those of all his ancestors, male and female, should be taken down and destroyed; that the festal days, solemnities, and priests, which had been instituted in honour of him or of his predecessors, should all be abolished; and that even the ground where any such statue had been set up, and inscribed to his honour, should be held abominable." And it was resolved, that, "for the future, nothing which ought to be erected or dedicated in a place of purity should be there erected; and that the public priests, as often as they should pray for the people of Athens, for their allies, armies, and fleets, so often should they utter curses and execrations against Philip, his offspring, his kingdom, his forces by sea and land, and the whole race and name of the Macedonians." It was added to the decree, that, "if any person in future should make any proposal tending to throw disgrace and ignominy on Philip, the people of Athens would ratify it in its fullest extent: if, on the contrary, any one should, by word or deed, endeavour to lessen his ignominy, or to do him honour, that whoever slew him who should have so said or done, should be justified in so doing." Lastly, a clause was annexed, that "all the decrees, formerly passed against the Pisistratidae, should be in full force against Philip." Thus the Athenians waged war against Philip with writings and with words, in which alone their power consisted.

#### 45

Attalus and the Romans, having, from Hermione, proceeded first to Piraeus, and staid there a few days, after being loaded with decrees of the Athenians, (in which the honours paid to their allies were as extravagant as the expressions of their resentment against their enemy had been,) sailed from Piraeus to Andros, and, coming to an anchor in the harbour called Gaureleos, sent persons to sound the inclinations of the townsmen, whether they chose voluntarily to surrender their city, rather than run the hazard of an assault. On their answering, that they were not at their own disposal, but that the citadel was occupied by the king's troops, Attalus and the Roman lieutenant-general, landing their forces, with every thing requisite for attacking towns, made their approaches to the city on different sides. The Roman standards and arms, which they had never seen before, together with the spirit of the soldiers, so briskly approaching the walls, were particularly terrifying to the Greeks. A retreat was immediately made into the citadel, and the enemy took possession of the city. After holding out for two days in the citadel, relying more on the strength of the place than on their arms, on the third both they and the garrison surrendered the city and citadel, on condition of their being transported to Delium in Boeotia, and being each of them allowed a single suit of apparel. The island was yielded up by the Romans to king Attalus; the spoil, and the ornaments of the city, they themselves carried off. Attalus, desirous that the island, of which he had got possession, might not be quite deserted, persuaded almost all the Macedonians, and several of the Andrians, to remain there: and, in some time after, those who, according to the capitulation, had been transported to Delium, were induced to return from thence by the promises made them by the king, in which they were disposed the more readily to confide, by the ardent affection which they felt for their native country. From Andros

they passed over to Cythnus; there they spent several days, to no purpose, in assaulting the city; when, at length, finding it scarcely worth the trouble, they departed. At Prasiae, a place on the main land of Attica, twenty barks of the Issaeans joined the Roman fleet. These were sent to ravage the lands of the Carystians, the rest of the fleet lying at Geraestus, a noted harbour in Euboea, until the Issaeans returned from Carystus: on which, setting sail all together, and steering their course through the open sea, until they passed by Scyrus, they arrived at the island of Icus. Being detained there for a few days by a violent northerly wind, as soon as the weather was fair, they passed over to Sciathus, a city which had been lately plundered and desolated by Philip. The soldiers, spreading themselves over the country, brought back to the ships corn and what other kinds of provisions could be of use to them. Plunder there was none, nor had the Greeks deserved to be plundered. Directing their course thence to Cassandrea, they first came to Mendis, a village on the coast of that state; and, intending from thence to double the promontory, and bring round the fleet to the very walls of the city, a violent tempest arising, they were near being buried in the waves. However, after being dispersed, and a great part of the ships having lost their rigging, they escaped on shore. This storm at sea was an omen of the kind of success which they were to meet on land; for, after collecting their vessels together, and landing their forces, having made an assault on the city, they were repulsed with many wounds, there being a strong garrison of the king's troops in the place. Being thus obliged to retreat without accomplishing their design, they passed over to Canastrum in Pallene, and from thence, doubling the promontory of Torona, conducted the fleet to Acanthus. There they first laid waste the country, then stormed the city itself, and plundered it. They proceeded no farther, for their ships were now heavily laden with booty, but went back to Sciathus, and from Sciathus to Euboea, whence they had first set out.

#### 46

Leaving the fleet there, they entered the Malian bay with ten light ships, in order to confer with the Aetolians on the method of conducting the war. Sipyrhicas, the Aetolian, was at the head of the embassy that came to Heraclea, to hold a consultation with the king and the Roman lieutenant-general. They demanded of Attalus, that, in pursuance of the treaty, he should supply them with one thousand soldiers, which number he had engaged for on condition of their taking part in the war against Philip. This was refused to the Aetolians, because on their part they had formerly showed themselves unwilling to march out to ravage Macedonia, at a time when Philip, being employed near Pergamus in destroying by fire every thing sacred and profane, they might have compelled him to retire from thence, in order to preserve his own territories. Thus, instead of aid, the Aetolians were dismissed with hopes, the Romans making them large promises. Apustius with Attalus returned to the ships, where they began to concert measures for the siege of Oreus. This city was well secured by fortifications; and also, as an attempt had formerly been made on it, by a strong garrison. After the taking of Andros, twenty Rhodian ships, all decked vessels, had formed a junction with them, under the command of Agesimbrotus. This squadron they sent to the station off Zelasium, a promontory of Isthmia, very conveniently situate beyond Demetrias, in order that, if the ships of the Macedonians should attempt any movement, they might act as a defensive force. Heraclides, the king's admiral, kept his fleet there, rather with a view of laying hold of any advantage which the negligence of the enemy might afford him, than with a design of attempting any thing by open force. The Romans and king Attalus carried on their attacks against Oreus on different sides;

the Romans against the citadel next to the sea, the king's troops against the lower part of the town, lying between the two citadels, where the city is also divided by a wall. As their posts were different, so were their methods of attack: the Romans made their approaches by means of covered galleries, applying also the ram to the walls; the king's troops, by throwing in weapons with the balista, catapulta, and every other kind of engine, and stones also of immense weight. They formed mines, too, and made use of every expedient, which, on trial, had been found useful in the former siege. On the other side, not only did more Macedonians protect the town and the citadels, than on the former occasion, but they exerted themselves with greater spirit, in consequence of the reprimands which they had received from the king for the misconduct they had committed, and also from remembrance both of his threats and promises with regard to the future. Thus, when time was being consumed there, contrary to their expectation, and there was more hope from a siege and works than from a sudden assault, the lieutenant-general thought that in the mean time some other business might be accomplished; wherefore, leaving such a number of men as seemed sufficient to finish the works, he passed over to the nearest part of the continent, and, arriving unexpectedly, made himself master of Larissa, except the citadel,--not that celebrated city in Thessaly, but another, which they call Cremaste. Attalus also surprised Aegeleos, where nothing was less apprehended than such an enterprise during the siege of another city. The works at Oreus had now begun to take effect, while the garrison within were almost spent with unremitting toil, (keeping watch both by day and night,) and also with wounds. Part of the wall, being loosened by the strokes of the ram, had fallen down in many places; and the Romans, during the night, broke into the citadel through the breach which lay over the harbour. Attalus, likewise, at the first light, on a signal given from the citadel by the Romans, himself also assaulted the city, where great part of the walls had been levelled; on which the garrison and townsmen fled into the other citadel, and a surrender was made two days after. The city fell to the king, the prisoners to the Romans.

#### 47

The autumnal equinox now approached, and the Euboean gulf, called Coela, is reckoned dangerous by mariners. Choosing, therefore, to remove thence before the winter storms came on, they returned to Piraeus, from whence they had set out for the campaign. Apustius, leaving there thirty ships, sailed by Malea to Corcyra. The king was delayed during the celebration of the mysteries of Ceres, that he might assist at the solemnities, immediately after which he also retired into Asia, sending home Agesimbrotus and the Rhodians. Such, during that summer, were the proceedings, by sea and land, of the Roman consul and lieutenant-general, aided by Attalus and the Rhodians, against Philip and his allies. The other consul, Caius Aurelius, on coming into his province and finding the war there already brought to a conclusion, did not dissemble his resentment against the praetor, for having proceeded to action in his absence; wherefore, sending him away to Etruria, he led on the legions into the enemy's country, and, by laying it waste, carried on the war with more spoil than glory. Lucius Furius, finding nothing in Etruria that could give him employment, and at the same time intent on obtaining a triumph for his success against the Gauls, which he considered would be more easily accomplished in the absence of the consul, who envied and was enraged against him, came to Rome unexpectedly, and called a meeting of the senate in the temple of Bellona; where, after making a recital of the services which he had performed, he demanded to be allowed to enter the city in triumph.

## 48

With a great part of the senate he prevailed, owing to private interest and the importance of his services. The elder part refused him a triumph, both "because the army, with which he had acted, belonged to another; and because he had left his province through an ambitious desire of snatching that opportunity of procuring a triumph,--but that he had taken this course without any precedent." The senators of consular rank particularly insisted, that "he ought to have waited for the consul; for that he might, by pitching his camp near the city, and thereby securing the colony without coming to an engagement, have protracted the affair until his arrival; and that, what the praetor had not done, the senate ought to do; they should wait for the consul. After hearing the business discussed by the consul and praetor in their presence, they would be able, more correctly, to form judgment on the case." Great part were of opinion, that the senate ought to consider nothing but the service performed, and whether he had performed it while in office, and under his own auspices. For, "when of two colonies, which had been opposed, as barriers, to restrain the tumultuous inroads of the Gauls, one had been already sacked and burned, the flames being ready to spread (as if from an adjoining house) to the other colony, which lay so near, what ought the praetor to have done? For if it was improper to enter on any action without the consul, then the senate had acted wrong in giving the army to the praetor; because, if they chose that the business should be performed, not under the praetor's auspices, but the consul's, they might have limited the decree in such a manner, that not the praetor, but the consul, should manage it; or else the consul had acted wrong, who, after ordering the army to remove from Etruria into Gaul, did not meet it at Ariminum, in order to be present at operations, which were not allowed to be performed without him. But the exigencies of war do not wait for the delays and procrastinations of commanders; and battles must be sometimes fought, not because commanders choose it, but because the enemy compels it. The fight itself, and the issue of the fight, is what ought to be regarded now. The enemy were routed and slain, their camp taken and plundered, the colony relieved from a siege, the prisoners taken from the other colony recovered and restored to their friends, and an end put to the war in one battle. And not only men rejoiced at this victory, but the immortal gods also had supplications paid to them, for the space of three days, on account of the business of the state having been wisely and successfully, not rashly and unfortunately, conducted by Lucius Furius, praetor. Besides, the Gallic wars were, by some fatality, destined to the Furian family."

## 49

By means of discourses of this kind, made by him and his friends, the interest of the praetor, who was present, prevailed over the dignity of the absent consul, and the majority decreed a triumph to Lucius Furius. Lucius Furius, praetor, during his office, triumphed over the Gauls. He carried into the treasury three hundred and twenty thousand *asses*,<sup>195</sup> and one hundred and seventy thousand pounds' weight of silver. There were neither any prisoners led before his chariot, nor spoils carried before him, nor did any soldiers follow him. It appeared that every thing, except the victory, belonged to the consul. The games which Publius Scipio had vowed when consul in Africa, were then celebrated, in a magnificent manner and with respect to the lands for his soldiers, it was decreed, that whatever number of years each of them had served in Spain or in Africa, he should, for every year, receive two acres; and that ten

<sup>195</sup> £1033. 6s. 8d.

commissioners should distribute that land. Three commissioners were then appointed to fill up the number of colonists at Venusia, because the strength of that colony had been reduced in the war with Hannibal: Caius Terentius Varro, Titus Quintius Flamininus, Publius Cornelius, son of Cneius Scipio, enrolled the colonists for Venusia. During the same year, Caius Cornelius Cethegus, who in the capacity of proconsul commanded in Spain, routed a numerous army of the enemy in the territory of Sedeta; in which battle, it is said, that fifteen thousand Spaniards were slain, and seventy-eight military standards taken. The consul Caius Aurelius, on returning from his province to Rome to hold the elections, made heavy complaints, not on the subject on which they had supposed he would, that the senate had not waited for his coming, nor allowed him an opportunity of arguing the matter with the praetor; but, that "the senate had decreed a triumph in such a manner, without hearing the report of any one of those who had taken part in the war, except the person who was to enjoy the triumph: that their ancestors had made it a rule that the lieutenant-generals, the military tribunes, the centurions, and even the soldiers, should be present at the triumph, in order that the Roman people might ascertain the reality of his exploits, to whom so high an honour was paid." Now, of that army which fought with the Gauls, had any one soldier, or even a soldier's servant, been present, of whom the senate could inquire how much of truth or falsehood was in the praetor's narrative? He then appointed a day for the elections, at which were chosen consuls, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Villius Tappulus. The praetors were then appointed, Lucius Quintius Flamininus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Lucius Villius Tappulus, and Cneius Baebius Tamphilus.

## 50

During that year provisions were remarkably cheap. The curule aediles, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Sextus Aelius Paetus, distributed among the people a vast quantity of corn, brought from Africa, at the rate of two *asses* a peck. They also celebrated the Roman games in a magnificent manner, repeating them a second day; and erected in the treasury five brazen statues out of the money paid as fines. The plebeian games were thrice repeated entire, by the aediles, Lucius Terentius Massa, and Cneius Baebius Tamphilus, who was elected praetor. There were also funeral games exhibited that year in the forum, for the space of four days, on occasion of the death of Marcus Valerius Laevinus, by his sons Publius and Marcus, who gave also a show of gladiators, in which twenty-five pairs fought. Marcus Aurelius Cotta, one of the decemviri of the sacred books, died, and Manius Acilius Glabrio was substituted in his room. It happened that both the curule aediles, who had been created at the elections, were persons who could not immediately undertake the office: for Caius Cornelius Cethegus was elected in his absence, when he was occupying Spain as his province; and Caius Valerius Flaccus, who was present, being flamen Dialis, could not take the oath of observing the laws; and no person was allowed to hold any office longer than five days without taking the oath. Flaccus petitioned to be excused from complying with the law, on which the senate decreed, that if the aedile produced a person approved of by the consuls, who would take the oath for him, the consuls, if they thought proper, should make application to the tribunes, that it might be proposed to the people. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, praetor elect, was produced to swear for his brother. The tribunes proposed to the commons, and the commons ordered that this should be as if the aedile himself had sworn. With regard to the other aedile, likewise, an order of the commons was made. On the tribunes putting the question, what two persons they chose should go and take the command of the armies in Spain, in order that Caius Cornelius, curule

aedile, might come home to execute his office, and that Lucius Manlius Acidinus might, after many years, retire from the province; the commons ordered Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Stertinius, proconsuls, to command in Spain.

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## Book XXXII

*Successes of Titus Quinctius Flaminius against Philip; and of his brother Lucius with the fleet, assisted by Attalus and the Rhodians. Treaty of friendship with the Achaeans. Conspiracy of the slaves discovered and suppressed. The number of the praetors augmented to six. Defeat of the Insubrian Gauls by Cornelius Cethegus. Treaty of friendship with Nabis, tyrant of Lacedaemon. Capture of several cities in Macedonia.*

### 1

The consuls and praetors, having entered upon office on the ides of March, cast lots for the provinces. Italy fell to Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Macedonia to Publius Villius. Of the praetors, the city jurisdiction fell to Lucius Quinctius, Ariminum to Cneius Baebius, Sicily to Lucius Valerius, Sardinia to Lucius Villius. The consul Lentulus was ordered to levy new legions; Villius, to receive the army from Publius Sulpicius; and, to complete its number, power was given him to raise as many men as he thought proper. To the praetor Baebius were decreed the legions which Caius Aurelius, late consul, had commanded, with directions that he should keep them in their present situation, until the consul should come with the new army to supply their place; and that, on his arriving in Gaul, all the soldiers who had served out their time should be sent home, except five thousand of the allies, which would be sufficient to protect the province round Ariminum. The command was continued to the praetors of the former year; to Cneius Sergius, that he might superintend the distribution of land to the soldiers who had served for many years in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; to Quintus Minucius, that he might finish the inquiries concerning the conspiracies in Bruttium, which, while praetor, he had managed with care and fidelity. That he should also send to Locri, to suffer punishment, those who had been convicted of sacrilege, and who were then in chains at Rome; and that he should take care, that whatever had been carried away from the temple of Proserpine should be replaced with expiations. The Latin festival was repeated in pursuance of a decree of the pontiffs, because ambassadors from Ardea had complained to the senate, that during the said solemnity they had not been supplied with meat as usual on the Alban mount. From Suessa an account was brought, that two of the gates, and the wall between them, had been struck with lightning. Messengers from Formiae related, that the temple of Jupiter had also been struck by lightning; from Ostia, likewise, news came of the like accident having happened to the temple of Jupiter there; it was said, too, that the temples of Apollo and Sancus, at Veliternum, were struck in like manner; and that in the temple of Hercules, hair had grown (on the statue). A letter was received from Quintus Minucius, propraetor, from Bruttium, that a foal had been born with five feet, and three chickens with three feet each. Afterwards a letter was brought from Macedonia, from Publius Sulpicius, proconsul, in which, among other matters, it was mentioned, that a laurel tree had sprung up on the poop of a ship of war. On occasion of the former prodigies, the senate had voted, that the consuls should offer sacrifices with the greater victims to such gods as they thought proper. On account of the last prodigy, alone, the aruspices were called before the senate, and, in pursuance of their answer, the people were ordered by proclamation to perform a supplication for one day, and worship was solemnized at all the shrines.

### 2

This year, the Carthaginians brought to Rome the first payment of the silver imposed on them as a tribute; and the quaestors having reported, that it was not of the proper standard, and that, on the assay, it wanted a fourth part, they made up the deficiency with money borrowed at Rome. On their requesting that the senate would be pleased to order their hostages to be restored to them, a hundred were given up, and hopes were held out with relation to the rest, if they remained in fidelity (to the treaty). They then further requested, that the remaining hostages might be removed from Norba, where they were ill accommodated, to some other place, and they were permitted to remove to Signia and Ferentinum. The request of the people of Gades was likewise complied with: that a governor should not be sent to their city; being contrary to what had been agreed with them by Lucius Marcius Septimus, when they came under the protection of the Roman people. Deputies from Narnia, complaining that they had not their due number of settlers, and that several who were not of their community, had crept in among them, and were conducting themselves as colonists, Lucius Cornelius, the consul, was ordered to appoint three commissioners to adjust those matters. The three appointed were, Publius and Sextus Aelius, both surnamed Paetus, and Caius Cornelius Lentulus. The favour granted to the Narnians, of filling up their number of colonists, was refused to the people of Cossa, who applied for it.

### 3

The consuls, having finished the business that was to be done at Rome, set out for their provinces. Publius Villius, on coming into Macedonia, found the soldiers in a violent mutiny, which had been previously excited, and not sufficiently repressed at the commencement. They were the two thousand who, after Hannibal had been vanquished, had been transported from Africa to Sicily, and then, in about a year after, into Macedonia, as volunteers; they denied, however, that this was done with their consent, affirming, that "they had been put on board the ships, by the tribunes, contrary to their remonstrances; but, in what manner soever they had become engaged in that service, whether it had been voluntarily undertaken or imposed on them, the time of it was now expired, and it was reasonable that some end should be put to their warfare. For many years they had not seen Italy, but had grown old under arms in Sicily, Africa, and Macedonia; they were now, in short, worn out with labour and fatigue, and were exhausted of their blood by the many wounds they had received." The consul told them, that "the grounds on which they demanded their discharge, appeared to him to be reasonable, if the demand had been made in a moderate manner; but that neither that, nor any other ground, was a justifying cause of mutiny. Wherefore, if they were contented to adhere to their standards, and obey orders, he would write to the senate concerning their release; and that what they desired would more easily be obtained by moderation than by turbulence."

### 4

At this time, Philip was pushing on the siege of Thaumaci, with the utmost vigour, by means of mounds and engines, and was ready to bring up the ram to the walls, when he was obliged to relinquish the undertaking by the sudden arrival of the Aetolians, who, under the command of Archidamus, having made their way into the town between the posts of the Macedonians, never ceased, day or night, making continual sallies, sometimes against the guards, sometimes against the works of the besiegers. They were at the same time favoured by the very nature of the place: for Thaumaci stands near the road from Thermopylae, and the Malian bay as you go through Lamia, on a lofty

eminence, hanging immediately over the narrow pass which the Thessalians call Caela.<sup>196</sup> After passing through the craggy grounds of Thessaly, the roads are rendered intricate by the windings of the valleys, and on the near approach to the city, such an immense plain opens at once to view, like a vast sea, that the eye can scarcely reach the bounds of the expanse beneath. From this surprising prospect it was called Thaumaci.<sup>197</sup> The city itself is secured, not only by the height of its situation, but by its standing on a rock, the stone of which had been cut away on all sides. These difficulties, and the prize not appearing sufficient to recompense so much toil and danger, caused Philip to desist from the attempt. The winter also was approaching; he therefore retired from thence, and led back his troops into winter quarters, in Macedonia.

## 5

There, whilst others, glad of any interval of rest, consigned both body and mind to repose, Philip, in proportion as the season of the year had relieved him from the incessant fatigues of marching and fighting, found his care and anxiety increase the more, when he turned his thoughts towards the general issue of the war. He dreaded, not only his enemies, who pressed him hard by land and sea, but also the dispositions, sometimes of his allies, at others of his own subjects, lest the former might be induced, by hopes of friendship with the Romans, to revolt, and the Macedonians themselves be seized with a desire of innovation. Wherefore, he despatched ambassadors to the Achaeans, both to require their oath, (for it had been made an article of their agreement that they should take an oath prescribed by Philip every year,) and at the same time to restore to them Orchomenes, Heraea, and Triphylia. To the Eleans he delivered up Aliphera; which city, they insisted, had never belonged to Triphylia, but ought to be restored to them, having been one of those that were incorporated by the council of the Arcadians for the founding of Megalopolis. These measures had the effect of strengthening his connexion with the Achaeans. The affections of the Macedonians he conciliated by his treatment of Heraclides: for, finding that his having countenanced this man had been the cause to him of the utmost unpopularity, he charged him with a number of crimes, and threw him into chains, to the great joy of the people. It was now, if at any time, that he made preparations for the war with especial energy. He exercised both the Macedonian and mercenary troops in arms, and in the beginning of spring sent Athenagoras, with all the foreign auxiliaries and what light-armed troops there were, through Epirus into Chaonia, to seize the pass at Antigonía, which the Greeks called Stena. He followed, in a few days, with the heavy troops: and having viewed every situation in the country, he judged that the most advantageous post for fortifying himself was on the river Aous. This river runs in a narrow vale, between two mountains, one of which the natives call Aeropus, and the other Asnaus, affording a passage of very little breadth along the bank. He ordered Athenagoras, with the light infantry, to take possession of Asnaus, and to fortify it. His own camp he pitched on Aeropus. Those places where the rocks were steep, were defended by guards of a few soldiers only; the less secure he strengthened, some with trenches, some with ramparts, and others with towers. A great number of engines, also, were disposed in proper places, that, by means of weapons thrown from these, they might keep the enemy at a distance. The royal pavilion was pitched on the outside of the rampart, on the most conspicuous eminence,

<sup>196</sup> Hollows.

<sup>197</sup> From *thumazein*, to wonder.

in order, by this show of confidence, to dishearten the foe, and raise the hopes of his own men.

## 6

The consul having received intelligence from Charopus of Epirus, on what pass the king had taken his position with his army, as soon as the spring began to open, left Corcyra, where he had passed the winter, and, sailing over to the continent, led on his army against the enemy. When he came within about five miles of the king's camp, leaving the legions in a strong post, he went forward in person with some light troops, to view the nature of the country; and, on the day following, held a council, in order to determine whether he should attempt a passage through the defiles occupied by the enemy, notwithstanding the great labour and danger which the proposal involved, or lead round his forces by the same road through which Sulpicius had penetrated into Macedonia the year before. The deliberations on this question had lasted several days, when news arrived, that Titus Quinctius had been elected consul; that he had obtained, by lot, Macedonia as his province; and that, hastening his journey, he had already come over to Corcyra. Valerius Antias says, that Villius marched into the defile, and that, as he could not proceed straight forward, because every pass was occupied by the king, he followed the course of a valley, through the middle of which the river Aous flows, and having hastily constructed a bridge, passed over to the bank where the king's camp was, and fought a battle with him; that the king was routed and driven out of his camp; that twelve thousand of the enemy were killed, and two thousand two hundred taken, together with a hundred and thirty-two military standards, and two hundred and thirty horses. He adds, that, during the battle, a temple was vowed to Jupiter in case of success. The other historians, both Greek and Latin, (all those at least whose accounts I have read,) affirm that nothing memorable was done by Villius, and that Titus Quinctius, the consul who succeeded him, received from him a war which had yet to be commenced.

## 7

During the time of these transactions in Macedonia, the other consul, Lucius Lentulus, who had stayed at Rome, held an assembly for the election of censors. Out of many illustrious men who stood candidates, were chosen Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus and Publius Aelius Paetus. These, acting together in perfect harmony, read the list of the senate, without passing a censure on any one member; they also let to farm the port-duties at Capua, and at Puteoli, and of the fort situate where the city now stands; enrolling for this latter place three hundred colonists, that being the number fixed by the senate; they also sold the lands of Capua, which lie at the foot of Mount Tifata. About the same time, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, on his return from Spain, was hindered from entering the city in ovation by Marcus Portius Laeca, plebeian tribune, notwithstanding he had obtained permission of the senate: coming, then, into the city in a private character, he conveyed to the treasury one thousand two hundred pounds' weight of silver, and about thirty pounds' weight of gold. During this year, Cneius Baebius Tamphilus, who had succeeded to the government of the province of Gaul, in the room of Caius Aurelius, consul of the year preceding, having, without proper caution, entered the territories of the Insubrian Gauls, was surprised with almost the whole of his army. He lost above six thousand six hundred men,--so great a loss was received from a war which had now ceased to be an object of apprehension. This event called away the consul, Lucius Lentulus, from the city; who, arriving in the province, which was filled with confusion, and taking the command of the army, which he found dispirited by its

defeat, severely reprimanded the praetor, and ordered him to quit the province and return to Rome. Neither did the consul himself perform any considerable service, being called home to preside at the elections, which were obstructed by Marcus Fulvius and Manius Curius, plebeian tribunes, who wished to hinder Titus Quinctius Flaminius from standing candidate for the consulship, after passing through the office of quaestor. They alleged, that "the aedileship and praetorship were now held in contempt, and that the nobility did not make their way to the consulship through the regular gradations of offices, thus affording a trial of themselves; but, passing over the intermediate steps, pushed at once from the lowest to the highest." From a dispute in the Field of Mars, the affair was brought before the senate, where it was voted, "that when a person sued for any post, which by the laws he was permitted to hold, the people had the right of choosing whoever they thought proper." To this decision of the senate the tribunes submitted, and thereupon Sextus Aelius Paetus and Titus Quinctius Flaminius were elected consuls. Then was held the election of praetors. The persons chosen were, Lucius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Marcus Porcius Cato, and Caius Helvius, who had been plebeian aediles. By these the plebeian games were repeated, and, on occasion of the games, a feast of Jupiter was celebrated. The curule aediles, also, Caius Valerius Flaccus, who was flamen of Jupiter, and Caius Cornelius Cethegus, celebrated the Roman games with great magnificence. Servius and Caius Sulpicius Galba, pontiffs, died this year; in their room were substituted Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Cneius Cornelius Scipio, as pontiffs.

## 8

The new consuls, Sextus Aelius Paetus and Titus Quinctius Flaminius, on assuming the administration, convened the senate in the Capitol, and the fathers decreed, that "the consuls should settle between themselves or cast lots for the provinces, Macedonia and Italy. That he to whom Macedonia fell should enlist, as a supplement to the legions, three thousand Roman footmen and three hundred horse, and also five thousand footmen and five hundred horsemen belonging to the Latin confederacy." The army assigned to the other consul was to consist entirely of newly-raised men. Lucius Lentulus, consul of the preceding year, was continued in command, and was ordered not to depart from the province, nor to remove the old army, until the consul should arrive with the new legions. The consuls cast lots for the provinces, and Italy fell to Aelius, Macedonia to Quintius. Of the praetors, the lots gave to Lucius Cornelius Merula the city jurisdiction; to Marcus Claudius, Sicily; to Marcus Porcius, Sardinia; and to Caius Helvius, Gaul. The levying of troops was then begun, for besides the consular armies, the praetors had been ordered also to enlist men: for Marcellus, in Sicily, four thousand foot and three hundred horse of the Latin confederates; for Cato, in Sardinia, three thousand foot and two hundred horse of the same class of soldiers; with directions, that both these praetors, on their arrival in their provinces, should disband the veterans, both foot and horse. The consuls then introduced to the senate ambassadors from king Attalus. These, after representing that their king gave every assistance to the Roman arms on land and sea, with his fleet and all his forces, and had up to that day executed with zeal and obedience every order of the consuls, added, that "they feared it would not be in his power to continue so to do by reason of king Antiochus, for that Antiochus had invaded the kingdom of Attalus, when destitute of protective forces by sea and land. That Attalus, therefore, entreated the conscript fathers, if they chose to employ his army and navy in the Macedonian war, then to send a body of forces to protect his territories; or if that were not agreeable, to allow him to go home to defend his own possessions,

with his fleet and troops." The following answer was ordered to be given to the ambassadors: that "it was a cause of gratitude to the senate that Attalus had assisted the Roman commanders with his fleet and other forces. That they would neither send succours to Attalus, against Antiochus, the ally and friend of the Roman people; nor would they detain the auxiliary troops longer than would be convenient to the king. That it was ever a constant rule with the Roman people, to use the aid of others so far only as was agreeable to the will of those who gave it; and even to leave the commencement and the termination of that aid at the discretion of those who desired that the Romans should be benefited by their help. That they would send ambassadors to Antiochus, to represent to him, that Attalus, with his fleet and army, were, at the present, employed by the Roman people against Philip, their common enemy; and that Antiochus would do that which was gratifying to the senate if he abstained from the kingdom of Attalus and desisted from the war; for that it was much to be wished, that kings who were allies and friends to the Roman people should maintain friendship between themselves also."

## 9

When the consul Titus Quinctius had finished the levies, in making which he chose principally such as had served in Spain or Africa, that is, soldiers of approved courage, and when hastening to set forward to his province, he was delayed by reports of prodigies, and the expiations of them. There had been struck by lightning the public road at Veii, a temple of Jupiter at Lanuvium, a temple of Hercules at Ardea, with a wall and towers at Capua, also the edifice which is called Alba. At Arretium, the sky appeared as on fire; at Velitrae, the earth, to the extent of three acres, sunk down so as to form a vast chasm. From Suessa Aurunca, an account was brought of a lamb born with two heads; from Sinuessa, of a swine with a human head. On occasion of these ill omens, a supplication of one day's continuance was performed; the consuls gave their attention to divine services, and, as soon as the gods were appeased, set out for their provinces. Aelius, accompanied by Caius Helvius, praetor, went into Gaul, where he put under the command of the praetor the army which he received from Lucius Lentulus, and which he ought to have disbanded, intending to carry on his own operations with the new troops, which he had brought with him; but he effected nothing worth recording. The other consul, Titus Quinctius, setting sail from Brundisium earlier than had been usual with former consuls, reached Corcyra, with, eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse. From this place, he passed over, in a quinquereme, to the nearest part of Epirus, and proceeded, by long journeys, to the Roman camp. Here, having dismissed Villius, and waiting a few days, until the forces from Corcyra should come up and join him, he held a council, to determine whether he should endeavour to force his way straight forward through the camp of the enemy; or whether, without attempting an enterprise of so great difficulty and danger, he should not rather take a circuitous and safe road, so as to penetrate into Macedonia by the country of the Dassaretians and Lycus. The latter plan would have been adopted, had he not feared that, in removing to a greater distance from the sea, the enemy might slip out of his hands; and that if the king should resolve to secure himself in the woods and wilds, as he had done before, the summer might be spun out without any thing being effected. It was therefore determined, be the event what it might, to attack the enemy in their present post, disadvantageous as it was. But they more easily resolved on this measure, than devised any safe or certain method of accomplishing it.

## 10

Forty days were passed in view of the enemy, without making any kind of effort. Hence Philip conceived hopes of bringing about a treaty of peace, through the mediation of the people of Epirus; and a council, which was held for the purpose, having appointed Pausanias, the praetor, and Alexander, the master of the horse, as negotiators, they brought the consul and the king to a conference, on the banks of the river Aous, where the channel was narrowest. The sum of the consul's demands was, that the king should withdraw his troops from the territories of the several states; that, to those whose lands and cities he had plundered, he should restore such of their effects as could be found; and that the value of the rest should be estimated by a fair arbitration. Philip answered, that "the cases of the several states differed widely from each other. That such as he himself had seized on, he would set at liberty; but he would not divest himself of the hereditary and just possessions which had been conveyed down to him from his ancestors. If those states, with whom hostilities had been carried on, complained of any losses in the war, he was ready to submit the matter to the arbitration of any state with whom both parties were at peace." To this the consul replied, that "the business required neither judge nor arbitrator: for to whom was it not evident that every injurious consequence of the war was to be imputed to him who first took up arms. And in this case Philip, unprovoked by any, had first commenced hostilities against all." When they next began to treat of those nations which were to be set at liberty, the consul named, first, the Thessalians: on which the king, fired with indignation, exclaimed, "What harsher terms, Titus Quinctius, could you impose on me if I were vanquished?" With these words he retired hastily from the conference, and they were with difficulty restrained by the river which separated them from assaulting each other with missile weapons. On the following day many skirmishes took place between parties sallying from the outposts, in a plain sufficiently wide for the purpose. Afterwards the king's troops drew back into narrow and rocky places, whither the Romans, keenly eager for fighting, penetrated also. These had in their favour order and military discipline, while their arms were of a kind well calculated for protecting their persons. In favour of the enemy were the advantage of ground, and their balistas and catapultas disposed on almost every rock as on walls. After many wounds given and received on both sides, and numbers being slain, as in a regular engagement, darkness put an end to the fight.

## 11

While matters were in this state, a herdsman, sent by Charopus, prince of the Epirots, was brought to the consul. He said, that "being accustomed to feed his herd in the forest, then occupied by the king's camp, he knew every winding and path in the neighbouring mountains; and that if the consul thought proper to send some troops with him, he would lead them by a road, neither dangerous nor difficult, to a spot over the enemy's head." When the consul heard these things, he sent to Charopus to inquire if he considered that confidence might be placed in the rustic in so important a matter. Charopus ordered an answer to be returned, that he should give just so much credit to this man's account, as should still leave every thing rather in his own power than in that of the other. Though the consul rather wished than dared to give the intelligence full belief, and though his mind was possessed by mingled emotions of joy and fear, yet being moved by the confidence due to Charopus, he resolved to put to trial the prospect that was held out to him. In order to prevent all suspicion of the matter, during the two following days he carried on attacks against the enemy without intermission, drawing out troops against them in every quarter, and sending up fresh men to relieve the

wearied. Then, selecting four thousand foot and three hundred horse, he put them under the command of a military tribune, with directions to advance the horse as far as the nature of the ground allowed; and when they came to places impassable to cavalry, then to post them in some plain; that the infantry should proceed by the road which the guide would show, and that when, according to his promise, they arrived on the height over the enemy's head, then they should give a signal by smoke, but raise no shout, until the tribune should have reason to think that, in consequence of the signal received from him, the battle was begun. He ordered that the march should take place by night, (the moon shining through the whole of it,) and employ the day in taking food and rest. The most liberal promises were made to the guide, provided he fulfilled his engagement; he bound him, nevertheless, and delivered him to the tribune. Having thus sent off this detachment, the Roman general exerted himself only the more vigorously in every part to make himself master of the posts of the enemy.

## 12

On the third day, the Roman party made the signal by smoke, to notify that they had gained possession of the eminence to which they had been directed; and then the consul, dividing his forces into three parts, marched up with the main strength of his army, through a valley in the middle, and made the wings on right and left advance to the camp of the enemy. Nor did these advance to meet him with less alacrity. The Roman soldiers, in the ardour of their courage, long maintained the fight on the outside of their works, for they had no small superiority in bravery, in skill, and in the nature of their arms; but when the king's troops, after many of them were wounded and slain, retreated into places secured either by intrenchments or situation, the danger reverted on the Romans, who pushed forward, inconsiderately, into disadvantageous grounds and defiles, out of which a retreat was difficult. Nor would they have extricated themselves without suffering for their rashness, had not the Macedonians, first, by a shout heard in their rear, and then by an attack begun on that quarter, been utterly dismayed and confounded at the unforeseen danger. Some betook themselves to a hasty flight: some, keeping their stand, rather because they could find no way for flight than that they possessed spirit to support the engagement, were cut off by the Romans, who pressed them hard both on front and rear. Their whole army might have been destroyed, had the victors continued their pursuit of the fugitives; but the cavalry were obstructed by the narrowness of the passes and the ruggedness of the ground; and the infantry, by the weight of their armour. The king at first fled with precipitation, and without looking behind him; but afterwards, when he had proceeded as far as five miles, he began, from recollecting the unevenness of the road, to suspect, (what was really the case,) that the enemy could not follow him; and halting, he despatched his attendants through all the hills and valleys to collect the stragglers together. His loss was not more than two thousand men. The rest of his army, coming to one spot, as if they had followed some signal, marched off, in a compact body, towards Thessaly. The Romans, after having pursued the enemy as far as they could with safety, killing such as they overtook, and despoiling the slain, seized and plundered the king's camp; which, even when it had no defenders, was difficult of access. The following night they were lodged within their own trenches.

## 13

Next day, the consul pursued the enemy through the same defiles through which the river winds its way among the valleys. The king came on the first day to the camp of

Pyrrhus, a place so called in Triphylia, a district of Melotis; and on the following day he reached Mount Lingos, an immense march for his army, but his fear impelled him. This ridge of mountains belongs to Epirus, and stretches along between Macedonia and Thessaly; the side next to Thessaly faces the east, that next to Macedonia the north. These hills are thickly clad with woods, and on their summits have open plains and perennial streams. Here Philip remained encamped for several days, being unable to determine whether he should continue his retreat until he arrived in his own dominions, or whether he might venture back into Thessaly. At length, his decision leaned to leading down his army into Thessaly; and, going by the shortest roads to Tricca, he made hasty excursions from thence to all the cities within his reach. The inhabitants who were able to accompany him he summoned from their habitations, and burned the towns, allowing the owners to take with them such of their effects as they were able to carry; the rest became the prey of the soldiers; nor was there any kind of cruelty which they could have suffered from an enemy, that they did not suffer from these their confederates. These acts were painful to Philip even while he executed them; but as the country was soon to become the property of the foe, he wished to rescue out of it at least the persons of his allies. In this manner were ravaged the towns of Phacium, Iresiae, Euhydrium, Eretria, and Palaepharsalus. On his coming to Pherae, the gates were shut against him, and as it would necessarily occasion a considerable delay if he attempted to take it by force, and as he could not spare time, he dropped the design, and crossed over the mountains into Macedonia; for he had received intelligence, that the Aetolians too were marching towards him. These, on hearing of the battle fought on the banks of the river of Aous, first laid waste the nearest tracts round Sperchia, and Long Come, as they call it, and then, passing over into Thessaly, got possession of Cymine and Angeae at the first assault. From Metropolis they were repulsed by the inhabitants, who, while a part of their army was plundering the country, assembled in a body to defend the city. Afterwards, making an attempt on Callithera, they were attacked by the townsmen in a like manner; but withstood their onset with more steadiness, drove back into the town the party which had sallied, and content with that success, as they had no prospect whatever of taking the place by storm, retired. They then took by assault and sacked the towns of Theuma and Calathas. Acharrae they gained by surrender. Xyniae, through similar apprehensions, was abandoned by the inhabitants. These having forsaken their homes, and going together in a body, fell in with a party which was being marched to Thaumacus for the purpose of protecting their foragers; all of whom, an irregular and unarmed multitude, incapable of any resistance, were put to the sword by the troops. The deserted town of Xyniae was plundered. The Aetolians then took Cyphara, a fort conveniently situated on the confines of Dolopia. All this the Aetolians performed within the space of a few days.

#### 14

Nor did Amynder and the Athamanians, when they heard of the victory obtained by the Romans, continue inactive. Amynder, having little confidence in his own troops, requested a slight auxiliary force from the consul; and then advancing towards Gomphi, he stormed on his march a place called Pheca, situate between that town and the narrow pass which separates Thessaly from Athamania. He then attacked Gomphi, and though the inhabitants defended it for several days with the utmost vigour, yet, as soon as he had raised the scaling ladders to the walls, the same apprehension (which had operated on others) at length compelled them to surrender. This capture of Gomphi spread the greatest consternation among the Thessalians: their fortresses of Argenta,

Pherinus, Thimarus, Lisinae, Stimon, and Lampsus surrendered, one after another, with several other garrisons equally inconsiderable. While the Athamanians and Aetolians, delivered from fear of the Macedonians, converted to their own profit the fruits of another's victory; and Thessaly, ravaged by three armies at once, knew not which to believe its foe or its friend; the consul marched on, through the pass which the enemy's flight had left open, into the country of Epirus. Though he well knew which party the Epirots, excepting their prince Charopus, were disposed to favour, yet as he saw that, even from the motive of atoning for past behaviour, they obeyed his orders with diligence, he regulated his treatment of them by the standard of their present rather than of their former temper, and by this readiness to pardon conciliated their affection for the future. Then, sending orders to Corcyra for the transport ships to come into the Ambrician bay, he advanced by moderate marches, and on the fourth day pitched his camp on Mount Cercetius. Hither he ordered Amynder to come with his auxiliary troops; not so much as being in want of his forces, as that he might avail himself of them as his guides into Thessaly. With the same purpose, many volunteers of the Epirots also were admitted into the corps of auxiliaries.

## 15

Of the cities of Thessaly, the first which he attacked was Phaloria. The garrison here consisted of two thousand Macedonians, who at first resisted with the utmost vigour so far as their arms and fortifications could protect them. The assault was carried on without intermission or relaxation either by day or by night, because the consul thought that it would have a powerful effect on the spirits of the rest of the Thessalians, if the first who made trial of the Roman strength were unable to withstand it; and this at the same time subdued the obstinacy of the Macedonians. On the reduction of Phaloria, deputies came from Metropolis and Piera, surrendering those cities. To them, on their petition, pardon was granted: Phaloria was sacked, and burned. He then proceeded to Aeginium; but finding this place so circumstanced, that, even with a moderate garrison, it was safe, after discharging a few weapons against the nearest advanced guard he directed his march towards the territory of Gomphi; and thence descended into the plains of Thessaly. His army was now in want of every thing, because he had spared the lands of the Epirots; he therefore despatched messengers to learn whether the transports had reached Leucas and the Ambracian bay; sending the cohorts, in turn, to Ambracia for corn. Now, the road from Gomphi to Ambracia, although difficult and embarrassed, is very short; so that in a few days, provisions having been conveyed from the sea, his camp was filled with an abundant supply of all necessaries. He then marched to Atrax, which is about ten miles from Larissa, on the river Peneus. The inhabitants came originally from Perrhaebia. The Thessalians, here, were not in the least alarmed at the first coming of the Romans; and Philip, although he durst not himself advance into Thessaly, yet, keeping his stationary camp in the vale of Tempe, whenever any place was attempted by the enemy, he sent up reinforcements as occasion required.

## 16

About the time that Quinctius first pitched his camp opposite to Philip's, at the entrance of Epirus, Lucius, the consul's brother, whom the senate had commissioned both to the naval command and to the government of the coast, sailed over with two quinqueremes to Corcyra; and when he learned that the fleet had departed thence, thinking that no delay ought to be incurred, he followed, and overtook it at the island of Zama. Here he dismissed Lucius Apustius, in whose room he had been appointed, and then proceeded

to Malea, but at a slow rate, being obliged, for the most part, to tow the vessels which accompanied him with provisions. From Malea, after ordering the rest to follow with all possible expedition, himself, with three light quinqueremes, hastened forward to the Piraeus, and took under his command the ships left there by Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, for the protection of Athens. At the same time, two fleets set sail from Asia; one of twenty-four quinqueremes, under king Attalus; the other belonging to the Rhodians, consisting of twenty decked ships, and commanded by Agesimbrotus. These fleets, joining near the island of Andros, sailed for Euboea, which was separated from them only by a narrow strait. They first ravaged the lands belonging to Carystus; but, judging that city too strong, in consequence of a reinforcement hastily sent from Chalcis, they bent their course to Eretria. Lucius Quinctius also, on hearing of the arrival of king Attalus, came thither with the ships which had lain at the Piraeus; having left orders, that his own ships should, as they arrived, follow him to Euboea. The siege of Eretria was now pushed forward with the utmost vigour; for the three combined fleets carried machines and engines, of all sorts, for the demolition of towns, and the adjacent country offered abundance of timber for the construction of new works. At the beginning the townsmen defended their walls with a good degree of spirit; afterwards, when they felt the effects of fatigue, a great many being likewise wounded, and a part of the wall demolished by the enemy's works, they became disposed to capitulate. But they had a garrison of Macedonians, of whom they stood in no less dread than of the Romans; and Philocles, the king's general, sent frequent messages from Chalcis, that he would bring them succour in due time, if they could hold out the siege. The hope of this, in conjunction with their fears, obliged them to protract the time longer than was consistent either with their wishes or their strength. However, having learned soon after that Philocles had been repulsed in the attempt, and forced to fly back, in disorder, to Chalcis, they instantly sent deputies to Attalus, to beg pardon and protection. While intent on the prospect of peace, they executed with less energy the duties of war, and kept armed guards in that quarter only where the breach had been made in the wall, neglecting all the rest; Quinctius made an assault by night on the side where it was least apprehended, and carried the town by scalade. The whole multitude of the townsmen, with their wives and children, fled into the citadel, but soon after surrendered themselves prisoners. The quantity of money, of gold and silver, taken was not great. Of statues and pictures, the works of ancient artists, and other ornaments of that kind, a greater number was found than was proportionate either to the size of the city, or its opulence in other particulars.

## 17

The design on Carystus was then resumed, and the fleets sailed thither; on which the whole body of the inhabitants, before the troops were disembarked, deserted the city and fled into the citadel, whence they sent deputies to beg protection from the Roman general. To the townspeople life and liberty were immediately granted; and it was ordered, that the Macedonians should pay a ransom of three hundred drachmas<sup>198</sup> a head, deliver up their arms, and quit the country. After being ransomed for the said amount, they were transported, unarmed, to Boeotia. The combined fleets having, in the space of a few days, taken these two important cities of Euboea, sailed round Sunium, a promontory of Attica, and steered their course to Cenchreae, the grand mart of the Corinthians. In the mean time, the consul found the siege of Atrax more tedious and severe than had been universally expected, and the enemy resisted in the way which

<sup>198</sup> £9. 13s. 9d.

they had least anticipated. He had supposed that the whole of the trouble would be in demolishing the wall, and that if he could once open a passage for his soldiers into the city, the consequence would then be, the flight and slaughter of the enemy, as usually happens on the capture of towns. But when, on a breach being made in the wall by the rams, and when the soldiers, by mounting over the ruins, had entered the place, this proved only the beginning, as it were, of an unusual and fresh labour. For the Macedonians in garrison, who were both chosen men and many in number, supposing that they would be entitled to extraordinary honour if they should maintain the defence of the city by means of arms and courage, rather than by the help of walls, formed themselves in a compact body, strengthening their line by an uncommon number of files in depth. These, when they saw the Romans entering by the breaches, drove them back, so that they were entangled among the rubbish, and with difficulty could effect a retreat. This gave the consul great uneasiness; for he considered such a disgrace, not merely as it retarded the reduction of a single city, but as likely to affect materially the whole process of the war, which in general depends much on the influence of events in themselves unimportant. Having therefore cleared the ground, which was heaped up with the rubbish of the half-ruined wall, he brought up a tower of extraordinary height, consisting of many stories, and which carried a great number of soldiers. He likewise sent up the cohorts in strong bodies one after another, to force their way, if possible, through the wedge of the Macedonians, which is called a phalanx. But in such a confined space, (for the wall was thrown down to no great extent,) the enemy had the advantage, both in the kind of weapons which they used, and in the manner of fighting. When the Macedonians, in close array, stretched out before them their long spears against the target fence which was formed by the close position of their antagonists' shields, and when the Romans, after discharging their javelins without effect, drew their swords, these could neither press on to a closer combat, nor cut off the heads of the spears; and if they did cut or break off any, the shaft, being sharp at the part where it was broken, filled up its place among the points of those which were unbroken, in a kind of palisade. Besides this, the parts of the wall still standing rendered both the flanks of the Macedonians secure, who were not obliged, either in retreating or in advancing to an attack, to pass through a long space, which generally occasions disorder in the ranks. An accidental circumstance also helped to confirm their courage: for as the tower was moved along a bank of not sufficiently solid soil, one of the wheels sinking into a rut, made the tower lean in such a manner that it appeared to the enemy as if falling, and threw the soldiers posted on it into consternation and affright.

## 18

As none of his attempts met any success, the consul was very unwilling to allow such a comparison to be exhibited between the two classes of soldiery and their respective weapons; at the same time, he could neither see any prospect of reducing the place speedily, nor any means of subsisting in winter, at such a distance from the sea, and in regions desolated by the calamities of war. He therefore raised the siege; and as, along the whole coast of Acarnania and Aetolia, there was no port capable of containing all the transports that brought supplies to the army, nor any place which afforded lodgings to the legions, he pitched on Anticyra, in Phocis on the Corinthian gulf, as most commodiously situated for his purpose. There the legions would be at no great distance from Thessaly, and the places belonging to the enemy; while they would have in front Peloponnesus, separated from them by a narrow sea; on their rear, Aetolia and Acarnania; and on their sides, Locris and Boeotia. Phanotea in Phocis he took without

resistance at the first assault. The siege of Anticyra gave him not much delay. Then Ambrysus and Hyampolis were taken. Daulis, being situated on a lofty eminence, could not be reduced either by scalade or works: he therefore provoked the garrison, by missile weapons, to make sallies from out the town. Then by flying at one time, pursuing at another, and engaging in slight skirmishes, he led them into such a degree of carelessness, and such a contempt of him, that at length the Romans, mixing with them as they ran back, entered by the gates, and stormed the town. Six other fortresses in Phocis, of little consequence, came into his hands, through fear rather than by force of arms. Elatia shut its gates, and the inhabitants seemed determined not to admit within their walls either the army or the general of the Romans, unless compelled by force.

## 19

While the consul was employed in the siege of Elatia, a prospect opened to him of effecting a business of much more importance; namely, of drawing away the Achaeans from their alliance with Philip to that of the Romans. Cycliades, the head of the faction that favoured the interest of Philip, they had now banished; and Aristaenus, who wished for a union between his countrymen and the Romans, was praetor. The Roman fleet, with Attalus and the Rhodians, lay at Cenchreae, and were preparing to lay siege to Corinth with their whole combined force. The consul therefore judged it prudent, that, before they entered on that affair, ambassadors should be sent to the Achaean state, with assurances, that if they came over from the king to the side of the Romans, the latter would consign Corinth to them, and annex it to the old confederacy of their nation. Accordingly, by the consul's direction, ambassadors were sent to the Achaeans, by his brother Lucius Quinctius, by Attalus, and by the Rhodians and Athenians--a general assembly being summoned to meet at Sicyon to give them audience. Now, the state of feeling of the Achaeans was by no means uniform. Nabis the Lacedaemonian, their constant and inveterate enemy, was the object of their dread; they dreaded the arms of the Romans; they were under obligations to the Macedonians, for services both of ancient and recent date; but the king himself, on account of his perfidy and cruelty, they looked upon with jealous fear, and not judging from the behaviour which he then assumed for the time, they knew that, on the conclusion of the war, they should find him a more tyrannical master. So that every one of them was not only at a loss what opinion he should support in the senate of his own particular state, or in the general diets of the nation; but, even when they deliberated within themselves, they could not, with any certainty, determine what they ought to wish, or what to prefer. Such was the unsettled state of mind of the members of the assembly, when the ambassadors were introduced and liberty of speaking afforded them. The Roman ambassador, Lucius Calpurnius, spoke first; next the ambassadors of king Attalus; after them those of the Rhodians; and then Philip's. The Athenians were heard the last, that they might refute the discourses of the Macedonians. These inveighed against the king with the greatest acrimony of any, for no others had suffered from him so many and so severe hardships. So great a number of speeches of the ambassadors succeeding each other took up the whole of the day; and about sun-set the council was adjourned.

## 20

Next day the council was convened again; and when the magistrates, according to the custom of the Greeks, gave leave, by their herald, to any person who chose to offer advice, not one stood forth; but they sat a long time, looking on each other in silence. It was no wonder that men, revolving in their minds matters of such contradictory

natures, and who found themselves puzzled and confounded, should be involved in additional perplexity by the speeches continued through the whole preceding day; in which the difficulties, on all sides, were brought into view, and stated in their full force. At length Aristaenus, the praetor of the Achaeans, not to dismiss the council without any business being introduced, said:--"Achaeans, where are now those violent disputes, in which, at your feasts and meetings, whenever mention was made of Philip and the Romans, you scarcely refrained from blows? Now, in a general assembly, summoned on that single business, when you have heard the arguments of the ambassadors on both sides, when the magistrates demand your opinions, when the herald calls you to declare your sentiments, you are struck dumb. Although your concern for the common safety be insufficient for determining the matter, cannot the party zeal which has attached you to one side or the other extort a word from any one of you? especially when none is so obtuse as not to perceive, that the time for declaring and recommending what each either wishes or thinks most advisable, must be at the present moment; that is, before we make any decree. When a decree shall have been once passed, every man even such as previously may have disapproved the measure, must then support it as good and salutary." These persuasions of the praetor, so far from prevailing on any one person to declare his opinion, did not excite, in all that numerous assembly, collected out of so many states, so much as a murmur or a whisper.

## 21

Then the praetor, Aristaenus, again spoke as follows:--"Chiefs of Achaea, you are not more at a loss for advice, than you are for words; but every one is unwilling to promote the interest of the public at a risk of danger to himself. Were I in a private character, perhaps I too should be silent; but, as praetor, it is my duty to declare, that I see evidently, either that an audience of the council ought not to have been accorded to the ambassadors, or that they ought not to be dismissed from it without an answer. Yet how can I give them an answer, unless by a decree of yours? And, since not one of you who have been called to this assembly either chooses or dares to make known his sentiments, let us examine (as if they were opinions proposed to our consideration) the speeches of the ambassadors delivered yesterday; supposing the speakers not to have required what was useful to themselves, but to have recommended what they thought most conducive to our advantage. The Romans, the Rhodians and Attalus, request an alliance and friendship with us; and they demand to be assisted by us in the war in which they are now engaged against Philip. Philip reminds us of our league with him, and of the obligation of our oath; he requires only, that we declare ourselves on his side; and says, he will be satisfied if we do not intermeddle in the operations of the war. Does not the reason occur to the mind of any one of you why those, who are not yet our allies, require more than he who is? This arises not from modesty in Philip, nor from the want of it in the Romans. It is fortune, which, while it bestows confidence to requisitions on one side, precludes it on the other. We see nothing belonging to Philip but his ambassador: the Roman fleet lies at Cenchreae, exhibiting to our view the spoils of the cities of Euboea. We behold the consul and his legions, at the distance of a small tract of sea, overrunning Phocis and Locris. You were surprised at Philip's ambassador, Cleomedon, showing such diffidence yesterday in his application to us to take arms on the side of the king against the Romans. But if we, in pursuance of the same treaty and oath, the sacredness of which he inculcated on us, were to ask of him, that Philip should protect us, both from Nabis and his Lacedaemonians, and also from the Romans, he would be utterly unable to find, not only a force with which to protect us, but even an

answer to return. As much so in truth as was Philip himself, who endeavoured, by promises of waging war against Nabis, to draw away our youth into Euboea; but finding that we would neither decree such assistance to him, nor choose to be embroiled in a war with Rome, forgot that alliance on which he now lays such stress, and left us to Nabis and the Lacedaemonians to be spoiled and plundered. Besides, to me the arguments of Cleomedon appeared utterly inconsistent. He made light of the war with the Romans; and asserted, that the issue of it would be similar to that of the former, which they waged against Philip. If such the case, why does he, at a distance, solicit our assistance; rather than come hither in person, and defend us, his old allies, both from Nabis and from the Romans? Us, do I say? Why, on this showing, has he suffered Eretria and Carystus to be taken? Why so many cities of Thessaly? Why Locris and Phocis? Why does he at present suffer Elatia to be besieged? Did he, either through compulsion, or fear, or choice, quit the straits of Epirus, and those impregnable fastnesses on the river Aous; and why, abandoning the pass which he was occupying, did he retire altogether into his own kingdom? If of his own will he gave up so many allies to the ravages of the enemy, what objection can he make to these allies consulting for their own safety? If through fear, he ought to pardon the like fear in us. If he retired defeated by force of arms, let me ask you, Cleomedon, shall we, Achaeans, be able to withstand the Roman arms, which you, Macedonians, have not withstood? Are we to give credit to your assertion, that the Romans do not employ, in the present war, greater forces or greater strength than they did in the former, rather than regard the facts themselves? In the first instance, they aided the Aetolians with a fleet; they sent not to the war either a consul as commander, or a consular army. The maritime cities of Philip's allies were in terror and confusion; but the inland places were so secure against the Roman arms, that Philip ravaged the country of the Aetolians, while they in vain implored succour from those arms. Whereas, in the present case, the Romans, after bringing to a final conclusion the Punic war, which they had supported for sixteen years in the bowels, as it were, of Italy, sent not auxiliaries to the Aetolians in their quarrels, but, being themselves principals, made a hostile invasion on Macedonia with land and sea forces at once. Their third consul is now pushing forward the war with the utmost vigour. Sulpicius, engaging the king within the territory of Macedonia itself, has overthrown and put him to flight; and afterwards despoiled the most opulent part of his kingdom. Then, again, when he was in possession of the strait of Epirus, where, from the nature of the ground, his fortifications, and the strength of his army, he thought himself secure, Quinctius drove him out of his camp; pursued him, as he fled into Thessaly; and, almost in the view of Philip himself, stormed the royal garrisons and the cities of his allies. Supposing that there were no truth in what the Athenian ambassadors mentioned yesterday, respecting the cruelty, avarice, and lust of the king; supposing the crimes committed, in the country of Attica, against the gods, celestial and infernal, concerned us not all; that we had less to complain of than what the people of Cius and Abydos, who are far distant from us, have endured: let us then, if you please, forget even our own wounds; let the murders and ravages committed at Messana, and in the heart of Peloponnesus, the killing of his host Garitenes at Cyparissia, almost in the very midst of a feast, in contempt of laws divine and human; the murder of the two Aratuses of Sicyon, father and son, though he was wont to call the unfortunate old man his parent; his carrying away the son's wife into Macedonia for the gratification of his vicious appetites, and all his violations of virgins and matrons;--let all these, I say, be consigned to oblivion. Let us suppose our business were not with Philip, through dread of whose cruelty you are all thus struck dumb; for what other cause could keep you silent, when

you have been summoned to a council? Let us imagine that we are treating with Antigonus, a prince of the greatest mildness and equity, to whose kindness we have all been highly indebted; would he require us to perform what at the time was impossible? Peloponnesus is a peninsula, united to the continent by the narrow passage of an isthmus particularly exposed and open to the attacks of naval armaments. Now, if a hundred decked ships, and fifty lighter open ones, and thirty Issean barks, shall begin to lay waste our coasts, and attack the cities which stand exposed, almost on the very shore, shall we then retreat into the inland towns, as if we were not afflicted with an intestine war, though in truth it is rankling in our very bowels? When Nabis and the Lacedaemonians by land, and the Roman fleet by sea, shall press us, whence must I implore the support due from the king's alliance, whence the succours of the Macedonians? Shall we ourselves, with our own arms, defend, against the Roman forces, the cities that will be attacked? Truly, in the former war, we defended Dymae excellently well! The calamities of others afford us abundant examples; let us not seek how we may render ourselves an example to others. Do not, because the Romans voluntarily desire your friendship, contemn that which you ought to have prayed for, nay, laboured with all your might to obtain. But, it is insinuated, that they are impelled by fear, in a country to which they are strangers; and that, wishing to shelter themselves under your assistance, they have recourse to your alliance in the hope of being admitted into your harbours, and of there finding supplies of provisions. Now, at sea they are absolute masters; and instantly reduce to subjection every place at which they land. What they request, they have power to enforce. Because they wish to treat you with tenderness they do not allow you to take steps that must lead you to ruin. Cleomedon lately pointed out, as the middle and safest way, to remain inactive, and abstain from taking up arms. But that is not a middle way; it is no way at all. For, besides the necessity of either embracing or rejecting the Roman alliance, what other consequence can ensue from such conduct, than that, while we show no steady attachment to either side, as if we waited the event with design to adapt our counsels to fortune, we shall become the prey of the conqueror? Contemn not then, when it is spontaneously offered to your acceptance, what you ought to have solicited with your warmest prayers. The free option between the two, which you have this day, you will not always have. The same opportunity will not last long, nor will it frequently recur. You have long wished to deliver yourselves out of the hands of Philip, although you have not dared to make the attempt. Those have now crossed the sea, with large fleets and armies, who are able to rescue you to a state of freedom, without any trouble or danger to yourselves. If you reject such persons as allies, you can scarcely be of sane mind; but you must unavoidably have to deal with them, either as allies or as enemies."

## 22

This speech of the praetor was followed by a general murmur; some declaring their approbation, and others vehemently rebuking those who did so. And now, not only individuals, but whole states were engaged in altercation among themselves; and at length among the magistrates, called Demiurgi, who are ten in number, the dispute was taken up with as much warmth as among the multitude. Five of them declared, that they would propose the question concerning an alliance with Rome, and would take the votes on it; while five insisted, that it had been provided by law that neither the magistrates should have power to propose nor the council to pass any decree injurious to the alliance with Philip. This day, also, was spent in contention, and there remained now but one day more of the regular time of sitting; for, according to the rule, the decree

must be passed on the third day: and as that approached, the zeal of the parties was kindled into such a flame, that scarcely did parents refrain from offering violence to their own sons. There was present a man of Pallene, named Rhisiasus, whose son, Memnon, was a demiurgus, and was of that party which opposed the reading of the decree and taking the votes. This man, for a long time, entreated his son to allow the Achaeans to take proper measures for their common safety, and not, by his obstinacy, to bring ruin on the whole nation; but, finding that his entreaties had no effect, he swore that he would treat him, not as a son, but as an enemy, and would put him to death with his own hand. By these threats he forced him, next day, to join the party that voted for the question being proposed. These, having now become the majority, proposed the question accordingly, while almost every one of the states, openly approving the measure, showed plainly on which side they would vote. Whereupon the Dymaeans, Megalopolitans, with several of the Argives, rose up, and withdrew from the council; which step excited neither wonder nor disapprobation. For when, in the memory of their grandfathers, the Megalopolitans had been expelled their country by the Lacedaemonians, Antigonus had reinstated them in their native residence; and, at a later period, when Dymae was taken and sacked by the Roman troops, Philip ordered that the inhabitants, wherever they were in servitude, should be ransomed, and not only restored them to their liberty, but their country. As to the Argives, besides believing that the royal family of Macedonia derived its origin from them, the greater part were attached to Philip by personal acts of kindness and familiar friendship. For these reasons, when the council appeared disposed to order an alliance to be concluded with Rome, they withdrew; and their secession was readily excused, in consideration of the many and recent obligations by which they were bound to the king of Macedon.

### 23

The rest of the Achaean states, on their opinions being demanded, ratified, by an immediate decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians. That with the Romans, as it could not be perfected without an order from the people, they deferred until such time as ambassadors could be sent to Rome. For the present, it was resolved, that three ambassadors should be sent to Lucius Quinctius; and that the whole force of the Achaeans should be brought up to Corinth, which city Quinctius, after taking Cenchreae, was then besieging. The Achaeans accordingly pitched their camp opposite to the gate that leads to Sicyon. The Romans made their approaches on the side of the city which faces Cenchreae; Attalus having drawn his army across the isthmus, towards Lechaeum, the port on the opposite sea. At first, they did not push forward their operations with any great degree of vigour, because they had hopes of a dissension breaking out between the townsmen and the king's troops. But afterwards, learning that they all were of one mind; that the Macedonians exerted themselves as if in defence of their common country; and that the Corinthians submitted to the orders of Androstenes, commander of the garrison, as if he were their countryman, and elected by their own suffrages; the assailants had no other hopes but in force, arms, and their works. They therefore brought up their mounds to the walls, though by very difficult approaches. On that side where the Romans attacked, their ram had demolished a considerable part of the wall; and the Macedonians having run together to defend the place thus stripped of its works, a furious conflict ensued between themselves and the Romans. At first, by reason of the enemy's superiority in number, the Romans were quickly repulsed; but being joined by the auxiliary troops of Attalus and the Achaeans, they restored the fight to an equality; so that there was no doubt that they would easily drive the Macedonians

and Greeks from their ground. But there were in the town a great multitude of Italian deserters; some of whom, having been in Hannibal's army, had, through fear of being punished by the Romans, followed Philip; others, having been sailors, had lately quitted the fleets, and gone over, in hopes of more honourable employment: despair of safety, therefore, in case of the Romans getting the better, inflamed these to a degree which might rather be called madness than courage. Opposite to Sicyon is the promontory of Juno Acraea, as she is called, stretching out into the main, the passage to Corinth being about seven miles. To this place Philocles, one of the king's generals, led, through Boeotia, fifteen hundred soldiers; and there were barks from Corinth ready to take these troops on board, and carry them over to Lechaeum. Attalus, on this, advised to burn the works, and raise the siege immediately; Quinctius was for persisting more obstinately in the attempt. However, when he saw the king's troops posted at the gates, and that the sallies of the besieged could not easily be withstood, he came over to the opinion of Attalus. Thus, their design proving fruitless, they dismissed the Achaeans, and returned to their ships. Attalus steered to Piraeus, the Romans to Corcyra.

## 24

While the naval forces were thus employed, the consul, having encamped before Elatia, in Phocis, first endeavoured, by conferring with the principal inhabitants, to bring them over, and by their means to effect his purpose; but on their answering that they had nothing in their power, because the king's troops were more numerous and stronger than the townsmen, he assaulted the city on all sides at once with arms and engines. A battering-ram having been brought up, shattered a part of the wall that reached from one tower to another, and this falling with a prodigious noise and crash, left much of the town exposed. On this a Roman cohort made an assault through the breach, while at the same time the townsmen, quitting their several posts, ran together from all parts to the place, which was endangered by the attack of the enemy. At the same time others of the Romans climbed over the ruins of the wall, and brought up scaling-ladders to the parts that were standing. As the conflict attracted the eyes and attention of the enemy to one particular spot, the walls were scaled in several places, by which means the soldiers easily entered the town. The noise and tumult which ensued so terrified the enemy, that quitting the place, which they had crowded together to defend, they all fled in panic to the citadel, accompanied by the unarmed multitude. The consul having thus become master of the town, gave it up to be plundered, and then sent messengers into the citadel, offering the king's troops their lives, on condition of their laying down their arms, and departing. To the Elatians he offered their liberty; which terms being agreed to, in a few days after he got possession of the citadel.

## 25

In consequence of Philocles, the king's general, coming into Achaia, not only Corinth was delivered from the siege, but the city of Argos was betrayed into his hands by some of the principal inhabitants, after they had first sounded the minds of the populace. They had a custom, that, on the first day of assembly, their praetors, for the omen's sake, should pronounce the names, Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules; in addition to which, a rule had been made, that, along with these they should join the name of king Philip. After the conclusion of the alliance with the Romans, the herald did not make that addition; on which a murmur spread through the multitude, who would add the name of Philip, and insisting that the respect, due by law, should be paid as before; until at length the name was given out amidst universal approbation. On the encouragement afforded by this

favourable disposition, Philocles was invited, who seized in the night a strong post called Larissa, seated on a hill which overhangs the city, and in which he placed a garrison. At the dawn of day, however, and as he was proceeding in order of battle to the forum, at the foot of the hill he was met by a line of troops, drawn up to oppose him. This was a body of Achaeans, lately posted there, consisting of about five hundred young men, selected out of all the states. Their commander was Aenesidemus, of Dymae. The king's general sent a person to recommend to them to evacuate the city, because they were not a match for the townsmen alone, who held the same sentiments as the Macedonians; much less when these were joined by the Macedonians, whom even the Romans had not withstood at Corinth. This at first had no effect, either on the commander, or his men: and when they, soon after, perceived the Argives also in arms, coming, in a great body, from the opposite side, perceiving that their destruction was inevitable, they yet seemed determined to run every hazard, if their leader would persevere. But Aenesidemus, unwilling that the flower of the Achaean youth should be lost, together with the city, made terms with Philocles, that they should have liberty to retire, while himself remained armed with a few of his dependents, in the position which he had occupied. To a person sent by Philocles to inquire what he meant, he only answered, standing with his shield held out before him, that he meant to die in arms in defence of the city intrusted to his charge. Philocles then ordered some Thracians to throw their javelins at him and his attendants; and they were all put to death. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance concluded by the Achaeans with the Romans, two of their cities, and those of the greatest consequence, Argos and Corinth, were still in the hands of Philip. Such were the services performed during that summer by the land and sea forces of Rome employed in Greece.

## 26

In Gaul, the consul Sextus Aelius did nothing worth mention, though he had two armies in the province: one, which he had retained under their standards, although it ought to have been disbanded; and of this, which had served under Lucius Cornelius, proconsul, he had given the command to Caius Helvius, the praetor: the other he had brought with him into the province. He spent nearly the whole summer in compelling the people of Cremona and Placentia to return to their colonies, from whence they had been driven to various places by the calamities of war. While Gaul, beyond expectation, remained quiet through the whole year, an insurrection of the slaves was very near taking place in the neighbourhood of the city. The hostages, given by the Carthaginians, were kept in custody at Setia: as they were the children of the principal families, they were attended by a great multitude of slaves; to this number many were added, in consequence of the late African war, and by the Setians themselves having bought, from among the spoil, several of those which had been captured. Having conspired together, they sent some of their number to engage in the cause the slaves of the country round Setia, and then those at Norba and Circeii. When every thing was fully prepared, they determined, during the games which were soon to be solemnized at the first-mentioned place, to attack the people while intent on the show, and when Setia had been taken in the midst of the slaughter and unexpected turmoil, then to seize on Norba and Circeii. Information of this atrocious plot was brought to Rome, to Lucius Cornelius Merula, the city praetor. Two slaves came to him before daylight, and disclosed to him in order the whole proceedings and intentions of the conspirators. The praetor, ordering them to be guarded in his own house, summoned a meeting of the senate; and having laid before them the information of the discoverers, he was ordered to go himself to the spot, and

examine into and crush the conspiracy. Setting out, accordingly, with five lieutenant-generals, he compelled such as he found in the country to take the military oath, to arm, and follow him. Having by this tumultuary kind of levy armed about two thousand men, while all were ignorant of his destination, he came to Setia. There the leaders of the conspiracy were instantly apprehended; on which, the remainder fled from the city; but parties were sent through the country to search them out. The services of the two who made the discovery, and of one free person employed, were highly meritorious. The senate ordered a present to the latter of a hundred thousand *asses*;<sup>199</sup> to the slaves, twenty-five thousand *asses*.<sup>200</sup> each, and their freedom. The price was paid to their owners out of the treasury. Not long after, intelligence was received, that other slaves, belonging to the remains of the conspiracy, had formed a design of seizing Praeneste. The praetor, Lucius Cornelius, went thither, and inflicted punishment on near five hundred persons concerned in that wicked scheme. The public were under apprehensions that the Carthaginian hostages and prisoners fomented these plots: watches were, therefore, kept at Rome in all the streets, which the inferior magistrates were ordered to go round and inspect; while the triumvirs of the prison, called the Quarry, were to keep a stricter guard than usual. Circular letters were also sent by the praetor to all the Latin states, directing that the hostages should be confined within doors, and not at any time allowed the liberty of going into public; and that the prisoners should be kept bound with fetters, of not less than ten pounds weight, and confined in no other place of custody than the common jail.

## 27

In this year, ambassadors from king Attalus made an offering, in the Capitol, of a golden crown of two hundred and fifty-six pounds' weight, and returned thanks to the senate, because Antiochus, influenced by the authority of the Romans, had withdrawn his troops out of the territories of Attalus. During the same summer, two hundred horsemen, ten elephants, and two hundred thousand pecks of wheat, arrived from king Masinissa for the army in Greece. From Sicily also, and Sardinia, large supplies of provisions were sent, with clothing for the troops. Sicily was then governed by Marcus Marcellus, Sardinia by Marcus Porcius Cato, a man of acknowledged integrity and purity of conduct, but deemed too severe in punishing usury. He drove the usurers entirely out of the island; and restricted or abolished the contributions, usually paid by the allies, for maintaining the dignity of the praetors. The consul, Sextus Aelius, coming home from Gaul to Rome to hold the elections, elected consuls, Caius Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Minucius Rufus. Two days after was held the election of praetors; and this year, for the first time, six praetors were appointed, in consequence of the increase of the provinces, and the extension of the bounds of the empire. The persons elected were, Lucius Manlius Vulso, Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, Marcus Sergius Silus, Marcus Helvius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Lucius Atilius. Of these Sempronius and Helvius were, at the time, plebeian aediles. The curule aediles were Quintus Minucius Thermus and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. The Roman games were four times repeated during this year.

## 28

On Caius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius becoming consuls, the first business of all was the arrangement of the provinces of the consuls and praetors. Those of the praetors

<sup>199</sup> £322. 18s. 4d.

<sup>200</sup> £80. 14s. 7d

were the first settled, because that could be transacted by the lots. The city jurisdiction fell to Sergius; the foreign to Minucius; Atilius obtained Sardinia; Manlius, Sicily; Sempronius, the Hither Spain; and Helvius, the Farther. When the consuls were preparing to cast lots for Italy and Macedonia, Lucius Oppius and Quintus Fulvius, plebeian tribunes, stood in their way, alleging, that "Macedonia was a very distant province, and that the principal cause which had hitherto retarded the progress of the war, was, that when it was scarcely entered upon, and just at the commencement of operations, the former consul was always recalled. This was the fourth year since the declaration of war against Macedonia. The greater part of one year Sulpicius spent in seeking the king and his army; Villius, on the point of engaging the enemy, was recalled without any thing having been done. Quintus was detained at Rome, for the greater part of his year, by business respecting religion; nevertheless, he had so conducted affairs, that had he come earlier into the province, or had the cold season been at a greater distance, he might have put an end to hostilities. He was then just going into winter quarters; but, it was stated that he had brought the war into such a state, that if he were not prevented by a intercessor, he seemed likely to complete it in the course of the ensuing summer." By such arguments the tribunes so far prevailed, that the consuls declared that they would abide by the directions of the senate, if the tribunes would agree to do the same. Both parties having, accordingly, left the consultation perfectly free, a decree was passed, appointing the two consuls to the government of the province of Italy. Titus Quinctius was continued in command, until a successor should accede by a decree of the senate. To each, two legions were decreed; and they were ordered, with these, to carry on the war with the Cisalpine Gauls, who had revolted from the Romans. A reinforcement of five thousand foot and three hundred horse was ordered to be sent into Macedonia to Quinctius, together with three thousand seamen. Lucius Quinctius Flaminius was continued in the command of the fleet. To each of the praetors for the two Spains were granted eight thousand foot, of the allies and Latins, and four hundred horse; so that they might discharge the veteran troops in their provinces. They were further directed to fix the bounds which should divide the hither from the farther province. Two additional lieutenant-generals were sent to the army in Macedonia, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who had been consuls in that province.

## 29

It was thought necessary, that before the consuls and praetors went abroad, some prodigies should be expiated. For the temples of Vulcan and Summanus,<sup>201</sup> at Rome, and a wall and a gate at Fregellae, had been struck by lightning. At Frusino, light had shone forth during the night. At Asculum, a lamb had been born with two heads and five feet. At Formiae, two wolves entering the town had torn several persons who fell in their way; and, at Rome, a wolf had made its way, not only into the city, but into the Capitol. Caius Acilius, plebeian tribune, caused an order to be passed, that five colonies should be led out to the sea-coast; two to the mouths of the rivers Vulturnus and Liternus; one to Puteoli and one to the fort of Salernum. To these was added Buxentum. To each colony three hundred families were ordered to be sent. The commissioners appointed to conduct them thither, and who were to hold the office for three years, were Marcus Servilius Geminus, Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. As soon as the levies, and such other business, religious and civil, as required their personal attendance, was finished, both the consuls set out for Gaul. Cornelius took the direct road towards the Insubrians, who were then in arms, and had been joined by

<sup>201</sup> Pluto, Summus Mamum.

the Caenomanians. Quintus Minucius turned his route to the left side of Italy, and leading away his army to the lower sea, to Genoa, opened the campaign with an invasion of Liguria. Two towns, Clastidium and Litubium, both belonging to the Ligurians, and two states of the same nation, Celega and Cerdicum, surrendered to him. And now, all the states on this side of the Po, except the Boians among the Gauls and the Ilvatians among the Ligurians, were reduced to submission: no less, it is said, than fifteen towns and twenty thousand men surrendered themselves. He then led his legions into the territory of the Boians.

### 30

The Boian army had, not very long before, crossed the Po and joined the Insubrians and Caenomanians; for, having heard that the consuls intended to act with their forces united, they wished to increase their own strength by this junction. But when information reached them that one of the consuls was ravaging the country of the Boians, a dispute instantly arose. The Boians demanded, that all, in conjunction, should carry succour to those who were attacked; while the Insubrians positively refused to leave their country defenceless. In consequence of this dissension, the armies separated; the Boians went to defend their own territory, and the Insubrians, with the Caenomanians, encamped on the banks of the river Mincius. About five miles below this spot, the consul Cornelius pitched his camp close to the same river. Sending emissaries hence into the villages of the Caenomanians, and to Brixia, the capital of their tribe, he learned with certainty that their young men had taken arms without the approbation of the elders; and that the Caenomanians had not joined in the revolt of the Insubrians by any public authority. On which he invited to him the principal of the natives, and endeavoured to contrive and concert with them that the Caenomanians should separate from the Insubrians; and either march away and return home, or come over to the side of the Romans. This he was not able to effect; but so far, he received solemn assurances that, in case of a battle, they would either stand inactive, or, should any occasion offer, would even assist the Romans. The Insubrians knew not that such an agreement had been concluded, but they harboured in their minds some kind of suspicion, that the fidelity of their confederates was wavering. Wherefore, in forming their troops for battle, not daring to intrust either wing to them, lest, if they should treacherously give ground, they might cause a total defeat, they placed them in reserve behind the line. At the beginning of the fight, the consul vowed a temple to Juno Sospita, provided the enemy should, on that day, be routed and driven from the field; on which the soldiers raised a shout, declaring, that they would insure to their commander the completion of his vow, and at the same time an attack was made on the enemy. The Insubrians did not stand even the first onset. Some writers affirm, that the Caenomanians, falling on their rear during the heat of the engagement, caused as much disorder there as prevailed in their front: and that, thus assailed on both sides, thirty-five thousand of them were slain, five thousand seven hundred taken prisoners, among whom was Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, who had been the cause of the war; and that a hundred and thirty military standards and above two hundred waggons were taken. On this, the towns of the Gauls, which had joined in the revolt of the Insubrians, surrendered to the Romans.

### 31

The other consul, Minucius, had at first traversed the territories of the Boians, with wide-spread ravaging parties; but afterwards, when that people left the Insubrians, and came home to defend their own property, he kept his men within their camp, expecting

to come to a regular engagement with the enemy. Nor would the Boians have declined a battle, if their spirits had not been depressed by hearing of the defeat of the Insubrians. Upon this, deserting their commander and their camp, they dispersed themselves through the several towns, each wishing to take care of his own effects. Thus they changed the enemy's method of carrying on the war: for, no longer hoping to decide the matter by a single battle, he began again to lay waste the lands, burn the houses, and storm the villages. At this time, Clastidium was burned, and the legions were led thence against the Ilvavian Ligurians, who alone refused to submit. That state, also, on learning that the Insubrians had been defeated in battle, and the Boians so terrified that they had not dared to try the fortune of an engagement, made a submission. Letters from the consuls, containing accounts of their successes, came from Gaul to Rome at the same time. Marcus Sergius, city praetor, read them in the senate, and afterwards, by direction of the fathers, in an assembly of the people; on which a supplication, of four days' continuance, was decreed.

### 32

It was by this time winter; and while Titus Quinctius, after the reduction of Elatia, had his winter quarters distributed in Phocis and Locris, a violent dissension broke out at Opus. One faction invited to their assistance the Aetolians who were nearest at hand; the other, the Romans. The Aetolians arrived first; but the other party, which was the more powerful, refused them admittance, and, despatching a courier to the Roman general, held the city until his arrival. The citadel was possessed by a garrison belonging to the king, and they could not be prevailed on to retire from thence, either by the threats of the people of Opus, or by the authority of the Roman consul's commands. What prevented their being immediately attacked was, the arrival of an envoy from the king, to solicit the appointing of a time and place for a conference. This was granted to the king with great reluctance; not that Quinctius did not wish to see war concluded under his own auspices, partly by arms, and partly by negotiation: for he knew not, yet, whether one of the new consuls would be sent out as his successor, or whether he should be continued in the command; a point which he had charged his friends and relations to labour for with all their might. But he thought that a conference would answer this purpose; that it would put it in his power to give matters a turn towards war, in case he remained in the province, or towards peace, if he were to be removed. They chose for the meeting a part of the sea-shore, in the Malian gulf, near Nicaea. Thither Philip came from Demetrias, with five barks and one ship of war: he was accompanied by some principal Macedonians, and an Achaean exile, name Cycliades, a man of considerable note. With the Roman general, were king Amynder, Dionysidorus, ambassador from king Attalus, Agesimbrotus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, Phaeneas, praetor of the Aetolians, and two Achaeans, Aristaenus and Xenophon. Attended by these, the Roman general advanced to the brink of the shore, when the king had come forward to the prow of his vessel, as it lay at anchor; and said, "If you will come on the shore, we shall mutually speak and hear with more convenience." This the king refused; and on Quinctius asking him, "Whom do you fear?" With the haughty spirit of royalty, he replied, "Fear I have none, but of the immortal gods; but I have no confidence in the faith of those whom I see about you, and least of all in the Aetolians." "That danger," said the Roman, "is equal to all in common who confer with an enemy, if no confidence subsists." "But, Titus Quinctius," replied the king, "if treachery be intended, the prizes of perfidy are not equal, namely, Philip and Phaeneas. For it will not

be so difficult for the Aetolians to find another praetor, as for the Macedonians to find another king in my place."--Silence then ensued.

### 33

The Roman expected that he who solicited the conference should open it; and the king thought that he who was to prescribe, not he who received, terms of peace, ought to begin the conference. At length the Roman said, that "his discourse should be very simple; for he would only mention those articles, without which there could be no conditions of peace. These were, that the king should withdraw his garrisons from all the cities of Greece. That he should deliver up to the allies of the Roman people the prisoners and deserters; should restore to the Romans those places in Illyricum of which he had possessed himself by force, since the peace concluded in Epirus; and to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the cities which he had seized since the death of Ptolemy Philopater." These were the terms which he required, on behalf of himself and the Roman people: but it was proper that the demands of the allies, also, should be heard. The ambassador of king Attalus demanded "restitution of the ships and prisoners taken in the sea-fight at Cius; and that Nicephorium, and the temple of Venus, which Philip had pillaged and defaced, should be restored as though they had not been injured." The Rhodians laid claim to Peraea, a tract on the continent, lying opposite to their island, which from early times had been under their jurisdiction; and they required that "the garrisons should be withdrawn from Tassus, Bargylius, and Euroma, and from Sestus and Abydos on the Hellespont; that Perinthus should be restored to the Byzantians, in right of their ancient title, and that all the sea-port towns and harbours of Asia should be free." The Achaeans demanded the restoration of Corinth and Argos. Phaeneas nearly repeated the demands made by the Romans, that the troops should withdraw out of Greece, and the Aetolians be put in possession of the cities which had formerly been under their dominion. He was followed by Alexander, a man of eminence among the Aetolians, and, considering his country, not uneloquent. He said, that "he had long kept silence, not because he expected that any business would be effected in that conference, but because he was unwilling to interrupt any of the allies in their discourse." He asserted, that "Philip was neither treating for peace with sincerity; and that he had never waged war with true courage, at any time: that in negotiating, he was insidious and fraudulent; while in war he never fought on equal ground, nor engaged in regular battles; but, skulking about, burned and pillaged towns, and, when worsted, destroyed the prizes of victory. But not in that manner did the ancient kings of Macedon behave; they decided the fate of the war in the field, and spared the towns as far as they were able, in order to possess the more opulent empire. For what sort of conduct was it, to destroy the objects for the possession of which the contest was waged, and thereby leave nothing to himself but fighting? Philip had, in the last year, desolated more cities of his allies in Thessaly, than all the enemies that Thessaly ever had. On the Aetolians themselves he had made greater depredations, when he was in alliance with them, than since he became their enemy. He had seized on Lysimachia, after dislodging the praetor and garrison of the Aetolians. Cius also, a city belonging to their government, he razed from the foundation. With the same injustice he held possession of Thebes in Phthiotis, of Echinus, Larissa, and Pharsalus."

### 34

Philip, provoked by this discourse of Alexander, pushed his ship nearer to the land, that he might be the better heard, and began to speak with much violence, particularly

against the Aetolians. But Phaeneas, interrupting him, said that "the business depended not upon words; he must either conquer in war, or submit to his superiors." "That, indeed, is evident," said Philip, "even to the blind," reflecting on Phaeneas, who had a disorder in his eyes: for he was naturally fonder of such pleasantries than became a king; and even in the midst of serious business, did not sufficiently restrain himself from ridicule. He then began to express great indignation at the "Aetolians assuming as much importance as the Romans, and insisting on his evacuating Greece; people who could not even tell what were its boundaries. For, of Aetolia itself, a large proportion, consisting of the Agraeans, Apodeotians, and Amphilocheians, was no part of Greece. Have they just ground of complaint against me for not refraining from war with their allies, when themselves, from the earliest period, follow, as an established rule, the practice of suffering their young men to carry arms against those allies, withholding only the public authority of the state; while very frequently contending armies have Aetolian auxiliaries on both sides? I did not seize on Cius by force, but assisted my friend and ally, Prusias, who was besieging it, and Lysimachia I rescued from the Thracians. But since necessity diverted my attention from the guarding of it to this present war, the Thracians have possession of it. So much for the Aetolians. To Attalus and the Rhodians I in justice owe nothing; for not to me, but to themselves, is the commencement of hostilities to be attributed. However, out of respect to the Romans, I will restore Peraea to the Rhodians, and to Attalus his ships, and such prisoners as can be found. As to what concerns Nicephorium, and the temple of Venus, what other answer can I make to those who require their restoration, than that I will take on myself the trouble and expense of replanting them--the only way in which woods and groves which have been cut down can be restored,--since it is thought fit that, between kings, such kinds of demands should be made and answered." The last part of his speech was directed to the Achaeans, wherein he enumerated, first, the kindnesses of Antigonus; then, his own towards their nation, desiring them to consider the decrees themselves had passed concerning him, which comprehended every kind of honour, divine and human; and to these he added their late decree, by which they had confirmed the resolution of deserting him. He inveighed bitterly against their perfidy, but told them, that nevertheless he would give them back Argos. "With regard to Corinth, he would consult with the Roman general; and would, at the same time, inquire from him, whether he thought it right, that he (Philip) should evacuate only those cities which, being captured by himself, were held by the right of war; or those, also, which he had received from his ancestors."

### 35

The Achaeans and Aetolians were preparing to answer, but, as the sun was near setting, the conference was adjourned to the next day; and Philip returned to his station whence he came, the Romans and allies to their camp. On the following day, Quinctius repaired to Nicaea, which was the place agreed on, at the appointed time; but neither Philip, nor any messenger from him, came for several hours. At length, when they began to despair of his coming, his ships suddenly appeared. He said, that "the terms enjoined were so severe and humiliating, that, not knowing what to determine, he had spent the day in deliberation." But the general opinion was, that he had purposely delayed the business until late, that the Achaeans and Aetolians might not have time to answer him: and this opinion he himself confirmed, by desiring that time might not be consumed in altercation, and, to bring the affair to some conclusion, that the others should retire, and leave him to converse with the Roman general. For some time this was not admitted,

lest the allies should appear to be excluded from the conference. Afterwards, on his persisting in his desire, the Roman general, with the consent of all, taking with him Appius Claudius, a military tribune, advanced to the brink of the coast, and the rest retired. The king, with the two persons whom he had brought the day before, came on shore, where they conversed a considerable time in private. What account of their proceedings Philip gave to his people is not well known: what Quinctius told the allies was, that "Philip was willing to cede to the Romans the whole coast of Illyricum, and to give up the deserters and prisoners, if there were any. That he consented to restore to Attalus his ships, and the seamen taken with them; and to the Rhodians the tract which they call Peraea. That he refused to evacuate Iassus and Bargylii. To the Aetolians he was ready to restore Pharsalus and Larissa; Thebes he would not restore: and that he would give back to the Achaeans the possession, not only of Argos, but of Corinth also." This arrangement pleased none of the parties; neither those to whom the concessions were to be made, nor those to whom they were refused; "for on that plan," they said, "more would be lost than gained; nor could the grounds of contention ever be removed, but by his withdrawing his forces from every part of Greece."

### 36

These expressions, delivered with eagerness and vehemence by every one in the assembly, reached the ears of Philip, though he stood at a distance. He therefore requested of Quinctius, that the whole business might be deferred until the next day; and then he would, positively, either prevail on the allies, or suffer himself to be prevailed on by them. The shore at Thronium was appointed for their meeting, and there they assembled early. Philip began with entreating Quinctius, and all who were present, not to harbour such sentiments as must embarrass a negotiation of peace; and then desired time, while he could send ambassadors to Rome, to the senate, declaring, that "he would either obtain a peace on the terms mentioned, or would accept whatever terms the senate should prescribe." None by any means approved of this; they said, he only sought a delay, and leisure to collect his strength. But Quinctius observed, "that such an objection would have been well founded, if it were then summer and a season fit for action; as matters stood, and the winter being just at hand, nothing would be lost by allowing him time to send ambassadors. For, without the authority of the senate, no agreement which they might conclude with the king would be valid; and besides, they would by this means have an opportunity, while the winter itself would necessarily cause a suspension of arms, to learn the authoritative decision of the senate." The other chiefs of the allies came over to this opinion: and a cessation of hostilities for two months being granted, they resolved that each of their states should send an ambassador with the necessary information to the senate, and in order that it should not be deceived by the misrepresentations of Philip. To the above agreement for a truce, was added an article, that all the king's troops should be immediately withdrawn from Phocis and Locris. With the ambassadors of the allies, Quinctius sent Amynder, king of Athamania; and, to add a degree of splendour to the embassy, a deputation from himself, composed of Quintus Fabius, the son of his wife's sister, Quintus Fulvius, and Appius Claudius.

### 37

On their arrival at Rome, the ambassadors of the allies were admitted to audience before those of the king. Their discourse, in general, was filled up with invectives against Philip. What produced the greatest effect on the minds of the senate was, that,

by pointing out the relative situations of the lands and seas in that part of the world, they made it manifest to every one, that if the king held Demetrius in Thessaly, Chalcis in Euboea, and Corinth in Achaia, Greece could not be free; and they added, that Philip himself, with not more insolence than truth, used to call these the fetters of Greece. The king's ambassadors were then introduced, and when they were beginning a long harangue, a short question cut short their discourse:--Whether he was willing to yield up the three above-mentioned cities? They answered, that they had received no specific instructions on that head: on which they were dismissed, the negotiation being left unsettled. Full authority was given to Quinctius to determine every thing relative to war and peace. As this demonstrated clearly that the senate were not weary of the war, so he, who was more earnestly desirous of conquest than of peace, never afterwards consented to a conference with Philip; and even gave him notice that he would not admit any embassy from him, unless it came with information that he was retiring from the whole of Greece.

### 38

Philip now perceived that he must decide the matter in the field, and collect his strength about him from all quarters. Being particularly uneasy in respect to the cities of Achaia, a country so distant from him, and also of Argos, even more, indeed, than of Corinth, he resolved, as the most advisable method, to put the former into the hands of Nabis, tyrant of Lacedaemon, in trust, as it were, on the terms, that if he should prove successful in the war, Nabis should re-deliver it to him; if any misfortune should happen, he should keep it himself. Accordingly, he wrote to Philocles, who had the command in Corinth and Argos, to have a meeting with the tyrant. Philocles, besides coming with a valuable present, added to that pledge of future friendship between the king and the tyrant, that it was Philip's wish to unite his daughters in marriage to the sons of Nabis. The tyrant, at first, refused to receive the city on any other conditions than that of being invited to its protection by a decree of the Argives themselves: but afterwards, hearing that in a full assembly they had treated the name of the tyrant not only with scorn, but even with abhorrence, he thought he had now a sufficient excuse for plundering them, and he accordingly desired Philocles to give him possession of the place as soon as he pleased. Nabis was admitted into the city in the night, without the privity of any of the inhabitants, and, at the first light, seized on the higher parts of it, and shut the gates. A few of the principal people having made their escape, during the first confusion, the properties of all who were absent were seized as booty: those who were present were stripped of their gold and silver, and loaded with exorbitant contributions. Such as paid these readily were discharged, without personal insult and laceration of their bodies; but such as were suspected of hiding or reserving any of their effects, were mangled and tortured like slaves. He then summoned an assembly, in which he promulgated two measures; one for an abolition of debts, the other for a distribution of the land, in shares, to each man--two fire-brands in the hands of those who were desirous of revolution, for inflaming the populace against the higher ranks.

### 39

The tyrant, when he had the city of Argos in his power, never considering from whom or on what conditions he had received it, sent ambassadors to Elatia, to Quinctius, and to Attalus, in his winter quarters at Aegina, to tell them, that "he was in possession of Argos; and that if Quinctius would come hither, and consult with him, he had no doubt but that every thing might be adjusted between them." Quinctius, in order that he might

deprive Philip of that stronghold, along with the rest, consented to come; accordingly, sending a message to Attalus, to leave Aegina, and meet him at Sicyon, he set sail from Anticyra with ten quinqueremes, which his brother, Lucius Quinctius, happened to have brought a little before from his winter station at Corcyra, and passed over to Sicyon. Attalus was there before him, who, representing that the tyrant ought to come to the Roman general, not the general to the tyrant, brought Quinctius over to his opinion, which was, that he should not enter the city of Argos. Not far from it, however, was a place called Mycenica; and there the parties agreed to meet. Quinctius came, with his brother and a few military tribunes; Attalus, with his royal retinue; and Nicostratus the praetor of the Achaeans, with a few of the auxiliary officers: and they there found Nabis waiting with his whole army. He advanced, armed, and attended by his armed guards, almost to the middle of the interjacent plain; Quinctius unarmed, with his brother and two military tribunes; the king was accompanied by one of his nobles, and the praetor of the Achaeans, unarmed likewise. The tyrant, when he saw the king and the Roman general unarmed, opened the conference, with apologizing for having come to the meeting armed himself, and surrounded with armed men. "He had no apprehensions," he said, "from them; but only from the Argive exiles." When they then began to treat of the conditions of their friendship, the Roman made two demands: one, that the war with the Achaeans should be put an end to; the other, that he should send him aid against Philip. He promised the aid required; but, instead of a peace with the Achaeans, a cessation of hostilities was obtained, to last until the war with Philip should be concluded.

#### 40

A debate concerning the Argives, also, was set on foot by king Attalus, who charged Nabis with holding their city by force, which was put into his hands by the treachery of Philocles; while Nabis insisted, that he had been invited by the Argives themselves to afford them protection. The king required a general assembly of the Argives to be convened, that the truth of that matter might be known. To this the tyrant did not object; but the king alleged, that the Lacedaemonian troops ought to be withdrawn from the city, in order to render the assembly free; and that the people should be left at liberty to declare their real sentiments. The tyrant refused to withdraw them, and the debate produced no effect. To the Roman general, six hundred Cretans were given by Nabis, who agreed with the praetor of the Achaeans to a cessation of arms for four months, and thus they departed from the conference. Quinctius proceeded to Corinth, advancing to the gates with the cohort of Cretans, in order that it might be evident to Philocles, the governor of the city, that the tyrant had deserted the cause of Philip. Philocles himself came out to confer with the Roman general; and, on the latter exhorting him to change sides immediately, and surrender the city he answered in such a manner as showed an inclination rather to defer than to refuse the matter. From Corinth, Quinctius sailed over to Anticyra, and sent his brother thence, to sound the disposition of the people of Acarnania. Attalus went from Argos to Sicyon. Here, on one side, the state added new honours to those formerly paid to the king; and, on the other, the king, besides having on a former occasion, redeemed for them, at a vast expense, a piece of land sacred to Apollo, unwilling to pass by the city of his friends and allies without a token of munificence, made them a present of ten talents of silver,<sup>202</sup> and ten thousand bushels of corn, and then returned to Cencreae to his fleet. Nabis, leaving a strong garrison at Argos, returned to Lacedaemon; and, as he himself had pillaged the

<sup>202</sup> £1937. 10s.

men, he sent his wife to Argos to pillage the women. She invited the females to her house, sometimes singly, and sometimes several together, who were united by family connexion; and partly by fair speeches, partly by threats, stripped them, not only of their gold, but, at last, even of their garments, and every article of female attire.

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## Book XXXIII

*Titus Quinctius Flamininus, proconsul, gains a decisive victory over Philip at Cynoscephalae. Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, praetor, cut off by the Celtiberians. Death of Attalus, at Pergamus. Peace granted to Philip, and liberty to Greece. Lucius Furius Purpureo and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consuls, subdue the Boian and Insubrian Gauls. Triumph of Marcellus. Hannibal, alarmed at an embassy from Rome concerning him, flies to Antiochus, king of Syria, who was preparing to make war on the Romans.*

### 1

Such were the occurrences of the winter. In the beginning of spring, Quinctius, having summoned Attalus to Elatia, and being anxious to bring under his authority the nation of the Boeotians, who had until then been wavering in their dispositions, marched through Phocis, and pitched his camp at the distance of five miles from Thebes, the capital of Boeotia. Next day, attended by one company of soldiers, and by Attalus, together with the ambassadors, who had come to him in great numbers from all quarters, he proceeded towards the city, having ordered the spearmen of two legions, being two thousand men, to follow him at the distance of a mile. About midway, Antiphilus, praetor of the Boeotians, met him: the rest of the people stood on the walls, watching the arrival of the king and the Roman general. Few arms and few soldiers appeared around them--the hollow roads, and the valleys concealing from view the spearmen, who followed at a distance. When Quinctius drew near the city, he slackened his pace, as if with intention to salute the multitude, who came out to meet him; but the real motive of his delaying was, that the spearmen might come up. The townsmen pushed forward, in a crowd, before the lictors, not perceiving the band of soldiers who were following them close, until they arrived at the general's quarters. Then, supposing the city betrayed and taken, through the treachery of Antiphilus, their praetor, they were all struck with astonishment and dismay. It was now evident that no room was left to the Boeotians for a free discussion of measures in the assembly, which was summoned for the following day. However, they concealed their grief, which it would have been both vain and unsafe to have discovered.

### 2

When the assembly met, Attalus first rose to speak, and he began his discourse with a recital of the kindnesses conferred by his ancestors and himself on the Greeks in general, and on the Boeotians in particular. But, being now too old and infirm to bear the exertion of speaking in public, he lost his voice and fell; and for some time, while they were carrying him to his apartments, (for he was deprived of the use of one half of his limbs,) the proceedings of the assembly were for a short time suspended. Then Aristaenus spoke on the part of the Achaeans, and was listened to with the greater attention, because he recommended to the Boeotians no other measures than those which he had recommended to the Achaeans. A few words were added by Quinctius, extolling the good faith rather than the arms and power of the Romans. A resolution was then proposed, by Dicaearchus of Plataea, for forming a treaty of friendship with the Roman people, which was read; and no one daring to offer any opposition, it was received and passed by the suffrages of all the states of Boeotia. When the assembly broke up, Quinctius made no longer stay at Thebes than the sudden accident to Attalus

made necessary. When it appeared that the force of the disorder had not brought the king's life into any immediate danger, but had only occasioned a weakness in his limbs, he left him there, to use the necessary means for recovery, and returned to Elatia, from whence he had come. Having now brought the Boeotians, as formerly the Achaeans, to join in the confederacy, while all places were left behind him in a state of tranquillity and safety, he bent his whole attention towards Philip, and the remaining business of the war.

### 3

Philip, on his part, as his ambassadors had brought no hopes of peace from Rome, resolved, as soon as spring began, to levy soldiers through every town in his dominions: but he found a great scarcity of young men; for successive wars, through several generations, had very much exhausted the Macedonians, and, even in the course of his own reign great numbers had fallen, in the naval engagements with the Rhodians and Attalus, and in those on land with the Romans. Mere youths, therefore, from the age of sixteen, were enlisted; and even those who had served out their time, provided they had any remains of strength, were recalled to their standards. Having, by these means, filled up the numbers of his army about the vernal equinox, he drew together all his forces to Dius: he encamped them there in a fixed post; and, exercising the soldiers every day, waited for the enemy. About the same time Quinctius left Elatia, and came by Thronium and Scarphea to Thermopylae. There he held an assembly of the Aetolians, which had been summoned to meet at Heraclea, to determine with what number of auxiliaries they should follow the Roman general to the war. On the third day, having learned the determination of the allies, he proceeded from Heraclea to Xyniae; and, pitching his camp on the confines between the Aenians and Thessalians, waited for the Aetolian auxiliaries. The Aetolians occasioned no delay. Six hundred foot and four hundred horse, under the command of Phaeneas, speedily joined him; and then Quinctius, to show plainly what he had waited for, immediately decamped. On passing into the country of Phthiotis, he was joined by five hundred Cretans of Gortynium, whose commander was Cydantes, with three hundred Apollonians, armed nearly in the same manner; and not long after, by Amynder, with one thousand two hundred Athamanian foot.

### 4

Philip, being informed of the departure of the Romans from Elatia, and considering that, on the approaching contest, his kingdom was at hazard, thought it advisable to make an encouraging speech to his soldiers; in which, after he had expatiated on many topics often alluded to before, respecting the virtues of their ancestors, and the military fame of the Macedonians, he touched particularly on those considerations which at the time threw the greatest damp on their spirits, and on those by which they might be animated to some degree of confidence. To the defeat thrice suffered at the narrow passes near the river Aous, by the phalanx of the Macedonians, he opposed the repulse given by main force to the Romans at Atrax: and even with respect to the former case, when they had not maintained possession of the pass leading into Epirus, he said, "the first fault was to be imputed to those who had been negligent in keeping the guards; and the second, to the light infantry and mercenaries in the time of the engagement; but that, as to the phalanx of the Macedonians, it had stood firm on that occasion; and would for ever remain invincible, on equal ground, and in regular fight." This body consisted of sixteen thousand men, the prime strength of the army, and of the kingdom. Besides these, he had two thousand targeteers, called Peltastae; of Thracians, and Illyrians of the

tribe called Trallians, the like number of two thousand; and of hired auxiliaries, collected out of various nations, about one thousand; and two thousand horse. With this force the king waited for the enemy. The Romans had nearly an equal number; in cavalry alone they had a superiority, by the addition of the Aetolians.

## 5

Quinctius, having decamped to Thebes in Phthiotis, and having received encouragement to hope that the city would be betrayed to him by Timon, a leading man in the state, came up close to the walls with only a small number of cavalry and some light infantry. So entirely were his expectations disappointed, that he was not only obliged to maintain a fight with the enemy who sallied out against him, but would have incurred a fearful conflict had not both infantry and cavalry been called out hastily from the camp, and come up in time. Not meeting with that success which he had too inconsiderately expected, he desisted from any further attempt to take the city at present. He had received certain information of the king being in Thessaly; but as he had not yet discovered into what part of it he had come, he sent his soldiers round the country, with orders to cut timber and prepare palisades. Both Macedonians and Greeks had palisades; but the latter had not adopted the most convenient mode of using them, either with respect to carriage, or for the purpose of strengthening their fortifications. They cut trees both too large and too full of branches for a soldier to carry easily along with his arms: and after they had fenced their camp with a line of these, the demolition of their palisade was no difficult matter; for the trunks of large trees appearing to view, with great intervals between them, and the numerous and strong shoots affording the hand a good hold, two, or at most three young men, uniting their efforts, used to pull out one tree, which, being removed, a breach was opened as wide as a gate, and there was nothing at hand with which it could be stopped up. But the Romans cut light stakes, mostly of one fork, with three, or at the most four branches; so that a soldier, with his arms slung at his back, can conveniently carry several of them together; and then they stick them down so closely, and interweave the branches in such a manner, that it cannot be seen to what main stem any branch belongs; besides which, the boughs are so sharp, and wrought so intimately with each other, as to leave no room for a hand to be thrust between; consequently an enemy cannot lay hold of any thing capable of being dragged out, or, if that could be done, could he draw out the branches thus intertwined, and which mutually bind each other. And even if, by accident, one should be pulled out, it leaves but a small opening, which is very easily filled up.

## 6

Next day Quinctius, causing his men to carry palisades with them, that they might be ready to encamp on any spot, marched forward a short way, and took post about six miles from Pherae; whence he sent scouts to discover in what part of Thessaly the king was, and what appeared to be his intention. Philip was then near Larissa, and as soon as he learnt that the Roman general had removed from Thebes, being equally impatient for a decisive engagement, he proceeded towards the enemy, and pitched his camp about four miles from Pherae. On the day following, some light troops went out from both camps, to seize on certain hills, which over looked the city. When, nearly at equal distance from summit which was intended to be seized, they came within sight of each other, they halted; and sending messengers to their respective camps for directions, how they were to proceed on this unexpected meeting with the enemy, waited their return in quiet. For that day, they were recalled to their camps, without having

commenced any engagement. On the following day, there was a battle between the cavalry, near the same hills, in which the Aetolians bore no small part; and in which the king's troops were defeated, and driven into their camp. Both parties were greatly impeded in the action, by the ground being thickly planted with trees; by the gardens, of which there were many in a place so near the city; and by the roads being enclosed between walls, and in some places shut up. The commanders, therefore, were equally desirous of removing out of that quarter; and, as if by a preconcerted scheme, they both directed their route to Scotussa: Philip with the hope of getting a supply of corn there; the Roman intending to get before the enemy and destroy the crops. The armies marched the whole day without having sight of each other in any place, the view being intercepted by a continued range of hills between them. The Romans encamped at Eretria, in Phthiotis; Philip, on the river Onchestus. But though Philip lay at Melambius, in the territory of Scotussa, and Quinctius near Thetidium, in Pharsalia, neither party knew with any certainty where his antagonist was. On the third day, there first fell a violent rain, which was succeeded by darkness equal to that of night, and this confined the Romans to their camp, through fear of an ambuscade.

## 7

Philip, intent on hastening his march, and in no degree deterred by the clouds, which after the rain lowered over the face of the country, ordered his troops to march: and yet so thick a fog had obscured the day, that neither the standard-bearers could see the road, nor the soldiers the standards; so that all, led blindly by the shouts of uncertain guides, fell into disorder, like men wandering by night. When they had passed over the hills called Cynoscephalae, where they set a strong guard of foot and horse, they pitched their camp. Although the Roman general staid at Thetidium, yet he detached troops of horse and one thousand foot, to find out where the enemy lay; warning them, however, to beware of ambuscades, which the darkness of the day would cover, even in an open country. When these arrived at the hills, where the enemy's guard was posted, struck with mutual fear, both parties stood, as if deprived of the power of motion. They then sent back messengers to their respective commanders; and when the first surprise subsided, they proceeded to action without more delay. The fight was begun by small advanced parties; and afterwards the numbers of the combatants were increased by reinforcements of men, who supported those who gave way. In this contest the Romans, being far inferior to their adversaries, sent message after message to the general, that they were being overpowered; on which he hastily sent five hundred horse and two thousand foot, mostly Aetolians, under the command of two military tribunes, who relieved them, and restored the fight. The Macedonians, distressed in turn by this change of fortune, sent to beg succour from their king; but as, on account of the general darkness from the fog, he had expected nothing less, on that day, than a battle, and had therefore sent a great number of men, of every kind, to forage, he was, for a considerable time, in great perplexity, and unable to form a resolution. Subsequently, as the messengers still continued to urge him, and the covering of clouds was now removed from the tops of the mountains, and the Macedonian party was in view, having been driven up to the highest summit, and trusting for safety rather to the nature of the ground than to their arms, he thought it necessary, at all events, to hazard the whole, in order to prevent the loss of a part, for want of support; and, accordingly, he sent up Athenagoras, general of the mercenary soldiers, with all the auxiliaries, except the Thracians, joined by the Macedonian and Thessalian cavalry. On their arrival, the Romans were forced from the top of the hill, and did not face about until they came to

the level plain. The principal support which saved them from being driven down in disorderly flight, was the Aetolian horsemen. The Aetolians were then by far the best cavalry in Greece; in infantry, they were surpassed by some of their neighbours.

## 8

This affair was represented as more successful than the advantage gained in the battle could warrant; for people came, one after another, and calling out that the Romans were flying in a panic; so that, though reluctant and hesitating declaring it a rash proceeding, and that he liked not either place or the time, yet he was prevailed upon to draw out his whole force to battle. The Roman general did the same, induced by necessity, rather than by the favourableness of the occasion. Leaving the right wing as a reserve, having the elephants posted in front, he, with the left, and all the right infantry, advanced against the enemy; at the same time reminding his men, that "they were going to fight the same Macedonians whom they had fought in the passes of Epirus, fenced, as they were, with mountains and rivers, and whom, after conquering the natural difficulties of the ground, they had dislodged and vanquished; the same, whom they had before defeated under the command of Publius Sulpicius, when they opposed their passage to Eordaea. That the kingdom of Macedonia had been hitherto supported by its reputation, not by real strength; and that even that reputation had, at length, vanished." Quinctius soon reached his troops, who stood in the bottom of the valley; and they, on the arrival of their general and the army, renewed the fight, and, making a vigorous onset, compelled the enemy again to turn their backs. Philip, with the targeteers, and the right wing of infantry, (the main strength of the Macedonian army, called by them the phalanx,) advanced at a quick pace, having ordered Nicanor, one of his courtiers, to bring up the rest of his forces with all speed. At first, on reaching the top of the hill, from a few arms and bodies lying there, he perceived that there had been an engagement on the spot, and that the Romans had been repulsed from it. When he likewise saw the fight now going on close to the enemy's works, he was elated with excessive delight; but presently, observing his men flying back, and that the panic was on the other side, he was much embarrassed, and hesitated for some time, whether he should cause his troops to retire into the camp. Then, as the enemy approached, he was sensible that his party, besides the losses which they suffered as they fled, must be entirely lost, if not speedily succoured; and as, by this time, even a retreat would be unsafe, he found himself compelled to put all to hazard, before he was joined by the other division of his forces. He placed the cavalry and light infantry that had been engaged, on the right wing; and ordered the targeteers, and the phalanx of Macedonians, to lay aside their spears, which their great length rendered unserviceable, and to manage the business with their swords: at the same time, that his line might not be easily broken, he lessened the extent of the front one half, and doubled the files within so that it might be deeper than it was broad. He ordered them also to close their files, so that man might join with man and arms with arms.

## 9

Quinctius, having received among the standards and ranks those who had been engaged with the enemy, gave the signal by sound of trumpet. It is said, that such a shout was raised, as was seldom heard at the beginning of any battle; for it happened, that both armies shouted at once; not only the troops then engaged, but also the reserves, and those who were just then coming into the field. The king, fighting from the higher ground, had the better on the right wing, by means chiefly of the advantage of situation.

On the left, all was disorder and confusion; particularly when that division of the phalanx, which had marched in the rear, was coming up. The centre stood intent on the fight as on a spectacle which in no way concerned them. The phalanx, just arrived (a column rather than a line of battle, and fitter for a march than for a fight,) had scarcely mounted the top of the hill: before these could form, Quinctius, though he saw his men in the left wing giving way, charged the enemy furiously, first driving on the elephants against them, for he judged that one part being routed would draw the rest after. The affair was no longer doubtful. The Macedonians, repelled by the first shock of the elephants, instantly turned their backs; and the rest, as had been foreseen, followed them in their retreat. Then, one of the military tribunes, forming his design in the instant, took with him twenty companies of men; left that part of the army which was evidently victorious; and making a small circuit, fell on the rear of the enemy's right wing. Any army whatever, thus charged from the rear, must have been thrown into confusion. But to that confusion which under such circumstances would be common to all armies, there was in this case an additional cause. The phalanx of the Macedonians, being heavy, could not readily face about; nor would they have been suffered to do it by their adversaries in front, who, although they gave way to them a little before, on this new occasion pressed them vigorously. Besides, they lay under another inconvenience in respect of the ground; for, by pursuing the retreating enemy down the face of the hill, they had left the top to the party who came round on their rear. Thus attacked on both sides, they were exposed for some time to great slaughter, and then betook themselves to flight, most of them throwing away their arms.

## 10

Philip, with a small party of horse and foot, ascended a hill somewhat higher than the rest, to take a view of the situation of his troops on the left. Then, when he saw them flying in confusion, and all the hills around glittering with Roman standards and arms, he withdrew from the field. Quinctius, as he was pressing on the retreating enemy, observed the Macedonians suddenly raising up their spears, and not knowing what they meant thereby, he ordered the troops to halt. Then, on being told that this was the practice of the Macedonians when surrendering themselves prisoners, he was disposed to spare the vanquished; but the troops, not being apprized, either of the enemy having ceased fighting, or of the general's intention, made a charge on them, and the foremost having been cut down, the rest dispersed themselves and fled. Philip hastened in disorderly flight to Tempè, and there halted one day at Gonnì, to pick up any who might have survived the battle. The victorious Romans rushed into the Macedonian camp with hopes of spoil, but found it, for the most part, plundered already by the Aetolians. Eight thousand of the enemy were killed on that day, five thousand taken. Of the victors, about seven hundred fell. If any credit is to be attached to Valerius Antias, who on every occasion exaggerates numbers enormously, the killed of the enemy on that day amounted to forty thousand; the prisoners taken, (in which article the deviation from truth is less extravagant,) to five thousand seven hundred, with two hundred and forty-nine military standards. Claudius also asserts that thirty-two thousand of the enemy were slain, and four thousand three hundred taken. We have not given entire credit, even to the smallest of those numbers, but have followed Polybius, a safe authority with respect to all the Roman affairs, but especially those which were transacted in Greece.

## 11

Philip having collected, after the flight, such as, having been scattered by the various chances of the battle, had followed his steps, and having sent people to Larissa to burn the records of the kingdom, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy, retired into Macedonia. Quinctius set up to sale a part of the prisoners and booty, and part he bestowed on the soldiers; and then proceeded to Larissa, without having yet received any certain intelligence to what quarter Philip had betaken himself, or what were his designs. To this place came a herald from the king, apparently to obtain a truce, until those who had fallen in battle should be removed and buried, but in reality to request permission to send ambassadors. Both were obtained from the Roman general; who, besides, added this message to the king, "not to be too much dejected." This expression gave much offence, particularly to the Aetolians, who were become very assuming, and who complained, that "the general was quite altered by success. Before the battle, he was accustomed to transact all business, whether great or small, in concert with the allies; but they had, now, no share in any of his counsels; he conducted all affairs entirely by his own judgment; and was even seeking an occasion of ingratiating himself personally with Philip, in order that, after the Aetolians had laboured through all hardships and difficulties of the war, the Roman might assume to himself all the merit and all the fruits of a peace." Certain it is, that he had treated them with less respect than formerly, but they did not know why they were thus slighted. They imagined that he was actuated by an expectation of presents from the king, though he was of a spirit incapable of yielding to any such passion of the mind; but he was, with good reason, displeased at the Aetolians, on account of their insatiable greediness for plunder, and of their arrogance in assuming to themselves the honour of the victory--a claim so ill founded, as to offend the ears of all. Besides, he foresaw that, if Philip were removed out of the way, and the strength of the kingdom of Macedonia entirely broken, the Aetolians would necessarily be regarded as the masters of Greece. For these reasons, he intentionally did many things to lessen their importance and reputation in the judgment of the other states.

## 12

A truce for fifteen days was granted to the Macedonians, and a conference with the king himself appointed. Before the day arrived on which this was to be held, the Roman general called a council of the allies, and desired their opinions respecting the terms of peace, proper to be prescribed. Amynder, king of Athamania, delivered his opinion in a few words; that "the conditions of peace ought to be adjusted in such a manner, as that Greece might have sufficient power, even without the interference of the Romans, to maintain the peace, and also its own liberty." The address of the Aetolians was more harsh; for after a few introductory observations on the justice and propriety of the Roman general's conduct, in communicating his plans of peace to those who had acted with him as allies in the war, they insisted, "that he was utterly mistaken, if he supposed that he could leave the peace with the Romans, or the liberty of Greece, on a permanent footing, unless Philip was either put to death or banished from his kingdom; both which he could easily accomplish, if he chose to pursue his present success." Quinctius, in reply, said, that "the Aetolians, in giving such advice, attended not either to the maxims of the Roman policy, or to the consistency of their own conduct. For, in all the former councils and conferences, wherein the conditions of peace were discussed, they never once urged the pushing of the war to the utter ruin of the Macedonian: and, as to the Romans, besides that they had, from the earliest periods, observed the maxim of sparing the vanquished, they had lately given a signal proof of their clemency in the peace

granted to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But, not to insist on the case of the Carthaginians, how often had the confederates met Philip himself in conference, yet that it had never been urged that he should resign his kingdom: and, because he had been defeated in battle, was that a reason that their animosity should become implacable? Against an armed foe, men ought to engage with hostile resentment; towards the vanquished, the loftiest spirit was ever the most merciful. The kings of Macedonia were thought to be dangerous to the liberty of Greece. Suppose that kingdom and nation extirpated, the Thracians, Illyrians, and in time the Gauls, (nations unsubjected and savage,) would pour themselves into Macedonia first, and then into Greece. That they should not, by removing inconveniences which lay nearest, open a passage to others greater and more grievous." Here he was interrupted by Phaeneas, praetor of the Aetolians, who solemnly declared, that "if Philip escaped now, he would soon raise a new and more dangerous war." On which Quinctius said,--"Cease wrangling, when you ought to deliberate. The king shall be bound down by such conditions as will not leave it in his power to raise a war."

### 13

The convention was then adjourned; and next day, the king came to the pass at the entrance of Tempè, the place appointed for a conference; and the third day following was fixed for introducing him to a full assembly of the Romans and allies. On this occasion Philip, with great prudence, intentionally avoided the mention of any of those conditions, without which peace could not be obtained, rather than suffer them to be extorted after discussion; and declared, that he was ready to comply with all the articles which, in the former conference, were either prescribed by the Romans or demanded by the allies; and to leave all other matters to the determination of the senate. Although he seemed to have hereby precluded every objection, even from the most inveterate of his enemies, yet, all the rest remaining silent, Phaeneas, the Aetolian, said to him,--"What! Philip, do you at last restore to us Pharsalus and Larissa, with Cremaste, Echinus, and Thebes in Phthiotis?" On Philip answering, that "he would give no obstruction to their retaking the possession of them," a dispute arose between the Roman general and the Aetolians about Thebes; for Quinctius affirmed, that it became the property of the Roman people by the laws of war; because when, before the commencement of hostilities, he marched his army thither, and invited the inhabitants to friendship, they, although at full liberty to renounce the king's party, yet preferred an alliance with Philip to one with Rome. Phaeneas alleged, that, in consideration of their being confederates in the war, it was reasonable, that whatever the Aetolians possessed before it began, should be restored; and that, besides, there was, in the first treaty, a provisional clause of that purport, by which the spoils of war, of every kind that could be carried or driven, were to belong to the Romans; and that the lands and captured cities should fall to the Aetolians. "Yourselves," replied Quinctius, "annulled the conditions of that treaty, at the time when ye deserted us, and made peace with Philip; but supposing it still remained in force, yet that clause could affect only captured cities. Now, the states of Thessaly submitted to us by a voluntary act of their own."--These words were heard by their allies with universal approbation; but to the Aetolians they were both highly displeasing at the present, and proved afterwards the cause of a war, and of many great disasters attending it. The terms settled with Philip were, that he should give his son Demetrius, and some of his friends, as hostages; should pay two hundred talents<sup>203</sup> and send ambassadors to Rome, respecting the other articles: for which purpose there should be

<sup>203</sup> £38,750.

a cessation of arms for four months. An engagement was entered into, that, in case the senate should refuse to conclude a treaty, his money and hostages should be returned to Philip. It is said, that one of the principal reasons which made the Roman general wish to expedite the conclusion of a peace, was, that he had received certain information of Antiochus intending to commence hostilities, and to pass over into Europe.

#### 14

About the same time, and, as some writers say, on the same day, the Achaeans defeated Androsthene, the king's commander, in a general engagement near Corinth. Philip, intending to use this city as a citadel, to awe the states of Greece, had invited the principal inhabitants to a conference, under pretence of agreeing with them as to the number of horsemen which the Corinthians could supply towards the war, and these he detained as hostages. Besides the force already there, consisting of five hundred Macedonians and eight hundred auxiliaries of various kinds, he had sent thither one thousand Macedonians, one thousand two hundred Illyrians, and of Thracians and Cretans (for these served in both the opposite armies) eight hundred. To these were added Botians, Thessalians, and Acarnanians, to the amount of one thousand, all carrying bucklers; with as many of the young Corinthians themselves, as filled up the number of six thousand men under arms,--a force which inspired Androsthene with a confident wish to decide the matter in the field. Nicostratus, praetor of the Achaeans, was at Sicyon, with two thousand foot and one hundred horse; but seeing himself so inferior, both in the number and kind of troops, he did not go outside the walls: the king's forces, in various excursions, were ravaging the lands of Pellene, Phliasus, and Cleone. At last, reproaching the enemy with cowardice, they passed over into the territory of Sicyon, and, sailing round Achaia, laid waste the whole coast. As the enemy, while thus employed, spread themselves about too widely and too carelessly, (the usual consequence of too much confidence,) Nicostratus conceived hopes of attacking them by surprise. He therefore sent secret directions to all the neighbouring states, as to what day, and what number from each state, should assemble in arms at Apelauros, a place in the territory of Stymphalia. All being in readiness at the time appointed, he marched thence immediately; and, without the knowledge of any one as to what he was contemplating, came by night through the territory of the Phliasiens to Cleone. He had with him five thousand foot, of whom \* \* \* \* \*<sup>204</sup> were light-armed, and three hundred horse; with this force he waited there, having despatched scouts to watch on what quarter the enemy should make their irregular inroads.

#### 15

Androsthene, utterly ignorant of all these proceedings, set out from Corinth, and encamped on the Nemea, a river running between the confines of Corinth and Sicyon. Here, dismissing one half of his troops, he divided the remainder into three parts, and ordered all the cavalry of each part to march in separate divisions, and ravage, at the same time, the territories of Pellene, Sicyon, and Phlius. Accordingly, the three divisions set out by different roads. As soon as Nicostratus received intelligence of this at Cleone, he instantly sent forward a numerous detachment of mercenaries, to seize a pass at the entrance into the territory of Corinth; and he himself quickly followed, with his troops in two columns, the cavalry proceeding before the head of each, as advanced guards. In one column marched the mercenary soldiers and light infantry; in the other, the shield-bearers of the Achaeans and other states, who composed the principal strength of the

<sup>204</sup> In the original, the number is omitted, or lost.

army. Both infantry and cavalry were now within a small distance of the camp, and some of the Thracians had attacked parties of the enemy, who were straggling and scattered over the country, when the sudden alarm reached their tents. The commander was thrown into the utmost perplexity; for, having never had a sight of the Achaeans, except occasionally on the hills before Sicyon, when they did not venture to come down into the plains, he had never imagined that they would come so far as Cleone. He ordered the stragglers to be recalled by sound of trumpet; commanded the soldiers to take arms with all haste; and, marching out of the gate at the head of thin battalions, drew up his line on the bank of the river. His other troops, having scarcely had time to be collected and formed, did not withstand the enemy's first onset; the Macedonians had surrounded their standards in by far the greatest numbers, and now kept the prospect of victory a long time doubtful. At length, being left exposed by the flight of the rest, and pressed by two bodies of the enemy on different sides, by the light infantry on their flank, and by the shield-bearers and targeteers in front, and seeing victory declare against them, they at first gave ground; soon after, being vigorously pushed, they turned their backs; and most of them, throwing away their arms and having lost all hope of defending their camp, made the best of their way to Corinth. Nicostratus sent the mercenaries in pursuit of these; and the auxiliary Thracians against the party employed in ravaging the lands of Sicyon: occasioned great carnage in both instances, greater almost than occurred in the battle itself. Of those who had been ravaging Pellene and Phlius, some, returning to their camp, ignorant of all that had happened, and without any regular order, fell in with the advanced guards of the enemy, where they expected their own. Others, from the bustle which they perceived, suspecting what was really the case, fled and dispersed themselves in such a manner, that, as they wandered up and down, they were cut off by the very peasants. There fell, on that day, one thousand five hundred: three hundred were made prisoners. All Achaia was thus relieved from their great alarm.

## 16

Before the battle at Cynoscephalae, Lucius Quinctius had invited to Corcyra some chiefs of the Acarnanians, the only state in Greece which had continued to maintain its alliance with the Macedonians; and there made some kind of scheme for a change of measures. Two causes, principally, had retained them in friendship with the king: one was a principle of honour, natural to that nation; the other, their fear and hatred of the Aetolians. A general assembly was summoned to meet at Leucas; but neither did all the states of Acarnania come thither, nor were those who did attend agreed in opinion. However, the magistrates and leading men prevailed so far, as to get a decree passed, thus privately, for joining in alliance with the Romans. This gave great offence to those who had not been present; and, in this ferment of the nation, Androcles and Echedemus, two men of distinction among the Acarnanians, being commissioned by Philip, had influence enough in the assembly, not only to obtain the repeal of the decree for an alliance with Rome, but also the condemnation, on a charge of treason, of Archesilaus and Bianor, both men of the first rank in Acarnania, who had been the advisers of that measure; and to deprive Zeuxidas, the praetor, of his office, for having put it to the vote. The persons condemned took a course apparently desperate, but successful in the issue: for, while their friends advised them to yield to the necessity of the occasion, and withdraw to Corcyra, to the Romans, they resolved to present themselves to the multitude; and either, by that act, to mollify their resentment, or endure whatever might befall them. When they had introduced themselves into a full assembly, at first, a

murmur arose, expressive of surprise; but presently silence took place, partly from respect to their former dignity, partly from commiseration of their present situation. Having been also permitted the liberty of speaking, at first they addressed the assembly in a suppliant manner; but, in the progress of their discourse, when they came to refute the charges made against them, they spoke with that degree of confidence which innocence inspires. At last, they even ventured to utter some complaints, and to charge the proceedings against them with injustice and cruelty; and this had such an effect on the minds of all present, that, with one consent, they annulled all the decrees passed against them. Nevertheless, they came to a resolution, to renounce the friendship of the Romans, and return to the alliance with Philip.

## 17

These decrees were passed at Leucas, the capital of Acarnania, the place where all the states usually met in council. As soon, therefore, as the news of this sudden change reached the lieutenant-general Flamininus, in Corcyra, he instantly set sail with the fleet for Leucas; and coming to an anchor at a place called Heraeus, advanced thence towards the walls with every kind of machine used in the attacking of cities; supposing that the first appearance of danger might bend the minds of the inhabitants to submission. But seeing no prospect of effecting any thing, except by force, he began to erect towers and sheds, and to bring up the battering-rams to the walls. The whole of Acarnania, being situated between Aetolia and Epirus, faces towards the west and the Sicilian sea. Leucadia, now an island, separated from Acarnania by a shallow strait which was dug by the hand, was then a peninsula, united on its eastern side to Acarnania by a narrow isthmus: this isthmus was about five hundred paces in length, and in breadth not above one hundred and twenty. At the entrance of this narrow neck stands Leucas, stretching up part of a hill which faces the east and Acarnania: the lower part of the town is level, lying along the sea, which divides Leucadia from Acarnania. Thus it lies open to attacks, both from the sea and from the land; for the channel is more like a marsh than a sea, and all the adjacent ground is solid enough to render the construction of works easy. In many places, therefore, at once the walls fell down, either undermined, or demolished by the ram. But the spirit of the besieged was as invincible as the town itself was favourably situated for the besiegers: night and day they employed themselves busily in repairing the shattered parts of the wall; and, stopping up the breaches that were made, fought the enemy with great spirit, and showed a wish to defend the walls by their arms rather than themselves by the walls. And they would certainly have protracted the siege to a length unexpected by the Romans, had not some exiles of Italian birth, who resided in Leucas, admitted a band of soldiers into the citadel: notwithstanding which, when those troops ran down from the higher ground with great tumult and uproar, the Leucadians, drawing up in a body in the forum, withstood them for a considerable time in regular fight. Meanwhile the walls were scaled in many places; and the besiegers, climbing over the rubbish, entered the town through the breaches. And now the lieutenant-general himself surrounded the combatants with a powerful force. Being thus hemmed in, many were slain, the rest laid down their arms and surrendered to the conqueror. In a few days after, on hearing of the battle at Cynoscephalae, all the states of Acarnania made their submission to the lieutenant-general.

## 18

About this time, fortune, depressing the same party in every quarter at once, the Rhodians, in order to recover from Phillip the tract on the continent called Peraea,

which had been in possession of their ancestors, sent thither their praetor, Pausistratus, with eight hundred Achaean foot, and about one thousand nine hundred men, made up of auxiliaries of various nations. These were Gauls, Nisuetans, Pisuetans, Tamians Areans from Africa, and Laodiceans from Asia. With this force Pausistratus seized by surprise Tendeba, in the territory of Stratonice, a place exceedingly convenient for his purpose, without the knowledge of the king's troops who had held it. A reinforcement of one thousand Achaean foot and one hundred horse, called out for the same expedition, came up at the very time, under a commander called Theoxenus. Dinocrates, the king's general, with design to recover the fort, marched his army first to Tendeba, and then to another fort called Astragon, which also stood in the territory of Stratonice. Then, calling in all the garrisons, which were scattered in many different places, and the Thessalian auxiliaries from Stratonice itself, he led them on to Alabanda, where the enemy lay. The Rhodians were no way averse from a battle, and the camps being pitched near each other both parties immediately came into the field. Dinocrates placed five hundred Macedonians on his right wing, and the Agrians on his left; the centre he formed of the troops which he had drawn together out of the garrisons of the forts; these were mostly Carians; and he covered the flanks with the cavalry, and the Cretan and Thracian auxiliaries. The Rhodians had on the right wing the Achaeans; on the left mercenary soldiers; and in the centre a chosen band of infantry, a body of auxiliaries composed of troops of various nations. The cavalry and what light infantry they had, were posted on the wings. During that day both armies remained on the banks of a rivulet, which ran between them, and, after discharging a few javelins, they retired into their camps. Next day, being drawn up in the same order, they fought a more important battle than could have been expected, considering the numbers engaged; for there were not more than three thousand infantry on each side, and about one hundred horse: but they were not only on an equality with respect to numbers, and the kind of arms which they used, but they also fought with equal spirit and equal hopes. First, the Achaeans crossing the rivulet, made an attack on the Agrians; then the whole line passed the river, almost at full speed. The fight continued doubtful a long time: the Achaeans, one thousand in number, drove back the four hundred from their position. Then the left wing giving way, all exerted themselves against the right. On the Macedonians no impression could be made, so long as their phalanx preserved its order, each man clinging as it were to another: but when, in consequence of their flank being left exposed, they endeavoured to turn their spears against the enemy, who were advancing upon that side, they immediately broke their ranks. This first caused disorder among themselves; they then turned their backs, and at last, throwing away their arms, and flying with precipitation, made the best of their way to Bargylii. To the same place Dinocrates also made his escape. The Rhodians continued the pursuit as long as the day lasted, and then retired to their camp. There is every reason to believe, that, if the victors had proceeded with speed to Stratonice, that city would have been gained without a contest; but the opportunity for effecting this was neglected, and the time wasted in taking possession of the forts and villages in Peraea. In the mean time, the courage of the troops in garrison at Stratonice revived; and shortly after, Dinocrates, with the troops which had escaped from the battle, came into the town, which, after that, was besieged and assaulted without effect; nor could it be reduced until a long time after that, when Antiochus took it. Such were the events that took place in Thessaly, in Achaia, and in Asia, all about the same time.

Philip was informed that the Dardanians, in contempt of the power of his kingdom, shaken as at that time it was, had passed the frontiers, and were spreading devastation through the upper parts of Macedonia: on which, though he was hard pressed in almost every quarter of the globe, fortune on all occasions defeating his measures and those of his friends, yet, thinking it more intolerable than death to be expelled from the possession of Macedonia, he made hasty levies through the cities of his dominions; and, with six thousand foot and five hundred horse, defeated the enemy by a surprise near Stobi in Paeonia. Great numbers were killed in the fight, and greater numbers of those who were scattered about in quest of plunder. As to such as found a road open for flight, without having even tried the chance of an engagement, they hastened back to their own country. After this enterprise executed with a degree of success beyond what he met in the rest of his attempts, and which raised the drooping courage of his people, he retired to Thessalonica. Seasonable as was the termination of the Punic war, in extricating the Romans from the danger of a quarrel with Philip, the recent triumph over Philip happened still more opportunely, when Antiochus, in Syria, was already making preparations for hostilities. For besides that it was easier to wage war against them separately than if both had combined their forces together, Spain had a little before this time, risen in arms in great commotion Antiochus, though he had in the preceding summer reduced under his power all the states in Coele-Syria belonging to Ptolemy, and retired into winter quarters at Antioch, yet allowed himself no relaxation from the exertions of the summer. For resolving to exert the whole strength of his kingdom, he collected a most powerful force, both naval and military; and in the beginning of spring, sending forward by land his two sons, Ardues and Mithridates, at the head of the army, with orders to wait for him at Sardis, he himself set out by sea with a fleet of one hundred decked ships, besides two hundred lighter vessels, barks and fly-boats, designing to attempt the reduction of all the cities under the dominion of Ptolemy along the whole coast of Caria and Cilicia; and, at the same time, to aid Philip with an army and ships, for as yet that war had not been brought to a conclusion.

## 20

The Rhodians, out of a faithful attachment to the Roman people, and an affection for the whole race of the Greeks have performed many honourable exploits, both on land and sea: but never was their gallantry more eminently conspicuous than on this occasion, when, nowise dismayed at the formidable magnitude of the impending war, they sent ambassadors to tell the king, that he should not double the tribute of Cheledoniae, which is a promontory of Cilicia, rendered famous by an ancient treaty between the Athenians and the king of Persia; that if he did not confine his fleet and army to that boundary, they would meet him there and oppose not out of any ill will, but because they would not suffice to join Philip and obstruct the Romans, who were resisting liberty to Greece. At this time Antiochus was pushing the siege of Coracesium with his works; for, after he had possession of Zephyrium, Solae, Aphrodisias, and Corycus; and doubling Anemurium, another promontory of Cilicia, had taken Selinus; when all these, and the other fortresses on that coast, had, either through fear or inclination, submitted without resistance, Coracesium shut its gates, and gave him a delay which he did not expect. Here an audience was given to the ambassadors of the Rhodians, and although the purport of their embassy was such as might kindle passion in the breast of a king, yet he stifled his resentment, and answered, that "he would send ambassadors to Rhodes, and would give them instructions to renew the old treaties, made by him and his predecessors, with that state; and to assure them, that they need not be alarmed at

his approach; that it would involve no injury or fraud either to them or their allies; for that he was not about to violate the friendship subsisting between himself and the Romans, both his own late embassy to that people, and the senate's answers and decrees, so honourable to him, were a sufficient evidence." Just at that time his ambassadors happened to have returned from Rome, where they had been heard and dismissed with courtesy, as the juncture required; the event of the war with Philip being yet uncertain. While the king's ambassadors were haranguing to the above purpose, in an assembly of the people at Rhodes, a courier arrived with an account of the battle at Cynoscephalae having finally decided the fate of the war. Having received this intelligence, the Rhodians, now freed from all apprehensions of danger from Philip, resolved to oppose Antiochus with their fleet. Nor did they neglect another object that required their attention; the protection of the freedom of the cities in alliance with Ptolemy, which were threatened with war by Antiochus. For, some they assisted with men, others by forewarning them of the enemy's designs; by which means they enabled the Cauneans, Mindians, Halicarnassians, and Samians to preserve their liberty. It were needless to attempt enumerating all the transactions as they occurred in that quarter, when I am scarcely equal to the task of recounting those which immediately concern the war in which Rome was engaged.

## 21

At this time king Attalus, having fallen sick at Thebes, had been carried thence to Pergamus, died at the age of seventy-one after he had reigned forty-four years. To this man fortune had given nothing which could inspire hopes of a throne except riches. By a prudent, and, at the same time, a splendid use of these, he begat, in himself first, and then in others, an opinion, that he was not undeserving of a crown. Afterwards, having in one battle utterly defeated the Gauls, which nation was then the more terrible to Asia, as having but lately made its appearance there, he assumed the title of king, and ever after exhibited a spirit equal to the dignity of that name. He governed his subjects with the most perfect justice, and observed an unvarying fidelity towards his allies; gentle and bountiful to his friends; affectionate to his wife and four sons, who survived him; and he left his government established on such solid and firm foundations, that the possession of it descended to the third generation. While this was the posture of affairs in Asia, Greece, and Macedonia, the war with Philip being scarcely ended, and the peace certainly not yet perfected, a desperate insurrection took place in the Farther Spain. Marcus Helvius was governor of that province. He informed the senate by letter, that "two chieftains, Colca and Luscinus, were in arms; that Colca was joined by seventeen towns, and Luscinus by the powerful cities of Carmo and Bardo; and that the people of the whole sea-coast, who had not yet manifested their disposition, were ready to rise on the first motion of their neighbours." On this letter being read by Marcus Sergius, city praetor, the senate decreed, that, as soon as the election of praetors should be finished, the one to whose lot the government of Spain fell should, without delay, consult the senate respecting the commotions in that province.

## 22

About the same time the consuls came home to Rome, and, on their holding a meeting of the senate in the temple of Bellona, and demanding a triumph, in consideration of their successes in the war, Caius Atinius Labeo, and Caius Ursanius, plebeian tribunes, insisted that "the consuls should propose their claims of a triumph separately, for they would not suffer the question to be put on both jointly, lest equal honours might be

conferred where the merits were unequal." Minucius urged, that they had both been appointed to the government of one province, Italy; and that, through the course of their administration, his colleague and himself had been united in sentiments and in counsels; to which Cornelius added, that, when the Boians were passing the Po, to assist the Insubrians and Caenomanians against him, they were forced to return to defend their own country, from his colleague ravaging their towns and lands. In reply the tribunes acknowledged, that the services performed in the war by Cornelius were so great, that "no more doubt could be entertained respecting his triumph than respecting the ascribing of glory to the immortal gods." Nevertheless they insisted, that "neither he nor any other member of the community should possess such power and influence as to be able, after obtaining the honour that was due to himself, to bestow the same distinction on a colleague, who immodestly demanded what he had not deserved. The exploits of Quintus Minucius in Liguria were trifling skirmishes, scarcely deserving mention; and in Gaul he had lost great numbers of soldiers." They mentioned even military tribunes, Titus Juvencius and Cneius Labeo, of the fourth legion, the plebeian tribune's brother, who had fallen in unsuccessful conflict, together with many other brave men, both citizens and allies: and they asserted, that "pretended surrenders of a few towns and villages, fabricated for the occasion, had been made, without any pledge of fidelity being taken." These altercations between the consuls and tribunes lasted two days: at last the consuls, overcome by the obstinacy of the tribunes, proposed their claims separately.

### 23

To Cneius Cornelius a triumph was unanimously decreed: and the inhabitants of Placentia and Cremona added to the applause bestowed on the consul, by returning him thanks, and mentioning, to his honour, that they had been delivered by him from a siege; and that very many of them, when in the hands of the enemy, had been rescued from captivity. Quintus Minucius just tried how the proposal of his claim would be received, and finding the whole senate averse from it, declared, that by the authority of his office of consul, and pursuant to the example of many illustrious men, he would triumph on the Alban mount. Caius Cornelius, being yet in office, triumphed over the Insubrian and Caenomanian Gauls. He produced a great number of military standards, and earned in the procession abundance of Gallic spoils in captured chariots. Many Gauls of distinction were led before his chariot, and along with them, some writers say, Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general. But what, more than all, attracted the eyes of the public, was a crowd of Cremonian and Placentian colonists, with caps of liberty on their heads, following his chariot. He carried in his triumph two hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred *asses*,<sup>205</sup> and of silver denarii, stamped with a chariot, seventy-nine thousand.<sup>206</sup> He distributed to each of his soldiers seventy *asses*,<sup>207</sup> to a horseman and a centurion double that sum. Quintus Minucius, consul, triumphed on the Alban mount, over the Ligurian and Boian Gauls. Although this triumph was less respectable, in regard to the place and the fame of his exploits, and because all knew the expense was not issued from the treasury; yet, in regard of the number of standards, chariots, and spoils, it was nearly equal to the other. The amount of the money also was nearly equal. Two hundred and fifty-four thousand *asses*.<sup>208</sup> were conveyed to the treasury, and

<sup>205</sup> £766. 18s. 6-1/2d

<sup>206</sup> £2551. 0s. 10d

<sup>207</sup> 4s. 6-1/2d

<sup>208</sup> £820. 4s. 2d

of silver denarii, stamped with a chariot, fifty-three thousand two hundred.<sup>209</sup> He likewise gave to the soldiers, horsemen, and centurions, severally, the same sums that his colleague had given.

## 24

After the triumph, the election of consuls came on. The persons chosen were Lucius Furius Purpureo and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. Next day, the following were elected praetors; Quintus Fabius Buteo, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Quintus Minucius Thermus, Manius Acilius Glabrio, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Caius Laelius. Toward the close of this year, a letter came from Titus Quinctius, with information that he had fought a pitched battle with Philip in Thessaly, and that the army of the enemy had been routed and put to flight. This letter was read by Sergius, the praetor, first in the senate, and then, by the direction of the fathers, in a general assembly; and supplications of five days' continuance were decreed on account of those successes. Soon after arrived the ambassadors, both from Titus Quinctius and from the king. The Macedonians were conducted out of the city to the Villa Publica, where lodgings and every other accommodation were provided for them, and an audience of the senate was given them in the temple of Bellona. Not many words passed; for the Macedonians declared, that whatever terms the senate should prescribe, the king was ready to comply with them. It was decreed, that, conformably to ancient practice, ten ambassadors should be appointed, and that, in council with them, the general, Titus Quinctius, should grant terms of peace to Philip; and a clause was added, that, in the number of these ambassadors, should be Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who in their consulship had held the province of Macedonia. On the same day the inhabitants of Oossa having presented a petition, praying that the number of their colonists might be enlarged; an order was accordingly passed, that one thousand should be added to the list, with a provision, that no persons should be admitted into that number who, at any time since the consulate of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, had been partisans of the enemy.

## 25

This year the Roman games were exhibited in the circus, and on the stage, by the curule aediles, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Cneius Manlius Vulso, with an unusual degree of splendour, and were beheld with the greater delight, in consequence of the late successes in war. They were thrice repeated entire, and the plebeian games seven times. These were exhibited by Manius Acilius Glabrio and Caius Laelius, who also, out of the money arising from fines, erected three brazen statues, to Ceres, Liber, and Libera. Lucius Furius and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, having entered on the consulship, when the distribution of the provinces came to be agitated, and the senate appeared disposed to vote Italy the province of both, exerted themselves to get that of Macedonia put to the lot along with Italy. Marcellus, who of the two was the more eager for that province, by assertions that the peace was merely a feigned and delusive one, and that, if the army were withdrawn thence, the king would renew the war, caused some perplexity in the minds of the senate. The consuls would probably have carried the point, had not Quintus Marcius Rex and Caius Antinius Labeo, plebeian tribunes, declared, that they would enter their protest, unless they were allowed, before any further proceeding, to take the sense of the people, whether it was their will and order that peace be concluded with Philip. This question was put to the people in the Capitol, and every one

<sup>209</sup> E1717. 18s. 4d

of the thirty-five tribes voted on the affirmative side. The public found the greater reason to rejoice at the ratification of the peace with Macedonia, as melancholy news was brought from Spain; and a letter was made public, announcing that "the proconsul, Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, had been defeated in battle in the Hither Spain; that his army had been utterly routed and dispersed, and several men of distinction slain in the fight. That Tuditanus, having been grievously wounded, and carried out of the field, expired soon after." Italy was decreed the province of both consuls, in which they were to employ the same legions which the preceding consuls had; and they were to raise four new legions, two for the city, and two to be in readiness to be sent whithersoever the senate should direct. Titus Quinctius Flaminius was ordered to continue in the government of his province, with the army of two legions, then on the spot. The former prolongation of his command was deemed sufficient.

## 26

The praetors then cast lots for their provinces. Lucius Apustius Fullo obtained the city jurisdiction; Manius Acilius Glabrio, that between natives and foreigners; Quintus Fabius Buteo, Farther Spain; Quintus Minucius Thermus, Hither Spain; Caius Laelius, Sicily; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Sardinia. To Quintus Fabius Buteo and Quintus Minucius, to whom the government of the two Spains had fallen, it was decreed, that the consuls, out of the four legions raised by them, should give one each whichever they thought fit, together with four thousand foot and three hundred horse of the allies and Latin confederates; and those praetors were ordered to repair to their provinces at the earliest possible time. This war in Spain broke out in the fifth year after the former had been ended, together with the Punic war. The Spaniards now, for the first time, had taken arms in their own name, unconnected with any Carthaginian army or general. Before the consuls stirred from the city, however, they were ordered, as usual, to expiate the reported prodigies. Publius Villius, a Roman knight, on the road to Sabinia, had been killed by lightning, together with his horse. The temple of Feronia, in the Capenatian district, had been struck by lightning. At the temple of Moneta, the shafts of two spears had taken fire and burned. A wolf, coming in through the Esquiline gate, and running through the most frequented part of the city, down into the forum, passed thence through the Tuscan and Maelian streets; and scarcely receiving a stroke, made its escape out of the Capenian gate. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the larger kinds.

## 27

About the same time Cneius Cornelius Lentulus, who had held the government of Hither Spain before Sempronius Tuditanus, entered the city in ovation, pursuant to a decree of the senate, and carried in the procession one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds' weight of gold, twenty thousand of silver; and in coin, thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty denarii.<sup>210</sup> Lucius Stretinius, from the Farther Spain, without making any pretensions to a triumph, carried into the treasury fifty thousand pounds' weight of silver; and out of the spoils taken, built two arches in the cattle-market, at the fronts of the temple of Fortune and Mother Matuta, and one in the great Circus; and on these arches placed gilded statues. These were the principal occurrences during the winter. At this time Quinctius was in winter quarters at Elatia. Among many requests, made to him by the allies, was that of the Boeotians, namely, that their countrymen, who had served in the army with Philip, might be restored to them. With this Quinctius readily

<sup>210</sup> £1115. 13s. 3-1/2d.

complied; not because he thought them very deserving, but that, as king Antiochus was already suspected, he judged it advisable to conciliate every state in favour of the Roman interest. It quickly appeared how very little gratitude existed among the Boeotians; for they not only sent persons to give thanks to Philip for the restoration of their fellows, as if that favour had been conferred on them by him, and not by Quintius and the Romans; but, at the next election, raised to the office of Boeotarch a man named Brachyllas, for no other reason than because he had been commander of the Boeotians serving in the army of Philip; passing by Zeuxippus, Pisistratus, and the others, who had promoted the alliance with Rome. These men were both offended at the present and alarmed about the future consequences: for if such things were done when a Roman army lay almost at their gates, what would become of them when the Romans should have gone away to Italy, and Philip, from a situation so near, should support his own associates, and vent his resentment on those who had been of the opposite party?

## 28

It was resolved, while they had the Roman army near at hand, to take off Brachyllas, who was the principal leader of the faction which favoured the king; and they chose an opportunity for the deed, when, after having been at a public feast, he was returning to his house inebriated, and accompanied by some of his debauched companions, who, for the sake of merriment, had been admitted to the crowded entertainment. He was surrounded and assassinated by six men, of whom three were Italians and three Aetolians. His companions fled, crying out for help; and a great uproar ensued among the people, who ran up and down, through all parts of the city, with lights; but the assassins made their escape through the nearest gate. At the first dawn, a full assembly was called together in the theatre, by the voice of a crier, as if in consequence of a previous appointment. Many openly clamoured that Brachyllas was killed by those detestable wretches who accompanied him; but their private conjectures pointed to Zeuxippus, as author of the murder. It was resolved, however, that those who had been in company with him should be seized and examined in their presence. While they were under examination, Zeuxippus, with his usual composure, came into the assembly, for the purpose of averting the charge from himself; yet said, that people were mistaken in supposing that so daring a murder was the act of such effeminate wretches as those who were charged with it, urging many plausible arguments to the same purpose. By which behaviour he led several to believe, that, if he were conscious of guilt, he would never have presented himself before the multitude, or, without being challenged by any, have made any mention of the murder. Others were convinced that he intended, by thus unblushingly exposing himself to the charge, to throw off all suspicion from himself. Soon after, those men who were innocent were put to the torture; and, taking the universal opinion as having the effect of evidence, they named Zeuxippus and Pisistratus; but they produced no proof to show that they knew any thing of the matter. Zeuxippus, however, accompanied by a man named Stratonidas, fled by night to Tanagra; alarmed by his own conscience rather than by the assertion of men who were privy to no one circumstance of the affair. Pisistratus, despising the informers, remained at Thebes. A slave of Zeuxippus had carried messages backwards and forwards, and had been intrusted with the management of the whole business. From this man Pisistratus dreaded a discovery; and by that very dread forced him, against his will, to make one. He sent a letter to Zeuxippus, desiring him to "put out of the way the slave who was privy to their crime; for he did not believe him as well qualified for the concealment of the fact as he was for the perpetration of it." He ordered the bearer of this letter to

deliver it to Zeuxippus as soon as possible; but he, not finding an opportunity of meeting him, put it into the hands of the very slave in question, whom he believed to be the most faithful to his master of any; and added, that it came from Pisistratus respecting a matter of the utmost consequence to Zeuxippus. Struck by consciousness of guilt, the slave after promising to deliver the letter, immediately opened it; and, on reading the contents, fled in a fright to Thebes and laid the information before the magistrate. Zeuxippus, alarmed by the flight of his slave, withdrew to Athens, where he thought he might live in exile with greater safety. Pisistratus, after being examined several times by torture, was put to death.

## 29

This murder exasperated the Thebans, and all the Boeotians, to the most rancorous animosity against the Romans, for they considered that Zeuxippus, one of the first men of the nation, had not been party to such a crime without the instigation of the Roman general. To recommence a war, they had neither strength nor a leader; but they had recourse to private massacres, as being next to war, and cut off many of the soldiers, some as they came to lodge in their houses, others as they wandered about their winter quarters, or were on leave of absence for various purposes. Some were killed on the roads by parties lying in wait in lurking-places; others were seduced and carried away to inns, which were left uninhabited, and there put to death. At last they committed these crimes, not merely out of hatred, but likewise from a desire of booty; for the soldiers on furlough generally carried money in their purses for the purpose of trading. At first a few at a time, afterwards greater numbers used to be missed, until all Boeotia became notorious for those practices, and a soldier went beyond the bounds of the camp with more timidity than into an enemy's country. Quintius then sent deputies round the states, to make inquiry concerning the murders committed. The greatest number of murders were found to have been committed about the lake called Copais; there the bodies were dug out of the mud, and drawn up out of the marsh, having had earthen jars or stones tied to them, so as to be dragged to the bottom by the weight. Many deeds of this sort were discovered to have been perpetrated at Acrphia and Coronea. Quintius at first insisted that the persons guilty should be given up to him, and that, for five hundred soldiers, (for so many had been cut off,) the Botians should pay five hundred talents.<sup>211</sup> Neither of these requisitions being complied with, and the states only making verbal apologies, declaring, that none of those acts had been authorized by the public; Quintius first sent ambassadors to Athens and Achaia, to satisfy the allies, that the war which he was about to make on the Botians was conformable to justice and piety; and then, ordering Publius Claudius to march with one-half of the troops to Acrphia, he himself, with the remainder, invested Coronea; and these two bodies' marching by different roads from Elatia, laid waste all the country through which they passed. The Botians, dismayed by these losses, while every place was filled with fugitives, and while the terror became universal, sent ambassadors to the camp; and as these were refused admittance, the Achaeans and Athenians came to their assistance. The Achaeans had the greater influence as intercessors; inasmuch as they were resolved, in case they could not procure peace for the Botians, to join them in the war. Through the mediation of the Achaeans, however, the Botians obtained

<sup>211</sup> £96,875l.

admission and an audience of the Roman general; who, ordering them to deliver up the guilty, and to pay thirty talents<sup>212</sup> as a fine, granted them peace, and raised the siege.

### 30

A few days after this, the ten ambassadors arrived from Rome, in pursuance of whose counsel, peace was granted to Philip on the following conditions: "That all the Grecian states, as well those in Asia as those in Europe, should enjoy liberty, and their own laws: That from such of them as had been in the possession of Philip, he should withdraw his garrisons, particularly from the following places in Asia; Euromus, Pedasi, Bargylli, Iassus, Myrina, Abydus; and from Thasus and Perinthus, for it was determined that these likewise should be free: That with respect to the freedom of Cius, Quinctius should write to Prusias, king of Bithynia, the resolutions of the senate, and of the ten ambassadors: That Philip should return to the Romans the prisoners and deserters, and deliver up all his decked ships, excepting five and the royal galley,--of a size almost unmanageable, being moved by sixteen banks of oars: That he should not keep more than five hundred soldiers, nor any elephant: That he should not wage war beyond the bounds of Macedonia without permission from the senate: That he should pay to the Roman people one thousand talents:<sup>213</sup> one half at present, the other by instalments, within ten years." Valerius Antias writes, that there was imposed on him an annual tribute of four thousand pounds' weight of silver, for ten years, and an immediate payment of twenty thousand pounds' weight. The same author says that an article was expressly inserted, that he should not make war on Eumenes, Attalus's son, who had lately come to the throne. For the performance of these conditions hostages were received, among whom was Demetrius, Philip's son. Valerius Antias adds, that the island of Aegina, and the elephants, were given as a present to Attalus, who was absent; to the Rhodians, Stratonice, and other cities of Caria which had been in the possession of Philip; and to the Athenians, the islands of Paros, Imbros, Delos, and Scyros.

### 31

While all the other states of Greece expressed their approbation of these terms of peace, the Aetolians alone, in private murmurs, made severe strictures on the determination of the ten ambassadors. They said, "it consisted merely of an empty piece of writing varnished over with a fallacious appearance of liberty. For why should some cities be put into the hands of the Romans without being named, while others were particularized, and ordered to be enfranchised without such consignment; unless the intent was, that those in Asia, which, from their distant situation, were more secure from danger, should be free; but those in Greece, not being even mentioned by name, should be made their property: Corinth, Chalcis, and Oreum; with Eretria, and Demetrias." Nor was this charge entirely without foundation: for there was some hesitation with respect to Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias; because, in the decree of the senate in pursuance of which the ten ambassadors had been sent from Rome, all Greece and Asia, except these three, were expressly ordered to be set at liberty; but, with regard to these, ambassadors were instructed, that, whatever measures the exigencies of the state might render expedient, they should determine to pursue in conformity to the public good and their own honour. King Antiochus was one of whom they did not doubt that, so soon as he was satisfied that his forces were adequate, he would cross over into Europe; and they were unwilling to let these cities, the possession of which

<sup>212</sup> £58211. 10s.

<sup>213</sup> £193,750l.

would be so advantageous to him, lie open to his occupation. Quinctius, with the ten ambassadors, sailed from Elatia to Anticyra, and thence to Corinth. Here the plans they had laid down respecting the liberation of Greece were discussed for about three days in a council of the ten ambassadors. Quinctius frequently urged, that "every part of Greece ought to be set at liberty, if they wished to refute the cavils of the Aetolians; if they wished, that sincere affection and respect for the Roman nation should be universally entertained; or if they wished to convince the world that they had crossed the sea with the design of liberating Greece, and not of transferring the sovereignty of it from Philip to themselves." The Macedonians alleged nothing in opposition to the arguments made use of in favour of the freedom of the cities; but "they thought it safer for those cities themselves that they should remain, for a time, under the protection of Roman garrisons, than be obliged to receive Antiochus for a master in the room of Philip." Their final determination was, that "Corinth be restored to the Achaeans, but that a Roman garrison should continue in the citadel; and that Chalcis and Demetrias be retained, until their apprehensions respecting Antiochus should cease."

### 32

The stated solemnity of the Isthmian games was at hand. These have ever been attended by very numerous meetings, as well on account of the universal fondness entertained by this nation for exhibitions of skill in arts of every kind, as well as of contests in strength and swiftness of foot; as also, because of the convenience of the locality, which furnishes commercial advantages of all kinds by its two opposite seas, and by which it had obtained the character of a rendezvous for all the population of Asia and Greece. But on this occasion, all were led thither not only for their ordinary purposes, but by an eager curiosity to learn what was thenceforward to be the state of Greece, and what their own condition; while many at the same time not only formed opinions within themselves but uttered their conjectures in conversation. Scarcely any supposed that the Romans, victorious as they were, would withdraw from the whole of Greece. They took their seats, as spectators; and a herald, preceded by a trumpeter, according to custom, advanced into the centre of the theatre, where notice of the commencement of the games is usually made, in a solemn form of words. Silence being commanded by sound of trumpet, he uttered aloud the following proclamation: THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND TITUS QUINCTIUS, THEIR GENERAL, HAVING SUBDUED KING PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, DO HEREBY ORDER, THAT THE FOLLOWING STATES BE FREE, INDEPENDENT, AND RULED BY THEIR OWN LAWS: THE CORINTHIANS, PHOCIANS, AND ALL THE LOCRIANS; THE ISLAND OF EUBOEA, AND THE MAGNESIANS; THE THESSALIANS, PERRHAEBIANS, AND THE ACHAEANS OF PHTHIOTIS. He then read a list of all the states which had been under subjection to king Philip. The joy occasioned by hearing these words of the herald was so great, that the people's minds were unable to conceive the matter at once. Scarcely could they believe that they had heard them; and they looked at each other, marvelling as at the empty illusion of a dream. Each inquired of his neighbours about what immediately concerned himself, altogether distrusting the evidence of his own ears. As everyone desired not only to hear, but to see the messenger of liberty, the herald was called out again; and he again repeated the proclamation. When they were thus assured of the reality of the joyful tidings, they raised such a shout, and clapping of hands, and repeated them so often, as clearly to show that of all blessings none is more grateful to the multitude than liberty. The games were then proceeded through with hurry; for neither the thoughts nor eyes of any

attended to the exhibitions, so entirely had the single passion of joy pre-occupied their minds, as to exclude the sense of all other pleasures.

### 33

But, when the games were finished, every one eagerly passed towards the Roman general; so that by the crowd rushing to one spot, all wishing to come near him, and to touch his right hand, and throwing garlands and ribands, he was in some degree of danger. He was then about thirty-three years of age; and besides the vigour of youth, the grateful sensations excited by so eminent a harvest of glory, increased his strength. Nor was the general exultation exhausted in the presence of all the assembly, but, through the space of many days, was continually revived by sentiments and expressions of gratitude. "There was a nation in the world," they said, "which, at its own expense, with its own labour, and at its own risk, waged wars for the liberty of others. And this was performed, not merely for contiguous states, or near neighbours, or for countries that made parts of the same continent; but they even crossed the seas for the purpose, that no unlawful power should subsist on the face of the whole earth; but that justice, right, and law should every where have sovereign sway. By one sentence, pronounced by a herald all the cities of Greece and Asia had been set at liberty. To have conceived hopes of this, argued a daring spirit; to have carried it into effect, was a proof of the most consummate bravery and good fortune."

### 34

Quinctius and the ten ambassadors then gave audience to the embassies of the several kings, nations, and states. First of all, the ambassadors of king Antiochus were called. Their proceedings, here, were nearly the same as at Rome; a mere display of words unsupported by facts. But the answer given them was not ambiguous as formerly, during the uncertainty of affairs, and while Philip was unsubdued; for the king was required in express terms to evacuate the cities of Asia, which had been in possession either of Philip or Ptolemy; not to meddle with the free cities, or ever take arms against them, and to be in a state of peace and equality with all the cities of Greece wherever they might be. Above all it was insisted on, that he should neither come himself into Europe, nor transport an army thither. The king's ambassadors being dismissed, a general convention of the nations and states was immediately held; and the business was despatched with the greater expedition, because the resolutions of the ten ambassadors mentioned the several states by name. To the people of Orestis, a district of Macedonia, in consideration of their having been the first who came over from the side of the king, their own laws were granted. The Magnesians, Perrhaebians, and Dolopians were likewise declared free. To the nation of the Thessalians, besides the enjoyment of liberty, the Achaean part of Phthiotis was granted, excepting Phthiotian Thebes and Pharsalus. The Aetolians, demanding that Pharsalus and Leucas should be restored to them in conformity to the treaty, were referred to the senate: but the council united to these, by authority of a decree, Phocis and Locris, places which had formerly been annexed to them. Corinth, Triphylia, and Heraea, another city of Peloponnesus, were restored to the Achaeans. The ten ambassadors were inclined to give Oreum and Eretria to king Eumenes, son of Attalus; but Quinctius dissenting, the matter came under the determination of the senate, and the senate declared those cities free; adding to them Carystus. Lycus and Parthinia, Illyrian states, each of which had been under subjection to Philip, were given to Pleuratus. Amynder was ordered to retain possession of the forts, which he had taken from Philip during the war.

## 35

When the convention broke up, the ten ambassadors, dividing the business among them, set out by different routes to give liberty to the several cities within their respective districts. Publius Lentulus went to Bargylyi; Lucius Stertinius, to Hephaestia, Thasus, and the cities of Thrace; Publius Villius and Lucius Terentius to king Antiochus; and Cneius Cornelius to Philip. The last of these, after executing his commission with respect to smaller matters, asked Philip, whether he was disposed to listen to advice, not only useful but highly salutary. To which the king answered that he was, and would give him thanks besides, if he mentioned any thing conducive to his advantage. He then earnestly recommended to him, since he had obtained peace with the Romans, to send ambassadors to Rome to solicit their alliance and friendship; lest, in case of Antiochus pursuing any hostile measure, he might be suspected of having lain in wait and seized the opportunity of the times for reviving hostilities. This meeting with Philip was at Tempè in Thessaly; and on his answering that he would send ambassadors without delay, Cornelius proceeded to Thermopylae, where all the states of Greece are accustomed to meet in general assembly on certain stated days. This is called the Pylaic assembly. Here he admonished the Aetolians, in particular, constantly and firmly to cultivate the friendship of the Roman people; but some of the principal of these interrupted him with complaints, that the disposition of the Romans towards their nation was not the same since the victory, that it had been during the war; while others censured them with greater boldness, and in a reproachful manner asserted, that "without the aid of the Aetolians, the Romans could neither have conquered Philip, nor even have made good their passage into Greece." To such discourses the Roman forbore giving an answer, lest the matter might end in an altercation, and only said, that if they sent ambassadors to Rome, every thing that was reasonable would be granted to them. Accordingly, they passed a decree for such mission, agreeably to his direction.--In this manner was the war with Philip concluded.

## 36

While these transactions passed in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia, a conspiracy among the slaves had well nigh made Etruria an hostile province. To examine into and suppress this, Manius Acilius the praetor, whose province was the administration of justice between natives and foreigners, was sent at the head of one of the two city legions. A number of them, who were by this time formed in a body, he reduced by force of arms, killing and taking many. Some, who had been the ringleaders of the conspiracy, he scourged with rods and then crucified; some he returned to their masters. The consuls repaired to their provinces. Just as Marcellus entered the frontiers of the Boians, and while his men were fatigued with marching the whole length of the day, and as he was pitching his camp on a rising ground, Corolam, a chieftain of the Boians, attacked him with a very numerous force, and slew three thousand of his men: several persons of distinction fell in that tumultuary engagement; amongst others, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Marcus Junius Silanus, praefects of the allies; and Aulus Ogulnius and Publius Claudius, military tribunes in the second legion. The Romans, notwithstanding, had courage enough to finish the fortification of their camp, and to defend it, in spite of an assault made on it by the enemy, elated by their success in the field. Marcellus remained for some time in the same post, until he could tend the wounded, and revive the spirits of his men after such a disheartening blow. The Boians, a nation remarkably impatient of delay, and quickly disgusted at a state of inaction, separated, and withdrew to their several forts and villages. Marcellus then, suddenly crossing the Po, led his

legions into the territory of Comum, where the Insubrians, after rousing the people of the country to arms, lay encamped. The fierce Boian Gauls attacked him on his march, and their first onset was so vigorous, as to make a considerable impression on his van. On perceiving which, and fearing lest, if his men once gave way, they would be dislodged, he brought up a cohort of Marsians against the enemy, and ordered every troop of the Latin cavalry to charge them. The first and second charges of these having checked the enemy in their furious attack, the other troops in the Roman line, resuming courage, advanced briskly on the foe. The Gauls no longer maintained the contest, but turned their backs and fled in confusion. Valerius Antias relates, that in that battle above forty thousand men were killed, five hundred and seven military standards taken, with four hundred and thirty-two chariots, and a great number of gold chains, one of which, of great weight, Claudius says, was deposited as an offering to Jupiter, in his temple in the Capitol. The camp of the Gauls was taken and plundered the same day; and the town of Comum was reduced in a few days after. In a little time, twenty-eight forts came over to the consul. There is a doubt among writers, whether the consul led his legions first against the Boians, or against the Insubrians; so as to determine, whether the successful battle obliterated the disgrace of the defeat, or whether the victory obtained at Comum was tarnished by the disaster incurred among the Boii.

### 37

Soon after those matters had passed with such variety of fortune, Lucius Furius Purpureo, the other consul, came into the country of the Boians, through the Sappinian tribe. He proceeded almost to the fort of Mutilus, when, beginning to apprehend that he might be enclosed between the Boians and Ligurians, he marched back by the road by which he came; and, making a long circuit, through an open and therefore safe country, arrived at the camp of his colleague. After this junction of their forces, they overran the territory of the Boians, spreading devastation as far as the city of Felsina. This city, with the other fortresses, and almost all the Boians, excepting only the young men who kept arms in their hands for the sake of plunder, and had at that time withdrawn into remote woods, made submission. The army was then led away against the Ligurians. The Boians thought that the Romans, as they were supposed to be at a great distance, would be the more careless in keeping their army together, and thereby afford an opportunity of attacking them unawares: with this expectation, they followed them by secret paths through the forests. They did not overtake them: and therefore, passing the Po suddenly in ships, they ravaged all the country of the Laevans and Libuans; whence, as they were returning with the spoil of the country, they fell in with the Roman army on the borders of Liguria. A battle was begun with more speed, and with greater fury, than if the parties had met with their minds prepared, and at an appointed time and place. On this occasion it appeared to what degree of violence anger can stimulate men; for the Romans fought with such a desire of slaughter, rather than of victory, that they scarcely left one of the enemy to carry the news of their defeat. On account of these successes, when the letters of the consuls were brought to Rome, a supplication for three days was decreed. Soon after, Marcellus came to Rome, and had a triumph decreed him by an unanimous vote of the senate. He triumphed, while in office, over the Insubrians and Comans. The prospect of a triumph over the Boians he left to his colleague, because his own arms had been unfortunate in that country; those of his colleague, successful. Large quantities of spoils, taken from the enemy, were carried in the procession in captured chariots, and many military standards; also, three hundred and twenty

thousand *asses* of brass,<sup>214</sup> two hundred and thirty-four thousand of silver denarii,<sup>215</sup> stamped with a chariot. Eighty *asses*<sup>216</sup> were bestowed on each foot soldier, and thrice that value on each horseman and centurion.

### 38

During that year, king Antiochus, after having spent the winter at Ephesus, took measures for reducing, under his dominion, all the cities of Asia, which had formerly been members of the empire. As to the rest, being either situated in plains, or having neither walls, arms, nor men in whom they could confide, he supposed they would, without difficulty, receive the yoke. But Smyrna and Lampsacus openly asserted their independence: yet there was a danger that if what they claimed were conceded to these, the rest of the cities in Aetolia and Ionia would follow the example of Smyrna; and those on the Hellespont that of Lampsacus. Wherefore he sent an army from Ephesus to invest Smyrna; and ordered the troops, which were at Abydos, to leave there only a small garrison, and to go and lay siege to Lampsacus. Nor did he only alarm them by an exhibition of force. By sending ambassadors, to make gentle remonstrances, and reprove the rashness and obstinacy of their conduct, he endeavoured to give them hopes that they might soon obtain the object of their wishes; but not until it should appear clearly, both to themselves and to all the world, that they had gained their liberty through the kindness of the king, and not by any violent efforts of their own. In answer to which, they said, that "Antiochus ought neither to be surprised nor displeased, if they did not very patiently suffer the establishment of their liberty to be deferred to a distant period." He himself, with his fleet, set sail from Ephesus in the beginning of spring, and steered towards the Hellespont. His army he transported to Madytus, a city in the Chersonese, and there joined his land and sea forces together. The inhabitants having shut their gates, he surrounded the walls with his troops; and when he was just bringing up his machines to the walls, a capitulation was entered into. This diffused such fear through the inhabitants of Sestus and the other cities of the Chersonese, as induced them to submit. He then came, with the whole of his united forces, by land and sea, to Lysimachia; which finding deserted, and almost buried in ruins, (for the Thracians had, a few years before, taken, sacked, and burned it,) he conceived a wish to rebuild a city so celebrated, and so commodiously situated. Accordingly, extending his care to every object at once, he set about repairing the walls and houses, ransomed some of the Lysimachians who were in captivity, sought out and brought home others, who had fled and dispersed themselves through the Chersonese and Hellespontus, enrolled new colonists, whom he invited by prospects of advantages, and used every means to repeople it fully. At the same time, that all fear of the Thracians might be removed, he went, in person, with one half of the land forces, to lay waste the nearest provinces of Thrace; leaving the other half, and all the crews of the ships, employed in the repairs of the city.

### 39

About this time Lucius Cornelius, who had been commissioned by the senate to accommodate the differences between the kings Antiochus and Ptolemy, stopped at Selymbria; and, of the ten ambassadors, Publius Lentulus from Bargylius, and Publius Villius and Lucius Terentius from Thasus, came to Lysimachia. Hither came, likewise,

<sup>214</sup> £1033l. 6s. 8d.

<sup>215</sup> £2331l. 2s. 6d.

<sup>216</sup> 5s. 2-1/4d.

Lucius Cornelius from Selymbria, and a few days after Antiochus from Thrace. His first meeting with the ambassadors, and an invitation which he afterwards gave them, were friendly and hospitable; but when the business intrusted to them and the present state of Asia, came to be treated of, the minds of both parties were exasperated. The Romans did not scruple to declare, that every one of his proceedings, from the time when he set sail from Syria, was displeasing to the senate; and they required restitution to be made, to Ptolemy, of all the cities which had been under his dominion. "For, as to what related to the cities which had been in the possession of Philip, and which Antiochus, taking advantage of a season when Philip's attention was turned to the war with Rome, had seized into his own hands, it would surely be an intolerable hardship, if the Romans were to have undergone such toils and dangers, on land and sea, for so many years, and Antiochus to appropriate to himself the prizes of the war. But, though his coming into Asia might be passed over unnoticed by the Romans, as a matter not pertaining to them, yet when he proceeded so far as to pass over into Europe with all his land and naval forces, how much was this short of open war with the Romans? Doubtless, had he even passed into Italy, he would deny that intention. But the Romans would not wait to give him an opportunity of doing so."

#### 40

To this the king replied, that "he wondered how it was, that the Romans were in the habit of diligently inquiring what ought to be done by king Antiochus; but never considered how far they themselves ought to advance on land or sea. Asia was no concernment of the Romans, in any shape; nor had they any more right to inquire what Antiochus did in Asia, than Antiochus had to inquire what the Roman people did in Italy. With respect to Ptolemy, from whom they complained that cities had been taken, there was a friendly connexion subsisting between him and Ptolemy, and he was taking measures to effect speedily a connexion of affinity also; neither had he sought to acquire any spoils from the misfortunes of Philip, nor had he come into Europe against the Romans, *but to recover the cities and lands of the Chersonese, which, having been the property of Lysimachus,*<sup>217</sup> he considered as part of his own dominion; because, when Lysimachus was subdued, all things belonging to him became, by the right of conquest, the property of Seleucus. That, at times, when his predecessors were occupied by cares of different kinds, Ptolemy first, and afterwards Philip, usurping the rights of others, possessed themselves of several of these places, but who could doubt that the Chersonese and the nearest parts of Thrace belonged to Lysimachus? To restore these to their ancient state, was the intent of his coming, and to build Lysimachia anew, (it having been destroyed by an inroad of the Thracians,) in order that his son, Seleucus, might have it for the seat of his empire."

#### 41

These disputes had been carried on for several days, when a rumour reached them, but without any sufficiently certain authority, that Ptolemy was dead; which prevented the conferences coming to any issue: for both parties made a secret of their having heard it; and Lucius Cornelius, who was charged with the embassy to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, requested to be allowed a short space of time, in which he could have a meeting with the latter; because he wished to arrive in Egypt before any change of measures should take place in consequence of the new succession to the crown: while Antiochus believed that Egypt would be his own, if at that time he should take

<sup>217</sup> Here is a chasm in the original, which is supplied from Polybius.

possession of it. Wherefore, having dismissed the Romans, and left his son Seleucus, with the land forces, to finish the rebuilding of Lysimachia, as he had intended to do, he sailed, with his whole fleet, to Ephesus; sent ambassadors to Quinctius to treat with him about an alliance, assuring him that the king would attempt no innovations, and then, coasting along the shore of Asia, proceeded to Lycia. Having learned at Patarae that Ptolemy was living, he dropped the design of sailing to Egypt, but nevertheless steered towards Cyprus; and, when he had passed the promontory of Chelidonium, was detained some little time in Pamphylia, near the river Eurymedon, by a mutiny among his rowers. When he had sailed thence as far as the headlands, as they are called, of Sarus, such a dreadful storm arose as almost buried him and his whole fleet in the deep. Many ships were broken to pieces, and many cast on shore; many swallowed so entirely in the sea, that not one man of their crews escaped to land. Great numbers of his men perished on this occasion; not only persons of mean rank, rowers and soldiers, but even of his particular friends in high stations. When he had collected the relics of the general wreck, being in no capacity of making an attempt on Cyprus, he returned to Seleucia, with a far less numerous force than he had set out with. Here he ordered the ships to be hauled ashore, for the winter was now at hand, and proceeded to Antioch, where he intended to pass the winter.--In this posture stood the affairs of the kings.

#### 42

At Rome, in this year, for the first time, were created offices called *triumviri epulones*;<sup>218</sup> these were Caius Licinius Lucullus, who, as tribune, had proposed the law for their creation, Publius Manlius, and Publius Porcius Laeca. These triumvirs, as well as the pontiffs, were allowed by law the privilege of wearing the purple-bordered gown. The body of the pontiffs had this year a warm dispute with the city quaestors, Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Aurelius. Money was wanted; an order having been passed for making the last payment to private persons of that which had been raised for the support of the war; and the quaestors demanded it from the augurs and pontiffs, because they had not contributed their share while the war subsisted. The priests in vain appealed to the tribunes; and the contribution was exacted for every year in which they had not paid. During the same year two pontiffs died, and others were substituted in their room: Marcus Marcellus, the consul, in the room of Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, who had been a praetor in Spain; and Lucius Valerius, in the room of Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. An augur also, Quintus Fabius Maximus, died very young, before he had attained to any public office; but no augur was appointed in his place during that year. The consular election was then held by the consul Marcellus. The persons chosen were, Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato. Then were elected praetors, Caius Fabricius Luscinius, Caius Atinius Labeo, Cneius Manlius Vulso, Appius Claudius Nero, Publius Manlius, and Publius Porcius Laeca. The curule aediles, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Caius Flaminius, made a distribution to the people of one million pecks of wheat, at the price of two asses. This corn the Sicilians had brought to Rome, out of respect to Caius Flaminius and his father; and he gave share of the credit to his colleague. The Roman games were solemnized with magnificence, and exhibited thrice entire. The plebeian aediles, Cneius Domitius Aenobarbus and Caius Scribonius, chief curio, brought many farmers of the public pastures to trial before the people. Three of these were convicted; and out of the money accruing from fines imposed on them, they built a

<sup>218</sup> It was their office to regulate the feasts of the gods.

temple of Faunus in the island. The plebeian games were exhibited for two days, and there was a feast on occasion of the games.

#### 43

Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius, on the ides of March, the day of their entering into office, consulted the senate respecting the provinces; who resolved, that "whereas the war in Spain was grown so formidable, as to require a consular army and commander; it was their opinion, therefore, that the consuls should either settle between themselves, or cast lots, for Hither Spain and Italy as their provinces. That he to whom Spain fell should carry with him two legions, five thousand of the Latin confederates, and five hundred horse; together with a fleet of twenty ships of war. That the other consul should raise two legions; for these would be sufficient to maintain tranquillity in the province of Gaul, as the spirits of the Insubrians and Boians had been broken the year before." The lots gave Spain to Cato, and Italy to Valerius. The praetors then cast lots for their provinces: to Caius Fabricius Luscinus fell the city jurisdiction; Caius Atinius Labeo obtained the foreign; Cneius Manlius Vulso, Sicily; Appius Claudius Nero, Farther Spain; Publius Porcius Laeca, Pisa, in order that he might be at the back of the Ligurians; and Publius Manlius was sent into Hither Spain, as an assistant to the consul. Quintus Fabius was continued in command for the year, as apprehensions were entertained, not only of Antiochus and the Aetolians, but likewise of Nabis, tyrant of Lacedaemon; and it was ordered that he should have two legions, for which, if there was any necessity for a further supply, the consuls were ordered to raise recruits, and send them into Macedonia. Appius Claudius was permitted to raise, in addition to the legion which Quintus Fabius had commanded, two thousand foot and two hundred horse. The like number of new-raised foot and horse was assigned to Publius Manlius for Hither Spain; and the legion was given to him which had been under the command of Minucius, the praetor. To Publius Porcius Laeca, for Etruria, near Pisa, were decreed two thousand foot and five hundred horse, out of the army in Gaul. Sempronius Longus was continued in command in Sardinia.

#### 44

The provinces being thus distributed, the consuls, before their departure from the city, were ordered, in accordance with a decree of the pontiffs, to proclaim a sacred spring, which Aulus Cornelius Mammula, praetor, had vowed in pursuance of a vote of the senate, and an order of the people, in the consulate of Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius. It was celebrated twenty-one years after the vow had been made. About the same time, Caius Claudius Pulcher, son of Appius, was chosen and inaugurated into the office of augur, in the room of Quintus Fabius Maximus, who died the year before. While people, in general, wondered that, though Spain had arisen in arms, they were neglecting the war, a letter was brought from Quintus Minucius, announcing "that he had fought a pitched battle with the Spanish generals, Budar and Besasis, near the town of Tura, and had gained the victory: that twelve thousand of the enemy were slain; their general, Budar, taken; and the rest routed and dispersed." After the reading of this letter less alarm prevailed with respect to Spain, where a very formidable war had been apprehended. The whole anxiety of the public was directed towards king Antiochus, especially after the arrival of the ten ambassadors. These, after relating the proceedings with Philip, and the conditions on which peace had been granted him, gave information, that "there still subsisted a war of no less magnitude to be waged with Antiochus; that he had come over into Europe with a very numerous fleet and a powerful army; that,

had not a delusive prospect of an opportunity of invading Egypt, raised by a more delusive rumour, diverted him to another quarter, all Greece would have quickly been involved in the flames of war. Nor would even the Aetolians remain quiet, a race as well restless by nature as full of anger against the Romans. That, besides, there was another evil, of a most dangerous nature, lurking in the bowels of Greece: Nabis, tyrant at present of Lacedaemon, but who would soon if suffered, become tyrant of all Greece, equalling in avarice and cruelty all the tyrants most remarkable in history. For, if he were allowed to keep possession of Argos, which served as a citadel commanding the Peloponnesus, when the Roman armies should be brought home to Italy, Greece would have been in vain delivered out of bondage to Philip; because, instead of that king, who, supposing no other difference, resided at a distance, she would have for a master, a tyrant, close to her side."

#### 45

On this intelligence being received from men of such respectable authority, and who had, besides, examined into all the matters which were reported, the senate, although they deemed the business relating to Antiochus the more important, yet, as the king had, for some reason or other, gone home into Syria, they thought that the affair respecting the tyrant ought to be more promptly attended to. After debating, for a long time, whether they should judge the grounds which they had at present sufficient whereon a declaration of war should be decreed, or whether they should empower Titus Quinctius to act, in the case respecting Nabis the Lacedaemonian, in such manner as he should judge conducive to the public interest; they left it in his hands. For they thought the business of such a nature, that whether expedited or delayed, it could not very materially affect the general interest of the Roman people. It was deemed more important to endeavour to discover what line of conduct Hannibal and the Carthaginians would pursue, in case of a war breaking out with Antiochus. Persons of the faction which opposed Hannibal wrote continually to their several friends, among the principal men in Rome, that "messages and letters were sent by Hannibal to Antiochus, and that envoys came secretly from the king to him. That, as some wild beasts can never be tamed, so the disposition of this man was irreclaimable and implacable. That he sometimes complained, that the state was debilitated by ease and indolence, and lulled by sloth into a lethargy, from which nothing could rouse it but the sound of arms." These accounts were deemed probable, when people recollected the former war, which had not more been carried on than at first set on foot by the efforts of that single man. Besides, he had by a recent act provoked the resentment of many men in power.

#### 46

The order of judges possessed, at that time, absolute power in Carthage; and this was owing chiefly to their holding the office during life. The property, character, and life of every man was in their disposal. He who incurred the displeasure of one of that order, found an enemy in every one of them; nor were accusers wanting in a court where the justices were disposed to condemn. While they were in possession of this despotism, (for they did not exercise their exorbitant power constitutionally,) Hannibal was elected praetor and he summoned the quaestor before him. The quaestor disregarded the summons, for he was of the opposite faction; and besides, as the practice was that, after the quaestorship men were advanced into the order of judges, the most powerful of all, he already assumed a spirit suited to the powers which he was shortly to possess.

Hannibal, highly offended Hereat, sent an officer to apprehend the quaestor; and, bringing him forth into an assembly of the people, he made heavy charges not against him alone, but on the whole order of judges; in consequence of whose arrogance and power neither the magistracy nor the laws availed any thing. Then perceiving that his discourse was with willing ears attended to, and that the conduct of those men was incompatible with the freedom of the lowest classes, he proposed a law, and procured it to be enacted, that the "judges should be elected annually; and that no person should hold the office two years successively." But, whatever degree of favour he acquired among the commons by this proceeding, he roused, in a great part of the nobility, an equal degree of resentment. To this he added another act, which, while it was for the advantage of the people, provoked personal enmity against himself. The public revenues were partly wasted through neglect, partly embezzled, and divided among some leading men and magistrates; insomuch, that there was not money sufficient for the regular annual payment of the tribute to the Romans, so that private persons seemed to be threatened with a heavy tax.

#### 47

When Hannibal had informed himself of the amount of the revenues arising from taxes and port duties, for what purposes they were issued from the treasury, what proportion of them was consumed by the ordinary expenses of the state, and how much was alienated by embezzlement; he asserted in an assembly of the people, that if payment were enforced of the residuary funds, the taxes might be remitted to the subjects; and that the state would still be rich enough to pay the tribute to the Romans: which assertion he proved to be true. But now those persons who, for several years past, had maintained themselves by plundering the public, were greatly enraged; as if this were ravishing from them their own property, and not as dragging out of their hands their ill-gotten spoil. Accordingly, they instigated the Romans against Hannibal, who were seeking a pretext for indulging their hatred against him. A strenuous opposition was, however, for a long time made to this by Scipio Africanus, who thought it highly unbecoming the dignity of the Roman people to make themselves a party in the animosities and charges against Hannibal; to interpose the public authority among factions of the Carthaginians, not deeming it sufficient to have conquered that commander in the field, but to become as it were his prosecutors.<sup>219</sup> in a judicial process, and preferring an action against him. Yet at length the point was carried, that an embassy should be sent to Carthage to represent to the senate there, that Hannibal, in concert with king Antiochus, was forming plans for kindling a war. Three ambassadors were sent, Caius Servilius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Quintus Terentius Culleo. These, when they had arrived at Carthage, by the advice of Hannibal's enemies, ordered, that any who inquired the cause of their coming should be told, that they came to determine the disputes subsisting between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of Numidia; and this was generally believed. But Hannibal was not ignorant that he was the sole object aimed at by the Romans; and that, though they had granted peace to the Carthaginians, their war against him, individually, remained irreconcilable. He therefore determined to give way to fortune and the times; and having already made every preparation for flight, he showed himself that day in the

<sup>219</sup> *Subscribere actioni* is to join the prosecutor as an assistant; and the prosecutors were obliged *calumniam jurare*, to swear that they did not carry on the prosecution through malice, or a vexatious design. Scipio, therefore, means to reprobate the interference of the Roman state, which could bring it into the situation of a common prosecutor in a court of justice.

forum, in order to guard against suspicion; and, as soon as it grew dark, went in his common dress to one of the gates, with his two attendants, who knew nothing of his intention.

#### 48

Finding horses in readiness at a spot where he had ordered, he traversed by night a district which the Africans denominated Byzacium, and arrived, in the morning of the following day, at a castle of his own between Acholla and Thapsus. There a ship, ready fitted out and furnished with rowers, took him on board. In this manner did Hannibal leave Africa, lamenting the misfortunes of his country oftener than his own. He sailed over, the same day, to the island of Cercina, where he found in the port a number of merchant ships, belonging to the Phoenicians, with their cargoes; and on landing was surrounded by a concourse of people, who came to pay their respects to him; on which he gave orders that, in answer to any inquiries, it should be said that he had been sent as ambassador to Tyre. Fearing, however, lest some of these ships might sail in the night to Thapsus or Adrumetum, and carry information of his having been seen at Cercina, he ordered a sacrifice to be prepared, and the masters of the ships, with the merchants, to be invited to the entertainment, and that the sails and yards should be collected out of the ships to form a shade on shore for the company at supper, as it happened to be the middle of summer. The feast of the day was as sumptuous, and well attended, as the time and circumstances allowed; and the entertainment was prolonged, with plenty of wine, until late in the night. As soon as Hannibal saw an opportunity of escaping the notice of those who were in the harbour, he set sail. The rest were fast asleep, nor was it early, next day, when they arose from their sleep, full of the illness of intoxication; and then, when it was too late, they set about replacing the sails in the ships, and fitting up the rigging, which employed several hours. At Carthage, those who were accustomed to visit Hannibal met in a crowd, at the porch of his house; and when it was publicly known that he was not to be found, the whole multitude assembled in the forum, eager to gain intelligence of the man who was considered as the first in the state. Some surmised that he had fled, as the case was; others, that he had been put to death through the treachery of the Romans; and there was visible in the expression of their countenances, that variety which might naturally be expected in a state divided into factions, whereof each supported a different interest. At length intelligence was brought, that he had been seen at Cercina.

#### 49

The Roman ambassadors represented to the council, that "proof had been laid before the senate at Rome, that formerly king Philip had been moved, principally by the instigation of Hannibal, to make war on the Roman people; and that lately, Hannibal had, besides, sent letters and messages to king Antiochus, that he had entered into plans for driving Carthage to revolt, and that he had now gone no whither but to king Antiochus. That he was a man who would never be content, until he had excited war in every part of the globe. That such conduct ought not to be suffered to pass with impunity, if the Carthaginians wished to convince the Roman people that none of those things were done with their consent, or with the approbation of the state." The Carthaginians answered, that they were ready to do whatever the Romans required them.

Hannibal, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Tyre; where, as a man illustrated by every description of honours, he was received by those founders of Carthage, as if in a

second native country, and here he staid a few days. He then sailed to Antioch; where, hearing that the king had already left the place, he procured an interview with his son, who was celebrating the solemnity of the games at Daphne, and who treated him with much kindness; after which, he set sail without delay. At Ephesus, he overtook the king, who was still hesitating in his mind, and undetermined respecting a war with Rome: but the arrival of Hannibal proved an incentive of no small efficacy to the prosecution of that design. At the same time, the inclinations of the Aetolians also were alienated from the Roman alliance in consequence of the senate having referred to Quinctius their ambassadors, who demanded Pharsalus and Leucas, and some other cities, in conformity with the first treaty.

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## Book XXXIV

*The Oppian law, respecting the dress of the women, after much debate, repealed, notwithstanding it was strenuously supported by Marcus Porcius Cato, the consul. The consul's successes in Spain. Titus Quinctius Flaminius finishes the war with the Lacedaemonians and the tyrant Nabis; makes peace with them, and restores liberty to Argos. Separate seats at the public games, for the first time, appointed for the senator. Colonies sent forth. Marcus Porcius Cato triumphs on account of his successes in Spain. Further successes in Spain against the Boians and Insubrian Gauls. Titus Quinctius Flaminius, having subdued Philip, king of Macedonia, and Nabis, the Lacedaemonian tyrant, and restored all Greece to freedom, triumphs for three days. Carthaginian ambassadors bring intelligence of the hostile designs of Antiochus and Hannibal.*

### 1

Amid the serious concerns of important wars, either scarcely brought to a close or impending, an incident intervened, trivial indeed to be mentioned, but which, through the zeal of the parties concerned, issued in a violent contest. Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, plebeian tribunes, proposed to the people the repealing of the Oppian law. This law, which had been introduced by Caius Oppias, plebeian tribune, in the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius, during the heat of the Punic war, enacted that "no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold, or wear a garment of various colours, or ride in a carriage drawn by horses, in a city, or any town, or any place nearer thereto than one mile; except on occasion of some public religious solemnity." Marcus and Publius Junius Brutus, plebeian tribunes, supported the Oppian law, and declared, that they would never suffer it to be repealed; while many of the nobility stood forth to argue for and against the motion proposed. The Capitol was filled with crowds, who favoured or opposed the law; nor could the matrons be kept at home, either by advice or shame, nor even by the commands of their husbands; but beset every street and pass in the city, beseeching the men as they went down to the forum, that in the present flourishing state of the commonwealth, when the private fortune of all was daily increasing they would suffer the women to have their former ornaments of dress restored. This throng of women increased daily, for they arrived even from the country towns and villages; and they had at length the boldness to come up to the consuls, praetors, and magistrates, to urge their request. One of the consuls, however, they found especially inexorable--Marcus Porcius Cato, who, in support of the law proposed to be repealed, spoke to this effect:--

### 2

"If, Romans, every individual among us had made it a rule to maintain the prerogative and authority of a husband with respect to his own wife, we should have less trouble with the whole sex. But now, our privileges, overpowered at home by female contumacy, are, even here in the forum, spurned and trodden under foot; and because we are unable to withstand each separately, we now dread their collective body. I was accustomed to think it a fabulous and fictitious tale, that, in a certain island, the whole race of males was utterly extirpated by a conspiracy of the women. But the utmost danger may be apprehended equally from either sex, if you suffer cabals, assemblies, and secret consultations to be held: scarcely, indeed, can I determine, in my own mind,

whether the act itself, or the precedent that it affords, is of more pernicious tendency. The latter of these more particularly concerns us consuls, and the other magistrates: the former, yourselves, my fellow-citizens. For, whether the measure proposed to your consideration be profitable to the state or not, is to be determined by you, who are about to go to the vote. As to the outrageous behaviour of these women, whether it be merely an act of their own, or owing to your instigations, Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, it unquestionably implies culpable conduct in magistrates. I know not whether it reflects greater disgrace on you, tribunes, or on the consuls: on you certainly, if you have, on the present occasion, brought these women hither for the purpose of raising tribunitian seditions; on us, if we suffer laws to be imposed on us by a secession of women, as was done formerly by that of the common people. It was not without painful emotions of shame, that I, just now, made my way into the forum through the midst of a band of women. Had I not been restrained by respect for the modesty and dignity of some individuals among them, rather than of the whole number, and been unwilling that they should be seen rebuked by a consul, I should have said to them, 'What sort of practice is this, of running out into public, besetting the streets, and addressing other women's husbands? Could not each have made the same request to her husband at home? Are your blandishments more seducing in public than in private; and with other women's husbands, than with your own? Although if the modesty of matrons confined them within the limits of their own rights, it did not become you, even at home, to concern yourselves about what laws might be passed or repealed here.' Our ancestors thought it not proper that women should perform any, even private business, without a director; but that they should be ever under the control of parents, brothers, or husbands. We, it seems, suffer them, now, to interfere in the management of state affairs, and to introduce themselves into the forum, into general assemblies, and into assemblies of election. For, what are they doing, at this moment, in your streets and lanes? What, but arguing, some in support of the motion of the plebeian tribunes; others, for the repeal of the law? Will you give the reins to their intractable nature, and their uncontrolled passions, and then expect that themselves should set bounds to their licentiousness, when you have failed to do so? This is the smallest of the injunctions laid on them by usage or the laws, all which women bear with impatience: they long for liberty; or rather, to speak the truth, for unbounded freedom in every particular. For what will they not attempt, if they now come off victorious?

### 3

"Recollect all the institutions respecting the sex, by which our forefathers restrained their undue freedom, and by which they subjected them to their husbands; and yet, even with the help of all these restrictions, you can scarcely keep them within bounds. If, then, you suffer them to throw these off one by one, to tear them all asunder, and, at last, to be set on an equal footing with yourselves, can you imagine that they will be any longer tolerable by you? The moment they have arrived at an equality with you, they will have become your superiors. But, forsooth, they only object to any new law being made against them: they mean to deprecate, not justice, but severity. Nay, their wish is, that a law which you have admitted, established by your suffrages, and confirmed by the practice and experience of so many years to be beneficial, should now be repealed; that is, that, by abolishing one law, you should weaken all the rest. No law perfectly suits the convenience of every member of the community: the only consideration is, whether, upon the whole, it be profitable to the greater part. If because a law proves obnoxious to a private individual, that circumstance should destroy and sweep it away, to what

purpose is it for the community to enact general laws, which those, with reference to whom they were passed, could presently repeal? I should like, however, to hear what this important affair is which has induced the matrons thus to run out into public in this excited manner, scarcely restraining from pushing into the forum and the assembly of the people. Is it to solicit that their parents, their husbands, children, and brothers may be ransomed from captivity under Hannibal? By no means: and far be ever from the commonwealth so unfortunate a situation. Yet, even when such was the case, you refused this to their prayers. But it is not duty, nor solicitude for their friends; it is religion that has collected them together. They are about to receive the Idaean Mother, coming out of Phrygia from Pessinus! What motive, that even common decency will allow to be mentioned, is pretended for this female insurrection? Why, say they, that we may shine in gold and purple; that, both on festal and common days, we may ride through the city in our chariots, triumphing over vanquished and abrogated law, after having captured and wrested from you your suffrages; and that there may be no bounds to our expenses and our luxury.

## 4

"Often have you heard me complain of the profuse expenses of the women--often of those of the men; and that not only of men in private stations, but of the magistrates: and that the state was endangered by two opposite vices, luxury and avarice; those pests, which have been the ruin of all great empires. These I dread the more, as the circumstances of the commonwealth grow daily more prosperous and happy; as the empire increases; as we have now passed over into Greece and Asia, places abounding with every kind of temptation that can inflame the passions; and as we have begun to handle even royal treasures: so much the more do I fear that these matters will bring us into captivity, rather than we them. Believe me, those statues from Syracuse were brought into this city with hostile effect. I already hear too many commending and admiring the decorations of Athens and Corinth, and ridiculing the earthen images of our Roman gods that stand on the fronts of their temples. For my part I prefer these gods,--propitious as they are, and I hope will continue to be, if we allow them to remain in their own mansions. In the memory of our fathers, Pyrrhus, by his ambassador Cineas, made trial of the dispositions, not only of our men, but of our women also, by offers of presents: at that time the Oppian law, for restraining female luxury, had not been made; and yet not one woman accepted a present. What, think you, was the reason? That for which our ancestors made no provision by law on this subject: there was no luxury existing which needed to be restrained. As diseases must necessarily be known before their remedies, so passions come into being before the laws which prescribe limits to them. What called forth the Licinian law, restricting estates to five hundred acres, but the unbounded desire for enlarging estates? What the Cincian law, concerning gifts and presents, but that the plebeians<sup>220</sup> had become vassals and tributaries to the senate? It is not therefore in any degree surprising, that no want of the Oppian law, or of any other, to limit the expenses of the women, was felt at that time, when they refused to receive gold and purple that was thrown in their way, and offered to their acceptance. If Cineas were now to go round the city with his presents, he would find numbers of women standing in the public streets to receive them. There are some passions, the causes or motives of which I can no way account for. For that that should

<sup>220</sup> Previous to the passing of the Cincian law, about ten years before this time, the advocates who pleaded in the courts received fees and presents: and as all or most of these were senators, the plebeians are here represented as tributary to the senate. By the above law they were forbidden to receive either fees or presents.

not be lawful for you which is permitted to another, may perhaps naturally excite some degree of shame or indignation; yet, when the dress of all is alike, why should any one of you fear, lest she should not be an object of observation? Of all kinds of shame, the worst, surely, is the being ashamed of frugality or of poverty; but the law relieves you with regard to both; since that which you have not it is unlawful for you to possess. This equalization, says the rich matron, is the very thing that I cannot endure. Why do not I make a figure, distinguished with gold and purple? Why is the poverty of others concealed under this cover of a law, so that it should be thought that, if the law permitted, they would have such things as they are not now able to procure? Romans, do you wish to excite among your wives an emulation of this sort, that the rich should wish to have what no other can have; and that the poor, lest they should be despised as such should extend their expenses beyond their means? Be assured, that when a woman once begins to be ashamed of what she ought not to be ashamed of, she will not be ashamed of what she ought. She who can, will purchase out of her own purse; she who cannot, will ask her husband. Unhappy is the husband, both he who complies with the request, and he who does not; for what he will not give himself, he will see given by another. Now, they openly solicit favours from other women's husbands; and, what is more, solicit a law and votes. From some they obtain them; although, with regard to yourself, your property, or your children, they would be inexorable. So soon as the law shall cease to limit the expenses of your wife, you yourself will never be able to do so. Do not suppose that the matter will hereafter be in the same state in which it was before the law was made on the subject. It is safer that a wicked man should even never be accused, than that he should be acquitted; and luxury, if it had never been meddled with, would be more tolerable than it will be, now, like a wild beast, irritated by having been chained, and then let loose. My opinion is, that the Oppian law ought, on no account, to be repealed. Whatever determination you may come to, I pray all the gods to prosper it."

## 5

After him the plebeian tribunes, who had declared their intention of protesting, added a few words to the same purport. Then Lucius Valerius spoke thus in support of the measure which he himself had introduced:--"If private persons only had stood forth to argue for and against the proposition which we have submitted to your consideration, I for my part, thinking enough to have been said on both sides, would have waited in silence for your determination. But since a person of most respectable judgment, the consul, Marcus Porcius, has reprobated our motion, not only by the influence of his opinion, which, had he said nothing, would carry very great weight, but also in a long and careful discourse, it becomes necessary to say a few words in answer. He has spent more words in rebuking the matrons, than in arguing against the measure proposed; and even went so far as to mention a doubt, whether the matrons had committed the conduct which he censured in them spontaneously or at our instigation. I shall defend the measure, not ourselves: for the consul threw out those insinuations against us, rather for argument's sake than as a serious charge. He has made use of the terms cabal and sedition; and, sometimes, secession of the women: because the matrons had requested of you, in the public streets, that, in this time of peace, when the commonwealth is flourishing and happy, you would repeal a law that was made against them during a war, and in times of distress. I know that these and other similar strong expressions, for the purpose of exaggeration, are easily found; and, mild as Marcus Cato is in his disposition, yet in his speeches he is not only vehement, but sometimes even austere. What new thing, let me ask, have the matrons done in coming out into public in

a body on an occasion which nearly concerns themselves? Have they never before appeared in public? I will turn over your own Antiquities,<sup>221</sup> and quote them against you. Hear, now how often they have done the same, and always to the advantage of the public. In the earliest period of our history, even in the reign of Romulus, when the Capitol had been taken by the Sabines, and a pitched battle was fought in the forum, was not the fight stopped by the interposition of the matrons between the two armies? When, after the expulsion of the kings, the legions of the Volscians, under the command of Marcius Coriolanus, were encamped at the fifth stone, did not the matrons turn away that army, which would have overwhelmed this city? Again, when Rome was taken by the Gauls, whence was the city ransomed? Did not the matrons, by unanimous agreement, bring their gold into the public treasury? In the late war, not to go back to remote antiquity, when there was a want of money, did not the funds of the widows supply the treasury? And when even new gods were invited hither to the relief of our distressed affairs, did not the matrons go out in a body to the sea-shore to receive the Idaean Mother? The cases, you will say, are dissimilar. It is not my purpose to produce similar instances; it is sufficient that I clear these women of having done any thing new. Now, what nobody wondered at their doing in cases which concerned all in common, both men and women, can we wonder at their doing in a case peculiarly affecting themselves? But what have they done? We have proud ears, truly, if, though masters disdain not the prayers of slaves, we are offended at being asked a favour by honourable women.

## 6

"I come now to the question in debate, with respect to which the consul's argument is twofold: for, first, he is displeased at the thought of any law whatever being repealed; and then, particularly, of that law which was made to restrain female luxury. His former argument, in support of the laws in general, appeared highly becoming of a consul; and that on the latter, against luxury, was quite conformable to the rigid strictness of his morals. There is, therefore, a danger lest, unless I shall show what, on each subject, was inconclusive, you may probably be led away by error. For while I acknowledge, that of those laws which are instituted, not for any particular time, but for eternity, on account of their perpetual utility, not one ought to be repealed; unless either experience evince it to be useless, or some state of the public affairs render it so; I see, at the same time, that those laws which particular seasons have required, are mortal, (if I may use the term,) and changeable with the times. Those made in peace are generally repealed by war; those made in war, by peace; as in the management of a ship, some implements are useful in good weather, others in bad. As these two kinds are thus distinct in their nature, of which kind does that law appear to be which we now propose to repeal? Is it an ancient law of the kings, coeval with the city itself? Or, what is next to that, was it written in the twelve tables by the decemvirs, appointed to form a code of laws? Is it one, without which our ancestors thought that the honour of the female sex could not be preserved? and, therefore, have we also reason to fear, that, together with it, we should repeal the modesty and chastity of our females? Now, is there a man among you who does not know that this is a new law, passed not more than twenty years ago, in the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius? And as, without it, our matrons sustained, for such a number of years, the most virtuous characters, what danger is there of their abandoning themselves to luxury on its being repealed? For, if that law

<sup>221</sup> Alluding to a treatise by Cato, upon the antiquities of Italy, entitled "Origines," which is the word used here by Valerius.

had been passed for the purpose of setting a limit to the passions of the sex, there would be reason to fear lest the repeal of it might operate as an incitement to them. But the real reason of its being passed, the time itself will show Hannibal was then in Italy, victorious at Cannae: he already held possession of Tarentum, of Arpi, of Capua, and seemed ready to bring up his army to the city of Rome. Our allies had deserted us. We had neither soldiers to fill up the legions, nor seamen to man the fleet, nor money in the treasury. Slaves, who were to be employed as soldiers, were purchased on condition of their price being paid to the owners at the end of the war. The farmers of the revenues had declared, that they would contract to supply corn and other matters, which the exigencies of the war required, to be paid for at the same time. We gave up our slaves to the oar, in numbers proportioned to our properties, and paid them out of our own incomes. All our gold and silver, in imitation of the example given by the senators, we dedicated to the use of the public. Widows and minors lodged their money in the treasury. It was provided by law that we should not keep in our houses more than a certain quantity of wrought gold or silver, or more than a certain sum of coined silver or brass. At such a time as this, were the matrons so eagerly engaged in luxury and dress, that the Oppian law was requisite to repress such practices; when the senate, because the sacrifice of Ceres had been omitted, in consequence of all the matrons being in mourning, ordered the mourning to end in thirty days? Who does not clearly see, that the poverty and distress of the state, requiring that every private person's money should be converted to the use of the public, enacted that law, with intent that it should remain in force so long only as the cause of enacting the law should remain? For if all the decrees of the senate and orders of the people, which were then made to answer the necessities of the times, are to be of perpetual obligation, why do we refund their money to private persons? Why do we contract for public works for ready money? Why are not slaves brought to serve in the army? Why do not we, private subjects, supply rowers as we did then?

## 7

"Shall, then, every other class of people, every individual, feel the improvement in the condition of the state; and shall our wives alone reap none of the fruits of the public peace and tranquillity? Shall we men have the use of purple, wearing the purple-bordered gown in magistracies and priests' offices? Shall our children wear gowns bordered with purple? Shall we allow the privilege of wearing the toga praetexta to the magistrates of the colonies and borough towns, and to the very lowest of them here at Rome, the superintendents of the streets; and not only of wearing such an ornament of distinction while alive, but of being buried with it when dead; and shall we interdict the use of purple to women alone? And when you, the husband, may wear purple in your great coat, will you not suffer your wife to have a purple mantle? Shall your horse be more splendidly caparisoned than your wife is clothed? But with respect to purple, which will be worn out and consumed, I can see an unjust, indeed, but still a sort of reason, for parsimony; but with respect to gold, in which, excepting the price of the workmanship, there is no waste, what objection can there be? It rather serves as a reserve fund for both public and private exigencies, as you have already experienced. He says there will be no emulation between individuals, when no one is possessed of it. But, in truth, it will be a source of grief and indignation to all, when they see those ornaments allowed to the wives of the Latin confederates of which they themselves have been deprived; when they see those riding through the city in their carriages, and decorated with gold and purple, while they are obliged to follow on foot, as if the seat of

empire were in the country of the others, not in their own. This would hurt the feelings even of men, and what do you think must be its effect on those of weak women, whom even trifles can disturb? Neither offices of state, nor of the priesthood, nor triumphs, nor badges of distinction, nor military presents, nor spoils, can fall to their share. Elegance of appearance, and ornaments, and dress, these are the women's badges of distinction; in these they delight and glory; these our ancestors called the women's world. What else do they lay aside when in mourning, except their gold and purple? And what else do they resume when the mourning is over? How do they distinguish themselves on occasion of public thanksgivings and supplications, but by adding unusual splendour of dress? But then, (it may be said,) if you repeal the Oppian law, should you choose to prohibit any of those particulars which the law at present prohibits, you will not have it in your power; your daughters, wives, and even the sisters of some, will be less under control. The bondage of women is never shaken off without the loss of their friends; and they themselves look with horror on that freedom which is purchased with the condition of the widow or the orphan. Their wish is, that their dress should be under your regulation, not under that of the law; and it ought to be your wish to hold them in control and guardianship, not in bondage; and to prefer the title of father or husband to that of master. The consul just now made use of some invidious terms, calling it a female sedition and secession; because, I suppose, there is danger of their seizing the sacred mount, as formerly the angry plebeians did; or the Aventine. Their feeble nature must submit to whatever you think proper to enjoin; and, the greater power you possess, the more moderate ought you to be in the exercise of your authority."

## 8

Although all these considerations had been urged against the motion and in its favour, the women next day poured out into public in much greater numbers, and in a body beset the doors of the tribunes who had protested against the measure of their colleagues; nor did they retire until this intervention was withdrawn. There was then no further doubt but that every one of the tribes would vote for the repeal of the law. Thus was this law annulled, in the twentieth year after it had been made. The consul Marcus Porcius, as soon as the Oppian law was abolished, sailed immediately, with twenty-five ships of war, of which five belonged to the allies, to the port of Luna, where he ordered the troops to assemble; and having sent an edict along the sea-coast, to collect ships of every description, at his departure from Luna he left orders that they should follow him to the harbour of Pyrenaeus, as he intended to proceed thence against the enemy with his collective fleet. They accordingly, after sailing by the Ligurian mountains and the Gallic bay, congregated together on the day appointed. From thence they went to Rhoda, and forcibly dislodged a garrison of Spaniards that were in that fortress. From Rhoda they proceeded with a favourable wind to Emporiae, and there landed all the forces, excepting the crews of the ships.

## 9

At that time, as at present, Emporiae consisted of two towns, separated by a wall. One was inhabited by Greeks from Phocaea, whence the Massilians also derive their origin; the other by Spaniards. The Greek town, being open towards the sea, had but a small extent of wall, not above four hundred paces in circuit; but the Spanish town, being farther back from the sea, had a wall three thousand paces in circumference. A third kind of inhabitants was added by the deified Caesar settling a Roman colony there, after the final defeat of the sons of Pompey. At present they are all incorporated in one mass;

the Spaniards first, and, at length, the Greeks; having been adopted into the Roman citizenship. Whoever had, at that period, observed the Greeks exposed on one side to the open sea, and on the other to the Spaniards, a fierce and warlike race, would have wondered by what cause they were preserved. Deficient in strength, they guarded against danger by regular discipline; of which, among even more powerful people, the best preservative is fear. That part of the wall which faced the country, they kept strongly fortified, having but one gate, at which some one of the magistrates was continually on guard. During the night, a third part of the citizens kept watch on the walls, posting their watches, and going their rounds, not merely from the force of custom, or in compliance with the law, but with as much vigilance as if an enemy were at their gates. They never admitted any Spaniard into the city, nor did they go outside the walls without precaution. The passage to the sea was open to every one: but, through the gate, next to the Spanish town, none ever passed, but in a large body; these were generally the third division, which had watched on the walls the preceding night. The cause of their going out was this: the Spaniards, ignorant of maritime affairs, were fond of trafficking with them, and glad of an opportunity of purchasing, for their own use, the foreign goods, which the others imported in their ships; and, at the same time, of finding a market for the produce of their lands. The desire of this mutual intercourse caused the Spanish town to be freely open to the Greeks. They were thus the more protected as being sheltered under the friendship of the Romans, which they cultivated with as much cordial zeal, though not possessed of equal resources, as the Massilians. On this account they received the consul, and his army, with kindness and cordiality. Cato staid there a few days, until he could learn what force the enemy had, and where they lay; and, not to be idle during even that short delay, he spent the whole time in exercising his men. It happened to be the season of the year when the Spaniards had the corn in their barns. He therefore ordered the purveyors not to purchase any corn, and sent them home to Rome, saying, that the war would maintain itself. Then, setting out from Emporiae, he laid waste the lands of the enemy with fire and sword, spreading terror and flight through the whole country.

## 10

At the same time, as Marcus Helvius was going home from Farther Spain, with an escort of six thousand men, given him by the praetor, Appius Claudius, the Celtiberians, with a very numerous force, met him near the city of Illiturgi. Valerius says, that they had twenty thousand effective men; that twelve thousand of them were killed, the town of Illiturgi taken, and all the adult males put to the sword. Helvius, soon after, arrived at the camp of Cato; and as the region was now free from enemies, he sent back the escort to Farther Spain, and proceeded to Rome, where, on account of his successful services, he entered the city with an ovation. He carried into the treasury, of silver bullion, fourteen thousand pounds' weight; of coined, seventeen thousand and twenty-three denarii;<sup>222</sup> and Oscan<sup>223</sup> denarii, one hundred and twenty thousand four hundred and thirty-eight.<sup>224</sup> The reason for which the senate refused him a triumph was, because he fought under the auspices, and in the province, of another. He had returned, moreover, two years after the expiration of his office, because after he had resigned the government of the province to Quintus Minucius, he was detained there during the succeeding year, by a severe and tedious sickness he therefore entered the city in

<sup>222</sup> £549. 14s.

<sup>223</sup> Osca, now Huesca, was a city in Spain, remarkable for silver mine near it.

<sup>224</sup> £659. 11s. 9-1/2d.

ovation, only two months before his successor, Quintus Minucius, enjoyed a triumph. The latter also brought into the treasury thirty-four thousand eight hundred pounds' weight of silver, seventy-eight thousand denarii,<sup>225</sup> and of Oscan denarii two hundred and seventy-eight thousand.<sup>226</sup>

## 11

Meanwhile, in Spain, the consul lay encamped at a small distance from Emporiae. Thither came three ambassadors from Bilistages, chieftain of the Ilergetians, one of whom was his son, representing, that "their fortresses were besieged and that they had no hopes of being able to hold out, unless the Roman troops came to their assistance. Three thousand men," they said, "would be sufficient;" and they added, that, "if such a force came to their aid, the enemy would not keep their ground." To this the consul answered, that "he was truly concerned for their danger and their fears; but that he had by no means so great an amount of forces, as that, while there lay in his neighbourhood such a powerful force of the enemy, with whom he daily expected a general engagement, he could safely diminish his strength by dividing his troops." The ambassadors, on hearing this, threw themselves at the consul's feet, and with tears conjured him "not to forsake them at such a perilous juncture. For, if rejected by the Romans, to whom could they apply? They had no other allies, no other hope on earth. They might have escaped the present hazard, if they had consented to forfeit their faith, and to conspire with the rest; but no menaces, no appearances of danger, had been able to shake their constancy, because they hoped to find in the Romans abundant succour and support. If there was no further prospect of this, if it was refused them by the consul, they called gods and men to witness, that reluctantly and under compulsion they must change sides, to avoid such sufferings as the Saguntines had undergone; and that they would perish together with the other states of Spain, rather than alone."

## 12

They were thus dismissed on that day without any positive answer. During the following night, the consul's thoughts were greatly perplexed and divided. He was unwilling to abandon these allies, yet equally so to diminish his army, which might either oblige him to decline a battle, or occasion danger in an engagement. He was firmly resolved, however, not to lessen his forces, lest he should in the mean time suffer some disgrace from the enemy; and therefore he judged it expedient, instead of real succour, to hold out hopes to the allies. For he considered that, in many cases, but especially in war, mere appearances have had all the effect of realities; and that a person, under a firm persuasion that he can command resources, virtually has them; that by that very confidence he was insured in his hopes and efforts. Next day he told the ambassadors, that "although he was afraid to lend a part of his forces to others, and so to weaken his own, yet that he was giving more attention to their circumstances and danger than to his own." He then gave orders to the third part of the soldiers of every cohort, to make haste and prepare victuals, which they were to carry with them on board ships, and that the vessels should be got in readiness against the third day. He desired two of the ambassadors to carry an account of these proceedings to Bilistages and the Ilergetians; but, by kind treatment and presents, he prevailed on the chieftain's son to remain with him. The ambassadors did not leave the place until they saw the troops embarked on board the ships; then reporting this at home as a matter of

<sup>225</sup> £2430. 11s. 3d.

<sup>226</sup> £8889. 6s. 9d.

certainty, they spread, not only among their own people, but likewise among the enemy, a confident assurance of the approach of Roman succours.

### 13

The consul, when a specious appearance had been sufficiently exhibited, ordered the soldiers to be recalled from the ships; and, as the season of the year now approached when it would be proper to enter on action, he pitched a winter camp at the distance of three miles from Emporiae. From this post he frequently led out his troops to ravage the enemy's country; sometimes to one quarter, sometimes to another, as opportunity offered, leaving only a small guard in the camp. They generally began their march in the night, that they might proceed as far as possible from the camp, and surprise the enemy unawares; and this practice disciplined the new-raised soldiers, and great numbers of the enemy were cut off; so that they no longer dared to venture beyond the walls of their forts. When he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the temper of the enemy, and of his own men, he ordered the tribunes and the praefects, with all the horsemen and centurions, to be called together, and addressed them thus: "The time is arrived, which you have often wished for, when you might have an opportunity of displaying your valour. Hitherto you have waged war rather as marauders than as regular troops; you shall now meet your enemies hand to hand, in regular fight. Henceforward you will have it in your power, instead of pillaging country places, to exhaust the treasures of cities. Our fathers, at a time when the Carthaginians had in Spain both commanders and armies, and had themselves neither commander nor soldiers there, nevertheless insisted on its being an article of treaty, that the river Iberus should be the boundary of their empire. Now, when two praetors of the Romans, when a consul, and three armies are employed in Spain, and, for near ten years past, no Carthaginian has been in either of its provinces, yet we have lost that empire on the hither side of the Iberus. This it is your duty to recover by your valour and arms; and to compel this nation, which is in a state rather of giddy insurrection than of steady warfare, to receive again the yoke which it has shaken off." After thus generally exhorting them, he gave notice, that he intended to march by night to the enemy's camp; and then dismissed them to take refreshment.

### 14

At midnight, after having given his attention to the auspices, he began his march, that he might take possession of such ground as he chose, before the enemy should observe him. Having led his troops beyond their camp, he formed them in order of battle, and at the first light sent three cohorts close to their very ramparts. The barbarians, surprised at the Romans appearing on their rear, ran hastily to arms. In the mean time, the consul observed to his men, "Soldiers, you have no room for hope, but in your own courage; and I have, purposely, taken care that it should be so. The enemy are between us and our camp; behind us is an enemy's country. What is most honourable, is likewise safest; namely, to place all our hopes in our own valour." He then ordered the cohorts to retreat, in order to draw out the barbarians by the appearance of flight. Every thing happened as he had expected. The enemy, thinking that the Romans retired through fear, rushed out of the gate, and filled the whole space between their own camp and the line of their adversaries. While they were hastily marshalling their troops, the consul, who had all his in readiness, and in regular array, attacked them when in disorder. He caused the cavalry from both wings to advance first to the charge: but those on the right were immediately repulsed, and, retiring in disorder, spread confusion among the

infantry also. On seeing this, the consul ordered two chosen cohorts to march round the right flank of the enemy, and show themselves on their rear, before the two lines of infantry could close. The alarm which this gave the enemy, which had been thrown to a disadvantage by the cowardice of the Roman horse, restored the fight to an equality. But such a panic had taken possession of both the cavalry and infantry of the right wing, that the consul laid hold of several with his own hand, and turned them about with their faces to the enemy. As long as the fight was carried on with missile weapons, success was doubtful; and on the right wing, where the disorder and flight had first begun, the Romans with difficulty kept their ground. On their left wing, the barbarians were both hard pressed in front; and looked back, with timidity, at the cohorts that threatened their rear. But when, after discharging their iron darts and large javelins, they drew their swords, the battle, in a manner, began anew. They were no longer wounded by random blows from a distance, but, closing foot to foot, placed all their hope in courage and strength.

## 15

When the consul's men were now spent with fatigue, he reanimated their courage by bringing up into the fight some subsidiary cohorts from the second line. These formed a new front, and being fresh themselves, and with fresh weapons attacking the wearied enemy in the form of a wedge, by a furious onset they first forced their way through them; and then, when they were once broken, scattered them and put them to flight. They returned towards their camp across the fields with all the speed they could make. When Cato saw the rout become general, he rode back to the second legion, which had been posted in reserve, and ordered the standards to be borne before it, and that it should advance in quick motion, and attack the camp of the enemy. If any of them, through too much eagerness, pushed forward beyond his rank, he himself rode up and struck them with his javelin, and also ordered the tribunes and centurions to chastise them. By this time the camp of the enemy was attacked, though the Romans were kept off from the works by stones, poles, and weapons of every sort. But, on the arrival of the fresh legion, the assailants assumed new courage, and the enemy fought with redoubled fury in defence of their rampart. The consul attentively examined every place himself, that he might break in at that quarter where he saw the weakest resistance. At a gate on the left, he observed that the guard was thin, and thither he led the first-rank men and spearmen of the second legion. The party posted at the gate were not able to withstand their assault; while the rest, seeing the enemy within the rampart, abandoned the defence of the camp, and threw away their standards and arms. Great numbers were killed at the gates, being stopped in the narrow passages by the throng of their own men; and the soldiers of the second legion cut off the hindmost, while the rest were plundering the camp. According to the account of Valerius Antias, there were above forty thousand of the enemy killed on that day. Cato himself, who was certainly no disparager of his own merits, says that a great many were killed, but he specifies no number.

## 16

The conduct of Cato on that day is judged deserving of commendation in three particulars. First, in leading round his army so far from his camp and fleet, as to fight the battle in the very middle of the enemy, that his men might look for no safety but in their courage. Secondly, in throwing the cohorts on the enemy's rear. Thirdly, in ordering the second legion, when all the rest were disordered by the eagerness of their pursuit, to

advance at a full pace to the gate of the camp, in compact and regular order under their standards. He delayed not to improve his victory; but having sounded a retreat, and brought back his men laden with spoil, he allowed them a few hours of the night for rest; and then led them out to ravage the country. They spread their depredations the wider, as the enemy were dispersed in their flight; and this circumstance, no less than the defeat of the preceding day, obliged the Spaniards of Emporiae, and those of their neighbourhood, to make a submission. Many also, belonging to other states, who had made their escape to Emporiae, surrendered; all of whom the consul received with kindness, and after refreshing them with victuals and wine, dismissed to their several homes. He quickly decamped thence, and wherever the army proceeded on its march, he was met by ambassadors, surrendering their respective states; so that, by the time when he arrived at Tarraco, all Spain on this side of the Ebro was in a state of perfect subjection; and the Roman prisoners, and those of their allies and the Latin confederates, who by various chances had fallen into the hands of the enemies in Spain, were brought back by the barbarians, as an offering to the consul. A rumour afterwards spread abroad, that Cato intended to lead his army into Turditania; and it was given out, with equal falsehood, that he meant to proceed to the remote inhabitants of the mountains. On this groundless, unauthenticated report, seven forts of the Bergistans revolted; but the Roman, marching thither, reduced them to subjection without any battle worthy of narration. Not very long after, when the consul returned to Tarraco, and before he removed to any other place, the same persons revolted again. They were again subdued; but, on this second reduction, met not the same mild treatment; they were all sold by auction, that they might not any oftener disturb the peace.

## 17

In the mean time, the praetor, Publius Manlius, having received the army from Quintus Minucius, whom he had succeeded, and joined to it the old army of Appius Claudius Nero, from Farther Spain, marched into Turditania. Of all the Spaniards, the Turditanians are reckoned the least warlike; nevertheless, relying on their great numbers, they went to oppose the march of the Romans. The cavalry, having been sent forward, at once broke their line; and with the infantry there was hardly any conflict. The veteran soldiers, well acquainted with the enemy and their manner of fighting, effectually decided the battle. This engagement, however, did not terminate the war. The Turdulans hired ten thousand Celtiberians, and prepared to carry on the war with foreign troops. The consul, meanwhile, alarmed at the rebellion of the Bergistans, and suspecting that the other states would act in like manner when occasion offered, took away their arms from all the Spaniards on this side of the Iberus; which proceeding affected them so deeply, that many laid violent hands on themselves; this fierce race considering that, without arms, life was of no value. When this was reported to the consul, he summoned before him the senators of every one of the states, to whom he spoke thus: "It is not more our interest than it is your own, that you should not rebel; since your insurrections have, hitherto, always drawn more misfortune on the Spaniards than labour on the Roman armies. To prevent such things happening in future, I know but one method, which is, to put it out of your power to rebel. I wish to effect this in the gentlest way, and that you would assist me therein with your advice. I will follow none with greater pleasure than what yourselves shall offer." They all remaining silent, he told them that he would give them a few days' time to consider the matter. When, on being called together, even in the second meeting, they uttered not a word, in one day he razed the walls of all their fortresses; and marching against those who had not yet

submitted, he received in every country, as he passed through, the submission of all the neighbouring states. Segestica alone, an important and opulent city, he reduced by works and engines.

## 18

Cato had greater difficulties to surmount, in subduing the enemy, than had those commanders who came first into Spain; for this reason, that the Spaniards, through disgust at the Carthaginian government, came over to their side; whereas he had the task of enforcing their submission to slavery, in a manner, after they had been in full enjoyment of liberty. Besides, he found the whole province in a state of commotion; insomuch, that some were in arms, and others were compelled to join in the revolt by being besieged, nor would they have been able to hold out any longer if they had not received timely succour. But so vigorous was the spirit and capacity of the consul, that there was no kind of business, whether great or small, which he did not himself attend to and perform; and he not only planned and ordered, but generally executed in person such measures as were expedient; nor did he practise a more strict and rigorous discipline over any one than over himself. In spare diet, watching, and labour, he vied with the meanest of his soldiers; nor, excepting the honour of his post, and the command, had he any peculiar distinction above the rest of the army.

## 19

The Celtiberians, summoned forth by the enemy for hire, as above mentioned, rendered the war in Turditanian more difficult to the praetor, Publius Manlius. The consul, therefore, in compliance with a letter from the praetor, led his legions thither. The Celtiberians and Turditanians were lying in separate camps at the approach of the Romans, who began immediately to skirmish with the Turditanians, making attacks on their advanced guards; and they constantly came off victorious from every engagement, however rashly undertaken. The consul ordered some military tribunes to enter into a conference with the Celtiberians, and to offer them their choice of three proposals: first, to come over, if they wished it, to the Romans, and receive double the pay for which they had agreed with the Turditanians: the second, to depart to their own homes, on receiving assurance, under the sanction of the public faith, that it should not operate to their injury that they had joined the enemies of the Romans: the third was, that, if they were absolutely determined on war, they should appoint a day and place to decide the matter with him by arms. The Celtiberians desired a day's time for consideration; and an assembly was held, but in great confusion, from the Turditanians mingling in it, so that no resolution could be come to. Although it was uncertain whether there was to be war or peace with the Celtiberians, the Romans, nevertheless, just as though the latter were determined on, brought provisions from the lands and forts of the enemy, and soon ventured to go within their fortifications, relying on private truces, as they would on a common intercourse established by authority. When the consul found that he could not entice the enemy to a battle, he first led out a number of cohorts, lightly accoutred, in regular order, to ravage a part of the country which was yet unhurt; then hearing that all the baggage of the Celtiberians was deposited at Saguntia, he proceeded thither to attack that town, but was unable, notwithstanding, to provoke them to stir. Paying, therefore, his own troops and those of Minucius, he left the bulk of his army in the praetor's camp, and, with seven cohorts, returned to the Iberus.

## 20

With that small force he took several towns. The Sidetonians, Ausetanians, and Suessetanians came over to his side. The Lacetanians, a remote and wild nation, still remained in arms; partly through their natural ferocity, and partly through consciousness of guilt, in having laid waste, by sudden incursions, the country of the allies, while the consul and his army were employed in the war with the Turditanians. He therefore marched to attack their capital, not only with the Roman cohorts, but also with the troops of the allies, who were justly incensed against them. The town was stretched out into considerable length, but had not proportionable breadth. At the distance of about four hundred paces from it he halted, and leaving there a party composed of chosen cohorts, he charged them not to stir from that spot until he himself should come to them; and then he led round the rest of the men to the farther side of the town. The greater part of his auxiliary troops were Suessetanians, and these he ordered to advance and assault the wall. The Lacetanians, knowing their arms and standards, and remembering how often they had themselves, with impunity, committed every kind of outrage and insult in their territory, how often defeated and routed them in pitched battles, hastily threw open a gate, and all, in one body, rushed out against them. The Suessetanians scarcely stood their shout, much less their onset; and the consul, on seeing this happen, just as he had foreseen, galloped back under the enemy's wall to his cohorts, brought them up quickly to that part of the city where all was silence and solitude, in consequence of the Lacetanians having sallied out on the Suessetanians, and took possession of every part of it before the Lacetanians returned; who, having nothing now left but their arms, soon surrendered themselves also.

## 21

The conqueror marched thence, without delay, to the fort of Vergium. This was, almost entirely, a receptacle of robbers and plunderers, and thence incursions were made on the peaceable parts of the province. One of the principal inhabitants deserted out of the place to the consul, and endeavoured to excuse himself and his countrymen; alleging, that "the management of affairs was not in their hands; for the robbers, having gained admittance, had reduced the fort entirely under their own power." The consul ordered him to return home, and pretend some plausible reason for having been absent; and then, "when he should see him advancing to the walls, and the robbers intent on defending the city, to seize the citadel with such men as favoured his party." This was executed according to his directions. The double alarm, from the Romans scaling the walls in front, and the citadel being seized on their rear, at once entirely confounded the barbarians. The consul, having taken possession of the place, ordered, that those who had secured the citadel should, with their relations, be set at liberty, and enjoy their property, the rest of the natives he commanded the quaestor to sell; and he put the robbers to death. Having restored quiet in the province, he settled the iron and silver mines on such a footing, that they produced a large revenue; and, in consequence of the regulations then made, the province daily increased in riches. On account of these services performed in Spain, the senate decreed a supplication for three days.

## 22

During this summer, the other consul, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, fought a pitched battle with a body of the Boians in Gaul, near the forest of Litanae, and gained a complete victory. Eight thousand of the Gauls are said to have been slain; the rest, desisting from further opposition, retired quietly to their several villages and lands. During the remainder of the summer, the consul kept his army near the Po, at Placentia and

Cremona, and repaired the buildings in these cities which had been demolished in the war. While the affairs of Italy and Spain were in this posture, Titus Quinctius had spent the winter in Greece, in such a manner, that excepting the Aetolians, who neither had gained rewards of victory adequate to their hopes, nor were capable of being long contented with a state of quiet, all Greece, being in full enjoyment of the blessings of peace and liberty, were highly pleased with their present state; and they admired not more the Roman general's bravery in arms, than his temperance, justice, and moderation in victory. And now a decree of the senate was brought to him, containing a denunciation of war against Nabis the Lacedaemonian. On reading it, Quinctius summoned a convention of deputies from all the allied states, to be held, on a certain day, at Corinth. Whither when many persons of the first rank came together, from all quarters, forming a very full assembly, from which even the Aetolians were not absent, he addressed them in this manner:--"The Romans and Greeks, in the war which they waged against Philip, were united in affections and councils, and they had each no less their separate reasons for entering into it. For he had violated friendship with the Romans; first by aiding our enemies, the Carthaginians; and then by attacking our allies here: and, towards you, his conduct was such, that even if we had been willing to forget our own injuries, those offered by him to you would have constituted a sufficient occasion of war. But the business to be considered this day has relation wholly to yourselves: for the subject which I propose to your consideration is, whether you choose to suffer Argos, which, as you know, has been seized by Nabis, to remain under his dominion; or whether you judge it reasonable, that a city of such high reputation and antiquity, seated in the centre of Greece, should be restored to liberty, and placed in the same state with the rest of the cities of Peloponnesus and of Greece. This question, as you see, merely respects yourselves; it concerns not the Romans in any decree, excepting so far as the one city being left in subjection to tyranny hinders their glory, in having liberated Greece, from being full and complete. If, however, you are not moved by regard for that city, nor by the example, nor by the danger of the contagion of that evil spreading wider, we, for our parts, shall rest content. On this subject I desire your opinions, resolved to abide by whatever the majority of you shall determine."

### 23

After the address of the Roman general, the several deputies proceeded to give their opinions. The ambassador of the Athenians extolled, to the utmost of his power, and expressed the greatest gratitude for the kindness of the Romans towards Greece, "in having, when applied to for assistance, brought them succours against Philip; and now, without being applied to, voluntarily offering assistance against the tyrant Nabis." He at the same time severely censured the conduct of some, who, in their discourses, "depreciated those kindnesses, and propagated evil surmises of the future, when it would better become them rather to return thanks for the past." It was evident that this was pointed at the Aetolians: wherefore Alexander, deputy of that nation, having first inveighed against the Athenians, who, having formerly been the most strenuous supporters of liberty, now betrayed the general cause, for the sake of recommending themselves by flattery. He then complained that "the Achaeans, formerly soldiers of Philip, and lately, on the decline of his fortune, deserters from him, had regained possession of Corinth, and were so acting as that they might acquire Argos; while the Aetolians, who had first opposed their arms to Philip, who had always been allies of the Romans, and who had stipulated by treaty, that, on the Macedonian being conquered, the lands and cities should be theirs, were defrauded of Echinus and Pharsalus." He

charged the Romans with insincerity, because, "while they put forth empty professions of establishing liberty, they held possession of Demetrias and Chalcis by their garrisons; though, when Philip hesitated to withdraw his garrisons from those places, they always urged against him that the Grecians would never be free while Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth were in the hands of the others. And, lastly, that they named Argos and Nabis merely as a pretext for remaining in Greece, and keeping their armies there. Let them carry away their legions to Italy; and the Aetolians were ready to undertake, either that Nabis should voluntarily withdraw his forces from Argos, on terms; or they would compel him by force of arms to comply with the unanimous judgment of Greece."

## 24

This arrogant speech called up, first, Aristaenus, praetor of the Achaeans, who said:-- "Forbid it, Jupiter, supremely good and great, and imperial Juno, the tutelar deity of Argos, that that city should be staked as a prize between the Lacedaemonian tyrant and the Aetolian plunderers, under such unhappy circumstances, that its being retaken by you should be productive of more calamitous consequences than its capture by him. Titus Quinctius, the sea lying between us, does not secure us from those robbers; what then will become of us, should they procure themselves a stronghold in the centre of Peloponnesus? They have nothing Grecian but the language, as they have nothing human but the shape. They live under customs and rites more brutally savage than any barbarians, nay, than wild beasts themselves. Wherefore, Romans, we beseech you, not only to recover Argos from Nabis, but also to establish the affairs of Greece on such a footing, as to leave these countries adequately secured from the robberies of the Aetolians." The rest concurring in these censures on the Aetolians, the Roman general said, that "he had himself intended to have answered them, but that he perceived all so highly incensed against those people, that the general resentment required rather to be appeased than irritated. Satisfied, therefore, with the sentiments entertained of the Romans, and of the Aetolians, he would simply put this question: What was the general opinion concerning war with Nabis, in case of his refusing to restore Argos to the Achaeans?" When all had pronounced for war, he recommended to them, to send in their shares of auxiliary troops, each state in proportion to its ability. He even sent an ambassador to the Aetolians; rather to make them disclose their sentiments, which was the actual result, than with any hope of obtaining their concurrence. He gave orders to the military tribunes, to bring up the army from Elatia. To the ambassadors of Antiochus, who, at this time, proposed to treat of an alliance, he answered, that "he could say nothing on the subject in the absence of the ten ambassadors. They must go to Rome, and apply to the senate."

## 25

As soon as the troops arrived from Elatia, Quinctius set out to lead them towards Argos. When near Cleonae he was met by the praetor, Aristaenus, with ten thousand Achaean foot and one thousand horse; and having joined forces, they pitched their camp at a small distance from thence. Next day they marched down into the plains of Argos, and fixed their post about four miles from that city. The commander of the Lacedaemonian garrison was Pythagoras, the tyrant's son-in-law, and his wife's brother; who, on the approach of the Romans, posted strong guards in both the citadels, for Argos has two, and in every other place that was commodious for defence, or exposed to danger. But, while thus employed, he could by no means dissemble the dread inspired by the approach of the Romans; and, to the alarm from abroad, was added an insurrection

within. There was an Argive, named Damocles, a youth of more spirit than prudence, who held conversations, with proper persons, on a design of expelling the garrison; at first, with the precaution of imposing an oath, but afterwards, through his eager desire to add strength to the conspiracy, he estimated people's sincerity with too little caution. While he was in conference with his accomplices, an officer, sent by the commander of the garrison, summoned him to appear before him, and he perceived that his design was betrayed; on which, exhorting the conspirators, who were present, to take arms with him, rather than be tortured to death, he went on with a few companions towards the forum, crying out to all who wished the preservation of the state, to follow him as the vindicator and author of their liberty. He could prevail on none to join him; for they saw no prospect of any attainable advantage, and much less any sufficiently powerful support. While he exclaimed in this manner, the Lacedaemonians surrounded him and his party, and put them to death. Many others were afterwards seized, the greater part of whom were executed, and the remaining few thrown into prison. During the following night, great numbers, letting themselves down from the walls by ropes, came over to the Romans.

## 26

As these men affirmed, that if the Roman army had been at the gates, this commotion would not have ended without effect; and that, if the camp was brought nearer, the Argives would not remain inactive; Quinctius sent some horsemen and infantry, lightly accoutred, who, meeting at the Cylarabis, a place of exercise, less than three hundred paces from the city, a party of Lacedaemonians, who sallied out of a gate, engaged them, and, without much difficulty, drove them back into the town; and the Roman general encamped on the very spot where the battle had been fought. There he passed one day, on the look-out if any new commotion might arise; but perceiving that the inhabitants were quite depressed by fear, he called a council concerning the besieging of Argos. All the deputies of Greece, except Aristaenus, were of one opinion, that, as that city was the sole object of the war, with it the war should commence. This was by no means agreeable to Quinctius; but he listened, with evident marks of approbation, to Aristaenus, arguing in opposition to the joint opinion of all the rest; while he himself added, that "as the war was undertaken in favour of the Argives, against the tyrant, what could be less proper than to leave the enemy in quiet, and lay siege to Argos? For his part, he was resolved to point his arms against the main object of the war, Lacedaemon and the tyrant." He then dismissed the meeting, and sent out light-armed cohorts to collect forage. Whatever was ripe in the adjacent country, they reaped, and brought together; and what was green they trod down and destroyed, that the enemy might not subsequently get it. He then proceeded over Mount Parthenius, and, passing by Tegaea, encamped on the third day at Caryae; where he waited for the auxiliary troops of the allies, before he entered the enemy's territory. Fifteen hundred Macedonians came from Philip, and four hundred horsemen of the Thessalians; and now the Roman general had no occasion to wait for more auxiliaries, having abundance; but he was obliged to stop for supplies of provisions, which he had ordered the neighbouring cities to furnish. He was joined also by a powerful naval force; Lucius Quinctius had already come from Leucas, with forty ships; eighteen ships of war had arrived from the Rhodians; and king Eumenes was cruising among the Cyclades, with ten decked ships, thirty barks, and smaller vessels of various sorts. Of the Lacedaemonians themselves, also, a great many, who had been driven from home by the cruelty of the tyrants, came into the Roman camp, in hopes of being reinstated in their

country; for the number was very great of those who had been banished by the several despots, during many generations since they first got Lacedaemon into their power. The principal person among the exiles was Agesipolis, to whom the sovereignty of Lacedaemon belonged in right of his birth; but who had been driven out when an infant by Lycurgus, after the death of Cleomenes, who was the first tyrant of Lacedaemon.

## 27

Although Nabis was enclosed between such powerful armaments on land and sea, and, on a comparative view of his own and his enemy's strength, could scarcely conceive any degree of hope; yet he did not desist from the war, but brought, from Crete, a thousand chosen young men of that country in addition to a thousand whom he had before; he had, besides, under arms, three thousand mercenary soldiers, and ten thousand of his countrymen, with the peasants, who belonged to the fortresses. He fortified the city with a ditch and rampart; and lest any intestine commotion should arise, curbed the people's spirits by fear, punishing them with extreme severity, as he could not hope for good wishes towards a tyrant. As he had his suspicions respecting some of the citizens, he drew out all his forces to a field called Dromos, (the course,) and ordered the Lacedaemonians to be called to an assembly without their arms. He then formed a line of armed men round the place where they were assembled, observing briefly, "that he ought to be excused, if, at such a juncture, he feared and guarded against every thing that might happen; and that, if the present state of affairs subjected any to suspicion, it was their advantage to be prevented from attempting any design, rather than to be punished for attempting it: he therefore intended," he said, "to keep certain persons in custody, until the storm, which then threatened, should have passed over; and would discharge them as soon as the enemy should have been driven away, from whom the danger would be less, when proper precaution was taken against internal treachery." He then ordered the names of about eighty of the principal young men to be called over, and as each answered to his name, he put them in custody. On the night following, they were all put to death. Some of the Helotes, a race of rustics, who have been feudal vassals even from the earliest times, being charged with an intention to desert, they were driven with stripes through all the streets, and put to death. The terror which this excited so confounded the multitude, as to deter them from all attempts to effect a revolution. He kept his forces within the fortifications, knowing that he was not a match for the enemy in the field; and, besides, he was afraid to leave the city, while all men's minds were in a state of such suspense and uncertainty.

## 28

Quinctius, when all his preparations were now sufficiently made, decamped; and, on the second day, came to Sellasia, on the river Oenus, on the spot where it is said Antigonus, king of Macedonia, fought a pitched battle with Cleomenes, tyrant of Lacedaemon. Being told that the ascent from thence was difficult, and the passes narrow, he made a short circuit by the mountains, sending forward a party to make a road, and came, by a tolerably broad and open passage, to the river Eurotas, where it flows almost immediately under the walls of the city. Here, the tyrant's auxiliary troops attacked the Romans, while they were forming their camp, together with Quinctius himself, (who, with a division of cavalry and light troops, had advanced beyond the rest,) and threw them into a state of alarm and confusion; not expecting any thing of the kind, as no one had opposed them throughout their whole march, and they had passed, as it were, through a friendly territory. The disorder lasted a considerable time the infantry calling

for aid on the cavalry, and the cavalry on the infantry, each having but little confidence in himself. At length, the foremost ranks of the legions came up; and no sooner had the cohorts of the vanguard taken part in the fight, than those who had lately been an object of dread were driven back in terror into the city. The Romans, retiring so far from the wall as to be out of the reach of weapons, stood there for some time in battle-array; and then, none of the enemy coming out against them, retired to their camp. Next day Quinctius led on his army in regular order along the bank of the river, passed the city, to the foot of the mountain of Menelaus, the legionary cohorts marching in front, and the cavalry and light infantry bringing up the rear. Nabis kept his mercenary troops, on whom he placed his whole reliance, in readiness, and drawn up in a body, within the walls, intending to attack the rear of the enemy; and, as soon as the last of their troops passed by, these rushed out of the town, from several places at once, with as great fury as the day before. The rear was commanded by Appius Claudius, who having beforehand prepared his men to expect such an event, that it might not come upon them unawares, instantly made his troops face about, and presented an entire front to the enemy. A regular engagement, therefore, took place, as if two complete lines had encountered, and it lasted a considerable time; but at length Nabis's troops betook themselves to flight, which would have been attended with less dismay and danger, if they had not been closely pressed by the Achaeans, who were well acquainted with the ground. These made dreadful havoc, and dispersing them entirely, obliged the greater part to throw away their arms. Quinctius encamped near Amyclae; and afterwards, when he had utterly laid waste all the pleasant and thickly inhabited country round the city, not one of the enemy venturing out of the gates, he removed his camp to the river Eurotas. From thence he ravaged the valley lying under Taygetus, and the country reaching as far as the sea.

## 29

About the same time, Lucius Quinctius got possession of the towns on the sea-coast; of some, by their voluntary surrender; of others, by fear or force. Then, learning that the Lacedaemonians made Gythium the repository of all their naval stores, and that the Roman camp was at no great distance from the sea, he resolved to attack that town with his whole force. It was, at that time, a place of considerable strength; well furnished with great numbers of native inhabitants and settlers from other parts, and with every kind of warlike stores. Very seasonably for Quinctius, when commencing an enterprise of no easy nature, king Eumenes and the Rhodian fleet came to his assistance. The vast multitude of seamen, collected out of the three fleets, finished in a few days all the works requisite for the siege of a city so strongly fortified, both on the land side and on that next the sea. Covered galleries were soon brought up; the wall was undermined, and, at the same time, shaken with battering rams. By the frequent shocks given with these, one of the towers was thrown down, and, by its fall, the adjoining wall on each side was laid flat. The Romans, on this, attempted to force in, both on the side next the port, to which the approach was more level than to the rest, hoping to divert the enemy's attention from the more open passage, and, at the same time, to enter the breach caused by the falling of the wall. They were near effecting their design of penetrating into the town, when the assault was suspended by the prospect which was held out of the surrender of the city. This however, was subsequently dissipated. Dexagoridas and Gorgopas commanded there, with equal authority. Dexagoridas had sent to the Roman general a message that he would give up the city; and, after the time and the mode of proceeding had been agreed on, he was slain as a traitor by Gorgopas,

and the defence of the city was maintained with redoubled vigour by this single commander. The further prosecution of the siege would have been much more difficult, had not Titus Quinctius arrived with a body of four thousand chosen men. He showed his army in order of battle, on the brow of a hill at a small distance from the city; and, on the other side, Lucius Quinctius plied the enemy hard with his engines, both on the quarter of the sea, and of the land; on which Gorgopas was compelled to adopt that proceeding, which, in the case of another, he had punished with death. After stipulating for liberty to carry away the soldiers whom he had there as a garrison, he surrendered the city to Quinctius. Previous to the surrender of Gythium, Pythagoras, who had been left as commander at Argos, having intrusted the defence of the city to Timocrates of Pellene, with a thousand mercenary soldiers and two thousand Argives, came to Lacedaemon and joined Nabis.

### 30

Although Nabis had been greatly alarmed at the first arrival of the Roman fleet, and the surrender of the towns on the sea-coast, yet, as long as Gythium was held by his troops he had quieted his apprehensions with that scanty hope; but when he heard that Gythium, too, was given up to the Romans, and saw that he had no room for any kind of hope on the land, where every place round was in the hands of the enemy, and that he was totally excluded from the sea, he considered that he must yield to fortune. He first sent a messenger into the Roman camp, to learn whether permission would be given to send ambassadors. This being consented to, Pythagoras came to the general, with no other commission than to propose a conference between that commander and the tyrant. A council was summoned on the proposal, and every one present agreeing in opinion that a conference should be granted, a time and place were appointed. They came, with moderate escorts, to some hills in the interjacent ground; and leaving their cohorts there, in posts open to the view of both parties, they went down to the place of meeting; Nabis attended by a select party of his body-guards; Quinctius by his brother, king Eumenes, Sosilaus, the Rhodian, Aristaenus, praetor of the Achaeans, and a few military tribunes.

### 31

Then the tyrant, having the choice given him either to speak first or to listen, began thus: "Titus Quinctius, and you who are present, if I could collect from my own reflections the reason of your having either declared or actually made war against me, I should have waited in silence the issue of my destiny. But in the present state of things, I could not repress my desire of knowing, before I am ruined, the cause for which my ruin is resolved on. And in truth, if you were such men as the Carthaginians are represented to be,--men who considered the obligation of faith, pledged in alliances, as in no degree sacred, I should not wonder if you were the less scrupulous with respect to your conduct towards me. But, instead of that, when I look at you, I perceive that you are Romans: men who allow treaties to be the most solemn of religious acts, and faith, pledged therein, the strongest of human ties. Then, when I look back at myself, I am confident I am one who, as a member of the community, am, in common with the rest of the Lacedaemonians, included in a treaty subsisting with you, of very ancient date; and likewise have, lately, during the war with Philip, concluded anew, in my own name, a personal friendship and alliance with you. But it appears I have violated and cancelled that treaty, by holding possession of the city of Argos. In what manner shall I defend this? By the consideration of the fact, or of the time. The consideration of the fact

furnishes me with a twofold defence: for, in the first place, in consequence of an invitation from the inhabitants themselves, and of their voluntary act of surrender, I accepted the possession of that city, and did not seize it by force. In the next place, I accepted it, when the city was in league with Philip, not in alliance with you. Then the consideration of the time acquits me, inasmuch as when I was in actual possession of Argos, the alliance was entered into between you and me, and you stipulated that I should send you aid against Philip, not that I should withdraw my garrison from that city. In this dispute, therefore, so far as it relates to Argos, I have unquestionably the advantage, both from the equity of the proceeding, as I gained possession of a city which belonged not to you, but to your enemy; and as I gained it by its own voluntary act, and not by forcible compulsion; and also from your own acknowledgment; since, in the articles of our alliance, you left Argos to me. But then, the name of tyrant, and my conduct, are strong objections against me: that I call forth slaves to a state of freedom; that I carry out the indigent part of the populace, and give them settlements in lands. With respect to the title by which I am styled, I can answer thus: That, let me be what I may, I am the same now that I was at the time when you yourself, Titus Quinctius, concluded an alliance with me. I remember, that I was then styled king by you; now, I see, I am called tyrant. If, therefore, I had since altered the style of my office, I might have an account to render of my fickleness: as you choose to alter it, that account should be rendered by you. As to what relates to the augmenting the number of the populace, by giving liberty to slaves, and the distribution of lands to the needy; on this head, too, I might defend myself by a reference to time: These measures, of what complexion soever they are, I had practised before you formed friendship with me, and received my aid in the war against Philip. But, if I did these same things, at this moment, I would not say to you, how did I thereby injure you, or violate the friendship subsisting between us? but that, in so doing, I acted agreeably to the practice and institutions of my ancestors. Do not estimate what is done at Lacedaemon by the standard of your own laws and constitution. There is no necessity for comparing particular institutions: you are guided in your choice of a horseman, by the quantity of his property; in your choice of a foot soldier, by the quantity of his property; and your plan is, that a few should abound in wealth, and that the body of the people should be in subjection to them. Our lawgiver did not choose that the administration of government should be in the hands of a few, such as you call a senate; or that this or that order of citizens should have a superiority over the rest: but he considered that, by equalizing the property and dignity of all, he should multiply the number of those who were to bear arms for their country. I acknowledge that I have enlarged on these matters, beyond what consists with the conciseness customary with my countrymen, and that the sum of the whole might be comprised in few words: that, since I first commenced a friendship with you, I have given you no just cause to repent it."

### 32

The Roman general answered: "We never contracted any friendship or alliance with you, but with Pelops, the right and lawful king of Lacedaemon: whose authority, while the Carthaginian, Gallic, and other wars, succeeding one another, kept us constantly employed, the tyrants, who after him held Lacedaemon under forced subjection, usurped into their own hands, as did you also during the late war with Macedonia. For what could be less fitting, than that we, who were waging war against Philip, in favour of the liberty of Greece, should contract friendship with a tyrant, and a tyrant the most cruel and violent towards his subjects that ever existed? But, even supposing that you

had not either seized or held Argos by iniquitous means, it would be incumbent on us, when we are giving liberty to all Greece, to reinstate Lacedaemon also in its ancient freedom, and the enjoyment of its own laws, which you just now spoke of, as if you were a rival of Lycurgus. Shall we take pains to make Philip's garrisons evacuate Tassus and Bargylii; and shall we leave Lacedaemon and Argos, those two most illustrious cities, formerly the lights of Greece, under your feet, that their continuance in bondage may tarnish our title of deliverers of Greece? But the Argives took part with Philip: we excuse you from taking any concern in that cause, so that you need not be angry with them on our behalf. We have received sufficient proof, that the guilt of that proceeding is chargeable on two only, or, at most, three persons, and not on the state; just, indeed, as in the case of the invitation given to you and to your army, and your reception into the citadel, not one step was taken by public authority. We know, that the Thessalians, Phocians, and Locrians, with unanimous consent, joined in espousing the cause of Philip; yet we have given liberty to them in common with the rest of Greece. How then can you suppose we shall conduct ourselves towards the Argives, who are acquitted of having publicly authorized misconduct? You said, that your inviting slaves to liberty, and the distribution of lands among the indigent, were objected to you as crimes; and crimes, surely, they are, of no small magnitude. But what are they in comparison with those atrocious deeds, that are daily perpetrated by you and your adherents, in continual succession? Show us a free assembly of the people, either at Argos or Lacedaemon, if you wish to hear a true recital of the crimes of the most abandoned tyranny. To omit all other instances of older date, what a massacre did your son-in-law, Pythagoras, make at Argos almost before my eyes! What another did you yourself perpetrate, when I was nearly within the confines of the Lacedaemonians! Now, give orders, that the persons whom you took out of the midst of an assembly, and committed to prison, after declaring, in the hearing of all your countrymen, that you would keep them in custody, be produced in their chains, that their wretched parents may know that those are alive, for whom, under a false impression, they are mourning. Well, but you say, though all these things were so, Romans, how do they concern you? Can you say this to the deliverers of Greece; to people who crossed the sea, and have maintained a war on sea and land, to effect its deliverance? Still you tell us, you have not directly violated the alliance, or the friendship established between us. How many instances must I produce of your having done so? But I will not go into long detail; I will bring the matter to a short issue. By what acts is friendship violated? Most effectually by these two: by treating our friends as foes; and by uniting yourself with our enemies. Each of these has been done by you. For Messene, which had been united to us in friendship, by one and the same bond of alliance with Lacedaemon, you, while professing yourself our ally, reduced to subjection by force of arms, though you knew it was in alliance with us; and you contracted with Philip, our professed enemy, not only an alliance, but even an affinity, through the intervention of his general, Philocles: and waging actual war against us, with your piratical ships, you made the sea round Malea unsafe, and you captured and slew more Roman citizens almost than Philip himself; and to our ships conveying provisions to our armies the coast of Macedonia itself was less dangerous, than the promontory of Malea. Cease, therefore, to vaunt your good faith, and the obligations of treaties; and, dropping a popular style of discourse, speak as a tyrant, and as an enemy."

Aristaenus then began, at first to advise, and afterwards even to beseech Nabis, while it was yet in his power, and he had the opportunity, to consider what was best for himself and his interests. He then mentioned the names of several tyrants in the neighbouring states who had resigned their authority, and restored liberty to their people, and afterwards spent among their fellow citizens not only a secure but an honoured old age. These observations having been reciprocally made and listened to, the approach of night broke up the conference. Next day Nabis said, that he was willing to cede Argos, and withdraw his garrison, since such was the desire of the Romans, and to deliver up the prisoners and deserters; and if they demanded any thing further, he requested that they would set it down in writing, that he might deliberate on it with his friends. Thus the tyrant gained time for consultation; and Quinctius also, on his part, called a council, to which he summoned the chiefs of the allies. The greatest part were of opinion, that "they ought to persevere in the war, and that the tyrant should be altogether got rid of; otherwise the liberty of Greece would never be secure. That it would have been much better never to have entered on the war than to drop it after it was begun; for this would be a kind of approbation of his tyrannical usurpation, and which would establish him more firmly, as giving the countenance of the Roman people to his ill-acquired authority, and that he would quickly spirit up many in other states to plot against the liberty of their countrymen." The wishes of the general himself tended rather to peace; for he saw that, as the enemy was shut up in the town, nothing remained but a siege, and that must be very tedious. For it was not Gythium that they must besiege, though even that place had been gained by capitulation, not by assault; but Lacedaemon, a city most powerful in men and arms. The only hope which they could have formed was, that, on the first approach of their army, dissensions and insurrections might have been raised within: but, though the standards had been seen to advance almost to the gates, not one person had stirred. To this he added, that "Villius the ambassador, returning from Antiochus, brought intelligence, that the peace was an unsound one; and that the king had come over into Europe with a much more powerful armament by sea and land than before. Now, if the army should be engaged in the siege of Lacedaemon, with what other forces could the war be maintained against a king of his great power and strength?" These arguments he urged openly; but beneath all this there lay a concealed anxiety lest one of the new consuls should be appointed to the province of Greece; and then the honour of terminating the war, in which he had proceeded so far, must be yielded to a successor.

### 34

Finding that he could not, by opposition, make any alteration in the sentiments of the allies, by pretending to go over to their opinion, he led them all into a concurrence in his plan. "Be it so," said he, "and may success attend us: let us lay siege to Lacedaemon, since that is your choice. However, as a business so slow in its progress, as you know the besieging of cities to be, very often wears out the patience of the besiegers sooner than that of the besieged, you ought at once to make up your minds to this, that we must pass the winter under the walls of Lacedaemon. If this delay involved only toil and danger, I would recommend to you to prepare your minds and bodies to support these. But, in the present case, vast expenses also will be requisite for the construction of works, for machines and engines, sufficient for the siege of so great a city, and for procuring stores of provisions for the winter to serve you and us: therefore, to prevent your being suddenly disconcerted, or shamefully deserting an enterprise which you had engaged in, I think it will be necessary for you to write home to your respective states, and learn

what degree of spirit and of strength each possesses. Of auxiliary troops I have a sufficient number, and to spare; but the more numerous we are, the more numerous will be our wants. The country of the enemy has nothing left but the naked soil. Besides, the winter is at hand, which will render it difficult to convey what we may stand in need of from distant places." This speech first turned their thoughts to the domestic evils prevailing in their several states; the indolence of those who remained at home; the envy and misrepresentations to which those who were serving abroad were liable; that a state of freedom was a difficult one in which to procure unanimity; the want of public funds, and people's backwardness to contribute out of their private property. Their inclinations being thus suddenly changed, they gave full power to the general, to do whatever he judged conducive to the general interest of the Roman people and their allies.

### 35

Then Quinctius, consulting only his lieutenant-generals and military tribunes, drew up the following conditions on which peace should be made with the tyrant: "That there should be a suspension of arms for six months, between Nabis on one part, and the Romans, king Eumenes, and the Rhodians on the other. That Titus Quinctius and Nabis should immediately send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the peace might be ratified by authority of the senate. That, whatever day a written copy of these conditions should be delivered to Nabis, on that day should the armistice commence; and, within ten days after, his garrisons should be withdrawn from Argos, and all other towns in the territory of the Argives; all which towns should be entirely evacuated, restored to freedom, and delivered to the Romans. That no slave, whether belonging to the king, the public, or a private person, be removed out of any of them; and if any had been removed before, that they be faithfully restored to their owners. That he should return the ships, which he had taken from the maritime states; and should not have any other than two barks; and these to be navigated with no more than sixteen oars. That he should restore to all the states in alliance with the Roman people, the prisoners and deserters in his hands; and to the Messenians, all the effects that could be discovered, and which their possessors could own. That he should, likewise, restore to the exiled Lacedaemonians their children, and their wives, who chose to follow their husbands; provided that no woman should be obliged, against her will, to go with her husband into exile. That such of the mercenary soldiers of Nabis as had deserted him, and gone either to their own countries or to the Romans, should have all their effects faithfully returned to them. That he should hold possession of no city in the island of Crete; and that such as were then in his possession should be given up to the Romans. That he should not form any alliance, or wage war, with any of the Cretan states, or with any other. That he should withdraw all his garrisons from those cities, which he should give up, and which had put themselves, and their country, under the dominion and protection of the Roman people; and should take care that, in future, he should restrain both himself and his subjects from molesting them. That he should not build any town or fort in his own, or any other territory. That, to secure the performance of these conditions, he should give five hostages, such as the Roman general should choose, and among them his own son: and should pay, at present, one hundred talents of silver; and fifty talents, annually, for eight years."

### 36

These articles were put into writing, and sent into Lacedaemon, the camp having been removed, and brought nearer to the town. The tyrant saw nothing in them that gave him much satisfaction, excepting that, beyond his hopes, no mention had been made of bringing back the exiles. But what mortified him most of all, was, the depriving him of his shipping, and of the maritime towns: for the sea had been a source of great profit to him; his piratical vessels having continually infested the whole coast from the promontory of Malea. Besides, he found in the young men of those towns recruits for his army, who made by far the best of his soldiers. Though he discussed those conditions in private with his confidential friends, yet, as the ministers in the courts of kings, faithless in other respects, are particularly so with respect to the concealing of secrets, rumour soon made them all public. The public, in general, expressed not so great a disapprobation of the whole of the terms, as did individuals, of the articles particularly affecting themselves. Those who had the wives of the exiles in marriage, or had possessed themselves of any of their property, were provoked, as if they were to lose what was their own, and not to make restitution of what belonged to others. The slaves, who had been set at liberty by the tyrant, perceived plainly, not only that their enfranchisement would be annulled, but that their servitude would be much more severe than it had been before, when they should be again put under the power of their incensed masters. The mercenary soldiers were dissatisfied, because, in consequence of a peace, their pay would cease; and they knew also, that they could not return among their own countrymen, who detested not tyrants more than they did their abettors.

### 37

They at first spoke of these matters, in their circles, with murmurs of discontent; and afterwards, suddenly ran to arms. From which tumultuous proceeding, the tyrant perceived that the passions of the multitude were of themselves sufficiently inflamed, and immediately ordered a general assembly to be summoned. Here he explained to them the terms which the Romans strove to impose, to which he falsely added others, more severe and humiliating. While, on the mention of each particular, sometimes the whole assembly, sometimes different parties, raised a shout of disapprobation, he asked them, "What answer they wished him to give; or what they would have him do?" On which all, as it were with one voice, cried out, "To give no answer, to continue the war;" and they began, as is common with a multitude, every one to encourage the rest, to keep up their spirits, and cherish good hopes, observing, that "fortune favours the brave." Animated by these expressions, the tyrant assured them, that Antiochus, and the Aetolians, would come to their assistance; and that he had, in the mean time, resources abundantly sufficient for the maintenance of a siege. The very mention of peace had vanished from the minds of all, and unable to contain themselves longer in quiet, they ran out in parties against the advanced guards of the enemy. The sally of these few skirmishers, and the weapons which they threw, immediately removed all doubt from the Romans that the war was to continue. During the four following days, several slight encounters took place, at first without any decisive result; but, on the fifth day after, in a kind of regular engagement, the Lacedaemonians were beaten back into the town, in such a panic, that several Roman soldiers, pressing close on the rear of the fugitives, entered the city through open spaces, not secured with a wall, of which, at that time, there were several.

### 38

Then Quinctius, having, by this repulse, effectually checked the sallies of the enemy, and being fully convinced that he had now no alternative, but must besiege the city, sent persons to bring up all the marine forces from Gythium; and, in the mean time, rode himself, with some military tribunes, round the walls, to take a view of the situation of the place. In former times, Sparta had no wall; of late, the tyrants had built walls in the places where the ground was open and level; but the higher places, and those more difficult of access, they secured by placing guards of soldiers instead of fortifications. When he had sufficiently examined every circumstance, having resolved on making a general assault, he surrounded the city with all his forces, the number of which, Romans and allies, horse and foot, naval and land forces, all together, amounted to fifty thousand men. Some brought scaling-ladders, some fire-brands, some other matters, wherewith they might not only assail the enemy, but strike terror. The orders were, that on raising the shout, all should advance at once, in order that the Lacedaemonians, being alarmed at the same time in every quarter, might be at a loss where, first, to make head, or whither to bring aid. The main force of his army he formed in three divisions, and ordered one to attack on the side of the Phoebeum, another on that of the Dictynneum, and the third near a place called Heptagoniae, all which are open places without walls. Though surrounded on all sides by such a violent alarm, the tyrant, at first, attentive to every sudden shout and hasty message, either ran up himself, or sent others, wherever the greatest danger pressed; but, afterwards, he was so stunned by the horror and confusion that prevailed all around, as to become incapable either of giving proper directions, or of hearing what was said, and to lose, not only his judgment, but almost his reason.

### 39

For some time the Lacedaemonians maintained their ground against the Romans, in the narrow passes; and three armies, on each side, fought, at one time, in different places. Afterwards, when the heat of the contest increased, the contest was, by no means, an equal one: for the Lacedaemonians fought with missile arms, against which the Roman soldiers, by means of their large shields, easily defended themselves, and many of their blows either missed, or were very weak; for, the narrowness of the place causing them to be closely crowded together, they neither had room to discharge their weapons with a previous run, which gives great force to them, nor clear and steady footing while they made their throw. Of those, therefore, discharged against the front of the Romans, none pierced their bodies, few even their shields; but several were wounded by those who surrounded them from higher places. And presently, when they advanced a little, they were hurt unawares, both with javelins, and tiles also thrown from the tops of the houses. On this they raised their shields over their heads; and joining them so close together as to leave no room for injury from such random casts, or even for the insertion of a javelin, by a hand within reach, they pressed forward under cover of this tortoise fence. For some time the narrow streets, being thronged with a multitude of their own soldiers, and also of the enemy, considerably retarded the progress of the Romans; but when once, by gradually pushing back the enemy, they gained the wider streets of the city, the impetuosity of their attack could no longer be withstood. While the Lacedaemonians, having turned their backs, fled precipitately to the higher places, Nabis, being utterly confounded, as if the town were already taken, began to look about for a way to make his escape. Pythagoras, while in other respects he displayed the spirit and conduct of a general, was now the sole means of saving the city from being taken. For he ordered the buildings nearest to the wall to be set on fire; and these being

instantly in a blaze, those who, on another occasion, would have brought help to extinguish the fire, now helping to increase it, the roofs tumbled on the Romans; and not only fragments of the tiles, but also the half-burned timber, reached the soldiers: the flames spread wide, and the smoke caused a degree of terror even greater than the danger. In consequence, the Romans who were without the city, and were just then making the principal attack, retired from the wall; and those who were within, fearing lest the fire, rising behind them, should put it out of their power to rejoin the rest of the army, began to retreat. Whereupon Quinctius, seeing how matters stood, ordered a general retreat to be sounded.--Thus, being at length recalled from a city which they had nearly taken, they returned to their camp.

#### 40

Quinctius, conceiving greater hopes from the fears of the enemy than from the immediate effect of his operations, kept them in a continual alarm during the three succeeding days; sometimes harassing them with assaults, sometimes enclosing several places with works, so as to leave no passage open for flight. These menaces had such an effect on the tyrant that he again sent Pythagoras to solicit peace. Quinctius, at first, rejected him with disdain, ordering him to quit the camp; but afterwards, on his suppliant entreaties, and throwing himself at his feet, he admitted him to an audience. The purport of his discourse, at first, was, an offer of implicit submission to the will of the Romans; but this availed nothing, being considered as nugatory and indecisive. The business was, at length, brought to this issue, that a truce should be made on the conditions delivered in writing a few days before, and the money and hostages were accordingly received. While the tyrant was kept shut up by the siege, the Argives, receiving frequent accounts, one after another, that Lacedaemon was on the point of being taken, and having themselves resumed courage on the departure of Pythagoras, with the strongest part of his garrison, looked now with contempt on the small number remaining in the citadel; and, being headed by a person named Archippus, drove the garrison out. They gave Timocrates, of Pellene, leave to retire, with solemn assurance of sparing his life, in consideration of the mildness which he had shown in his government. In the midst of this rejoicing, Quinctius arrived, after having granted peace to the tyrant, dismissed Eumenes and the Rhodians from Lacedaemon, and sent back his brother, Lucius Quinctius, to the fleet.

#### 41

The Nemaean games, the most celebrated of all the festivals, and their most splendid public spectacle, had been omitted, at the regular time, on account of the disasters of the war: the state now, in the fulness of their joy, ordered them to be celebrated on the arrival of the Roman general and his army; and appointed the general, himself, president of the games. There were many circumstances which heightened their happiness: their countrymen, whom Pythagoras, lately, and, before that, Nabis, had carried away, were brought home from Lacedaemon; those who on the discovery of the conspiracy by Pythagoras, and when the massacre was already begun, had fled from home, now returned; they saw their liberty restored, after a long interval, and beheld, in their city, the Romans, the authors of its restoration, whose only view, in making war on the tyrant, was the support of their interest. The freedom of the Argives was, also, solemnly announced, by the voice of a herald, on the very day of the Nemaean games. Whatever pleasure the Achaeans felt on Argos being reinstated in the general council of Achaia, it was, in a great measure, alloyed by Lacedaemon being left in slavery, and the

tyrant close at their side. As to the Aetolians, they loudly railed at that measure in every meeting. They remarked, that "the war with Philip was not ended until he evacuated all the cities of Greece. But Lacedaemon was left to the tyrant, while the lawful king, who had been, at the time, in the Roman camp, and others, the noblest of the citizens, must live in exile: so that the Roman nation was become a partisan of Nabis in his tyranny." Quintius led back his army to Elatia, whence he had set out to the Spartan war. Some writers say, that the tyrant's method of carrying on hostilities was not by sallies from the city, but that he encamped in the face of the Romans; and that, after he had declined fighting a long time, waiting for succours from the Aetolians, he was forced to come to an engagement, by an attack which the Romans made on his foragers, when, being defeated in that battle, and beaten out of his camp, he sued for peace, after fifteen thousand of his men had been killed, and more than four thousand made prisoners.

#### 42

Nearly at the same time, arrived at Rome a letter from Titus Quintius, with an account of his proceedings at Lacedaemon; and another, out of Spain, from Marcus Porcius, the consul; whereupon the senate decreed a supplication, for three days, in the name of each. The other consul, Lucius Valerius, as his province had remained quiet since the defeat of the Boians at the wood of Litana, came home to Rome to hold the elections. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, a second time, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, were elected consuls. The fathers of these two had been consuls in the first year of the second Punic war. The election of praetors was then held, and the choice fell on Publius Cornelius Scipio, two Cneius Corneliuses, Merenda and Blasio, Cneius Domitius Aenobarbus, Sextus Digitius, and Titus Juvencius Thalna. As soon as the elections were finished, the consul returned to his province. The inhabitants of Ferentinum, this year, laid claim to a privilege unheard of before; that Latins, giving in their names for a Roman colony, should be deemed citizens of Rome. Some colonists, who had given in their names for Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum, assumed, on that ground, the character of Roman citizens; but the senate determined that they were not.

#### 43

In the beginning of the year, wherein Publius Scipio Africanus, a second time, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus were consuls, two ambassadors from the tyrant Nabis came to Rome. The senate gave them audience in the temple of Apollo, outside the city. They entreated that a peace might be concluded on the terms settled with Quintius, and obtained their request. When the question was put concerning the provinces, the majority of the senate were of opinion, that as the wars in Spain and Macedonia were at an end, Italy should be the province of both the consuls; but Scipio contended that one consul was sufficient for Italy, and that Macedonia ought to be decreed to the other; that "there was every reason to apprehend a dangerous war with Antiochus, for he had already, of his own accord, come into Europe; and how did they suppose he would act in future, when he should be encouraged to a war, on one hand, by the Aetolians, avowed enemies of their state, and stimulated, on the other, by Hannibal, a general famous for his victories over the Romans?" While the consular provinces were in dispute, the praetors cast lots for theirs. The city jurisdiction fell to Cneius Domitius; the foreign, to Titus Juvencius: Farther Spain, to Publius Cornelius; Hither Spain, to Sextus Digitius; Sicily, to Cneius Cornelius Blasio; Sardinia, to Cneius Cornelius Merenda. It was resolved, that no new army should be sent into Macedonia, but that the one which was there should be brought home to Italy by Quintius, and disbanded; that the army which

was in Spain, under Marcus Porcius Cato, should likewise be disbanded; that Italy should be the province of both the consuls, and that they should raise two city legions; so that, after the disbanding of the armies, mentioned in the resolution of the senate, there should be in all eight Roman legions.

#### 44

A sacred spring had been celebrated, in the preceding year, during the consulate of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius; but Publius Licinius, one of the pontiffs, having made a report, first, to the college of pontiffs, and afterwards, under the sanction of the college, to the senate, that it had not been duly performed, they resolved, that it should be celebrated anew, under the direction of the pontiffs; and that the great games, vowed together with it, should be exhibited at the same expense which was customary; that the sacred spring should be deemed to comprehend all the cattle born between the calends of March and the day preceding the calends of May, in the year of the consulate of Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. Then followed the election of censors. Sextus Aelius Paetus, and Caius Cornelius Cethegus, being created censors, named as prince of the senate the consul Publius Scipio, whom the former censors likewise had appointed. They passed by only three senators in the whole, none of whom had enjoyed the honour of a curule office. They obtained, on another account, the highest degree of credit with that body; for, at the celebration of the Roman games, they ordered the curule aediles to set apart places for the senators, distinct from those of the people, whereas, hitherto, all the spectators used to sit promiscuously. Of the knights, also, very few were deprived of their horses; nor was severity shown towards any rank of men. The gallery of the temple of Liberty, and the Villa Publica, were repaired and enlarged by the same censors. The sacred spring, and the votive games, were celebrated, pursuant to the vow of Servius Sulpicius Galba, when consul. While every one's thoughts were engaged by the shows then exhibited, Quintus Pleminius, who, for the many crimes against gods and men committed by him at Locri, had been thrown into prison, procured men who were to set fire by night to several parts of the city at once, in order that, while the town was thrown into consternation by this nocturnal disturbance, the prison might be broken open. But this plot was disclosed by some of the accomplices, and the affair was laid before the senate. Pleminius was thrown into a lower dungeon, and there put to death.

#### 45

In this year colonies of Roman citizens were settled at Puteoli, Vulturnum, and Liternum; three hundred men in each place. Colonies of Roman citizens were likewise established at Salernum and Buxentum. The lands allotted to them had formerly belonged to the Campanians. Tiberius Sempronius Longus, who was then consul, Marcus Servilius, and Quintus Minucius Thermus, were the triumviri who settled the colony. Other commissioners also, Decius Junius Brutus, Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, and Marcus Helvius, led a colony of Roman citizens to Sipontum, into a district which had belonged to the Arpinians. To Tempesa, likewise, and to Croto, colonies of Roman citizens were led out. The lands of Tempesa had been taken from the Bruttians, who had formerly expelled the Greeks from them. Croto was possessed by Greeks. In ordering these establishments, there were named, for Croto,--Cneius Octavius, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, and Caius Pletorius; for Tempesa,--Lucius Cornelius Merula, and Caius Salonius. Several prodigies were observed at Rome that year, and others reported, from other places. In the forum, comitium, and Capitol, drops of blood were seen, and several showers of

earth fell, and the head of Vulcan was surrounded with a blaze of fire. It was reported that a stream of milk ran in the river at Interamna; that, in some reputable families at Ariminum, children were born without eyes and nose; and one, in the territory of Picenum, that had neither hands nor feet. These prodigies were expiated according to an order of the pontiffs; and the nine days' festival was celebrated, because the Hadrians had sent intelligence that a shower of stones had fallen in their fields.

#### 46

In Gaul, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, proconsul, in a pitched battle near Mediolanum, completely overthrew the Insubrian Gauls, and the Boians; who, under the command of Dorulacus, had crossed the Po, to rouse the Insubrians to arms. Ten thousand of the enemy were slain. About this time his colleague, Marcus Porcius Cato, triumphed over Spain. He carried in the procession twenty-five thousand pounds' weight of unwrought silver, one hundred and three thousand silver denarii,<sup>227</sup> five hundred and forty of Oscan silver,<sup>228</sup> and one thousand four hundred pounds' weight of gold. Out of the booty, he distributed to each of his soldiers two hundred and seventy *asses*;<sup>229</sup> and three times that amount to each horseman. Tiberius Sempronius, consul, proceeding to his province, led his legions, first, into the territory of the Boians. At this time Boiorix their chieftain, with his two brothers, after having drawn out the whole nation into the field to renew the war, pitched his camp in the open country, that it might be evident that he was prepared to fight in case the enemy should pass the frontiers. When the consul understood what a numerous force and what a degree of resolution the enemy had, he sent an express to his colleague, requesting him, "if he thought proper, to hasten to join him;" adding, that "he would act on the defensive, and defer engaging in battle, until his arrival." The same reason which made the consul wish to decline an action, induced the Gauls, whose spirits were raised by the backwardness of their antagonists, to bring it on as soon as possible, that they might finish the affair before the two consuls should unite their forces. However, during two days, they did nothing more than stand in readiness for battle, if any should come out against them. On the third, they advanced furiously to the rampart, and assaulted the camp on every side at once. The consul immediately ordered his men to take arms, and kept them quiet, under arms, for some time; both to add to the foolish confidence of the enemy, and to arrange his troops at the gates, through which each party was to sally out. The two legions were ordered to march by the two principal gates; but, in the very pass of the gates, the Gauls opposed them in such close bodies as to stop up the way. The fight was maintained a long time in these narrow passes; nor were their hands or swords much employed in the business, but pushing with their shields and bodies, they pressed against each other, the Romans struggling to force their standards beyond the gates, the Gauls, to break into the camp, or, at least, to hinder the Romans from issuing forth. However, neither party could make the least impression on the other, until Quintus Victorius, a first centurion, and Caius Atinius, a military tribune, the former of the second, the latter of the fourth legion, had taken a course often tried in desperate conflicts; snatching the standards from the officers who carried them, and throwing them among the enemy. In the struggle to recover the standards, the men of the second legion first made their way out of the gate.

#### 47

<sup>227</sup> £397. 17s. 6d.

<sup>228</sup> £17. 8s. 9d.

<sup>229</sup> 17s. 5-1/2d.

These were now fighting on the outside of the rampart, the fourth legion still entangled in the gate, when a new alarm arose on the opposite side of the camp. The Gauls had broke in by the Quaestorian gate, and had slain the quaestor, Lucius Postumius, surnamed Tympanus, with Marcus Atinius and Publius Sempronius, praefects of the allies, who made an obstinate resistance; and also, near two hundred soldiers. The camp in that part had been taken, when a cohort of those who are called Extraordinaries, having been sent by the consul to defend the Quaestorian gate, killed some who had got within the rampart, drove out the rest, and opposed others who were attempting to break in. About the same time, the fourth legion, and two cohorts of Extraordinaries, burst out of the gate; and thus there were three battles, in different places, round the camp; while the various kinds of shouts raised by them, called off the attention of the combatants from their own immediate conflict to the uncertain casualties which threatened their friends. The battle was maintained until mid-day with equal strength, and with nearly equal hopes. At length, the fatigue and heat so far got the better of the soft relaxed bodies of the Gauls, who are incapable of enduring thirst, as to make most of them give up the fight; and the few who stood their ground, were attacked by the Romans, routed, and driven to their camp. The consul then gave the signal for retreat, on which the greater part retired; but some, eager to continue the fight, and hoping to get possession of the camp, pressed forward to the rampart, on which the Gauls, despising their small number, rushed out in a body. The Romans were then routed in turn, and compelled, by their own fear and dismay, to retreat to their camp, which they had refused to do at the command of their general. Thus now flight and now victory alternated on both sides. The Gauls, however, had eleven thousand killed, the Romans but five thousand. The Gauls retreated into the heart of their country, and the consul led his legions to Placentia. Some writers say, that Scipio, after joining his forces to those of his colleague, overran and plundered the country of the Boians and Ligurians, as far as the woods and marshes suffered him to proceed; others, that, without having effected any thing material, he returned to Rome to hold the elections.

#### 48

Titus Quinctius passed the entire winter season of this year at Elatia, where he had established the winter quarters of his army, in adjusting political arrangements, and reversing the measures which had been introduced in the several states under the arbitrary domination of Philip and his deputies, who crushed the rights and liberties of others, in order to augment the power of those who formed a faction in their favour. Early in the spring he came to Corinth, where he had summoned a general convention. Ambassadors having attended from every one of the states, so as to form a numerous assembly, he addressed them in a long speech, in which, beginning from the first commencement of friendship between the Romans and the nation of the Greeks, he enumerated the proceedings of the commanders who had been in Macedonia before him, and likewise his own. His whole narration was heard with the warmest approbation, except when he came to make mention of Nabis; and then they expressed their opinion, that it was utterly inconsistent with the character of the deliverer of Greece to have left seated, in the centre of one of its most respectable states, a tyrant, who was not only insupportable to his own country, but a terror to all the states in his neighbourhood. Whereupon Quinctius, not unacquainted with this tendency of their feelings, freely acknowledged, that "if the business could have been accomplished without the entire destruction of Lacedaemon, no mention of peace with the tyrant ought ever to have been listened to; but that, when it was not possible to crush him

otherwise than by the utter ruin of this most important city, it was judged more eligible to leave the tyrant in a state of debility, stripped of almost every kind of power to do injury to any, than to suffer the city, which must have perished in the very process of its delivery being effectuated, to sink under remedies too violent for it to support."

#### 49

To the recital of matters past, he subjoined, that "his intention was to depart shortly for Italy, and to carry with him all his troops; that they should hear, within ten days, of the garrisons having evacuated Demetrias; and that Chalcis, the citadel of Corinth, should be before their own eyes evacuated to the Achaeans: that all the world might know whose habit it was to deceive, that of the Romans or the Aetolians, who had spread insinuations, that the cause of liberty had been unwisely intrusted to the Romans, and that they had only received as their masters the Romans in exchange for the Macedonians. But they were men who never scrupled what they either said or did. The rest of the nations he advised to form their estimate of friends from deeds, not from words; and to satisfy themselves whom they ought to trust, and against whom they ought to be on their guard; to use their liberty with moderation: for, when regulated by prudence, it was productive of happiness both to individuals and to states; but, when pushed to excess, it became not only obnoxious to others, but to the possessors of it themselves an unbridled and headstrong impulse. He recommended, that those at the head of affairs, and all the several ranks of men in each particular state, should cultivate harmony between themselves; and that all should direct their views to the general interest of the whole. For, while they acted in concert, no king or tyrant would be sufficiently powerful against them: but discord and dissension gave every advantage to those who might plot against them; as the party worsted in a domestic dispute generally join themselves with foreigners, rather than submit to a countryman of their own. He then exhorted them, as the arms of others had procured their liberty, and the good faith of foreigners had restored it to them, to apply now their own diligent care to the watching and guarding of it; that the Roman people might perceive that those on whom they had bestowed liberty were deserving of it, and that their kindness had not been ill placed."

#### 50

On hearing these admonitions, such as parental tenderness might dictate, every one present shed tears of joy; and they affected his feelings to such a degree as to interrupt his discourse. For some time a confused noise prevailed, from those who were expressing their approbation of his words, and charging each other to treasure up those expressions in their minds and hearts, as if they had been uttered by an oracle. Then silence ensuing, he requested of them to make diligent search for such Roman citizens as were in servitude among them, and to send them into Thessaly to him, within two months; observing, that "it would not be honourable to themselves, that, in a land restored to liberty, its deliverers should remain in servitude." To this all exclaimed with acclamations that they returned him thanks on this account in addition to others, that they had been reminded of the discharge of a duty so indispensably incumbent on their gratitude. There was a vast number of these who had been made prisoners in the Punic war, and sold by Hannibal when their countrymen refused to ransom them. That they were very numerous, is proved by what Polybius says, that this business cost the Achaeans one hundred talents,<sup>230</sup> though they had fixed the price to be paid for each

<sup>230</sup> £19,375.

captive, to the owner, so low as five hundred denarii.<sup>231</sup> For, at that rate, there were one thousand two hundred in Achaia. Calculate now, in proportion to this, how many were probably in all Greece.

## 51

Before the convention broke up, they saw the garrison march down from the citadel of Corinth, proceed forward to the gate, and depart. The general followed them, accompanied by the whole assembly, who, with loud acclamations, blessed him as their preserver and deliverer. At length, taking leave of these, and dismissing them, he returned to Elatia by the same road through which he came. He thence sent Appius Claudius, lieutenant-general, with all the troops, ordering him to march through Thessaly and Epirus, and to wait for him at Oricum, whence he intended to embark the army for Italy. He also wrote to his brother, Lucius Quinctius, lieutenant-general, and commander of the fleet, to collect thither transport ships from all the coasts of Greece. He himself proceeded to Chalcis; and, after sending away the garrisons, not only from that city, but likewise from Oreum and Eretria, he held there a congress of the Euboean states, whom he reminded of the condition in which he had found their affairs, and of that in which he was leaving them; and then dismissed the assembly. He then proceeded to Demetrias, and removed the garrison. Accompanied by all the citizens, as at Corinth and Chalcis, he pursued his route into Thessaly, where the states were not only to be set at liberty, but also to be reduced from a state of utter anarchy and confusion into some tolerable order; for they had been thrown into confusion, not only through the faults of the times, and the violence and licentiousness of royalty, but also through the restless disposition of the nation, who, from the earliest times, even to our days, have never conducted any election, or assembly, or council, without dissensions and tumult. He chose both senators and judges, with regard, principally, to their property, and made that party the most powerful in the state to whom it was most important that all things should be tranquil and secure.

## 52

When he had completed these regulations in Thessaly, he went on, through Epirus, to Oricum, whence he intended to take his passage. From Oricum all the troops were transported to Brundisium. From this place to the city, they passed the whole length of Italy, in a manner, like a triumph; the captured effects which they brought with them forming a train as large as that of the troops themselves. When they arrived at Rome, the senate assembled outside the city, to receive from Quinctius a recital of his services; and, with high satisfaction, a well-merited triumph was decreed him. His triumph lasted three days. On the first day were carried in procession, armour, weapons, brazen and marble statues of which he had taken greater numbers from Philip than from the states of Greece. On the second, gold and silver wrought, unwrought, and coined. Of unwrought silver, there were eighteen thousand pounds' weight; and of wrought, two hundred and seventy thousand; consisting of many vessels of various sorts, most of them engraved, and several of exquisite workmanship; also a great many others made of brass; and besides these, ten shields of silver. The coined silver amounted to eighty-four thousand of the Attic coin, called Tetradrachmus, containing each of silver about the weight of four denarii.<sup>232</sup> Of gold there were three thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds, and one shield wholly of gold: and of the gold coin called Philippics,

<sup>231</sup> £16. 2s. 11d.

<sup>232</sup> £10,849. 18s.

fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen.<sup>233</sup> On the third day were carried golden crowns, presented by the several states, in number one hundred and fourteen; then the victims. Before his chariot went many illustrious persons, captives and hostages, among whom were Demetrius, son of king Philip, and Armenes, a Lacedaemonian, son of the tyrant Nabis. Then Quinctius himself rode into the city, followed by a numerous body of soldiers, as the whole army had been brought home from the province. Among these he distributed two hundred and fifty *asses*<sup>234</sup> to each footman, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman. Those who had been redeemed from captivity added to the grandeur of the procession, walking after him with their heads shaven.

### 53

In the latter part of this year Quintus Aelius Tubero, plebeian tribune, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, proposed to the people, and the people ordered, that "two Latin colonies should be settled, one in Bruttium, the other in the territory of Thurium." For making these settlements commissioners were appointed, who were to hold the office for three years; for Bruttium, Quintus Naevius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Marcus Furius Crassipes; and for the district of Thurium, Cneius Manlius, Quintus Aelius, and Lucius Apustius. The assemblies of election to these two appointments were held in the Capitol by Cneius Domitius, city praetor. Several temples were dedicated this year: one of Juno Sospita, in the herb market, vowed and contracted for four years before, in the time of the Gallic war, by Cneius Cornelius, consul; and the same person, now censor, performed the dedication. Another of Faunus, the building of which had been agreed for two years before, and a fund formed for it out of fines estreated by the aediles, Caius Scribonius and Cneius Domitius; the latter of whom, now city praetor, dedicated it. Quintus Marcius Ralla, constituted commissioner for the purpose, dedicated the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, on the Quirinal Hill. Publius Sempronius Sophus had vowed this temple ten years before, in the Punic war; and, being afterwards censor, had employed persons to build it. Caius Servilius, duumvir, also dedicated a temple of Jupiter, in the island. This had been vowed in the Gallic war, six years before, by Lucius Furius Purpureo, who afterwards, when consul, contracted for the building.--Such were the transactions of that year.

### 54

Publius Scipio came home from his province of Gaul to choose new consuls. The consular comitia were accordingly held, in which Lucius Cornelius Merula and Quintus Minucius Thermus were chosen. Next day were chosen praetors, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Caius Scribonius, Marcus Valerius Messala, Lucius Porcius Licinus, and Caius Flaminius. The curule aediles of this year, Caius Atilius Serranus and Lucius Scribonius, first exhibited the Megalesian theatrical games. At the Roman games, celebrated by these aediles, the senators, for the first time, sat separate from the people, which, as every innovation usually does, gave occasion to various observations. Some considered this as "an honour, shown at length to that most respectable body, and which ought to have been done long before;" while others contended, that "every addition made to the grandeur of the senate was a diminution of the dignity of the people; and that all such distinctions as set the orders of the state at a distance from each other, were equally subversive of liberty and concord. During five hundred and fifty-eight years," they asserted, "all the spectators had sat promiscuously:

<sup>233</sup> £936l. 10s.

<sup>234</sup> £16s. 1-1/4d.

what reason then had now occurred, on a sudden, that should make the senators disdain to have the commons intermixed with them in the theatre, or make the rich disdain the poor man as a fellow-spectator? It was an unprecedented gratification of pride and over-bearing vanity, never even desired, and never instituted, by the senate of any other nation." It is said, that even Africanus himself at last became sorry for having proposed that matter in his consulship: so difficult is it to bring people to approve of any alteration of ancient customs; they are always naturally disposed to adhere to old practices, except those which experience evidently condemns.

## 55

In the beginning of the year, which was the consulate of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, such frequent reports of earthquakes were brought, that people grew weary, not only of the matter itself, but of the religious rites enjoined in consequence; for neither could the senate be convened, nor the business of the public be transacted, the consuls were so constantly employed in sacrifices and expiations. At last, the decemvirs were ordered to consult the books; and, in pursuance of their answer, a supplication was performed during three days. People offered prayers at all the shrines, with garlands on their heads; and an order was published, that all the persons belonging to one family should pay their worship together; and the consuls, by direction of the senate, published an edict, that, on any day whereon religious rites should be ordered, in consequence of the report of an earthquake, no person should report another earthquake on that day. Then the consuls first, and afterwards the praetors, cast lots for their provinces. Cornelius obtained Gaul; Minucius, Liguria; Caius Scribonius, the city jurisdiction; Marcus Valerius, the foreign; Lucius Cornelius, Sicily; Lucius Porcius, Sardinia; Caius Flaminius, Hither Spain; and Marcus Fulvius, Farther Spain.

## 56

While the consuls supposed that, for that year, they should have no employment of a military kind, a letter was brought from Marcus Cincius, who was commander at Pisae, announcing, that "twenty thousand armed Ligurians, in consequence of a conspiracy of that whole nation, formed in the meetings of their several districts, had first wasted the lands of Luna, and then, passing through the territory of Pisae, had overrun the whole sea-coast." In consequence of this intelligence, the consul Minucius, whose province Liguria was, by direction of the senate, mounted the rostrum, and published orders, that "the two legions, enlisted the year before, should, on the tenth day from that, attend him at Arretium;" and mentioned his intention of levying two legions for the city in their stead. He likewise gave notice to the magistrates and ambassadors of such of the allies, and of the Latin confederates, as were bound to furnish soldiers, to attend him in the Capitol. Of these he wrote out a list, amounting to fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, proportioning the contingent of each state to the number of its young men, and ordered those present to go directly from the spot to the gate of the city; and, in order to expedite the business, to proceed to raise the men. To Fulvius and Flaminius were assigned, to each three thousand Roman foot, and a reinforcement of one hundred horse, with five thousand foot of the Latin allies, and two hundred horse; and orders were given to those praetors, to disband the old troops immediately on their arrival in their provinces. Although great numbers of the soldiers belonging to the city legions had made application to the plebeian tribunes, to take cognizance of the cases of such men as claimed exemption from the service, on account either of having served out their time, or of bad health; yet a letter from Tiberius Sempronius banished all thoughts of

such proceeding; for in this it was announced that "fifteen thousand of the Ligurians had come into the lands of Placentia, and wasted them with fire and sword, to the very walls of that city and the bank of the Po; and that the Boian nation were looking out for an occasion to rebel." In consequence of this information, the senate passed a vote, that "there was a Gallic tumult subsisting, and that it would be improper for the plebeian tribunes to take cognizance of the claims of the soldiers, so as to prevent their attending, pursuant to the proclamation;" and they added an order, that the Latin confederates, who had served in the army of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, and had been discharged by those consuls, should re-assemble, on whatever day and in whatever place of Etruria the consul Lucius Cornelius should appoint; and that the consul Lucius Cornelius, on his way to his province, should enlist, arm, and carry with him all such persons as he should think fit, in the several towns and countries through which he was to pass, and should have authority to discharge such of them, and at such times, as he might judge proper.

## 57

After the consuls had finished the levies, and were gone to their provinces, Titus Quinctius demanded, that "the senate should receive an account of the regulations which he in concert with the ten ambassadors, had settled; and, if they thought proper, ratify them by their authority." He told them, that "they would accomplish this the more easily, if they were first to give audience to the ambassadors, who had come from all parts of Greece, and a great part of Asia, and to those from the two kings." These embassies were introduced to the senate by the city praetor, Caius Scribonius, and all received kind answers. As the discussion of the affair with Antiochus required too much time, it was referred to the ten ambassadors, some of whom had conferred with the king in Asia, or at Lysimachia. Directions were given to Titus Quinctius, that, in conjunction with these, he should listen to the representations of the king's ambassadors, and should give them such answer as comported with the dignity and interest of the Roman people. At the head of the embassy were Menippus and Hegesianax; the former of whom said, that "he could not conceive what intricacy there was in the business of their embassy, as they came simply to ask friendship, and conclude an alliance. Now, there were three kinds of treaties, by which kings and states formed friendships with each other: one, when terms were dictated to a people vanquished in war; for after all their possessions have been surrendered to him who has proved superior in war, he has the sole power of judging and determining what portion of them the vanquished shall hold, and of what they shall be deprived. The second, when parties, equally matched in war, conclude a treaty of peace and friendship on terms of equality; for then demands are proposed and restitution made, reciprocally, in a convention; and if, in consequence of the war, confusion has arisen with respect to any parts of their properties, the matter is adjusted on the footing either of ancient right or of the mutual convenience of the parties. The third kind was, when parties who had never been foes, met to form a friendly union by a social treaty: these neither dictate nor receive terms, for that is the case between a victor and a party vanquished. As Antiochus came under this last description, he wondered, he said, that the Romans should think it becoming to dictate terms to him; as to which of the cities of Asia they chose should be free and independent, which should be tributary, and which of them the king's troops and the king himself should be prohibited to enter. That a peace of this kind might be ratified with Philip, who was their enemy, but not a treaty of alliance with Antiochus, their friend."

## 58

To this Quinctius answered: "Since you choose to deal methodically, and enumerate the several modes of contracting alliances, I also will lay down two conditions, without which you may tell your king, that there are no means of contracting any friendship with the Roman people. One, that, he does not choose that we should concern ourselves in the affairs of the cities in Asia, he must himself keep entirely out of Europe. The other, that if he does not confine himself within the limits of Asia, but passes over into Europe, the Romans will think themselves at full liberty to maintain the friendships which they have already formed with the states of Asia, and also to contract new ones." On this Hegesianax exclaimed, that "this proposition was unworthy to be listened to, as its tendency was to exclude Antiochus from the cities of Thrace and the Chersonese,-- places which his great-grandfather, Seleucus, had acquired with great honour, after vanquishing Lysimachus in war and killing him in battle, and had left to his successors; and part of which, after they had been seized by the Thracians, Antiochus had, with equal honour, recovered by force of arms; as well as others which had been deserted,-- as Lysimachia, for instance, he had repeopled, by calling home the inhabitants;--and several, which had been destroyed by fire, and buried in ruins, he had rebuilt at a vast expense. What kind of resemblance was there, then, in the cases of Antiochus being ejected from possessions so acquired and so recovered; and of the Romans refraining from intermeddling with Asia, which had never been theirs? Antiochus wished to obtain the friendship of the Romans; but so that its acquisition would be to his honour, and not to his shame." In reply to this, Quinctius said,--"Since we are deliberating on what would be honourable, and which, indeed with a people who held the first rank among the nations of the world, and with so great a king, ought to be the sole, or at least the primary object of regard; tell me, I pray you, which do you think more honourable, to wish to give liberty to all the Grecian cities in every part of the world; or to make them slaves and vassals? Since Antiochus thinks it conducive to his glory, to reduce to slavery those cities, which his great-grandfather held by the right of arms, but which his grandfather or father never occupied as their property while the Roman people, having undertaken the patronage of the liberty of the Greeks, deem it incumbent on their faith and constancy not to abandon it. As they have delivered Greece from Philip, so they have it in contemplation to deliver, from Antiochus, all the states of Asia which are of the Grecian race. For colonies were not sent into Aeolia and Ionia to be enslaved to kings; but with design to increase the population, and to propagate that ancient race in every part of the globe."

## 59

When Hegesianax hesitated, and could not deny, that the cause of liberty carried a more honourable semblance than that of slavery, Publius Sulpicius, who was the eldest of the ten ambassadors, said,--"Let us cut the matter short. Choose one of the two conditions clearly propounded just now by Quinctius; or deem it superfluous to negotiate about an alliance." But Menippus replied, "We neither will, nor can, accede to any proposition by which the dominions of Antiochus would be diminished." Next day, Quinctius brought into the senate-house all the ambassadors of Greece and Asia, in order that they might learn the dispositions entertained by the Roman people, and by Antiochus, towards the Grecian states. He then acquainted them with his own demands, and those of the king; and desired them to "assure their respective states, that the same disinterested zeal and courage, which the Roman people had displayed in defence of their liberty against the encroachments of Philip, they would, likewise, exert against those of Antiochus, if he

should refuse to retire out of Europe." On this, Menippus earnestly besought Quintcius and the senate, "not to be hasty in forming their determination, which, in its effects, might disturb the peace of the whole world; to take time to themselves, and allow the king time for consideration; that, when informed of the conditions proposed, he would consider them, and either obtain some relaxation in the terms, or accede to them for the sake of peace." Accordingly, the business was deferred entire; and a resolution passed, that the same ambassadors should be sent to the king who had attended him at Lysimachia,--Publius Sulpicius, Publius Villius, and Publius Aelius.

## 60

Scarcely had these begun their journey, when ambassadors from Carthage brought information, that Antiochus was evidently preparing for war, and that Hannibal was employed in his service; which gave reason to fear, that a Punic war might break out at the same time. Hannibal, on leaving his own country, had gone to Antiochus, as was mentioned before, and was held by the king in high estimation, not so much for his other qualifications, as because, to a person who had long been revolving schemes for a war with Rome, there could not be any fitter participator of his counsels on such a subject. His opinion was always one and the same, that the war should be carried on in Italy: because "Italy would supply a foreign enemy both with men and provisions; but, if it were left in quiet, and the Roman people were allowed to employ the strength and forces of Italy, in making war beyond the limits of that country, no king or nation would be able to cope with them." He demanded, for himself, one hundred decked ships, ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. "With this force," he said, "he would first repair to Africa; and he had confident hopes, that he should be able to prevail on the Carthaginians to revive hostilities. If they should hesitate, he would raise a war against the Romans in some part of Italy. That the king ought to cross over into Europe with all the rest of his force, and keep his army in some part of Greece; not to pass over immediately into Italy, but to be in readiness to do so; which would sufficiently conduce to the imposing character and the reported magnitude of the war."

## 61

When he had brought the king to agree in his opinion, he judged it necessary to predispose the minds of his countrymen to the same; but he durst not send a letter, lest it might, by some accident, be intercepted, and his plans by that means, be discovered. He had found at Ephesus a Tyrian called Aristo, and in several less important commissions, had discovered him to possess a good degree of ingenuity. This man he now loaded with presents and promises of rewards which were confirmed by the king himself, and sent him to Carthage with messages. He told him the names of the persons whom it was necessary that he should see, and furnished him with secret tokens, by which they would know, with certainty, that the messages came from him. On this Aristo's appearing at Carthage, the reason of his coming was not discovered by Hannibal's friends sooner than by his enemies. At first, the subject was bruited about in their circles and at their tables; and at last some persons declared in the senate that "the banishment of Hannibal answered no purpose, if while resident in another country, he was still able to propagate designs for changing the administration, and disturbing the quiet of the state by his intrigues. That a Tyrian stranger, named Aristo, had come with a commission from Hannibal and king Antiochus; that certain men daily held secret conferences with him, and were concocting that in private, the consequences of which would soon break out, to the ruin of the public." This produced a general outcry, that

"Aristo ought to be summoned, and examined respecting the reason of his coming; and if he did not disclose it, to be sent to Rome, with ambassadors accompanying him: that they had already suffered enough of punishment in atonement of the headstrong rashness of one individual; that the faults of private citizens should be at their own risk, and the state should be preserved free, not only from guilt, but even from the suspicion of it." Aristo, being summoned, contended for his innocence; and urged, as his strongest defence, that he had brought no letter to any person whatever: but he gave no satisfactory reason for his coming, and was chiefly embarrassed by the fact which they urged, that he had conversed solely with men of the Barcine faction. A warm debate ensued; some earnestly pressing, that he should be immediately seized as a spy, and kept in custody; while others insisted, that there were not sufficient grounds for such violent measures; that "putting strangers into confinement, without reason, was a step that afforded a bad precedent; for that the same would happen to the Carthaginians at Tyre, and other parts, where they frequently traded." The question was adjourned on that day. Aristo practised on the Carthaginians a Carthaginian artifice; for having early in the evening hung up a written tablet, in the most frequented place of the city, over the tribunal where the magistrates daily sat, he went on board his ship at the third watch, and fled. Next day, when the suffetes had taken their seats to administer justice, the tablet was observed, taken down, and read. Its contents were, that "Aristo came not with a private commission to any person, but with a public one to the elders;" by this name they called the senate. The imputation being thus thrown on the state, less pains were taken in searching into the suspicions harboured of a few individuals: however, it was determined, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to represent the affair to the consuls and the senate, and, at the same time, to complain of the injuries received from Masinissa.

## 62

When Masinissa observed that the Carthaginians were looked on with jealousy by others, and were full of dissensions among themselves; the nobles being suspected by the senate, on account of their conferences with Aristo, and the senate by the people, in consequence of the information given by the same Aristo, he thought that, at such a conjuncture, he might successfully encroach on their rights; and accordingly he laid waste their country along the sea-coast, and compelled several cities, which were tributary to the Carthaginians, to pay their taxes to him. This tract they call Emporia; it forms the shore of the lesser Syrtis, and has a fertile soil; one of its cities is Leptis, which paid a tribute to the Carthaginians of a talent a day. At this time, Masinissa not only ravaged that whole tract, but, with respect to a considerable part of it, disputed the right of possession with the Carthaginians; and when he learned that they were sending to Rome, both to justify their conduct, and, at the same time, to make complaints of him, he likewise sent ambassadors to Rome, to load them with suspicions, and to discuss the right to the taxes. The Carthaginians were heard first, and their account of the Tyrian stranger gave the senate no small uneasiness, as they dreaded being involved in war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians at the same time. What contributed chiefly to strengthen a suspicion of evil designs, was, that though they had resolved to seize Aristo, and send him to Rome, they had not placed a guard either on himself or his ship. Then began the controversy with the king's ambassadors, on the claims of the territory in dispute. The Carthaginians supported their cause by a boundary claim, urging that "It must belong to them, as being within the limits which Scipio, after conquering the country, had fixed as the boundaries which should be under Carthaginian rule; and also,

by the acknowledgment of the king, who, when he was going in pursuit of Apher, a fugitive from his kingdom, then hovering about Cyrene, with a party of Numidians, had solicited as a favour a passage through that very district, as being confessedly a part of the Carthaginian dominions." The Numidians insisted, "that they were guilty of misrepresentation with respect to the limits fixed by Scipio; and if a person chose to recur to the real origin of their property, what title had the Carthaginians to call any land in Africa their own: foreigners and strangers, to whom had been granted precariously, for the purpose of building a city, as much ground as they could encompass with the cuttings of a bull's hide? Whatever acquisitions they had made beyond Byrsa, their original settlement, they held by fraud and violence; for, in relation to the land in question, so far were they from being able to prove uninterrupted possession, from the time when it was first acquired, that they cannot even prove that they ever possessed it for any considerable time. As occasions offered, sometimes they, sometimes the kings of Numidia, had held the dominion of it; and the possession of it had always been held by the party which had the greatest armed force. They requested the senate to suffer the matter to remain on the same footing on which it stood before the Carthaginians became enemies to the Romans, or the king of Numidia their friend and ally; and not to interfere, so as to hinder whichever party was able, from keeping possession."--The senate resolved to tell the ambassadors of both parties, that they would send persons into Africa to determine the present controversy between the people of Carthage and the king. They accordingly sent Publius Scipio Africanus, Caius Cornelius Cethegus, and Marcus Minucius Rufus; who, after viewing the ground, and hearing what could be said on both sides, left every thing in suspense, their opinions inclining neither to one side nor the other. Whether they acted in this manner from their own judgment, or because they had been so instructed, is by no means so certain as it is, that as affairs were circumstanced, it was highly expedient to leave the dispute undecided: for, had the case been otherwise, Scipio alone, either from his own knowledge of the business, or the influence which he possessed, and to which he had a just claim on both parties, could, with a nod, have ended the controversy.

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## Book XXXV

*Publius Scipio Africanus sent as ambassador to Antiochus; has a conversation with Hannibal at Ephesus. Preparations of the Romans for war with Antiochus. Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedaemon, instigated by the Aetolians, makes war on the Achaeans; is put to death by a party of the Aetolians. The Aetolians, violating the treaty of friendship with the Romans, invite Antiochus, who comes, with a small force, into Greece, and, in conjunction with them, takes several towns, and the whole island of Euboea. The Achaeans declare war against Antiochus and the Aetolians.*

### 1

In the beginning of the same year, Sextus Digitius, praetor in the Hither Spain, fought with those states which, after the departure of Marcus Cato, had, in great numbers, recommenced hostilities, numerous battles, but none deserving of particular mention; and all so unfavourable to him, that he scarcely delivered to his successor half the number of men that he had received. In consequence of this, every state in Spain would certainly have resumed new courage, had not the other praetor, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, been successful in several engagements on the other side of the Iberus; and, by these means, diffused such a general terror, that no less than fifty towns came over to his side. These exploits Scipio performed in his praetorship. Afterwards, when propraetor, as the Lusitanians, after ravaging the farther Province, were returning home, with an immense booty, he attacked them on their march, and continued the engagement from the third hour of the day to the eighth, before any advantage was gained on either side. He was inferior to the enemy in number of men, but he had the advantage of them in other respects: with his troops formed in a compact body he attacked a long train, encumbered with multitudes of cattle; and with his soldiers fresh, engaged men, fatigued by a long march; for the enemy had set out at the third watch, and besides travelling the remainder of the night, had continued their route to the third hour of the day; nor had they been allowed any rest, as the battle immediately succeeded the toil of the march. Wherefore, though at the beginning they retained some vigour of body and spirits, and, at first, threw the Romans into disorder, yet, after some time, the fight became equal. In this critical situation the propraetor made a vow to celebrate games in honour of Jupiter, in case he should defeat and cut off the enemy. The Romans then made a more vigorous push, and the Lusitanians gave way, and, in a little time, turned their backs. As the victors pursued them briskly, no less than twelve thousand of them were slain, and five hundred and forty taken prisoners, most of whom were horsemen. There were taken, besides, a hundred and thirty-four military standards. Of the Roman army, but seventy-three men were lost. The battle was fought at a small distance from the city of Ilipa. Thither Publius Cornelius led back his victorious army, amply enriched with spoil; all which was exposed to view under the walls of the town, and permission given to the owners to claim their effects. The remainder was put into the hands of the quaestor to be sold, and the money produced by the sale was distributed among the soldiers.

### 2

At the time when these occurrences happened in Spain, Caius Flaminius, the praetor, had not yet set out from Rome: therefore these events, as well prosperous as adverse,

were reported by himself and his friends in the strongest representations; and he laboured to persuade the senate, that, as a very formidable war had blazed out in his province, and he was likely to receive from Sextus Digitius a very small remnant of an army, and that, too, terrified and disheartened they ought to decree one of the city legions to him, in order that, when he should have united to it the soldiers levied by himself, pursuant to the decree of the senate, he might select from the whole number six thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse. He said, that "with such a legion as that, (for very little confidence could be placed on the troops of Sextus Digitius,) he would conduct the war." But the elder part of the senate insisted, that "decrees of the senate were not to be passed in consequence of rumours fabricated by private persons for the gratification of magistrates; and that no intelligence should be deemed authentic except it were either written by the praetors, from their provinces, or brought by their deputies. If there was a tumultuous commotion in Spain, they advised a vote, that tumultuary soldiers should be levied by the praetor in some other country than Italy." The senate's intention was that such description of men should be raised in Spain. Valerius Antias says, that Caius Flaminius sailed to Sicily for the purpose of levying troops, and that, on his voyage thence to Spain, being driven by a storm to Africa, he enlisted there many stragglers who had belonged to the army of Publius Africanus; and that, to the levies made in those two provinces, he added a third in Spain.

### 3

In Italy the war, commenced by the Ligurians, grew daily more formidable. They now invested Pisae, with an army of forty thousand men; for multitudes flocked to them continually, led by the reports of the war and the expectation of booty. The consul, Minucius, came to Arretium, on the day which he had fixed for the assembling of the troops. Thence he led them, in order of battle, towards Pisae; and though the enemy had removed their camp to the other side of the river, at a distance of no more than three miles from the place, the consul marched into the city, which evidently owed its preservation to his coming. Next day he also encamped on the other side of the river, about a mile from the enemy; and by slight skirmishes protected the lands of the allies from their depredations. He did not think it prudent to hazard a general engagement, because his troops were raw, composed of many different kinds of men, and not yet so well known among themselves that they could rely on one another. The Ligurians depended so much on their numbers, that they not only came out and offered battle, willing to risk every thing on the issue of it; but, from their superfluity of men, they sent out many parties along the frontiers to plunder; and whenever a large quantity of cattle, and other prey, was collected, there was an escort always in readiness to convey it to their forts and towns.

### 4

While the operations remained at a stand at Pisae, the other consul, Lucius Cornelius Merula, led his army through the extreme borders of the Ligurians, into the territory of the Boians, where the mode of proceeding was quite the reverse of that which took place in the war of Liguria. The consul took the field; the enemy refused to fight; and the Romans, when no one would come out against them, went out in parties to plunder, while the Boians chose to let their country be laid waste with impunity rather than venture an engagement in defence of it. When all places were completely ravaged with fire and sword, the consul quitted the enemy's lands, and marched towards Mutina, in a careless manner, as through a pacific population. The Boians, when they learned that

the enemy had withdrawn beyond their frontiers, followed him as secretly as possible, watching an opportunity for an ambush; and, having gone by his camp in the night, took possession of a defile through which the Romans were to pass. But as they were not able to effect this with sufficient secrecy, the consul, who usually began his march late in the night, now waited until day, lest, in the disorderly fight likely to ensue, darkness might increase the confusion; and though he did not stir before it was light, yet he sent forward a troop of horse to explore the country. When intelligence was brought by them of the number and situation of the enemy, he ordered the baggage to be heaped together in the centre, and the veterans to throw up a rampart round it; and then, with the rest of the army in order of battle, he advanced towards the enemy. The Gauls did the same, when they found that their stratagem was detected, and that they were to engage in a fair and regular battle, where success must depend on valour alone.

## 5

The battle began about the second hour. The left brigade of the allies, and the Extraordinaries, fought in the first line, and were commanded by two lieutenant-generals of consular dignity, Marcus Marcellus and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been consul the year before. The present consul was sometimes employed in the front of the line, sometimes in keeping back the legions in reserve, that they might not, through eagerness for fighting, come up to the attack until the signal was given. He ordered the two Minucii, Quintus and Publius, military tribunes, to lead off the cavalry on the legions into open ground, at some distance from the line; and "when he should give them the signal, to charge the enemy through the clear space." While he was thus employed, a message came from Tiberius Sempronius Longus, that the Extraordinaries could not support the onset of the Gauls; that great numbers had already fallen; and that partly through weariness, partly through fear, the ardour of the survivors was much abated. He recommended it therefore to the consul, if he thought proper, to send up one or other of the two legions, before the army suffered disgrace. The second legion was accordingly sent, and the Extraordinaries were ordered to retire. By the legion coming up, with its men fresh, and the ranks complete in their numbers, the fight was renewed with vigour. The left wing was withdrawn out of the action, and the right took its place in the van. The intense heat of the sun discomposed the Gauls, whose bodies were very ill qualified to endure it: nevertheless, keeping their ranks close, and leaning sometimes on each other, sometimes on their bucklers, they withstood the attack of the Romans; which, when the consul observed, in order to break their ranks, he ordered Caius Livius Salinator, commander of the allied cavalry, to charge them at full speed, and the legionary cavalry to remain in reserve. This tempest of cavalry first confused and disordered, and at length entirely broke the line of the Gauls; yet it did not make them fly. That was prevented by their officers, who, when they quitted their posts, struck them on the back with their spears, and compelled them to return to their ranks: but the allied cavalry, riding in among them, did not suffer them to recover their order. The consul exhorted his soldiers to "continue their efforts a little longer, for victory was within their reach; to press the enemy, while they saw them disordered and dismayed; for, if they were suffered to recover their ranks, they would enter on a fresh battle with doubtful success." He ordered the standard-bearers to advance with the standards, and then, all exerting themselves at once, they at length forced the enemy to give way. As soon as they turned their backs, and fled precipitately on every side, the legionary cavalry was sent in pursuit of them. On that day, fourteen thousand of the Boians were slain; one thousand and ninety-two taken--as were seven hundred and twenty-one

horsemen, and three of their commanders, with two hundred and twelve military standards, and sixty-three chariots. Nor did the Romans gain the victory without loss of blood: of themselves, or their allies, were lost above five thousand men, twenty-three centurions, four prefects of the allies, and two military tribunes of the second legion, Marcus Genucius and Marcus Marcius.

## 6

Letters from both the consuls arrived at Rome nearly at the same time. That of Lucius Cornelius gave an account of the battle fought with the Boians at Mutina; that of Quintus Minucius, from Pisae, mentioned, that "the holding of the elections had fallen to his lot, but that affairs in Liguria were in so uncertain a position, that he could not depart thence without bringing ruin on the allies, and material injury on the commonwealth. He therefore advised that, if the senate thought proper, they should direct his colleague (as his war was decided) to return to Rome for the elections. He said if Cornelius should object to this, because that employment had not fallen to his lot, he would certainly do whatever the senate should order; but he begged them to consider again and again whether it would not be more to the advantage of the republic, that an interregnum should take place, than that the province should be left by him in such a state." The senate gave directions to Caius Scribonius to send two deputies of senatorian rank to the consul, Lucius Cornelius, to communicate to him the letter sent by his colleague to the senate, and to acquaint him, that if he did not come to Rome to elect new magistrates, the senate were resolved, rather than Quintus Minucius should be called away from a war, in which no progress had been made, to suffer an interregnum to take place. The deputies sent brought back his answer, that he would come to Rome, to elect new magistrates. The letter of Lucius Cornelius, which contained an account of the battle with the Boians, occasioned a debate in the senate; for Marcus Claudius, lieutenant-general, in private letters to many of the senators, had written, "that they might thank the fortune of the Roman people, and the bravery of the soldiers, that the affair had been successful. That the conduct of the consul had been the cause of a great many men being lost, and of the enemy's army, for the annihilation of which an opportunity had been offered, having made its escape. That what made the loss of men the greater was, the reinforcements, necessary to support them when distressed, coming up too late from the reserve; and that, what enabled the enemy to slip out of their hands was, the signal being given too tardily to the legionary cavalry, and their not being allowed to pursue the fugitives." It was agreed, that no resolution should be hastily passed on the subject; and the discussion was accordingly adjourned to a fuller meeting.

## 7

Another concern also pressed upon them, namely, that the public was heavily distressed by usurious practices; and although avarice had been restricted by many laws respecting usury, yet a fraudulent course had been adopted--that of transferring the securities to subjects of some of the allied states, who were not bound by those laws, by which means usurers overwhelmed their debtors by unlimited interest. On considering of the best method for putting a stop to this evil the senate decreed, that a certain day should be fixed on for it, the next approaching festival of the infernal deities; and that any of the allies who should from that day lend money to the Roman citizens, should register the transaction; and that all proceedings respecting such money, lent after that day, should be regulated by the laws of whichever of the two states the debtor should

choose. In some time after, when the great amount of debt, contracted through this kind of fraud, was discovered by means of the registries, Marcus Sempronius, plebeian tribune, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people, and the people ordered, that the laws relative to money lent between Roman citizens and subjects of any of the allied states, or Latin confederacy, should be the same as those between Roman citizens. Such were the transactions in Italy, civil and military. In Spain the war was far from being so formidable as the exaggerations of report had represented it. In Hither Spain, Caius Flaminius took the town of Ilucia, in the country of the Oretanians, and then marched his army into winter quarters. Several engagements took place during the winter, but none deserving of particular mention, directed against incursions of robbers rather than of the enemy; and yet with various success, and not without the loss of some men. More important services were performed by Marcus Fulvius. He fought a pitched battle near the town of Toletum, against the Vaccaeans, Vectonians, and Celtiberians; routed and dispersed their combined forces, and took prisoner their king, Hilermus.

## 8

While this passed in Spain, the day of election was drawing near. Lucius Cornelius, therefore, the consul, left Marcus Claudius, lieutenant-general, in command of the army and came to Rome. After representing in the senate the services which he had performed, and the present state of the province, he expostulated with the conscript fathers on their not having ordered a thanksgiving to the immortal gods when so great a war was so happily terminated by one successful battle; and then demanded, that they would at the same time decree a supplication and a triumph. But, before the question was put, Quintus Metellus, who had been consul and dictator, said, that, "letters had been brought at the same time from the consul, Lucius Cornelius, to the senate, and from Marcus Marcellus, to a great part of the senators; which letters contradicted each other, and for that reason the consideration of the business had been adjourned, in order that it might be debated when the writers of those letters should be present. He had expected, therefore, that the consul, who knew that the lieutenant-general had written something to his disadvantage, would, when he himself was obliged to come, have brought him with him to Rome; especially, as the command of the army would, with more propriety, have been committed to Tiberius Sempronius, who already possessed authority, than to the lieutenant-general. As the case stood at present, it appeared as if the latter was kept out of the way designedly, lest he might assert in person the same things which he had written in his letters; and, face to face, either substantiate his charges, or, if he had alleged any thing untrue, be convicted of misrepresentation, until the truth should be clearly discovered. For this reason he was of opinion, that the senate should not, at present, assent to either of the decrees demanded by the consul." When he, however, persisted with undiminished energy in putting the question, that a thanksgiving should be ordered, and himself allowed to ride into the city in triumph; the plebeian tribunes, Marcus and Caius Titinius, declared, that they would enter their protest, if the senate passed any decree on the subject.

## 9

In the preceding year, Sextus Aelius Paetus and Caius Cornelius Cethegus were created censors. Cornelius now closed the lustrum. The number of citizens rated was a hundred and forty-three thousand seven hundred and four. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell in this year, and the Tiber overflowed the lower parts of the city; and some buildings near the Flumentan gate were even laid in ruins. The Coelimontan gate was struck by

lightning, as was the wall on each side of it, in several places. At Aricia, Lanuvium, and on the Aventine, showers of stones fell. From Capua, a report was brought that a very large swarm of wasps flew into the forum, and settled on the temple of Mars; that they had been carefully collected, and burnt. On account of these prodigies, the decemvirs were ordered to consult the books; the nine days' festival was celebrated, a supplication proclaimed, and the city purified. At the same time, Marcus Porcius Cato dedicated a chapel to Maiden Victory, near the temple of Victory, two years after he had vowed it. During this year, a Latin colony was established in the Thurian territory by commissioners appointed for the purpose, Cneius Manlius Vulso, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Quintus Aelius Tubero, who had proposed the order for its settlement. There went out thither three thousand foot and three hundred horsemen; a very small number in proportion to the extent of the land. Thirty acres might have been given to each footman, and sixty to a horseman, but, by the advice of Apustius, a third part was reserved, that they might afterwards, when they should judge proper, send out thither a new colony. The footmen received twenty acres each, the horsemen forty.

## 10

The year was now near a close, and with regard to the election of consuls, emulation was more fiercely kindled than was ever known before. The candidates, both patrician and plebeian, were many and powerful: Publius Cornelius Scipio, son to Cneius, and who had lately come home from Spain, having performed great exploits; Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, who had commanded the fleet in Greece; and Cneius Manlius Vulso; these were the patricians. Then there were, of plebeian rank, Caius Laelius, Cneius Domitius, Caius Livius Salinator, and Manius Acilius. The eyes of all men were turned on Quinctius and Cornelius; for, being both patricians, they sued for one place; and they were both of them recommended by high and recent renown in war. Above every thing else, the brothers of the candidates, the two most illustrious generals of the age, increased the violence of the struggle. Scipio's fame was the more splendid, and in proportion to its greater splendour, the more obnoxious to envy. That of Quinctius was the most recent, as he had triumphed in the course of that very same year. Besides, the former had now for almost ten years been continually in people's sight; which circumstance, by the mere effect of satiety, causes great characters to be less revered. He had been a second time consul after the final defeat of Hannibal, and also censor. All Quinctius's claims to the favour of the public were fresh and new; since his triumph, he had neither asked nor received anything from the people; "he solicited," he said, "in favour of his own brother, not of a half-brother; in favour of his lieutenant-general, and partner in the administration of the war; his brother having conducted the operations by sea, while he did the same on land." By these arguments he carried his point. His brother was preferred to the brother of Africanus, though supported by the whole Cornelian family, and while one of the same family presided at the election, and notwithstanding the very honourable testimony given by the senate, in his favour, when it adjudged him to be the best man in the state: and as such, appointed him to receive the Idaean Mother into the city, when she was brought from Pessinus. Lucius Quinctius and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus were elected consuls; so that, not even with respect to the plebeian consul, could Africanus prevail; for he employed his interest in favour of Caius Laelius. Next day were elected praetors, Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Fulvius Centumalus, Aulus Atilius Serranus, Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, Lucius Valerius Tappus, and Quintus Salonius Sarra. The aedileship of this year was highly distinguished, namely, that of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Aemilius Paulus. They prosecuted

to conviction many of the farmers of the public pastures, and with the money accruing from the fines, placed gilded shields in the upper part of the temple of Jupiter. They built one colonnade, on the outside of the gate Tergemina, to which they added a wharf on the Tiber: and another, reaching from the Frontinal gate to the altar of Mars, to serve as a passage into the field of Mars.

## 11

For a long time, nothing worth recording had occurred in Liguria; but, towards the end of this year, the Roman affairs there were twice brought into great peril; for the consul's camp, being assaulted, was with difficulty preserved; and a short time after, as the Roman army was marching through a defile, the Ligurians seized on the opening through which they were to pass. The consul, when he found that passage stopped up, faced about, resolved to return: but the entrance behind, also, was occupied by a party of the enemy, and the disaster of Caudium not only occurred to the memory of the Romans, but was in a manner represented to their eyes. The consul had, among his auxiliary troops, about eight hundred Numidian horsemen, whose commanding officer undertook to force a passage with his troops, on whichever side the consul should choose. He only desired to be told on which part the greater number of villages lay, for on them he meant to make an attack; and the first thing he intended doing was, to set fire to the houses, in order that the alarm, which this should occasion, might induce the Ligurians to quit their posts in the defile, and hasten to different quarters to carry assistance to their friends. The consul highly commended him, and gave him assurance of ample rewards. The Numidians mounted their horses, and began to ride up to the advanced posts of the enemy, but without making any attack. Nothing could appear, on the first view, more contemptible. Both men and horses were of a small size and thin make, the riders unaccoutred and unarmed, excepting that they carried javelins in their hands; and the horses without bridles, and awkward in their gait, running with their necks stiff and their heads stretched out. The contempt, conceived from their appearance, they took pains to increase; sometimes falling from their horses, and making themselves objects of derision and ridicule. The consequence was, that the enemy, who at first had been alert, and ready on their posts, in case of an attack, now, for the most part, laid aside their arms, and sitting down amused themselves with looking at them. The Numidians often rode up, then galloped back, but still contrived to get nearer to the pass, as if they were unable to manage their horses, and were carried away against their will. At last, setting spurs to them, they broke out through the midst of the enemy's posts, and getting into the open country, set fire to all the houses near the road. They then set fire to the nearest village, while they ravaged all around with fire and sword. At first the sight of the smoke, then the shouts of the affrighted inhabitants, at last the old people and children, who fled for shelter, created great disorder in the camp. In consequence of which the whole of their army, without plan, and without command, ran off, each to take care of his own; the camp was in a moment deserted; and the consul delivered from the blockade, made good his march to the place whither he intended to go.

## 12

But neither the Boians nor the Spaniards, with whom they had been at war during that year, were such bitter and inveterate foes to the Romans as the nation of the Aetolians. These, after the departure of the Roman armies from Greece, had, for some time, entertained hopes that Antiochus would come and take possession of Europe, without

opposition; and that neither Philip nor Nabis would continue quiet. But seeing no active measures begun, in any quarter, they resolved, lest their designs might be damped by delay, to create some agitation and disturbance; and, with this view, they summoned a general assembly at Naupactum. Here Thoas, their praetor, after complaining of the injurious behaviour of the Romans, and the present state of Aetolia, and asserting, that "of all the nations and states of Greece, they had been most unhonoured, after the victory which they themselves had been the means of obtaining," moved, that ambassadors should be sent to each of the kings; not only to sound their dispositions, but, by such incentives as suited the temper of each, to urge them to a war with Rome. Damocritus was sent to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicaearchus, the praetor's brother, to Antiochus. To the Lacedaemonian tyrant Damocritus represented, that, "by the maritime cities being taken from him, his government was left enervated; for from them he had drawn his soldiers, as well as his ships and seamen. He was now pent up almost within the walls of his capital, while he saw the Achaeans domineering over the whole Peloponnesus. Never would he have another opportunity of recovering his rights, if he suffered the one that now offered to pass by. There was no Roman army in Greece, nor would the Romans deem Gythium, or the other towns on the coast of Laconia, sufficient cause for transporting their legions a second time into that country." These arguments were used for the purpose of provoking the passions of Nabis; in order that when Antiochus should come into Greece, the other, conscious of having infringed the treaty of amity with Rome, by injuries offered to its allies, might unite himself with him. Nicander excited Philip, by arguments somewhat similar; and he had more copious matter for discourse, as the king had been degraded from a more elevated state than the tyrant, and more possessions also had been taken from him. In addition to this, he introduced the ancient renown of the Macedonian kings, and the whole world pervaded by the victorious marches of that nation. "The plan which he proposed," he said, "was free from any danger, either in the commencement or in the issue. For he did not advise that Philip should stir until Antiochus should have come into Greece with an army; and, considering that, without the aid of Antiochus, he had maintained a war so long against the combined forces of the Romans and Aetolians, with what possible force could the Romans withstand him, when joined by Antiochus, and supported by the aid of the Aetolians, who, on the former occasion, were more dangerous enemies than the Romans?" He added the circumstance of Hannibal being general; "a man born a foe to the Romans, who had slain greater numbers, both of their commanders and soldiers, than were left surviving." Such were the representations of Nicander to Philip. Dicaearchus addressed other arguments to Antiochus. In the first place, he told him, that "the spoils of Philip belonged to the Romans, but the victory over him to the Aetolians; that none other than the Aetolians had afforded to the Romans admittance into Greece, and that the same people supplied them with the strength which enabled them to conquer." He next set forth the numerous forces, both horse and foot, which they were willing to furnish to Antiochus, for the purpose of the war; what quarters they would assign to his land armament, what harbours for his naval forces. He then asserted whatever falsehoods he pleased, respecting Philip and Nabis; that "both were ready to recommence hostilities, and would greedily lay hold on the first opportunity of recovering what they had lost in war." Thus did the Aetolians labour, in every part of the world, to stir up war against the Romans. The kings, however, either took no steps in it or took them too late.

Nabis immediately despatched emissaries through all the towns on the coast, to sow dissensions among the inhabitants: some of the men in power he brought over to his party by presents; others, who more firmly adhered to the alliance with Rome, he put to death. The charge of protecting all the Lacedaemonians on the coast, had been committed by Titus Quinctius to the Achaeans; they therefore instantly sent ambassadors to the tyrant, to remind him of his treaty with the Romans, and to warn him against violating a peace which he had so earnestly sued for. They also sent succours to Gythium which he had already besieged, and ambassadors to Rome to make known these transactions. King Antiochus having, this winter, solemnized the nuptials of his daughter with Ptolemy king of Egypt, at Raphia, in Phoenicia, returned thence to Antioch, and came, towards the end of the season, through Cilicia, after passing Mount Taurus, to the city of Ephesus. Early in the spring, he sent his son Antiochus thence into Syria, to guard the remote frontiers of his dominions, lest during his absence, any commotion might arise behind him; and then he marched himself, with all his land forces, to attack the Pisidians, inhabiting the country near Sida. At this time, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, the Roman ambassadors, who were sent to Antiochus, as above mentioned, having received orders to wait on Eumenes, first came to Elaea, and thence went up to Pergamus, for the palace of Eumenes was there. Eumenes was very desirous of a war against Antiochus, for he thought that, if peace continued, a king so much superior in power would be a troublesome neighbour; but that, in case of hostilities, he would prove no more a match for the Romans than Philip had been; and that, either he would be entirely removed out of the way, or, should peace be granted to him, after a defeat he (Eumenes) might reasonably expect, that a great deal of what should be taken from Antiochus would fall to his own share; so that, in future, he might be very well able to defend himself against him, without any aid from the Romans; and even if any misfortune were to happen, it would be better for him, in conjunction with the Romans, to undergo any turn of fortune, than, standing alone, either suffer himself to be ruled by Antiochus, or, on refusal, be compelled to submission by force of arms. Therefore, with all his influence, and every argument which he could devise, he urged the Romans to a war.

#### 14

Sulpicius, falling sick, staid at Pergamus. Villius, on hearing that the king was carrying on war in Pisidia, went on to Ephesus, and, during a few days that he halted in that city, took pains to procure frequent interviews with Hannibal, who happened to be there at the time, in order to sound his intentions, if possible, and to remove his apprehensions of danger threatening him from the Romans. No other business, indeed, of any kind was brought forward at these meetings; yet they accidentally produced an important consequence, as effectually as if it had been intentionally sought; the lowering Hannibal in the esteem of the king, and rendering him more obnoxious to suspicion in every matter. Claudius, following the history written in Greek by Acilius, says, that Publius Africanus was employed in this embassy, and that it was he who conversed with Hannibal at Ephesus. He even relates one of their conversations, in which Scipio asked Hannibal, "whom he thought the greatest captain?" and that he answered, "Alexander, king of Macedonia; because, with a small band, he defeated armies whose numbers were beyond reckoning; and because he had overrun the remotest regions, the merely visiting of which was a thing above human aspiration." Scipio then asked, "to whom he gave the second place?" and he replied, "To Pyrrhus; for he first taught the method of encamping; and besides, no one ever showed more exquisite judgment, in choosing his

ground, and disposing his posts; while he also possessed the art of conciliating mankind to himself to such a degree, that the nations of Italy wished him, though a foreign prince, to hold the sovereignty among them, rather than the Roman people, who had so long possessed the dominion of that part of the world." On his proceeding to ask, "whom he esteemed the third?" Hannibal replied, "Myself, beyond doubt." On this Scipio laughed, and added, "What would you have said if you had conquered me?" "Then," replied the other, "I would have placed Hannibal, not only before Alexander and Pyrrhus, but before all other commanders." This answer, turned with Punic dexterity, and conveying an unexpected kind of flattery, was highly grateful to Scipio, as it set him apart from the crowd of commanders, as one of incomparable eminence.

## 15

From Ephesus, Villius proceeded to Apamea, whither Antiochus, on hearing of the coming of the Roman delegates, came to meet him. In this congress, at Apamea, the debates were similar to those which passed at Rome, between Quinctius and the king's ambassadors. The news arriving of the death of Antiochus, the king's son, who, as just now mentioned, had been sent into Syria, broke off the conference. There was great mourning in the court, and excessive regret for this young man; for he had given such indications of his character as afforded evident proof that, had a longer life been allotted him, he would have displayed the talents of a great and just prince. The more he was beloved and esteemed by all, the more was his death a subject of suspicion, namely, that his father, thinking that his heir trod too closely on the heels of his own old age, had him taken off by poison, by some eunuchs, who recommend themselves to kings by the perpetration of such foul deeds. People mentioned also, as another motive for that clandestine act of villany, that, as he had given Lysimachia to his son Seleucus, he had no establishment of the like kind, which he could give to Antiochus, for the purpose of banishing him also to a distance, under pretext of doing him honour. Nevertheless, an appearance of deep mourning was maintained in the court for several days; and the Roman ambassador, lest his presence at that inauspicious time might be troublesome, retired to Pergamus. The king, dropping the prosecution of the war which he had begun, went back to Ephesus; and there, keeping himself shut up in the palace, under colour of grief, held secret consultations with a person called Minio, who was his principal favourite. Minio was utterly ignorant of the state of all foreign nations; and, accordingly, estimating the strength of the king from his successes in Syria or Asia, he was confident that Antiochus had not only superiority from the merits of his cause, and that the demands of the Romans were highly unreasonable; but also, that he would prove the more powerful in war. As the king wished to avoid further debate with the envoys, either because he had found no advantage to result from the former conference, or because he was too much discomposed by recent grief, Minio undertook to say whatever was requisite for his interest, and persuaded him to invite for that purpose the ambassadors from Pergamus.

## 16

By this time Sulpicius had recovered his health; both himself and Villius, therefore, came to Ephesus. Minio apologized for the king not being present, and the business was entered upon. Then Minio, in a studied speech, said, "I find, Romans, that you profess very specious intentions, (the liberating of the Grecian states,) but your actions do not accord with your words. You lay down one rule for Antiochus, and follow another yourselves. For, how are the inhabitants of Smyrna and Lampsacus better entitled to the

character of Greeks, than the Neapolitans, Rhegians, and Tarentines, from whom you exact tribute, and ships, in pursuance of a treaty? Why do you send yearly to Syracuse, and other Grecian cities of Sicily, a praetor, vested with sovereign power, and attended by his rods and axes? You can, certainly, allege no other reason than this, that, having conquered them in war, you imposed these terms on them. Admit, then, on the part of Antiochus, the same reason with respect to Smyrna and Lampsacus, and the cities belonging to Ionia and Aeolia. Conquered by his ancestors, they were subjected to tribute and taxes, and he only reclaims an ancient right. I would have you answer him on these heads, if you mean a fair discussion, and do not merely seek a pretence for war." Sulpicius answered, "Antiochus has acted with some modesty in choosing that, since no other arguments could be produced in his favour, any other person should utter these rather than himself. For, what similarity is there in the cases of those states which you have brought into comparison? From the Rhegians, Neapolitans, and Tarentines we require what they owe us by treaty, in virtue of a right invariably exercised, in one uniform course, since they first came under our power; a right always asserted, and never intermitted. Now, can you assert, that, as these states have, neither of themselves, nor through any other, ever refused conforming to the treaty, so the Asiatic states, since they once came under the power of Antiochus's ancestors, have been held in uninterrupted possession by your reigning kings; and that some of them have not been subject to the dominion of Philip, some to that of Ptolemy; and that others have not, for many years, maintained themselves in a state of independence, no one calling it in question? For, if the circumstance of their having been once subject to a foreigner, when crushed under the severity of the times, conveys a right to enforce that subjection again after a lapse of so many generations, what can be said of our having delivered Greece from Philip, but that nothing was accomplished by us; and that his successors may reclaim Corinth, Chalcis, Demetrias, and the whole nation of Thessaly? But why do I plead the cause of those states, which it would be fitter that both we and the king should hear pleaded by themselves?"

## 17

He then desired, that the deputies of those states should be called, for they had been prepared beforehand, and kept in readiness by Eumenes, who reckoned, that every share of strength that should be taken away from Antiochus, would become an accession to his own kingdom. Many of them were introduced; and, while each enforced his own complaints, and sometimes demands, and blended together the reasonable with the unreasonable, they changed the debate into a mere altercation. The ambassadors, therefore, without conceding or carrying any one point, returned to Rome just as they had come, leaving every thing in an undecided state. On their departure the king held a council, on the subject of a war with Rome, in which each spoke more violently than his predecessor; for every one thought, that the more bitterly he inveighed against the Romans, the greater share of favour he might expect to obtain. One animadverted upon the insolence of their demands, in which they presume to impose terms on Antiochus, the greatest king in Asia, as they would on the vanquished Nabis. "Although to Nabis they left absolute power over his own country, and its capital, Lacedaemon, yet it seems to them a matter for indignation, that Smyrna and Lampsacus should yield obedience to Antiochus."--Others said, that "to so great a monarch, those cities were but a trivial ground of war, scarcely worth mention; but, that the beginning of unjust impositions was always made in the case of matters of little consequence; unless, indeed, it could be supposed, that the Persians, when they demanded earth and water from the

Lacedaemonians, stood in need of a scrap of the land or a draught of the water. The proceedings of the Romans, respecting the two cities, were meant as a trial of the same sort. The rest of the states, when they saw that two had shaken off the yoke, would go over to the party of that nation which professed the patronage of liberty. If freedom was not actually preferable to servitude, yet the hope of bettering their circumstances by a change, was more flattering to every one than any present situation."

## 18

There was, in the council, an Acarnanian named Alexander, who had formerly been a friend of Philip, but had lately left him, to follow the more opulent court of Antiochus. And as being well skilled in the affairs of Greece, and not unacquainted with the Romans, he was admitted by the king into such a degree of intimacy, that he shared even in his secret councils. As if the question to be considered were not, whether there should be war or not, but where and in what manner it should be carried on, he affirmed, that "he saw an assured prospect of victory, provided the king would pass into Europe and choose some part of Greece for the seat of war. In the first place, the Aetolians, who lived in the centre of Greece, would be found in arms, ready to take the lead in the most perilous operations. Then, in the two extremities of Greece, Nabis, on the side of Peloponnesus, would put every thing in motion, to recover the city of Argos, and the maritime cities, from which he had been expelled by the Romans, and pent up within the walls of Lacedaemon: while, on the side of Macedonia, Philip would be ready for the field the moment he heard the alarm sounded. He knew," he said, "his spirit, he knew his temper; he knew that, (as in the case with wild beasts, confined by bars or chains,) for a long time past, he had been revolving the fiercest resentments in his breast. He remembered, also, how often, during the war, that prince had prayed to all the gods to grant him Antiochus as an assistant; and, if that prayer were now heard with favour, he would not hesitate an instant to resume his arms. It was only requisite that there should be no delay, no procrastination; for success depended chiefly on securing beforehand commodious posts and proper allies: besides, Hannibal ought to be sent immediately into Africa, in order to distract the attention of the Romans."

## 19

Hannibal was not called to this consultation, having income suspected by the king, and not having subsequently been held in any honour, on account of his conferences with Villius, and he had not since shown him any mark of regard. This affront, at first, he bore in silence; but afterwards thought it better to take some proper opportunity to inquire the reason of the king's suddenly withdrawing his favour, and to clear himself of blame. Without any preface, he asked the cause of the king's displeasure; and having heard it, said, "Antiochus, when I was yet an infant, my father, Hamilcar, at a time when he was offering sacrifice, brought me up to the altars, and made me take an oath, that I never would be a friend to the Roman people. Under the obligation of this oath, I carried arms against them for thirty-six years; this oath, on peace being made, drove me out of my country, and brought me an exile to your court; and this oath shall guide me, should you disappoint my hopes, until I traverse every quarter of the globe, where I can understand that there are resources, to find out enemies to the Romans. If, therefore, your courtiers have conceived the idea of ingratiating themselves with you by insinuating suspicions of me, let them seek some means of advancing their reputation otherwise than at my expense. I hate, and am hated by, the Romans. That I speak the truth in this, my father, Hamilcar, and the gods are witnesses. Whenever, therefore, you shall employ your

thoughts on a plan of waging war with Rome, consider Hannibal as one of your firmest friends. If circumstances force you to adopt peaceful measures, on such a subject employ some one else with whom to deliberate." This discourse not only affected the king much, but even reconciled him to Hannibal. They departed from the council with the resolution that the war should be undertaken.

## 20

At Rome, people in their conversations anticipated, indeed, Antiochus as an enemy, but they had hitherto prepared nothing for such a war but their expectations. Italy was decreed the province of both the consuls, who received directions to settle between themselves, or draw lots, which of them should preside at the elections of the year; and it was ordered, that he who should be disengaged from that business, should hold himself in readiness, in case there should be occasion, to lead the legions any where out of that country. To the said consul, permission was given to levy two new legions, and twenty thousand foot, and nine hundred horse, among the allies and Latin confederates. To the other consul were decreed the two legions which had been commanded by Lucius Cornelius, consul of the preceding year; and from the same army, a body of allies and Latins, amounting to fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. Quintus Minucius was continued in command, with the forces which he then had in Liguria; as a supplement to which, four thousand Roman foot and five hundred horse were ordered to be enlisted, and five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse to be demanded from the allies. The duty of departing from Italy, whithersoever the senate should order, fell to Cneius Domitius; Gaul, and the holding the elections, to Lucius Quinctius. The praetors then cast lots for their provinces: to Marcus Fulvius Centumalus fell the city jurisdiction; to Lucius Scribonius Libo, the foreign; Lucius Valerius Tappus obtained Sicily; Quintus Salonius Sarra, Sardinia; Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, Hither Spain; and Marcus Atilius Serranus, Farther Spain. But the provinces of the two last were changed, first by a decree of the senate, which was afterwards confirmed by an order of the people. The fleet and Macedonia were assigned to Atilius; Bruttium to Baebius. Flaminius and Fulvius were continued in command in both the Hither and Farther Spain. To Baebius Tamphilus, for the business of Bruttium, were decreed the two legions which had served in the city the year before; and he was ordered to demand from the allies, for the same service, fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. Atilius was ordered to build thirty ships of five banks of oars: to bring out, from the docks, any old ones that were fit for service, and to raise seamen. An order was also given to the consul, to supply him with two thousand of the allied and Latin footmen, and a thousand Roman. The destination of these two praetors, and their two armaments, one on land and the other on sea, was declared to be intended against Nabis, who was now carrying on open hostilities against the allies of the Roman people. But it was thought proper to wait the return of the ambassadors sent to Antiochus, and the senate ordered the consul Cneius Domitius not to leave the city until they arrived.

## 21

The praetors, Fulvius and Scribonius, whose province was the administration of justice at Rome, were charged to provide a hundred quinqueremes, besides the fleet which Atilius was to command. Before the consul and praetors set out for their provinces, a supplication was performed on account of some prodigies. A report was brought from Picenum, that a goat had produced six kids at a birth. It was said that a boy was born at Arretium who had but one hand; that, at Amiternum, a shower of earth fell; a gate and

wall at Formiae were struck by lightning; and, what was more alarming than all, an ox, belonging to the consul, Cneius Domitius, spoke these words,--"Rome, take care of thyself." To expiate the other prodigies, a supplication was performed; the ox was ordered by the aruspices to be carefully preserved and fed. The Tiber, pouring into the city with more destructive violence than last year, swept away two bridges, and many buildings, particularly about the Flumentan gate. A huge rock, loosened from its seat, either by the rains, or by an earthquake so slight that no other effect of it was perceived, tumbled down from the Capitol into the Jugarian street, and buried many people under it. In the country, many parts of which were overflowed, much cattle was carried away, and a great destruction of farm houses took place. Previous to the arrival of the consul, Lucius Quinctius, in his province Quintus Minucius fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians, in the territory of Pisae, slew nine thousand of the enemy, and putting the rest to flight, drove them within their works, which were assaulted and defended in an obstinate contest until night came on. During the night, the Ligurians stole away unobserved; and, at the first dawn, the Romans took possession of their deserted camp, where the quantity of booty found was the less, because the enemy frequently sent home the spoil taken in the country. Minucius, after this, allowed them no respite. From the territory of Pisae he marched into that of the Ligurians, and, with fire and sword, utterly destroyed their forts and towns, where the Roman soldiers were abundantly enriched with the spoils of Etruria which the ravagers had sent home.

## 22

About this time, the ambassadors, who had been sent to the kings, returned to Rome. As they brought no information of such a nature as called for any immediate declaration of war, (except against the Lacedaemonian tyrant, whom the Achaean ambassadors also represented as invading the sea-coast of Laconia, in breach of treaty,) Atilius, the praetor, was sent with the fleet to Greece, for the protection of the allies. It was resolved, that, as there was nothing to be apprehended from Antiochus at present, both the consuls should go to their provinces; and, accordingly, Domitius marched into the country of the Boians, by the shorter road, through Ariminum, and Quinctius through Liguria. The two armies of the consuls, proceeding by these different routes, spread devastation wide over the enemy's country. In consequence of which, first a few of their horsemen, with their commanders, then their whole senate, and at last all who possessed either property or dignity, to the number of one thousand five hundred, came over and joined the consuls. In both Spains, likewise, success attended the Roman arms during this year. For, in one, Caius Flaminius, after a siege, took Litabrum, a strong and opulent city, and made prisoner Corribilo, a powerful chieftain; and, in the other, Marcus Fulvius, the proconsul, fought two successful battles, with two armies of the enemy. He captured Vescelia and Holo, two towns belonging to the Spaniards, with many of their forts, and others spontaneously revolted to him. Then, advancing into the territory of Oretum, and having, there also, taken two cities, Noliba and Cusibis, he proceeded to the river Tagus. Here stood Toletum, a small city, but strong from its situation. While he was besieging this place, a numerous army of Vectonians came to relieve the Toletans, but he overthrew them in a general engagement, and having defeated the Vectonians, took Toletum by means of his works.

## 23

At this juncture the wars in which they were actually engaged, caused not so great anxiety in the minds of the senate, as the expectation of one with Antiochus, which had

not yet commenced. For although, through their ambassadors, they had, from time to time, made careful inquiries into every particular, yet rumours, rashly propagated without authentic foundation, intermixed many falsehoods with the truth. Among the rest, a report was spread, that Antiochus intended, as soon as he should come into Aetolia, to send a fleet immediately into Sicily. The senate, therefore, though they had already despatched the praetor, Atilius, with a squadron to Greece, yet, considering that not only a military force, but also the influence of reputation, would be necessary towards securing the attachment of the allies, they sent into Greece, in quality of ambassadors, Titus Quinctius, Caius Octavius, Cneius Servilius, and Publius Villius; at the same time ordering, in their decree, that Marcus Baebius should lead forward his legions from Bruttium to Tarentum and Brundisium, so that, if occasion required, he might transport them thence into Macedonia. They also ordered, that Marcus Fulvius, the praetor, should send a fleet of thirty ships to protect the coast of Sicily; and that, whoever had the direction of that fleet, should be invested with supreme authority. To this commission was appointed Lucius Oppius Salinator, who had been plebeian aedile the year before. They likewise determined, that the same praetor should write to his colleague, Lucius Valerius, that "there was reason to apprehend that the ships of king Antiochus would pass over from Aetolia to Sicily; for which reason the senate judged it proper, that, in addition to the army which he then had, he should enlist tumultuary soldiers, to the number of twelve thousand foot and four hundred horse, with which he might be able to defend that coast of his province which lay next to Greece." This enlistment the praetor carried on, not only from Sicily, but from the circumjacent islands; and strengthened all the towns on the coast which lay opposite to Greece with garrisons. To the rumours already current, the arrival of Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, added confirmation, for he brought intelligence that king Antiochus had crossed the Hellespont with his army, and that the Aetolians were putting themselves into such a posture, that by the time of his arrival they would be in arms. Thanks were given to Eumenes, in his absence, and to Attalus, who was present; and there were decreed to him free lodgings and every accommodation; that he should be presented with two horses, two suits of horsemen's armour, vases of silver to a hundred pounds' weight, and of gold to twenty pounds.

## 24

As one messenger after another brought intelligence that the war was on the point of breaking out, it was judged expedient that consuls should be elected as soon as possible. Wherefore the senate passed a decree, that the praetor, Marcus Fulvius, should instantly despatch a letter to the consul, informing him, that it was the will of the senate that he should leave the command of the province and army to his lieutenant-generals, and return to Rome; and that, when on the road, he should send on before him an edict appointing the assemblies for the election of consuls. The consul complied with the letter; and having sent forward the edict, arrived at Rome. There was, this year also, a warm competition, three patricians suing for one place: Publius Cornelius Scipio, son to Cneius, who had suffered a disappointment the year before, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and Cneius Manlius Vulso. The consulship was conferred on Publius Scipio, that it might appear that the honour had only been delayed, and not refused to a person of such character. The plebeian colleague, joined with him, was Manius Acilius Glabrio. Next day were created praetors, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Marcus Junius Brutus, Aulus Cornelius Mammula, Caius Livius, and Lucius Oppius; the two last, both of them, surnamed Salinator. This was the same Oppius who had conducted the fleet of

thirty ships to Sicily. While the new magistrates were settling the distribution of their provinces, orders were despatched to Marcus Baebius to pass over, with all his forces, from Brundisium to Epirus, and to keep the army stationed near Apollonia; and Marcus Fulvius, city praetor, was commissioned to build fifty new quinqueremes.

## 25

Such were the precautions taken by the Roman people to guard against every attempt of Antiochus. At this time, Nabis did not procrastinate hostilities, but, with his utmost force, carried on the siege of Gythium; and, being incensed against the Achaeans, for having sent succours to the besieged, he ravaged their lands. The Achaeans would not venture to engage in war, until their ambassadors should come back from Rome, and acquaint them with the sentiments of the senate: but as soon as these returned, they summoned a council at Sicyon, and also sent deputies to Titus Quinctius to ask his advice. In the council, all the members were inclined to vote for an immediate declaration of war; but a letter from Titus Quinctius, in which he recommended waiting for the Roman praetor and fleet, caused some hesitation. While some of the principal members persisted in their first opinion, and others argued that they ought to follow the counsel of the person to whom they of themselves had applied for advice, the generality waited to hear the sentiments of Philopoemen. He was praetor of Achaia at the time, and surpassed all his contemporaries both in wisdom and influence. He first observed, that "it was a wise rule, established among the Achaeans, that their praetor, when he proposed a question concerning war, should not himself declare an opinion:" and then he desired them to "fix their determination among themselves as soon as possible;" assuring them, that "their praetor would faithfully and carefully carry their decrees into execution; and would use his best endeavours, that, as far as depended on human prudence, they should not repent either of peace or war." These words had more influence in inciting them to war, than if, by openly arguing in favour of it, he had betrayed an eager desire for the management of it. War was therefore unanimously resolved on: the time and mode of conducting it were left to the praetor without restriction. Philopoemen's own judgment, indeed, besides it being the opinion of Quinctius, pointed it out as best to wait for the Roman fleet, which might succour Gythium by sea; but fearing that the business would not endure delay, and that not only Gythium, but the party which had been sent to protect the city, would fall into the hands of the enemy, he drew out the ships of the Achaeans.

## 26

The tyrant also, with the view of cutting off any supplies that might be brought to the besieged by sea, had fitted out a small squadron, consisting of only three ships of war, with some barks and cutters, as his former fleet had been given up to the Romans, according to the treaty. In order to try the activity of these vessels, as they were then new, and, at the same time, to have every thing in fit condition for a battle, he put out to sea every day, and exercised both the rowers and marines in mock-fights; for he thought that all his hopes of succeeding in the siege depended on the circumstance of his cutting off all supplies by sea. The praetor of the Achaeans, in respect of skill for conducting operations on land, was equal to any of the most celebrated commanders both in capacity and experience, yet with naval affairs he was quite unacquainted. Being an inhabitant of Arcadia, an inland country, he was ignorant even of all foreign affairs, excepting that he had once served in Crete as commander of a body of auxiliaries. There was an old ship of four banks of oars, which had been taken eighty years before, as it

was conveying Nicaea, the wife of Craterus, from Naupactum to Corinth. Led by the reputation of this ship, for it had formerly been reckoned a very famous vessel when in the king's fleet, he ordered it, though now quite rotten, and falling asunder through age, to be brought out from Aegium. The fleet sailed with this ship at its head, Tiso of Patrae, the commander, being on board it, when the ships of the Lacedaemonians from Gythium came within view. At the first shock, against a new and firm vessel, that old one, which before admitted the water through every joint, was shattered to pieces, and the whole crew were made prisoners. On the loss of the commander's ship, the rest of the fleet fled as fast as each could by means of its oars. Philopoemen himself made his escape in a light advice-boat, nor did he stop his flight until he arrived at Patrae. This untoward event did not in the least damp the spirit of a man so well versed in military affairs, and who had experienced so many vicissitudes of fortune. On the contrary, as he had failed of success in the naval line, in which he had no experience, he even conceived, thence, the greater hopes of succeeding in another, wherein he had acquired knowledge; and he affirmed, that he would quickly put an end to the tyrant's rejoicing.

## 27

Nabis, being both elated by this adventure, and entertaining a confident hope that he had not now any danger to apprehend from the sea, resolved to shut up the passages on the land also, by parties stationed in proper posts. With this view, he drew off a third part of his forces from the siege of Gythium, and encamped them at Pleiae, a place which commands both Leuciae and Acraiae, on the road by which the enemy's army seemed likely to advance. While his quarters were here, and very few of his men had tents, (the generality of them having formed huts of reeds interwoven, and which they covered with leaves of trees, to serve merely as a shelter,) Philopoemen, before he came within sight, resolved to surprise him by an attack of such a kind as he did not expect. He drew together some small ships in a remote creek, on the coast of the territory of Argos, and embarked on board them a body of light-armed soldiers, mostly targeteers, furnished with slings, javelins, and other light kinds of weapons. He then coasted along the shore, until he came to a promontory near Nabis's post. Here he landed; and made his way, by night, through paths with which he was well acquainted, to Pleiae, and while the sentinels were fast asleep, as being in no immediate apprehension, he set fire to the huts in every part of the camp. Great numbers perished in the flames before they could discover the enemy's arrival, and those who did discover it could give no assistance; so that nearly the whole was destroyed by fire and sword. From both these means of destruction, however, a very small number made their escape, and fled to the principal camp before Gythium. The enemy having been thus smitten with disaster, Philopoemen forthwith led on his forces to ravage the district of Tripolis, a part of the Lacedaemonian territory, lying next to the frontiers of the Megalopolitans, and carrying off thence a vast number of men and cattle, withdrew before the tyrant could send a force from Gythium to protect the country. He then collected his whole force at Tegea, to which place he summoned a council of the Achaeans and their allies; at which were present, also deputies from the Epirots and Acarnanians. Here it was resolved, that as the minds of his men were now sufficiently recovered from the shame of the disgrace suffered at sea, and those of the enemy dispirited, he should march directly to Lacedaemon; for he considered that by this measure alone could the enemy be drawn off from the siege of Gythium. On entering the enemy's country, he encamped the first day at Caryae; and, on that very day, Gythium was taken. Ignorant of that event, Philopoemen advanced to the Barbosthenes, a mountain ten miles from Lacedaemon. On the other side, Nabis, after

taking possession of Gythium, set out, at the head of a body of light troops, marched hastily by Lacedaemon, and seized on a place called the Camp of Pyrrhus, which post he did not doubt that the Achaeans intended to occupy. From thence he proceeded to meet the enemy. From the length of their train in consequence of the narrowness of the road, they spread over a space of almost five miles. The line was closed by the cavalry and the greatest part of the auxiliaries, because Philopoemen expected that the tyrant would attack him in the rear with his mercenary troops, in whom he placed his principal confidence. Two unforeseen circumstances at once filled him with uneasiness: one, the post at which he aimed being pre-occupied; the other, the enemy having met him in front, where, as the road lay through very uneven ground, he did not see how the battalions could advance without the support of the light troops.

## 28

Philopoemen was possessed of an admirable degree of skill and experience, in conducting a march, and choosing his station; having made these points his principal study, not only in times of war, but likewise during peace. Whenever he was making a journey to any place and came to a defile where the passage was difficult, it was his practice, first, to examine the nature of the ground on every side. When journeying alone, he meditated within himself; if he had company, he asked them, "If an enemy should appear in that place, what course ought he to adopt, if they should attack him in front; what, if on this flank, or on that; what, if on the rear; for he might happen to meet them while his men were formed with a regular front, or when they were in the loose order of march, fit only for the road." He would proceed to examine, either in his own mind, or by asking questions, "What ground he himself would choose; what number of soldiers, or what kind of arms (which was a very material point) he ought to employ; where he should deposit the baggage, where the soldiers' necessaries, where the unarmed multitude; with what number and what kind of troops he should guard them, and whether it would be better to prosecute his march as intended, or to return back by the way he came; what spot, also, he should choose for his camp; how large a space he should enclose within the lines; where he could be conveniently supplied with water; where a sufficiency of forage and wood could be had; which would be his safest road on decamping next day, and in what form the army should march?" In such studies and inquiries he had, from his early years, so frequently exercised his thoughts, that, on any thing of the kind occurring, no expedient that could be devised was new to him. On this occasion, he first ordered the army to halt; then sent forward to the van the auxiliary Cretans, and the horsemen called Tarentines, each leading two spare horses; and, ordering the rest of the cavalry to follow, he seized on a rock which stood over a rivulet, from which he might be supplied with water. Here he collected together all the baggage with all the sutlers and followers of the army, placing a guard of soldiers round them; and then he fortified his camp, as the nature of the place required. The pitching of tents in such rugged and uneven ground was a difficult task. The enemy were distant not more than five hundred paces. Both drew water from the same rivulet, under escorts of light troops; but, before any skirmish took place, as usual between men encamped so near to each other, night came on. It was evident, however, that they must, unavoidably, fight next day at the rivulet, in support of the watering parties. Wherefore, during the night, Philopoemen concealed, in a valley remote from the view of the enemy, as great a number of targeteers as the place was capable of hiding.

## 29

At break of day, the Cretan light infantry and the Tarentine horse began an engagement on the bank of the rivulet. Telemnastus, a Cretan, commanded his countrymen; Lycortas of Megalopolis, the cavalry. The enemies' watering party also was guarded by Cretan auxiliaries and Tarentine horsemen. The fight was, for a considerable time, doubtful, as the troops on both sides were of the same kind and armed alike; but as the contest advanced, the tyrant's auxiliaries gained an advantage, both by their superiority of numbers, and because Philopoemen had given directions to his officers, that, after maintaining the contest for a short time they should betake themselves to flight, and draw the enemy on to the place of the ambuscade. The latter, pursuing the runaways, in disorderly haste, through the valley, were most of them wounded and slain, before they discovered their concealed foe. The targeteers had posted themselves in such order, as far as the breadth of the valley allowed, that they easily gave a passage to their flying friends, through openings in their ranks; then starting up themselves, hale, fresh, and in regular order, they briskly attacked the enemy, whose ranks were broken, who were scattered in confusion, and were, besides, exhausted with fatigue and wounds. The victory was no longer doubtful; the tyrant's troops instantly turned their backs, and flying with much more precipitation than they had pursued, were driven into their camp. Great numbers were killed and taken in the pursuit; and the consternation would have spread through the camp also, had not Philopoemen ordered a retreat to be sounded; for he dreaded the ground (which was rough and dangerous to advance on without caution) more than he did the enemy. Judging, both from the issue of the battle and from the disposition of the enemy's leader, in what apprehension he then was, he sent to him one of the auxiliary soldiers in the character of a deserter, to assure him positively, that the Achaeans had resolved to advance, next day, to the river Eurotas, which runs almost close to the walls, in order to intercept his way, so that the tyrant could have no retreat to the city when he required it, and to prevent any provisions being brought thence to the camp; and that they intended, at the same time, to try whether any could be prevailed on to desert his cause. Although the deserter did not gain entire credit, yet he afforded to one, who was full of apprehensions, a plausible pretext for leaving his camp. On the day following, he ordered Pythagoras, with the auxiliaries and cavalry, to mount guard before the rampart; and then, marching out himself with the main body of the army, as if intending to offer battle, he ordered them to return with all haste to the city.

### 30

When Philopoemen saw their army marching precipitately through a narrow and steep road, he sent all his cavalry, together with the Cretan auxiliaries, against the guard of the enemy, stationed in the front of their camp. These, seeing their adversaries approach, and perceiving that their friends had abandoned them, at first attempted to retreat within their works; but afterwards, when the whole force of the Achaeans advanced in order of battle, they were seized with fear, lest, together with the camp itself, they might be taken; they resolved, therefore, to follow the body of their army, which, by this time, had proceeded to a considerable distance in advance. Immediately, the targeteers of the Achaeans assailed and plundered the camp, and the rest set out in pursuit of the enemy. The road was such, that a body of men, even when undisturbed by any fear of a foe, could not, without difficulty, make its way through it. But when an attack was made on their rear, and the shouts of terror, raised by the affrighted troops behind, reached to the van, they threw down their arms, and fled, each for himself, in different directions, into the woods which lay on each side of the road. In an instant of time, the way was

stopped up with heaps of weapons, particularly spears, which, falling mostly with their points towards the pursuers, formed a kind of palisade across the road. Philopoemen ordered the auxiliaries to push forward, whenever they could, in pursuit of the enemy, who would find it a difficult matter, the horsemen particularly, to continue their flight; while he himself led away the heavy troops through more open ground to the river Eurotas. There he pitched his camp a little before sun-set, and waited for the light troops which he had sent in chase of the enemy. These arrived at the first watch, and brought intelligence, that Nabis, with a few attendants, had made his way into the city, and that the rest of his army, unarmed and dispersed, were straggling through all parts of the woods; whereupon, he ordered them to refresh themselves, while he himself chose out a party of men, who, having come earlier into camp, were by this time, both recruited by food and a little rest; and, ordering them to carry nothing with them but their swords, he marched them out directly, and posted them in the roads which led from two of the gates, one towards Pherae, the other towards the Barbosthenes: for he supposed, that through these the flying enemy would make their retreat. Nor was he mistaken in that opinion; for the Lacedaemonians, as long as any light remained, retreated through the centre of the woods in the most retired paths. As soon as it grew dusk, and they saw lights in the enemy's camp, they kept themselves in paths concealed from view; but having passed it by, they then thought that all was safe, and came down into the open roads, where they were intercepted by the parties lying in wait; and there such numbers of them were killed and taken, that of the whole army scarcely a fourth part effected their escape. As the tyrant was now pent up within the city, Philopoemen employed the greatest part of thirty succeeding days in ravaging the lands of the Lacedaemonians; and then, after greatly reducing, and almost annihilating the strength of the tyrant, he returned home, while the Achaeans extolled him as equal in the glory of his services to the Roman general, and indeed, so far as regarded the war with Lacedaemon, even deemed him superior.

### 31

While the Achaeans and the tyrant were carrying on the war in this manner, the Roman ambassadors made a circuit through the cities of the allies; being anxious lest the Aetolians might seduce some of them to join the party of Antiochus. They took but little pains, in their applications to the Achaeans; because, knowing their animosity against Nabis, they thought that they might be safely relied on with regard to other matters. They went first to Athens, thence to Chalcis, thence to Thessaly; and, after addressing the Thessalians, in a full assembly, they directed their route to Demetrias, to which place a council of the Magnetians was summoned. There a more studied address required to be delivered; for a great many of the leading men were disaffected to the Romans, and entirely devoted to the interests of Antiochus and the Aetolians; because, at the time when accounts were received that Philip's son, who was a hostage, would be restored to him, and the tribute imposed on him remitted, among other groundless reports it had been given out, that the Romans also intended to restore Demetrias to him. Rather than that should take place, Eurylochus, a deputy of the Magnetians, and others of that faction, wished for a total change of measures to be effected by the coming of Antiochus and the Aetolians. In opposition to those, it was necessary to reason in such a manner, that, in dispelling their mistaken fear, the ambassadors should not, by cutting off his hopes at once, give any disgust to Philip, to whom more importance attached, in all respects, than to the Magnetians. They only observed to the assembly, that, "as Greece in general was under an obligation to the Romans for their kindness in

restoring its liberty, so was their state in particular. For there had not only been a garrison of Macedonians in their capital, but a palace had been built in it, that they might have a master continually before their eyes. But all that had been done would be of no effect, if the Aetolians should bring thither Antiochus, and settle him in the abode of Philip, so that a new and unknown king should be set over them, in the place of an old one, with whom they had been long acquainted." Their chief magistrate is styled Magnetarch. This office was then held by Eurylochus, who assuming confidence from this powerful station, openly declared that he and the Magnetians saw no reason to dissemble their having heard the common report about the restoration of Demetrias to Philip; to prevent which, the Magnetians were bound to attempt and to hazard every thing; and, in the eagerness of discourse, he was carried to such an inconsiderate length, as to throw out, that, "at that very time Demetrias was only free in appearance; and that, in reality, all things were at the nod of the Romans." Immediately after this expression there was a general murmur of dissent in the assembly; some of whom showed their approbation, others expressed indignation at his presumption, in uttering it. As to Quinctius, he was so inflamed with anger, that, raising his hands towards heaven, he invoked the gods to witness the ungrateful and perfidious disposition of the Magnetians. This struck terror into the whole assembly; and one of the deputies, named Zeno, who had acquired a great degree of influence, by his judicious course of conduct in life, and by having been always an avowed supporter of the interests of the Romans, with tears besought Quinctius, and the other ambassadors, "not to impute to the state the madness of an individual. Every man," he said, "was answerable for his own absurdities. As to the Magnetians, they were indebted to Titus Quinctius and the Roman people, not only for liberty, but for every thing that mankind hold valuable or sacred. By their kindness, they were in the enjoyment of every blessing, for which they could ever petition the immortal gods; and, if struck with phrensy they would sooner vent their fury on their own persons, than violate the friendship with Rome."

### 32

His entreaties were seconded by the prayers of the whole assembly; on which Eurylochus retired hastily from the council, and passing to the gate through private streets fled away into Aetolia. As to the Aetolians, they now gave plainer indications of their intention to revolt every day; and it happened, that at this very time Thoas, one of their leading men, whom they had sent to Antiochus, returned, and brought back with him an ambassador from the king, named Menippus. These two, before the council met to give them audience, filled every one's ears with pompous accounts of the naval and land forces that were coming; "a vast army," they said, "of horse and foot was on its march from India; and, besides, that they were bringing such a quantity of gold and silver, as was sufficient to purchase the Romans themselves;" which latter circumstance they knew would influence the multitude more than any thing else. It was easy to foresee what effects these reports would produce in the council; for the Roman ambassadors received information of the arrival of those men, and of all their proceedings. And although the matter had almost come to a rupture, yet Quinctius thought it advisable, that some ambassadors of the allies should be present in that council, who might remind the Aetolians of their alliance with Rome, and who might have the courage to speak with freedom in opposition to the king's ambassador. The Athenians seemed to be the best qualified for this purpose, by reason of the high reputation of their state, and also from their long-standing alliance with the Aetolians. Quinctius, therefore, requested of them to send ambassadors to the Panaetolic council.

At the first meeting, Thoas made a report of the business of his embassy. After him, Menippus was introduced, who said, that "it would have been best for all the Greeks, residing both in Greece and Asia, if Antiochus could have taken a part in their affairs, while the power of Philip was yet unbroken; for then every one would have had what of right belonged to him, and the whole would not have come under the dominion and absolute disposal of the Romans. But even as matters stand at present," said he, "provided you have constancy enough to carry into effect the measures which you have adopted, Antiochus will be able, with the assistance of the gods and the alliance of the Aetolians, to reinstate the affairs of Greece in their former rank of dignity, notwithstanding the low condition to which they have been reduced. But this dignity consists in a state of freedom which stands by its own resources, and is not dependent on the will of another." The Athenians, who were permitted to deliver their sentiments next after the king's ambassadors, omitting all mention of Antiochus, reminded the Aetolians of their alliance with Rome, and the benefits conferred by Titus Quinctius on the whole body of Greece; and admonished them, "not inconsiderately to break off that connexion by the undue precipitation of their counsels; that passionate and adventurous schemes, however flattering at first view, prove difficult in the execution, and disastrous in the issue; that as the Roman ambassadors, and among them Titus Quinctius, were within a small distance, it would be better, while all hostilities were as yet uncommenced, to discuss, in conference, any matters in dispute, than to rouse Europe and Asia to a dreadful war."

### 33

The multitude, ever fond of novelty, warmly espoused the cause of Antiochus, and gave their opinion, that the Romans should not even be admitted into the council; but, by the influence chiefly of the elder members, a vote was passed, that the council should give audience to the Romans. On being acquainted, by the Athenians, with this determination, Quinctius thought it desirable to go into Aetolia; for he thought that, "either he should be able to effect some change in their designs; or that it would be manifest to all mankind, that the blame of the war would lie on the Aetolians, and that the Romans would be warranted in taking arms by justice, and, in a manner, by necessity." On arriving there, Quinctius, in his discourse to the council, began with the first formation of the alliance between the Romans and the Aetolians, and enumerated how many times the faith of the treaty had been violated by them. He then enlarged a little on the rights of the states concerned in the dispute, and added, that, "notwithstanding, if they thought that they had any reasonable demand to make, it would surely be infinitely better to send ambassadors to Rome, whether they chose to argue the case or to make a request to the senate, than that the Roman people should enter the lists with Antiochus, while the Aetolians acted as marshals of the field; not without great disturbance to the affairs of the world, and to the utter ruin of Greece." That "no people would feel the fatal consequences of such a war sooner than the first promoters of it." This prediction of the Roman was disregarded. Thoas, and others of the same faction, were then heard with general approbation; and they prevailed so far, that, without adjourning the meeting, or waiting for the absence of the Romans, a decree was passed that Antiochus should be invited to vindicate the liberty of Greece, and decide the dispute between the Aetolians and the Romans. To the insolence of this decree, their praetor, Damocritus, added a personal affront: for on Quinctius asking him for a copy of the decree, without any respect to the dignity of the person to whom he spoke, he told him, that "he had, at present, more pressing business to despatch; but he

would shortly give him the decree, and an answer, in Italy, from his camp on the banks of the Tiber." Such was the degree of madness which possessed, at that time, both the nation of the Aetolians and their magistrates.

### 34

Quinctius and the ambassadors returned to Corinth. The Aetolians, that they might appear to intend taking every step through Antiochus, and none directly of themselves, and, sitting inactive, to be waiting for the arrival of the king, though they did not, after the departure of the Romans, hold a council of the whole nation, yet endeavoured, by their Apocleti, (a more confidential council, composed of persons selected from the rest,) to devise schemes for setting Greece in commotion. It was well known to them all, that in the several states the principal people, particularly those of the best characters, were disposed to maintain the Roman alliance, and well pleased with the present state of affairs; but that the populace, and especially such as were not content with their position, wished for a general revolution. The Aetolians, at one day's sitting, formed a scheme, the very conception of which argued not only boldness, but impudence,--that of making themselves masters of Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedaemon. One of their principal men was sent to each of these places; Thoas to Chalcis, Alexamenus to Lacedaemon, Diodes to Demetrias. This last was assisted by the exile Eurylochus, whose flight, and the cause of it, have been mentioned above, because there was no other prospect of his restoration to his country. Eurylochus, by letter, instructed his friends and relations, and those of his own faction, to order his wife and children to assume a mourning dress: and, holding the badges of supplicants, to go into a full assembly, and to beseech each individual, and the whole body, not to suffer a man, who was innocent and uncondemned, to grow old in exile. The simple-minded were moved by compassion; the ill-disposed and seditious, by the hope of seeing all things thrown into confusion, in consequence of the tumults which the Aetolians would excite; and every one voted for his being recalled. These preparatory measures being effected, Diocles, at that time general of the horse, with all the cavalry, set out under pretext of escorting to his home the exile, who was his guest. Having, during that day and the following night, marched an extraordinary length of way, and arrived within six miles of the city at the first dawn, he chose out three troops, at the head of which he went on before the rest of the cavalry, whom he ordered to follow. When he came near the gate he made all his men dismount, and lead their horses by the reins, without keeping their ranks, but like travellers on a journey, in order that they might appear to be the retinue of the general, rather than a military force. Here he left one troop at the gate, lest the cavalry, who were coming up, might be shut out; and then, holding Eurylochus by the hand, conducted him to his house through the middle of the city and the forum, and through crowds who met and congratulated him. In a little time the city was filled with horsemen, and convenient posts were seized; and then parties were sent to the houses of persons of the opposite faction, to put them to death. In this manner Demetrias fell into the hands of the Aetolians.

### 35

At Lacedaemon, the city was not to be attempted by force, but the tyrant to be entrapped by stratagem. For though he had been stripped of the maritime towns by the Romans, and afterwards shut up within the walls of his city by the Achaeans, they supposed that whoever took the first opportunity of killing him would engross the whole thanks of the Lacedaemonians. The pretence which they had for sending to him,

was, that he had long solicited assistance from them, since, by their advice, he had renewed the war. A thousand foot were put under the command of Alexamenus, with thirty horsemen, chosen from among the youth. These received a charge from Damocritus, the praetor, in the select council of the nation, mentioned above, "not to suppose that they were sent to a war with the Achaeans; or even on other business, which any one might ascertain to himself from his own conjectures. Whatever sudden enterprise circumstances might direct Alexamenus to undertake, that (however unexpected, rash, or daring) they were to hold themselves in readiness to execute with implicit obedience; and should understand that to be the matter, for the sole purpose of effecting which they had been sent abroad." With these men, thus pre-instructed, Alexamenus came to the tyrant, and, immediately on approaching him, filled him with hopes; telling him, that "Antiochus had already come over into Europe; that he would shortly be in Greece, and would cover the lands and seas with men and arms; that the Romans would find that they had not Philip to deal with: that the numbers of the horsemen, footmen, and ships, could not be reckoned; and that the train of elephants, by their mere appearance, would effectually daunt the enemy: that the Aetolians were prepared to come to Lacedaemon with their entire force, whenever occasion required; but that they wished to show the king, on his arrival, a numerous body of troops: that Nabis himself, likewise, ought to take care not to suffer his soldiers to be enervated by inaction, and dwelling in houses; but to lead them out, and make them perform their evolutions under arms, which, while it exercised their bodies, would also rouse their courage; that the labour would become lighter by practice, and might even be rendered not unpleasing by the affability and kindness of their commander." Thenceforward, the troops used frequently to be drawn out under the walls of the city, in a plain near the river Eurotas. The tyrant's life-guards were generally posted in the centre. He himself, attended by three horsemen at the most, of whom Alexamenus was commonly one, rode about in front, and went to view both wings to their extremities. On the right wing were the Aetolians; both those who had been before in his army as auxiliaries, and the thousand who came with Alexamenus. Alexamenus made it his custom to ride about with Nabis through a few of the ranks, offering such advice as seemed most suitable; then to join his own troops in the right wing; and presently after, as if having given the orders which the occasion might require, to return to the tyrant. But, on the day which he had fixed for the perpetration of the deed of death, after accompanying the tyrant for a little time, he withdrew to his own soldiers, and addressed the horsemen, sent from home with him, in these words: "Young men, that deed is now to be dared and done which you were ordered to execute valiantly under my guidance. Have your courage and your hands ready, that none may fail to second me in whatever he sees me attempt. If any one shall hesitate, and prefer any scheme of his own to mine, let him rest assured that there is no return to his home for him." Horror seized them all, and they well remembered the charge which they had received at setting out. The tyrant was now coming from the left wing. Alexamenus ordered his horsemen to rest their lances, and keep their eyes fixed on him; and in the mean time he himself recollected his spirits, which had been discomposed by the meditation of such a desperate attempt. As soon as the tyrant came near, he charged him; and driving his spear through his horse, brought the rider to the ground. The horsemen aimed their lances at him as he lay, and after many ineffectual strokes against his coat of mail, their points at length penetrated his body, so that, before relief could be sent from the centre, he expired.

Alexamenus, with all the Aetolians, hastened away, to seize on the palace. Nabis's life-guards were at first struck with horror, the act being perpetrated before their eyes; then, when they observed the Aetolian troops leaving the place, they gathered round the tyrant's body, where it was left, forming, instead of guardians of his life or avengers of his death, a mere group of spectators. Nor would any one have stirred, if Alexamenus had immediately called the people to an assembly, and, with his arms laid aside, there made a speech suitable to the occasion, and afterwards kept a good number of Aetolians in arms, without violence being offered to any one. Instead of which, by a fatality which ought to attend all designs founded in treachery, every step was taken that could tend to hasten the destruction of those who had committed it. The commander, shut up in the palace, wasted a day and a night in searching out the tyrant's treasures; and the Aetolians, as if they had stormed the city, of which they wished to be thought the deliverers, betook themselves to plunder. The insolence of their behaviour, and at the same time contempt of their numbers, gave the Lacedaemonians courage to assemble in a body, when some said, that they ought to drive out the Aetolians, and resume their liberty, which had been ravished from them at the very time when it seemed to be restored; others, that, for the sake of appearance, they ought to associate with them some one of the royal family, as the director of their efforts. There was a very young boy of that family, named Laconicus, who had been educated with the tyrant's children; him they mounted on a horse, and taking arms, slew all the Aetolians whom they met straggling through the city. They then assaulted the palace, where they killed Alexamenus, who, with a small party, attempted resistance. Others of the Aetolians, who had collected together round the Chalciaecon, that is, the brazen temple of Minerva, were cut to pieces. A few, throwing away their arms, fled, some to Tegea, others to Megalopolis, where they were seized by the magistrates, and sold as slaves. Philopoemen, as soon as he heard of the murder of the tyrant, went to Lacedaemon, where, finding all in confusion and consternation, he called together the principal inhabitants, to whom he addressed a discourse, (such as ought to have been made by Alexamenus,) and united the Lacedaemonians to the confederacy of the Achaeans. To this they were the more easily persuaded, because, at that very juncture, Aulus Atilius happened to arrive at Gythium with twenty-four quinqueremes.

### 37

Meanwhile, Thoas, in his attempt on Chalcis, had by no means the same good fortune as Eurylochus had in getting possession of Demetrias; although, (by the intervention of Euthymidas, a man of considerable consequence, who, after the arrival of Titus Quinctius and the ambassadors, had been banished by those who adhered to the Roman alliance; and also of Herodorus, who was a merchant of Cios, and who, by means of his wealth, possessed a powerful influence at Chalcis,) he had engaged a party, composed of Euthymidas's faction, to betray the city into his hands. Euthymidas went from Athens, where he had fixed his residence, first to Thebes, and thence to Salganea; Herodorus to Thronium. At a small distance, on the Malian bay, Thoas had two thousand foot and two hundred horse, with as many as thirty light transport ships. With these vessels, carrying six hundred footmen, Herodorus was ordered to sail to the island of Atalanta, that, as soon as he should perceive the land forces approaching Aulus and the Euripus, he might pass over from thence to Chalcis; to which place Thoas himself led the rest of his forces, marching mostly by night, and with all possible expedition.

### 38

Mictio and Xenoclide, who were now, since the banishment of Euthymidas, in possession of the supreme power, either of themselves suspected the matter, or received some information of it, and were at first so greatly terrified, that they saw no prospect of safety but in flight; but afterwards, when their fright subsided, and they considered that, by such a step, they would betray and desert not only their country, but the Roman alliance, they applied their minds to the following plan. It happened that, at that very time, there was a solemn anniversary festival, celebrated at Eretria, in honour of Diana Amarynthis, which was always attended by great numbers, not only of the natives, but also of the Carystians: thither they sent envoys to beseech the Eretrians and Carystians, "as having been born in the same isle, to compassionate their situation; and, at the same time, to show their regard to the friendship of Rome: not to suffer Chalcis to become the property of the Aetolians; that if they should possess Chalcis they would obtain possession of all Euboea: and to remind them, that they had found the Macedonians grievous masters, but that the Aetolians would be much more intolerable." The consideration of the Romans chiefly influenced those states, as they had lately experienced both their bravery in war, and their justice and liberality in success. Both states, therefore, armed, and sent the main strength of their young men. To these the people of Chalcis intrusted the defence of the walls, and they themselves, with their whole force, crossed the Euripus, and encamped at Salganea. From that place they despatched, first a herald, and afterwards ambassadors, to ask the Aetolians, for what word or act of theirs, friends and allies came thus to invade them. Thoas, commander of the Aetolians, answered, that "he came not to attack them, but to deliver them from the Romans; that they were fettered at present with a brighter chain indeed, but a much heavier one, than when they had a Macedonian garrison in their citadel." The men of Chalcis replied that "they were neither under bondage to any one, nor in need of the protection of any." The ambassadors then withdrew from the meeting, and returned to their countrymen. Thoas and the Aetolians (who had no other hopes than in a sudden surprise, and were by no means in a capacity to undertake a regular war, and the siege of a city so well secured against any attack from the land or the sea) returned home. Euthymidas, on hearing that his countrymen were encamped at Salganea, and that the Aetolians had retired, went back from Thebes to Athens. Herodorus, after waiting several days at Atalanta, attentively watching for the concerted signal in vain, sent an advice-boat to learn the cause of the delay; and, understanding that the enterprise was abandoned by his associates, returned to Thronium from whence he had come.

### 39

Quinctius, having been informed of these proceedings, came with the fleet from Corinth, and met Eumenes in the Euripus of Chalcis. It was agreed between them, that king Eumenes should leave there five hundred of his soldiers, for the purpose of a garrison, and should go himself to Athens. Quinctius proceeded to Demetrias, as he had purposed from the first, hoping that the relief of Chalcis would prove a strong inducement to the Magnetians to renew the alliance with Rome. And, in order that such of them as favoured his views might have some support at hand, he wrote to Eunomus, praetor of the Thessalians, to arm the youth; sending Villius forward to Demetrias, to sound the inclinations of the people: but not with a view to take any step in the business, unless a considerable number of them were disposed to revive the former treaty of amity. Villius, in a ship of five banks of oars, came to the mouth of the harbour, and the whole multitude of the Magnetians hastened out thither. Villius then asked, whether they chose that he should consider himself as having come to friends, or to enemies?

Eurylochus, the Magnetarch, answered, that "he had come to friends; but desired him not to enter the harbour, but to suffer the Magnetians to live in freedom and harmony; and not to attempt, under the show of friendly converse, to seduce the minds of the populace." Then followed an altercation, not a conference, the Roman upbraiding the Magnetians with ingratitude, and forewarning them of the calamities impending over them; the multitude, on the other side, clamorously reproaching him, and reviling, sometimes the senate, sometimes Quinctius. Villius, therefore, unable to effect any part of his business, went back to Quinctius, who despatched orders to the Thessalian praetor, to lead his troops home, while himself returned with his ships to Corinth.

#### 40

The affairs of Greece, blended with those of Rome, have carried me away, as it were, out of my course: not that they were in themselves deserving of a recital, but because they constituted the causes of the war with Antiochus. After the consular election, for thence I digressed, the consuls, Lucius Quinctius and Cneius Domitius, repaired to their provinces; Quinctius to Liguria, Domitius against the Boians. The Boians kept themselves quiet; nay, the senators, with their children, and the commanding officers of the cavalry, with their troops, amounting in all to one thousand five hundred, surrendered to the consul. The other consul laid waste the country of the Ligurians to a wide extent, and took some forts: in which expeditions he not only acquired booty of all sorts, together with many prisoners, but he also recovered several of his countrymen, and of the allies, who had been in the hands of the enemy. In this year a colony was settled at Vibo, in pursuance of a decree of the senate and an order of the people; three thousand seven hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen, went out thither, conducted by the commissioners Quintus Naevius, Marcus Minucius, and Marcus Furius Crassipes. Fifteen acres of ground were assigned to each footman, double that quantity to a horseman. This land had been last in possession of the Bruttians, who had taken it from the Greeks. About this time two dreadful causes of alarm happened at Rome, one of which continued long, but was less active than the other. An earthquake lasted through thirty-eight days; during all which time there was a total cessation of business, amidst anxiety and fears. On account of this event, a supplication was performed of three days' continuance. The other was not a mere fright, but attended with the actual loss of many lives. In consequence of a fire breaking out in the cattle-market, the conflagration, among the houses near to the Tiber, continued through all that day and the following night, and all the shops, with wares of very great value, were reduced to ashes.

#### 41

The year was now almost at an end, while the rumours of impending hostility, and, consequently, the anxiety of the senate, daily increased. They therefore set about adjusting the provinces of the magistrates elect, in order that they might be all the more intent on duty. They decreed, that those of the consuls should be Italy, and whatever other place the senate should vote, for every one knew that a war against Antiochus was now a settled point. That he, to whose lot the latter province fell, should have under his command,--of Roman citizens, four thousand foot and three hundred horse; and of the Latin confederates, six thousand foot and four hundred horse. The consul, Lucius Quinctius, was ordered to levy these troops, that no delay might be occasioned, but that the new consul might be able to proceed immediately to any place which the senate should appoint. Concerning the provinces of the praetors, also, it was decreed, that the

first lot should comprehend the two jurisdictions, both that between natives, and that between them and foreigners; the second should be Bruttium; the third, the fleet, to sail wherever the senate should direct; the fourth, Sicily; the fifth, Sardinia; the sixth, Farther Spain. An order was also given to the consul Lucius Quinctius, to levy two new legions of Roman citizens, and of the allies and Latins twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse. This army they assigned to the praetor to whom should fall the province of Bruttium. Two temples were dedicated this year to Jupiter in the Capitol; one of which had been vowed by Lucius Furius Purpureo, when praetor during the Gallic war; the other by the same, when consul. Quintus Marcius Ralla, duumvir, dedicated both. Many severe sentences were passed this year on usurers, who were prosecuted, as private persons, by the curule aediles, Marcus Tuccius and Publius Junius Brutus. Out of the fines imposed on those who were convicted, gilded chariots, with four horses, were placed in the recess of Jupiter's temple in the Capitol, over the canopy of the shrine, and also twelve gilded bucklers. The same aediles built a portico on the outside of the Triple Gate, in the Carpenters' Square.

## 42

While the Romans were busily employed in preparing for a new war, Antiochus, on his part, was not idle. Three cities detained him some time, Smyrna, Alexandria in Troas, and Lampsacus, which hitherto he had not been able either to reduce by force, or to persuade into a treaty of amity; and he was unwilling, on going into Europe, to leave these behind (as enemies). A deliberation also respecting Hannibal occasioned him further delay. First, the open ships, which the king was to have sent with him to Africa, were slowly prepared, and afterwards a consultation was set on foot whether he ought to be sent at all, chiefly by Thoas the Aetolian; who, after setting all Greece in commotion, came with the account of Demetrias being in the hands of his countrymen; and as he had, by false representations concerning the king, and multiplying, in his assertions, the numbers of his forces, exalted the expectations of many in Greece; so now, by the same artifices, he puffed up the hopes of the king; telling him, that "every one was inviting him with their prayers, and that there would be a general rush to the shore, from which the people could catch a view of the royal fleet." He even had the audacity to attempt altering the king's judgment respecting Hannibal when it was nearly settled. For he alleged, that "the fleet ought not to be weakened by sending away any part of it, but that if ships must be sent no person was less fit for the command than Hannibal, for he was an exile and a Carthaginian, to whom his own circumstances or his disposition might daily suggest a thousand new schemes. Then as to his military fame, by which, as by a dowry, he was recommended to notice, it was too splendid for an officer acting under a king. The king ought to be the grand object of view; the king ought to appear the sole leader, the sole commander. If Hannibal should lose a fleet or an army the amount of the damage would be the same as if the loss were incurred by any other general; but should success be obtained, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, and not to Antiochus. Besides, if the war should prove so fortunate as to terminate finally in the defeat of the Romans, could it be expected that Hannibal would live under a king; subject, in short, to an individual; he who could scarcely bear subjection to his own country? That he had not so conducted himself from early youth, having embraced the empire of the globe in his hopes and aspirations, that in his old age he would be likely to endure a master. The king wanted not Hannibal as a general: as an attendant and a counsellor in the business of the war, he might properly employ him. A moderate use of such abilities would be neither unprofitable nor dangerous; but if advantages of

the highest nature were sought through him, they, probably, would be the destruction both of the giver and the receiver."

#### 43

There are no dispositions more prone to envy than those of persons whose mental qualifications are inferior to their birth and rank in life; because they are indignant both at the merit and the possessions of another. The design of the expedition, to be commanded by Hannibal, the only one thought of that could be of use, in the beginning of the war, was immediately laid aside. The king, highly flattered by the defection of Demetrius from the Romans to the Aetolians, resolved to delay no longer his departure into Greece. Before the fleet weighed anchor he went up from the shore to Ilium, to offer sacrifice to Minerva. Immediately on his return he set sail with forty decked ships and sixty open ones, followed by two hundred transports, laden with provisions and warlike stores. He first touched at the island of Imbrus; thence he passed over to Sciathus; whence, after collecting the ships which had been separated during the voyage, he proceeded to Pteleum, the nearest part of the continent. Here, Eurylochus the Magnetarch, and other principal Magnetians from Demetrius, met him. Being greatly gratified by their numerous appearance, he carried his fleet the next day into the harbour of their city. At a small distance from the town he landed his forces, which consisted of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; a force scarcely sufficient to take possession of Greece alone, much less to sustain a war with Rome. The Aetolians, as soon as they were informed of Antiochus's arrival at Demetrius, convened a general council, and passed a decree, inviting him into their country. The king had already left Demetrius, (for he knew that such a decree was to be passed,) and had advanced as far as Phalara on the Malian bay. Here the decree was presented to him, and then he proceeded to Lamia, where he was received by the populace with marks of the warmest attachment, with clapping of hands and shouting, and other signs by which the extravagant joy of the vulgar is testified.

#### 44

When he came into the council he was introduced by Phaeneas, the praetor, and other persons of eminence, who, with difficulty, made way for him through the crowd. Then, silence being ordered, the king addressed himself to the assembly. He began with accounting for his having come with a force so much smaller than every one had hoped and expected. "That," he said, "ought to be deemed the strongest proof of the warmth of his good-will towards them; because, though he was not sufficiently prepared in any particular, and though the season was yet too early for sailing, he had, without hesitation, complied with the call of their ambassadors, and had believed that when the Aetolians should see him among them they would be satisfied that in him, even if he were unattended, they might be sure of every kind of support. But he would also abundantly fulfil the hopes of those, whose expectations seemed at present to be disappointed. For as soon as the season of the year rendered navigation safe, he would cover all Greece with arms, men, and horses, and all its coasts with fleets. He would spare neither expense, nor labour, nor danger, until he should remove the Roman yoke from their necks, and render Greece really free, and the Aetolians the first among its states. That, together with the armies, stores of all kinds were to come from Asia. For the present the Aetolians ought to take care that his men might be properly supplied with corn, and other accommodations, at reasonable rates."

#### 45

Having addressed them to this purport, and with universal approbation, the king withdrew. After his departure a warm debate ensued between two of the Aetolian chiefs, Phaeneas and Thoas. Phaeneas declared his opinion, that it would be better to employ Antiochus, as a mediator of peace, and an umpire respecting the matters in dispute with the Roman people, than as leader in a war. That "his presence and his dignified station would impress the Romans with awe, more powerfully than his arms. That in many cases men, for the sake of avoiding war, voluntarily remit pretensions, which force and arms would never compel them to forego." Thoas, on the other hand, insisted, that "Phaeneas's motive was not a love of peace, but a wish to embarrass their preparations for war, with the view that, through the tediousness of the proceedings, the king's vigour might be relaxed and the Romans gain time to put themselves in readiness. That they had abundant proof from experience, after so many embassies sent to Rome, and so many conferences with Quinctius in person, that nothing reasonable could ever be obtained from the Romans in the way of negotiation; and that they would not, until every hope of that sort was out of sight, have implored the aid of Antiochus. That as he had appeared among them sooner than any had expected, they ought not to sink into indolence, but rather to petition the king, that since he had come in person, which was the great point of all, to support the rights of Greece, he would also send for his fleets and armies. For the king, at the head of an army, might obtain something, but without that could have very little influence with the Romans, either in the cause of the Aetolians, or even in his own." This opinion was adopted, and the council voted, that the title of general should be conferred on the king. They also nominated thirty distinguished men with whom he might deliberate on any business which he might think proper.--The council was then broken up, and all went home to their respective states.

#### 46

Next day the king held a consultation with their select council, respecting the place from whence his operations should commence. They judged it best to make the first trial on Chalcis, which had lately been attempted in vain by the Aetolians; and they thought that the business required rather expedition than any great exertion or preparation. Accordingly the king, with a thousand foot, who had followed him from Demetrias, took his route through Phocis; and the Aetolian chiefs, going by another road, met at Cheronaea a small number of their young men whom they had called to arms, and thence, in ten decked ships, proceeded after him. Antiochus pitched his camp at Salganea, while himself, with the Aetolian chiefs, crossed the Euripus in the ships. When he had advanced a little way from the harbour, the magistrates and other chief men of Chalcis came out before their gate. A small number from each side met to confer together. The Aetolians warmly recommended to the others, "without violating the friendship subsisting between them and the Romans, to receive the king also as a friend and ally; for that he had crossed into Europe not for the purpose of making war, but of vindicating the liberty of Greece; and of vindicating it in reality, not in words and pretence merely, as the Romans had done. Nothing could be more advantageous to the states of Greece than to embrace the alliance of both, as they would then be always secure against ill-treatment from either, under the guarantee and protection of the other. If they refuse to receive the king, they ought to consider what they would have immediately to suffer; the aid of the Romans being far distant, and Antiochus, whom with their own strength they could not possibly resist, in character of an enemy at their gates." To this Mictio, one of the Chalcian deputies, answered that "he wondered who

those people were, for the vindicating of whose liberty Antiochus had left his own kingdom, and come over into Europe. For his part he knew not any state in Greece which either contained a garrison, or paid tribute to the Romans, or was bound by a disadvantageous treaty, and obliged to submit to terms which it did not like. The people of Chalcis, therefore, stood not in need, either of any assertor of their liberty, which they already enjoyed, or of any armed protector, since, through the kindness of the Roman people, they were in possession of both liberty and peace. They did not slight the friendship of the king, nor that of the Aetolians themselves. The first instance of friendship, therefore, that they could give, would be to quit the island and go home; for, as to themselves, they were fully determined not only not to admit them within their walls, but not even to agree to any alliance, but with the approbation of the Romans."

#### 47

When an account of this conference was brought to the king, at the ships where he had staid, he resolved for the present to return to Demetrius; for he had not come to them with a sufficient number of men to attempt any thing by force. At Demetrius he held another consultation with the Aetolians, to determine what was next to be done, as their first effort had proved fruitless. It was agreed that they should make trial of the Botians, Achaeans, and Amynder, king of the Athamanians. The Boeotianan nation they believed to have been disaffected to the Romans, ever since the death of Brachyllas, and the consequences which followed it. Philopoemen, chief of the Achaeans, they supposed to hate, and be hated by, Quinctius, in consequence of a rivalry for fame in the war of Laconia. Amynder had married Apama, daughter of a Megalopolitan, called Alexander, who, pretending to be descended from Alexander the Great, had given the names of Philip and Alexander to his two sons, and that of Apama to his daughter; and when she was raised to distinction, by her marriage to the king, Philip, the elder of her brothers had followed her into Athamania. This man, who happened to be naturally vain, then Aetolians and Antiochus persuaded to hope (as he was really of the royal family) for the sovereignty of Macedonia, on condition of his prevailing on Amynder and the Athamanians to join Antiochus; and these empty promises produced the intended effect, not only on Philip but likewise on Amynder.

#### 48

In Achaia, the ambassadors of Antiochus and the Aetolians were admitted to an audience of the council at Aegium, in the presence of Titus Quinctius. The ambassador of Antiochus was heard prior to the Aetolians. He, with all that pomp and parade which is common among those who are maintained by the wealth of kings, covered, as far as the empty sound of words could go, both lands and seas (with forces). He said, that "an innumerable body of cavalry was coming over the Hellespont into Europe; some of them cased in coats of mail, whom they call Cataphracti; others discharging arrows on horseback; and, what rendered it impossible to guard against them, shooting with the surest aim even when their backs were turned, and their horses in full retreat. To this army of cavalry, sufficient to crush the forces of all Europe, collected into one body," he added another of infantry of many times its number; and to terrify them, repeated the names of nations scarcely ever heard of before: talking of Dahans, Medes, Elymaeans, and Cadusians. "As to the naval forces, no harbours in Greece were capable of containing them; the right squadron was composed of Sidonians and Tyrians; the left of Aradians and Sidetians, from Pamphylia.--nations which none others had ever equalled, either in courage, or skill in sea affairs. Then, as to money, and other requisites for the

support of war, it was needless for him to speak. They themselves knew, that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold. The Romans, therefore, had not now to deal with Philip, or with Hannibal; the one a principal member of a commonwealth, the other confined merely to the limits of the kingdom of Macedonia; but with the great monarch of all Asia, and part of Europe. Nevertheless, though he had come from the remotest bounds of the East to give freedom to Greece, he did not demand any thing from the Achaeans, that could injure the fidelity of their engagements with the Romans, their former friends and allies. For he did not require them to take arms on his side against them; but only, that they should not join themselves to either party. That, as became common friends, they should wish for peace to both parties, and not intermeddle in the war." Archidamus, ambassador of the Aetolians, made nearly the same request: that, as was their easiest and safest way, they should stand neuter; and, as mere spectators of the war, wait for the decision of the fortunes of others, without any hazard to their own interests. He afterwards was betrayed, by the intemperance of language, into invectives, sometimes against the Romans in general, sometimes against Quinctius himself in particular; charging them with ingratitude, and upbraiding them, as being indebted to the valour of the Aetolians, not only for the victory over Philip, but even for their preservation; for, "by their exertions, both Quinctius himself and his army had been saved. What duty of a commander had he ever discharged? He used to see him, indeed, in the field, taking auspices; sacrificing, and offering vows, like an insignificant soothsaying priest; while he himself was, in his defence, exposing his person to the weapons of the enemy."

#### 49

To this Quinctius replied, that "Archidamus had calculated his discourse for the numerous auditors, rather than for the persons to whom it was particularly addressed. For the Achaeans very well knew, that the bold spirit of the Aetolians consisted entirely in words, not in deeds; and was more displayed in their councils and assemblies than in the field. He had therefore been indifferent concerning the sentiments of the Achaeans, to whom he and his countrymen were conscious that they were thoroughly known; and studied to recommend himself to the king's ambassadors, and, through them, to their absent master. But, if any person had been hitherto ignorant of the cause which had united Antiochus and the Aetolians, it was easy to discover it from the language of their ambassadors. By the false representations made by both parties, and boasts of strength which neither possessed, they mutually puffed up each other; and were themselves puffed up with vain expectations: one party talking of Philip being vanquished by them, the Romans being protected by their valour, and the rest of what you have just heard; and that you, and the other states and nations, would follow their party. The king, on the other side, boasting of clouds of horsemen and footmen, and covering the seas with his fleets. The king," he added, "was exceedingly like a supper that I remember at the house of my host at Chalcis, who is both a man of worth, and an excellent conductor of a feast. Having been kindly entertained by him at midsummer, when we wondered how he could, at that time of the year, procure such plenty and variety of game, he, not being so vain-glorious as these men, told us, with a pleasant smile, that the variety was owing to the dressing, and that what appeared to be the flesh of many different wild animals, was entirely of tame swine. This may be aptly applied to the forces of the king, which were so ostentatiously displayed a while ago; that those various kinds of armour, and multitudinous names of nations, never heard of before, Dahans, and Medes, and Caducians, and Elymaeans, are nothing more than Syrians, a race possessed of such

grovelling souls, as to be much fitter for slaves than for soldiers. I wish, Achaeans, that I could exhibit to your view the rapid excursions of this mighty monarch from Demetrias; first, to Lamia, to the council of the Aetolians; then to Chalcis. You should behold, in the royal camp, about the number of two small legions, and these incomplete. You should see the king, now, in a manner begging corn from the Aetolians, to be measured out to his soldiers; then, striving to borrow money at interest to pay them; again, standing at the gates of Chalcis, and presently, on being refused admittance, returning thence into Aetolia, without having effected any thing, except indeed the taking a peep at Aulis and the Euripus. Both Antiochus had done wrong in trusting to the Aetolians, and the Aetolians in trusting to the king's vain boastings. For which reason, you ought the less to be deceived by them, and rather to confide in the tried and approved fidelity of the Romans. For, with respect to your not interfering in the war, which they recommend as your best course, nothing, in fact, can be more contrary to your interest: for then, without gaining thanks or esteem, you will become the prize of the conqueror."

## 50

He was thought to have replied to both by no means unsuitably; and there was no difficulty in bringing an audience, prepossessed in his favour, to give their approbation to his discourse. In fact, there was no debate or doubt started, but all concurred in voting, that the nation of the Achaeans would regard, as their friends or foes, those who were judged to be such by the Roman people, and in ordering war to be declared against both Antiochus and the Aetolians. They also, by the direction of Quinctius, sent immediate succours of five hundred men to Chalcis, and five hundred to the Piraeus; for affairs at Athens were in a state not far from a civil war, in consequence of the endeavours, used by some, to seduce the venal populace, by hopes of largesses, to take part with Antiochus. But at length Quinctius was called thither by those who were of the Roman party; and Apollodorus, the principal adviser of a revolt, being publicly charged therewith by one Leon, was condemned and driven into exile. Thus, from the Achaeans also, the embassy returned to the king with a discouraging answer. The Boeotians made no definitive reply; they only said, that "when Antiochus should come into Boeotia, they would then deliberate on the measures proper to be pursued." When Antiochus heard, that both the Achaeans and king Eumenes had sent reinforcements to Chalcis, he resolved to act with the utmost expedition, that his troops might get the start of them, and, if possible, intercept the others as they came; and he sent thither Menippus with about three thousand soldiers, and Polyxenidas with the whole fleet. In a few days after, he marched himself, at the head of six thousand of his own soldiers, and a smaller number of Aetolians, as many as could be collected in haste, out of those who were at Lamia. The five hundred Achaeans, and a small party sent by king Eumenes, being guided by Xenocides, of Chalcis, (the roads being yet open,) crossed the Euripus, and arrived at Chalcis in safety. The Roman soldiers, who were likewise about five hundred, came, after Menippus had fixed his camp under Salganea, at Hermaeus, the place of passage from Boeotia to the island of Euboea. They had with them Mictio, who had been sent from Chalcis to Quinctius, deputed to solicit that very reinforcement; and when he perceived that the passes were blocked up by the enemy, he quitted the road to Aulis, and turned away to Delium, with intent to pass over thence to Euboea.

## 51

Delium is a temple of Apollo, standing over the sea five miles distant from Tanagra; and the passage thence, to the nearest part of Euboea, is less than four miles. As they were in

this sacred building and grove, sanctified with all that religious awe and those privileges which belong to temples, called by the Greeks asylums, (war not being yet either proclaimed, or so far commenced as that they had heard of swords being drawn, or blood shed any where,) the soldiers in perfect tranquillity, amused themselves, some with viewing the temple and groves; others with walking about unarmed, on the strand; and a great part had gone different ways in quest of wood and forage; when, on a sudden, Menippus attacked them in that scattered condition, slew many, and took fifty of them prisoners. Very few made their escape, among whom was Mictio, who was received on board a small trading vessel. Though this event caused much grief to Quinctius and the Romans, on account of the loss of their men, yet it seemed to add much to the justification of their cause in making war on Antiochus. Antiochus, when arrived with his army so near as Aulis, sent again to Chalcis a deputation, composed partly of his own people, and partly of Aetolians, to treat on the same grounds as before, but with heavier denunciations of vengeance: and, notwithstanding all the efforts of Mictio and Xenoclides to the contrary, he easily gained his object, that the gates should be opened to him. Those who adhered to the Roman interest, on the approach of the king, withdrew from the city. The soldiers of the Achaeans, and Eumenes, held Salganea; and the few Romans, who had escaped, raised, for the security of the place, a little fort on the Euripus. Menippus laid siege to Salganea, and the king himself to the fort. The Achaeans and Eumenes' soldiers first surrendered, on the terms of being allowed to retire in safety. The Romans defended the Euripus with more obstinacy. But even these, when they were completely invested both by land and sea, and saw the machines and engines prepared for an assault, sustained the siege no longer. The king, having thus got possession of the capital of Euboea, the other cities of the island did not even refuse to obey his authority; and he seemed to himself to have signalized the commencement of the war by an important acquisition, in having brought under his power so great an island, and so many cities conveniently situated.

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# Book XXXVI

*Manius Acilius Glabrio, the consul, aided by king Philip, defeats Antiochus at Thermopylae, and drives him out of Greece; reduces the Aetolians to sue for peace. Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica reduces the Boian Gauls to submission. Sea-fight between the Roman fleet and that of Antiochus, in which the Romans are victorious.*

## 1

Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, the consuls, on their assuming the administration, were ordered by the senate, before they settled any thing respecting their provinces, to perform sacrifices, with victims of the greater kinds, at all the shrines, where the Lectisternium was usually celebrated for the greater part of the year; and to offer prayers, that the business which the state had in contemplation, concerning a new war, might terminate prosperously and happily for the senate and people of Rome. At every one of those sacrifices, appearances were favourable, and the propitious omens were found in the first victims. Accordingly, the auspices gave this answer:--That, by this war, the boundaries of the Roman empire would be enlarged; and that victory and triumph were portended. When this answer was reported, the senate, having their minds now freed from superstitious fears, ordered this question to be proposed to the people; "Was it their will, and did they order, that war should be undertaken against king Antiochus, and all who should join his party?" And that if that order passed, then the consuls were, if they thought proper, to lay the business entire before the senate. Publius Cornelius got the order passed; and then the senate decreed, that the consuls should cast lots for the provinces of Italy and Greece; that he to whose lot Greece fell, should, in addition to the number of soldiers enlisted and raised from the allies by Quinctius for that province, pursuant to a decree of the senate, take under his command that army, which, in the preceding year, Marcus Baebius, praetor, had, by order of the senate, carried over to Macedonia. Permission was also granted him, to receive succours from the allies, out of Italy, if circumstances should so require, provided their number did not exceed five thousand. It was resolved, that Lucius Quinctius, consul of the former year, should be commissioned as a lieutenant-general in that war. The other consul, to whom Italy fell, was ordered to carry on the war with the Boians, with whichever he should choose of the two armies commanded by the consuls of the last year; and to send the other to Rome; and these were ordered to be the city legions, and ready to march to whatever place the senate should direct.

## 2

Things being thus adjusted in the senate, excepting the assignment of his particular province to each of the magistrates, the consuls were ordered to cast lots. Greece fell to Acilius, Italy to Cornelius. The lot of each being now determined, the senate passed a decree, that "inasmuch as the Roman people had, at that time, ordered war to be declared against king Antiochus, and those who were under his government, the consuls should command a supplication to be performed, on account of that business; and that Manius Acilius, the consul, should vow the great games to Jupiter, and offerings at all the shrines." This vow was made by the consul in these words, which were dictated by Publius Licinius, chief pontiff: "If the war, which the people has ordered to be undertaken against king Antiochus, shall be concluded agreeably to the wishes of the

senate and people of Rome, then, O Jupiter, the Roman people will, through ten successive days, exhibit the great games in honour of thee, and offerings shall be presented at all the shrines, of such value as the senate shall direct. Whatever magistrate shall celebrate those games, and at whatever time and place, let the celebration be deemed proper, and the offerings rightly and duly made." The two consuls then proclaimed a supplication for two days. When the consuls had determined their provinces by lot, the praetors, likewise, immediately cast lots for theirs. The two civil jurisdictions fell to Marcus Junius Brutus; Bruttium, to Aulus Cornelius Mammula; Sicily, to Marcus Aemilius Lepidus; Sardinia, to Lucius Oppius Salinator; the fleet, to Caius Livius Salinator; and Farther Spain, to Lucius Aemilius Paullus. The troops for these were settled thus:--to Aulus Cornelius were assigned the new soldiers, raised last year by Lucius Quinctius, the consul, pursuant to the senate's decree; and he was ordered to defend the whole coast near Tarentum and Brundisium. Lucius Aemilius Paullus was directed to take with him into Farther Spain, (to fill up the numbers of the army, which he was to receive from Marcus Fulvius, propraetor,) three thousand new-raised foot and three hundred horse, of whom two-thirds should be Latin allies, and the other third Roman citizens. An equal reinforcement was sent to Hither Spain to Caius Flaminius, who was continued in command. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was ordered to receive both the province and army from Lucius Valerius, whom he was to succeed; and, if he thought proper, to retain Lucius Valerius, as propraetor, in the province, which he was to divide with him in such a manner, that one division should reach from Agrigentum to Pachynum, and the other from Pachynum to Tyndarium, and the sea-coasts whereof Lucius Valerius was to protect with a fleet of twenty ships of war. The same praetor received a charge to levy two-tenths of corn, and to take care that it should be carried to the coast, and thence conveyed into Greece. Lucius Oppius was likewise commanded to levy a second tenth in Sardinia; but it was resolved that it should be transported, not into Greece, but to Rome. Caius Livius, the praetor, whose lot was the command of the fleet, was ordered to sail, at the earliest time possible, to Greece with thirty ships, which were ready, and to receive the other fleet from Atilius. The praetor, Marcus Junius, was commissioned to refit and arm the old ships which were in the dock-yards; and, for this fleet, to enlist the sons of freemen as crews.

### 3

Commissaries were sent into Africa, three to Carthage, and a like number to Numidia, to procure corn to be carried into Greece; for which the Roman people were to pay the value. And so attentive was the state to the making of every preparation and provision necessary for the carrying on of this war, that the consul, Publius Cornelius, published an edict, that "no senator, nor any who had the privilege of giving an opinion in the senate, nor any of the inferior magistrates, should go so far from the city of Rome as that they could not return the same day; and that five senators should not be absent from the city at the same time." A dispute which arose with the maritime colonies, for some time retarded Caius Livius, the praetor, when actively engaged in fitting out the fleet. For, when they were impressed for manning the ships, they appealed to the tribunes of the people, by whom the cause was referred to the senate. The senate, without one dissenting voice, resolved, that those colonies were not entitled to exemption from the sea-service. The colonies which disputed with the praetor on the subject of exemption were, Ostia, Fregenae, Castrumnovum, Pyrgi, Antium, Tarracina, Minturnae, and Sinuessa. The consul, Manius Acilius, then, by direction of the senate, consulted the college of heralds, "whether a declaration of war should be made to Antiochus in

person, or whether it would be sufficient to declare it at some garrison town; whether they directed a separate declaration against the Aetolians, and whether their alliance and friendship ought not to be renounced before war was declared." The heralds answered, that "they had given their judgment before, when they were consulted respecting Philip, that it was of no consequence whether the declaration were made to himself in person, or at one of his garrisons. That, in their opinion, friendship had been already renounced; because, after their ambassadors had so often demanded restitution, the Aetolians had not thought proper to make either restitution or apology. That these, by their own act, had made a declaration of war against themselves, when they seized, by force, Demetrias, a city in alliance with Rome; when they laid siege to Chalcis by land and sea; and brought king Antiochus into Europe, to make war on the Romans." Every preparatory measure being now completed, the consul, Manius Acilius, issued an edict, that the "soldiers enlisted, or raised from among the allies by Titus Quinctius, and who were under orders to go with him to his province; as, likewise, the military tribunes of the first and third legions, should assemble at Brundisium, on the ides of May.<sup>235</sup> " He himself, on the fifth before the nones of May,<sup>236</sup> set out from the city in his military robe of command. At the same time the praetors, likewise, departed for their respective provinces.

#### 4

A little before this time, ambassadors came to Rome from the two kings, Philip of Macedonia and Ptolemy of Egypt, offering aid of men, money, and corn towards the support of the war. From Ptolemy was brought a thousand pounds' weight of gold, and twenty thousand pounds' weight of silver. None of this was accepted. Thanks were returned to the kings. Both of them offered to come, with their whole force, into Aetolia. Ptolemy was excused from that trouble; and Philip's ambassadors were answered, that the senate and people of Rome would consider it as a kindness if he should lend his assistance to the consul, Manius Acilius. Ambassadors came, likewise from the Carthaginians, and from king Masinissa. The Carthaginians made an offer of sending a thousand pecks<sup>237</sup> of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley to the army, and half that quantity to Rome; which they requested the Romans to accept from them as a present. They also offered to fit out a fleet at their own expense, and to give in, immediately, the whole amount of the annual tribute-money which they were bound to pay for many years to come. The ambassadors of Masinissa promised, that their king should send five hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley, to the army in Greece, and three hundred thousand of wheat, and two hundred and fifty thousand of barley, to Rome; also five hundred horse, and twenty elephants, to the consul Acilius. The answer given to both, with regard to the corn, was, that the Roman people would make use of it, provided they would receive payment for the same. With regard to the fleet offered by the Carthaginians, no more was accepted than such ships as they owed by treaty; and, as to the money, they were told, that none would be taken before the regular days of payment.

#### 5

<sup>235</sup> 15th May.

<sup>236</sup> 3rd May.

<sup>237</sup> Here is, doubtless, some word dropped in the original; so small a quantity could never have been deemed an object for one powerful state to offer to another. Commentators suppose it to have been *one hundred* thousand..

While these things were occurring at Rome, Antiochus, during the winter season at Chalcis, endeavoured to bring over several of the states by ambassadors sent among them; while many of their own accord sent deputies to him; as the Epirots, by the general voice of the nation, and the Eleans from Peloponnesus. The Eleans requested aid against the Achaeans; for they supposed, that, since the war had been declared against Antiochus contrary to their judgment, the Achaeans would first turn their arms against them. One thousand foot were sent to them, under the command of Euphanes, a Cretan. The embassy of the Epirots showed no mark whatever of a liberal or candid disposition. They wished to ingratiate themselves with the king; but, at the same time, to avoid giving cause of displeasure to the Romans. They requested him, "not hastily to make them a party in the dispute, exposed, as they were, opposite to Italy, and in the front of Greece, where they must necessarily undergo the first assaults of the Romans. If he himself, with his land and sea forces, could take charge of Epirus, the inhabitants would eagerly receive him in all their ports and cities. But if circumstances allowed him not to do that, then they earnestly entreated him not to subject them, naked and defenceless, to the arms of the Romans." Their intention in sending him this message evidently was, that if he declined going into Epirus, which they rather supposed would be the case, they were not implicated with relation to the Roman armies, while they sufficiently recommended themselves to the king by their willingness to receive him on his coming; and that, on the other hand, if he should come, even then they would have hopes of being pardoned by the Romans, for having yielded to the strength of a prince who was present among them, without waiting for succour from them, who were so far distant. To this so evasive embassy, as he did not readily think of a proper answer, he replied, that he would send ambassadors to them to confer upon such matters as were of common concernment both to him and them.

## 6

Antiochus went himself into Boeotia, holding out ostensibly those causes of resentment against the Romans which I have already mentioned,--the death of Brachyllas, and the attack made by Quinctius on Coronea, on account of the massacre of the Roman soldiers; while the real ones were, that the former excellent policy of that nation, with respect both to public and private concerns, had, for several generations, been on the decline; and that great numbers were in such circumstances, that they could not long subsist without some change in affairs. Through multitudes of the principal Boeotians, who every where flocked out to meet him, he arrived at Thebes. There, notwithstanding that he had (both at Delium, by the attack made on the Roman troops, and also at Chalcis) already commenced hostilities, by enterprises of neither a trifling nor of a dubious nature, yet, in a general council of the nation, he delivered a speech of the same import with that which he delivered in the first conference at Chalcis, and that used by his ambassadors in the council of the Achaeans; that "what he required of them was, to form a league of friendship with him, not to declare war against the Romans." But not a man among them was ignorant of his meaning. However, a decree, disguised under a slight covering of words, was passed in his favour against the Romans. After securing this nation also on his side, he returned to Chalcis; and, having despatched letters, summoning the chief Aetolians to meet him at Demetrias, that he might deliberate with them on the general plan of operations, he came thither with his ships on the day appointed for the council. Amynander, likewise, was called from Athamania to the consultation; and Hannibal the Carthaginian, who, for a long time before, had not been asked to attend, was present at this assembly. The subject of their deliberation was in

reference to the Thessalian nation; and every one present was of opinion, that their concurrence ought to be sought. The only points on which opinions differed were, that some thought the attempt ought to be made immediately; while others judged it better to defer it for the winter season, which was then about half spent, until the beginning of spring. Some advised to send ambassadors only; others, that the king should go at the head of all his forces, and if they hesitated, terrify them into compliance.

## 7

Although the present debate turned chiefly on these points, Hannibal, being called on by name to give his opinion, led the king, and those who were present, into the consideration of the general conduct of the war, by a speech to this effect:--"If I had been employed in your councils since we came first into Greece, when you were consulting about Euboea, the Achaeans, and Boeotians, I would have offered the same advice which I shall offer you this day, when your thoughts are employed about the Thessalians. My opinion is, that, above all things, Philip and the Macedonians should by some means or other be brought into a participation in this war. For, as to Euboea, as well as the Boeotians and Thessalians, who can doubt that, having no strength of their own, they will ever court the power that is present; and will make use of the same fear, which governs their councils, as an argument for obtaining pardon? That, as soon as they shall see a Roman army in Greece, they will turn away to that government to which they have been accustomed? Nor are they to blame, if, when the Romans were at so great a distance, they did not choose to try your force, and that of your army, who were on the spot. How much more advisable, therefore, and more advantageous would it be, to unite Philip to us, than these; as, if he once embarks in the cause, he will have no room for retreat, and as he will bring with him such a force, as will not only be an accession to a power at war with Rome, but was able, lately, of itself, to withstand the Romans! With such an ally, (I wish to speak without offence,) how could I harbour a doubt about the issue; when I should see the very persons through whom the Romans prevailed against Philip, now ready to act against them? The Aetolians, who, as all agree, conquered Philip, will fight in conjunction with Philip against the Romans. Amynder and the Athamanian nation, who, next to the Aetolians, performed the greatest services in that war, will stand on our side. Philip, at the time when you remained inactive, sustained the whole burden of the war. Now, you and he, two of the greatest kings, will, with the force of Asia and Europe, wage war against one state; which, to say nothing of my own fortune with them, either prosperous or adverse, was certainly, in the memory of our fathers, unequal to a dispute with a single king of Epirus; what then, I say, must it be in competition with you two? But it may be asked. What circumstances induce me to believe that Philip may be brought to a union with us? First, common utility, which is the strongest cement of union; and next, you, Aetolians, are yourselves my informants. For Thoas, your ambassador, among the other arguments which he used to urge, for the purpose of drawing Antiochus into Greece, always above all things insisted upon this,-- that Philip expressed extreme indignation that the conditions of servitude had been imposed on him under the appearance of conditions of peace: comparing the king's anger to that of a wild beast chained, or shut up, and wishing to break the bars that confined it. Now, if his temper of mind is such, let us loose his chains; let us break these bars, that he may vent, upon the common foe, this anger so long pent up. But should our embassy fail of producing any effect on him, let us then take care, that if we cannot unite him to ourselves, he may not be united to our enemies. Your son, Seleucus, is at Lysimachia; and if, with the army which he has there, he shall pass through Thrace, and

once begin to make depredations on the nearest parts of Macedonia, he will effectually divert Philip from carrying aid to the Romans, to the protection, in the first place, of his own dominions. Such is my opinion respecting Philip. With regard to the general plan of the war, you have, from the beginning, been acquainted with my sentiments: and if my advice had been listened to, the Romans would not now hear that Chalcis in Euboea was taken, and a fort on the Euripus reduced, but that Etruria, and the whole coast of Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul, were in a blaze of war; and, what is to them the greatest cause of alarm, that Hannibal was in Italy. Even as matters stand at present, I recommend it to you, to call home all your land and sea forces; let storeships with provisions follow the fleet; for, as we are here too few for the exigencies of the war, so are we too many for the scanty supplies of necessaries. When you shall have collected together the whole of your force, you will divide the fleet, and keep one division stationed at Corcyra, that the Romans may not have a clear and safe passage; and the other you will send to that part of the coast of Italy which is opposite Sardinia and Africa; while you yourselves, with all the land forces, will proceed to the territory of Bullium. In this position you will hold the command of all Greece; you will give the Romans reason to think, that you intend to sail over to Italy; and you will be in readiness so to do, if occasion require. This is my advice; and though I may not be the most skilful in every kind of warfare, yet surely I must have learned, in a long series of both good and bad fortune, how to wage war against the Romans. For the execution of the measures which I have advised, I promise you my most faithful and zealous endeavours. Whatever plan you shall consider the best, may the gods grant it their approbation."

## 8

Such, nearly, was the counsel given by Hannibal, which the hearers rather commended at the time, than actually executed. For not one article of it was carried into effect, except the sending Polyxenidas to bring over the fleet and army from Asia. Ambassadors were sent to Larissa, to the diet of the Thessalians. The Aetolians and Amynder appointed a day for the assembling of their troops at Pherae, and the king with his forces came thither immediately. While he waited there for Amynder and the Aetolians, he sent Philip, the Megalopolitan, with two thousand men, to collect the bones of the Macedonians round Cynoscephalae, where the final battle had been fought with king Philip; being advised to this, either in order to gain favour with the Macedonians and draw their displeasure on the king for having left his soldiers unburied, or having of himself, through the spirit of vain-glory incident to kings, conceived such a design,--splendid indeed in appearance, but really insignificant. There is a mount there formed of the bones which had been scattered about, and were then collected into one heap. Although this step procured him no thanks from the Macedonians, yet it excited the heaviest displeasure of Philip; in consequence of which, he who had hitherto intended to regulate his counsels by the fortune of events, now sent instantly a message to the propraetor, Marcus Baebius, that "Antiochus had made an irruption into Thessaly; that, if he thought proper, he should move out of his winter quarters, and that he himself would advance to meet him, that they might consider together what was proper to be done."

## 9

While Antiochus lay encamped near Pherae, where the Aetolians and Amynder had joined him, ambassadors came to him from Larissa, desiring to know on account of what acts or words of theirs he had made war on the Thessalians; at the same time requesting

him to withdraw his army; and that if there seemed to him any necessity for it he would discuss it with them by commissioners. In the mean time, they sent five hundred soldiers, under the command of Hippolochus, to Pherae, as a reinforcement; but these, being debarred of access by the king's troops, who blocked up all the roads, retired to Scotussa. The king answered the Larissan ambassadors in mild terms, that "he came into their country, not with a design of making war, but of protecting and establishing the liberty of the Thessalians." He sent a person to make a similar declaration to the people of Pherae; who, without giving him any answer, sent to the king, in the capacity of ambassador, Pausanias, the first magistrate of their state. He offered remonstrances of a similar kind with those which had been urged in behalf of the people of Chalcis, at the first conference, on the strait of the Euripus, as the cases were similar, and urged some with a greater degree of boldness; on which the king desired that they would consider seriously before they adopted a resolution, which, while they were overcautious and provident of futurity, would give them immediate cause of repentance, and then dismissed him. When the Pheraeans were acquainted with the result of this embassy, without the smallest hesitation they determined to endure whatever the fortune of war might bring on them, rather than violate their engagements with the Romans. They accordingly exerted their utmost efforts to provide for the defence of their city; while the king, on his part, resolved to assail the walls on every side at once; and considering, what was evidently the case, that it depended on the fate of this city, the first which he had besieged, whether he should for the future be despised or dreaded by the whole nation of the Thessalians, he put in practice every where all possible means of striking them with terror. The first fury of the assault they supported with great firmness; but in some time, great numbers of their men being either slain or wounded, their resolution began to fail. Having soon been so reanimated by the rebukes of their leaders, as to resolve on persevering in their resistance, and having abandoned the exterior circle of the wall, as their numbers now began to fail, they withdrew to the interior part of the city, round which had been raised a fortification of less extent. At last, being overcome by distress, and fearing that if they were taken by storm they might meet no mercy from the conqueror, they capitulated. The king then lost no time; but while the alarm was fresh, sent four thousand men against Scotussa, which surrendered without delay, observing the recent example of those in Pherae; who, at length compelled by sufferings, had done that which at first they had obstinately refused. Together with the town, Hippolochus and the Larissan garrison were yielded to him, all of whom were dismissed uninjured by the king; who hoped that such behaviour would operate powerfully towards conciliating the esteem of the Larissans.

## 10

Having accomplished all this within the space of ten days after his arrival at Pherae, he marched with his whole force to Cranon, which he took immediately on his arrival. He then took Cypaera and Metropolis, and the forts which lay around them; and now every town in all that tract was in his power, except Atrax and Gyrton. He next resolved to lay siege to Larissa, for he thought that (either through dread inspired by the storming of the other towns, or in consideration of his kindness in dismissing the troops of their garrison, or being led by the example of so many cities surrendering themselves) they would not continue longer in their obstinacy. Having ordered the elephants to advance in front of the battalions, for the purpose of striking terror, he approached the city with his army in order of battle, on which the minds of a great number of the Larissans became irresolute and perplexed, between their fears of the enemy at their gates, and

their respect for their distant allies. Meantime, Amynder, with the Athamanian troops, seized on Pellinaeus; while Menippus, with three thousand Aetolian foot and two hundred horse, marched into Perrhaebia, where he took Mallaëa and Cyretiaë by assault, and ravaged the lands of Tripolis. After executing these enterprises with despatch, they returned to the king at Larissa just when he was holding a council on the method of proceeding with regard to that place. On this occasion there were opposite opinions: for some thought that force should be applied; that there was no time to be lost, but that the walls should be immediately attacked with works and machines on all sides at once; especially as the city stood in a plain, the entrances open, and the approaches every where level. While others represented at one time the strength of the city, greater beyond comparison than that of Pheraë; at another, the approach of the winter season, unfit for any operation of war, much more so for besieging and assaulting cities. While the king's judgment was in suspense between hope and fear, his courage was raised by ambassadors happening to arrive just at the time from Pharsalus, to make surrender of their city. In the mean time Marcus Baebius had a meeting with Philip in Dassaretia; and, in conformity to their joint opinion, sent Appius Claudius to reinforce Larissa, who, making long marches through Macedonia, arrived at that summit of the mountains which overhang Gonni. The town of Gonni is twenty miles distant from Larissa, standing at the opening of the valley called Tempe. Here, by laying out his camp more widely than his numbers required, and kindling more fires than were necessary, he imposed on the enemy the opinion which he wished, that the whole Roman army was there, and king Philip along with them. Antiochus, therefore, pretending the near approach of winter as his motive, staid but one day longer, then withdrew from Larissa, and returned to Demetrias. The Aetolians and Athamanians retired to their respective countries. Appius, although he saw that, by the siege being raised, the purpose of his commission was fulfilled, yet resolved to go down to Larissa, to strengthen the resolution of the allies against future contingencies. Thus the Larissans enjoyed a twofold happiness, both because the enemy had departed from their country, and because they saw a Roman garrison within their city.

## 11

Antiochus went from Demetrias to Chalcis, where he became captivated with a young woman, daughter of Cleoptolemus. When he had plied her father, who was unwilling to connect himself with a condition in life involving such serious consequences, first by messages, and afterwards by personal importunities, and had at length gained his consent; he celebrated his nuptials in the same manner as if it were a time of profound peace. Forgetting the two important undertakings in which he was at once engaged,--the war with Rome, and the liberating of Greece,--he banished every thought of business from his mind, and spent the remainder of winter in feasting and the pleasures connected with wine; and then in sleep, produced rather by fatigue than by satiety with these things. The same spirit of dissipation seized all his officers who commanded in the several winter quarters, particularly those stationed in Boeotia, and even the common men abandoned themselves to the same indulgences; not one of whom ever put on his armour, or kept watch or guard, or did any part of the duty or business of a soldier. When, therefore, in the beginning of spring, the king came through Phocis to Chaeronea, where he had appointed the general assembly of all the troops, he perceived at once that the soldiers had spent the winter under discipline no more rigid than that of their commander. He ordered Alexander, an Acarnanian and Menippus, a Macedonian, to lead his forces thence to Stratum, in Aetolia; and he himself, after offering sacrifice to Apollo

at Delphi, proceeded to Naupactum. After holding a council of the chiefs of Aetolia, he went by the road which leads by Chalcis and Lysimachia to Stratum, to meet his army, which was coming along the Malian bay. Here Mnasilochus, a man of distinction among the Acarnanians, being bribed by many presents, not only laboured himself to dispose that nation in favour of the king, but had brought to a concurrence in the design their praetor, Clytus, who was at that time invested with the highest authority. This latter, finding that the people of Leucas, the capital of Acarnania, could not be easily seduced to defection, because they were afraid of the Roman fleets, one under Atilius, and another at Cephallenia, practised an artifice against them. He observed in the council, that the inland parts of Acarnania should be guarded from danger, and that all who were able to bear arms ought to march out to Medio and Thurium, to prevent those places from being seized by Antiochus, or the Aetolians; on which there were some who said, that there were no necessity for all the people to be called out in that hasty manner, for a body of five hundred men would be sufficient for the purpose. Having got this number of soldiers at his disposal, he placed three hundred in garrison at Medio, and two hundred at Thurium, with the design that they should fall into the hands of the king, and serve hereafter as hostages.

## 12

At this time, ambassadors from the king came to Medio, whose proposal being heard, the assembly began to consider what answer should be returned to the king; when some advised to adhere to the alliance with Rome, and others, not to reject the friendship of the king; but Clitus offered an opinion, which seemed to take a middle course between the other two, and which was therefore adopted. It was, that ambassadors should be sent to the king, to request of him to allow the people of Medio to deliberate on a subject of such great importance in a general assembly of the Acarnanians. Mnasilochus, and some others of his faction, were studiously included in this embassy; who, sending private messengers to desire the king to bring up his army, wasted time on purpose; so that the ambassadors had scarcely set out, when Antiochus appeared in the territory, and presently at the gates of the city; and, while those who were not concerned in the plot were all in hurry and confusion, and hastily called the young men to arms, he was conducted into the place by Clitus and Mnasilochus. One party of the citizens now joined him through inclination, and those who were of different sentiments were compelled by fear to attend him. He then calmed their apprehensions by a discourse full of mildness; and in the hope of experiencing his clemency, which was reported abroad, several of the states of Acarnania went over to his side. From Medio he went to Thurium, whither he had sent on before him the same Mnasilochus, and his colleagues in the embassy. But the detection of the treachery practised at Medio rendered the Thurians more cautious, but not more timid. They answered him explicitly, that they would form no new alliance without the approbation of the Romans: they then shut their gates, and posted soldiers on the walls. Most seasonably for confirming the resolution of the Acarnanians, Cneius Octavius, being sent by Quinctius, and having received a party of men and a few ships from Aulus Postumius, whom Atilius had appointed his lieutenant to command at Cephallenia, arrived at Leucas, and filled the allies with hope; assuring them, that the consul Manius Acilius had already crossed the sea with his legions, and that the Roman camp was in Thessaly. As the season of the year, which was by this time favourable for sailing, strengthened the credibility of this report, the king, after placing a garrison in Medio and borne other

towns of Acarnania, retired from Thurium and returned through the cities of Aetolia and Phocis to Chalcis.

### 13

About the same time, Marcus Baebius and king Philip, after the meeting which they had in the winter in Dassaretia, when they sent Appius Claudius into Thessaly to raise the siege of Larissa, had returned to winter quarters, the season not being sufficiently advanced for entering on action; but now in the beginning of spring, they united their forces, and marched into Thessaly. Antiochus was then in Acarnania. As soon as they entered that country, Philip laid siege to Mallaëa, in the territory of Perrhaëbia, and Baebius, to Phacium. This town of Phacium he took almost at the first attempt, and then reduced Phaëstus with the same rapidity. After this, he retired to Atrax; and from thence having seized on Cyretiaë and Eritium, and placed garrisons in the places which he had reduced, he again joined Philip, who was carrying on the siege of Mallaëa. On the arrival of the Roman army, the garrison, either awed by its strength, or hoping for pardon, surrendered themselves, and the combined forces marched, in one body, to recover the towns which had been seized by the Athamanians. These were Aeginium, Ericinum, Gomphi, Silana, Tricca, Melibœa, and Phaloria. Then they invested Pellinaeum, where Philip of Megalopolis was in garrison, with five hundred foot and forty horse; but before they made an assault, they sent messengers to warn Philip not to expose himself to the last extremities; to which he answered, with much confidence, that he could intrust himself either to the Romans or the Thessalians, but never would put himself in the power of the Macedonian. When it appeared that recourse must be had to force, and that Limnaea might be attacked at the same time; it was agreed, that the king should go against Limnaea, while Baebius staid to carry on the siege of Pellinaeum.

### 14

It happened that, just at this time, the consul, Manius Acilius, having crossed the sea with twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants, ordered some military tribunes, chosen for the purpose, to lead the infantry to Larissa, and he himself with the cavalry came to Limnaea, to Philip. Immediately on the consul's arrival a surrender was made without hesitation, and the king's garrison, together with the Athamanians, were delivered up. From Limnaea the consul went to Pellinaeum. Here the Athamanians surrendered first, and afterwards Philip of Megalopolis. King Philip, happening to meet the latter as he was coming out from the town, ordered his attendants, in derision, to salute him with the title of king; and he himself, coming up to him, with a sneer, highly unbecoming his own exalted station, addressed him as Brother. Having been brought before the consul he was ordered to be kept in confinement, and soon after was sent to Rome in chains. All the rest of the Athamanians, together with the soldiers of king Antiochus, who had been in garrison in the towns which surrendered about that time, were delivered over to Philip. They amounted to three thousand men. The consul went thence to Larissa, in order to hold a consultation on the general plan of operations; and on his way was met by ambassadors from Pieria and Metropolis, with the surrender of those cities. Philip treated the captured, particularly the Athamanians, with great kindness, in order that through them he might conciliate their countrymen; and having hence conceived hopes of getting Athamania into his possession, he first sent forward the prisoners to their respective states, and then marched his army thither. These also, making mention of the king's clemency and generosity towards them, exerted a powerful influence on the minds of their fellow-countrymen; and

Amynder, who, by his presence, had retained many in obedience, through the respect paid to his dignity, began now to dread that he might be delivered up to Philip, who had been long his professed enemy, or to the Romans, who were justly incensed against him for his late defection. He, therefore, with his wife and children, quitted the kingdom, and retired to Ambracia. Thus all Athamania came under the authority and dominion of Philip. The consul delayed a few days at Larissa, for the purpose chiefly of refreshing the horses, which, by the voyage first, and marching afterwards, had been much harassed and fatigued; and when he had renewed the vigour of his army by a moderate share of rest, he marched to Cranon. On his way, Pharsalus, Scotussa, and Pherae were surrendered to him, together with the garrisons placed in them by Antiochus. He asked these men whether any of them chose to remain with him; and one thousand having declared themselves willing, he gave them to Philip; the rest he sent back, unarmed, to Demetrius. After this he took Proerna, and the forts adjacent; and then began to march forwards toward the Malian bay. When he drew near to the pass on which Thaumaci is situated, all the young men of that place, having taken arms and quitted the town, placed themselves in ambush in the woods and roads, and thence, from the higher grounds, made attacks on the Roman troops as they marched. The consul first sent people to talk with them from a short distance, and deter them from such a mad proceeding; but, finding that they persisted in their undertaking, he sent round a tribune, with two companies of soldiers, to cut off the retreat of the men in arms, and took possession of the defenceless city. The shouting on the capture of the city having been heard from behind, a great slaughter was made of those who had been in ambuscade, and who fled homewards from all parts of the woods. From Thaumaci the consul came, on the second day, to the river Spercheus; and, sending out parties, laid waste the country of the Hypataeans.

## 15

During these transactions, Antiochus was at Chalcis; and now, perceiving that he had gained nothing from Greece agreeable, except winter quarters and a disgraceful marriage at Chalcis, he warmly blamed Thoas, and the fallacious promises of the Aetolians; while he admired Hannibal, not only as a prudent man, but as the predictor of all those events which were then transpiring. However, that he might not still further defeat his inconsiderate enterprise by his own inactivity, he sent requisitions to the Aetolians, to arm all their young men, and assemble in a body at Lamia. He himself also immediately led thither about ten thousand foot (the number having been filled up out of the troops which had come after him from Asia) and five hundred horse. Their assembly on this occasion was far less numerous than ever before, none attending but the chiefs with a few of their vassals. These affirmed that they had, with the utmost diligence, tried every method to bring into the field as great a number as possible out of their respective states, but that they had not prevailed either by argument, persuasion, or authority, against those who declined the service. Being disappointed thus on all sides, both by his own people, who delayed in Asia, and by his allies, who did not fulfil those engagements by which they had prevailed on him to comply with their invitation, the king retired beyond the pass of Thermopylae. A range of mountains here divides Greece in the same manner as Italy is divided by the ridge of the Apennines. Outside the strait of Thermopylae, towards the north, lie Epirus, Perrhaebia, Magnesia, Thessaly, the Achaean Phthiotis, and the Malian bay; on the inside, towards the south, the greater part of Aetolia, Acarnania, Phocis, Locris, Boeotia, and the adjacent island of Euboea, the territory of Attica, which stretches out like a promontory into the sea, and, behind that,

the Peloponnesus. This range of mountains, which extends from Leucas and the sea on the west, through Aetolia to the opposite sea on the east, is so closely covered with thickets and craggy rocks, that, not to speak of an army, even persons lightly equipped for travelling can with difficulty find paths through which they can pass. The hills at the eastern extremity are called Oeta, and the highest of them Callidromus; in a valley, at the foot of which, reaching to the Malian bay, is a passage not broader than sixty paces. This is the only military road by which an army can be led, even if it should not be opposed. The place is therefore called Pylae, the gate; and by some, on account of a warm spring, rising just at the entrance of it, Thermopylae. It is rendered famous by the memorable battle of the Lacedaemonians against the Persians, and by their still more glorious death.

## 16

With a very inferior portion of spirit, Antiochus now pitched his camp within the enclosures of this pass, the difficulties of which he increased by raising fortifications; and when he had completely strengthened every part with a double rampart and trench, and, wherever it seemed requisite, with a wall formed of the stones which lay scattered about in abundance, being very confident that the Roman army would never attempt to force a passage there, he sent away one half of the four thousand Aetolians, the number that had joined him, to garrison Heraclea, which stood opposite the entrance of the defile, and the other half to Hypata; for he concluded, that the consul would undoubtedly attack Heraclea, and he received accounts from many hands, that all the districts round Hypata were being laid waste. The consul, after ravaging the lands of Hypata first, and then those of Heraclea, in both which places the Aetolian detachments proved useless, encamped opposite to the king, in the very entrance of the pass, near the warm springs; both parties of the Aetolians shutting themselves up in Heraclea. Antiochus, who, before he saw the enemy, thought every spot perfectly well fortified, and secured by guards, now began to apprehend, that the Romans might discover some paths among the hills above, through which they could make their way; for he had heard that the Lacedaemonians formerly had been surrounded in that manner by the Persians, and Philip, lately, by the Romans themselves. He therefore despatched a messenger to the Aetolians at Heraclea, desiring them to afford him so much assistance, at least in the war, as to seize and secure the tops of the hills, so that the Romans might not be able to pass them at any part. When this message was received, a dissension arose among the Aetolians: some insisted that they ought to obey the king's orders, and go; others, that they ought to lie still at Heraclea, and wait the issue, whatever it might be; for if the king should be defeated by the consul, their forces would be fresh, and in readiness to carry succour to their own states in the neighbourhood; and if he were victorious, they could pursue the Romans, while scattered in their flight. Each party not only adhered positively to its own plan, but even carried it into execution; two thousand lay still at Heraclea; and two thousand, divided into three parties, took possession of the summits called Callidromus, Rhoduntia, and Tichiuns.

## 17

When the consul saw that the heights were possessed by the Aetolians, he sent against those posts two men of consular rank, who acted as lieutenant-generals, with two thousand chosen troops;--Lucius Valerius Flaccus against Rhoduntia and Tichiuns, and Marcus Porcius Cato against Callidromus. Then, before he led on his forces against the enemy, he called them to an assembly, and thus briefly addressed them: "Soldiers, I see

that the greater part of you who were present, of all ranks, are men who served in this same province, under the conduct and auspices of Titus Quinctius. Now, in the Macedonian war, the pass at the river Aous was much more difficult than this before us. For this is only a gate, a single passage, formed as it were by nature; every other in the whole tract, between the two seas, being impassable. In the former case, there were stronger fortifications, and placed in more advantageous situations. The enemy's army was both more numerous, and composed of very superior men; for they were Macedonians, Thracians, and Illyrians,--all nations of the fiercest spirit; your present opponents are Syrians, and Asiatic Greeks, the most unsteady of men, and born for slavery. The commander, there, was a king of extraordinary warlike abilities, improved by practice from his early youth, in wars against his neighbours, the Thracians and Illyrians, and all the adjoining nations. But this man is one who (to say nothing of his former life) after coming over from Asia into Europe to make war on the Roman people, has, during the whole length of the winter, accomplished no more memorable exploit, than the taking a wife, for passion's sake, out of a private house, and a family obscure even among its neighbours; and now as a newly married man, surfeited as it were with nuptial feasts, comes out to fight. His chief reliance and strength was in the Aetolians,--a nation of all others the most faithless and ungrateful, as you have formerly experienced, and as Antiochus now experiences; for they neither joined him with numbers, nor could they be kept in the camp; and, besides, they are now in a state of dissension among themselves. Although they requested permission to defend Hypata and Heraclea, yet they defended neither; but one half of them fled to the tops of the mountains, while the others shut themselves up in Heraclea. The king himself, plainly confessing that, so far from daring to meet us in battle on the level plain, he durst not even encamp in open ground, has abandoned all that tract in front, which he boasted of having taken from us and Philip, and has hid himself behind the rocks; not even appearing in the opening of the pass, as it is said the Lacedaemonians did formerly, but drawing back his camp completely within it. What difference is there, as a demonstration of fear, between this and his shutting himself up within the walls of a city to stand a siege? But neither shall the straits protect Antiochus, nor the hills which they have seized, the Aetolians. Sufficient care and precaution have been used on every quarter, that you shall have nothing to contend with in the fight but the enemy himself. On your parts, you have to consider, that you are not fighting merely for the liberty of Greece; although, were that all, it would be an achievement highly meritorious to deliver that country now from Antiochus and the Aetolians, which you formerly delivered from Philip; and that the wealth in the king's camp will not be the whole prize of your labour; but that the great collection of stores, daily expected from Ephesus, will likewise become your prey; and also, that you will open a way for the Roman power into Asia and Syria, and all the most opulent realms to the extremity of the East. What then must be the consequence, but that, from Gades to the Red Sea, we shall have no limit but the ocean, which encircles in its embrace the whole orb of the earth; and that all mankind shall regard the Roman name with a degree of veneration next to that which they pay to the divinities? For the attainment of prizes of such magnitude, prepare a spirit adequate to the occasion, that, to-morrow, with the aid of the gods, we may decide the matter in the field."

## 18

After this discourse he dismissed the soldiers, who, before they went to their repast, got ready their armour and weapons. At the first dawn, the signal of battle being displayed, the consul formed his troops with a narrow front, adapted to the nature and the

straitness of the ground. When the king saw the enemy's standards in motion, he likewise drew out his forces. He placed in the van, before the rampart, a part of his light infantry; and behind them, as a support, close to the fortifications, the main strength of his Macedonians, whom they call Sarissophori. On the left wing of these, at the foot of the mountain, he posted a body of javelin-bearers, archers, and slingers; that from the higher ground they might annoy the naked flank of the enemy: and on the right of the Macedonians, to the extremity of the works, where the deep morasses and quicksands, stretching thence to the sea, render the place impassable, the elephants with their usual guard; in the rear of them, the cavalry; and then, with a moderate interval between, the rest of his forces as a second line. The Macedonians, posted before the rampart, for some time easily withstood the efforts which the Romans made every where to force a passage; for they received great assistance from those who poured down from the higher ground a shower of leaden balls from their slings, and of arrows, and javelins, all together. But afterwards, the enemy pressing on with greater and now irresistible force, they were obliged to give ground, and, filing off from the rear, retire within the fortification. Here, by extending their spears before them, they formed as it were a second rampart, for the rampart itself was of such a moderate height that, while it afforded to its defenders a higher situation, they at the same time, by the length of their spears, had the enemy within reach underneath. Many, inconsiderately approaching the work, were run through the body; and they must either have abandoned the attempt and retreated, or have lost very great numbers, had not Marcus Porcius come from the summit of Callidromus, whence he had dislodged the Aetolians, after killing the greater part of them. These he had surprised, quite unprepared, and mostly asleep, and now he appeared on the hill which overlooked the camp.

## 19

Flaccus had not met the same good fortune at Tichiuns and Rhoduntia; having failed in his attempts to approach those fastnesses. The Macedonians, and others, in the king's camp, as long as, on account of the distance, they could distinguish nothing more than a body of men in motion, thought they were the Aetolians, who, on seeing the fight, were coming to their aid. But when, on a nearer view, they knew the standards and arms, and thence discovered their mistake, they were all instantly seized with such a panic, that they threw down their arms and fled. Both the fortifications retarded the pursuers, and the narrowness of the valley through which the troops had to pass; and, above all, the circumstance that the elephants were on the rear of the enemy. These the infantry could with difficulty pass, and the cavalry could by no means do so, their horses being so frightened, that they threw one another into greater confusion than when in battle. The plundering of the camp also caused a considerable delay. But, notwithstanding all this, the Romans pursued the enemy that day as far as Scarphea, killing and taking on the way great numbers both of men and horses, and also killing such of the elephants as they could not capture; and then they returned to their camp. This had been attacked, during the time of the action, by the Aetolians who were occupying Heraclea as a garrison, but the enterprise, which certainly showed no want of boldness, was not attended with any success. The consul, at the third watch of the following night, sent forward his cavalry in pursuit of the enemy; and, as soon as day appeared, set out at the head of the legions. The king had got far before him, as he did not halt in his precipitate flight until he came to Elatia. There having collected the survivors of the battle and the retreat, he, with a very small body of half-armed men, betook himself to Chalcis. The Roman cavalry did not overtake the king himself at Elatia; but they cut off a great part of

his soldiers, who either halted through weariness, or wandered out of the way through mistake, as they fled without guides through unknown roads; so that, out of the whole army, not one escaped except five hundred, who kept close about the king; and even of the ten thousand men, whom, on the authority of Polybius, we have mentioned as brought over by the king from Asia, a very trifling number got off. But what shall we say if we are to believe Valerius Antias, who records that there were in the king's army sixty thousand men, of whom forty thousand fell, and above five thousand were taken, with two hundred and thirty military standards? Of the Romans were slain in the action itself a hundred and fifty; and of the party that defended themselves against the assault of the Aetolians, not more than fifty.

## 20

As the consul was leading his army through Phocis and Boeotia, the revolted states, conscious of their defection, and dreading lest they should be exposed as enemies to the ravages of the soldiers, presented themselves at the gates of their cities, with the badges of suppliants; but the army proceeded, during the whole time, just as if they were in the country of friends, without offering violence of any sort, until they reached the territory of Coronea. Here a statue of king Antiochus, standing in the temple of Minerva Itonia, kindled their indignation, and permission was given to the soldiers to plunder the lands adjacent to the edifice. But the reflection quickly occurred, that, as the statue had been erected by a general vote of all the Boeotian states, it was unreasonable to resent it on the single district of Coronea. The soldiers were therefore immediately recalled, and the depredations stopped. The Boeotians were only reprimanded for their ungrateful behaviour to the Romans in return for such great obligations, so recently conferred. At the very time of the battle, ten ships belonging to the king, with their commander Isidorus, lay at anchor near Thronium, in the Malian bay. To them Alexander of Acarnania, being grievously wounded, made his escape, and gave an account of the unfortunate issue of the battle; on which the fleet, alarmed at the immediate danger, sailed away in haste to Ceneus in Euboea. There Alexander died, and was buried. Three other ships, which came from Asia to the same port, on hearing the disaster which had befallen the army, returned to Ephesus. Isidorus sailed over from Ceneus to Demetrias, supposing that the king might perhaps have directed his flight thither. About this time Aulus Atilius, commander of the Roman fleet, intercepted a large convoy of provisions going to the king, just as they had passed the strait at the island of Andros: some of the ships he sunk, and took many others. Those who were in the rear turned their course to Asia. Atilius, with the captured vessels in his train, sailed back to Piraeus, from whence he had set out, and distributed a vast quantity of corn among the Athenians and the other allies in that quarter.

## 21

Antiochus, quitting Chalcis before the arrival of the consul, sailed first to Tenus, and thence passed over to Ephesus. When the consul came to Chalcis, the gates were open to receive him: for Aristoteles, who commanded for the king, on hearing of his approach, had withdrawn from the city. The rest of the cities of Euboea also submitted without opposition; and peace being restored all over the island within the space of a few days, without inflicting punishment on any city, the army, which had acquired much higher praise for moderation after victory, than even for the victory itself, was led back to Thermopylae. From this place, the consul despatched Marcus Cato to Rome, that through him the senate and people might learn what had been achieved from

unquestionable authority. He set sail from Creusa, a sea-port belonging to the Thespians, seated at the bottom of the Corinthian Gulf, and steered to Patrae, in Achaia. From Patrae, he coasted along the shores of Aetolia and Acarnania, as far as Corcyra, and thence he passed over to Hydruntum, in Italy. Proceeding hence, with rapid expedition, by land, he arrived on the fifth day at Rome. Having come into the city before day, he went on directly from the gate to Marcus Junius, the praetor, who, at the first dawn, assembled the senate. Here, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who had been despatched by the consul several days before Cato, and on his arrival had heard that the latter had outstripped him, and was then in the senate, came in, just as he was giving a recital of the transactions. The two lieutenant-generals were then, by order of the senate, conducted to the assembly of the people, where they gave the same account, as in the senate, of the services performed in Aetolia. Hereupon a supplication of three days' continuance was decreed, and that the praetor should offer sacrifice to such of the gods as his judgment should direct, with forty victims of the larger kinds. About the same time, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who, two years before, had gone into Farther Spain, in the office of praetor, entered the city in ovation. He carried in the procession a hundred and thirty thousand silver denarii,<sup>238</sup> and besides the coin, twelve thousand pounds' weight of silver, and a hundred and twenty-seven pounds' weight of gold.

## 22

The consul Manius Acilius sent on, from Thermopylae, a message to the Aetolians in Heraclea, admonishing them, "then at least, after the experience which they had of the emptiness of the king's professions, to return to their senses; and, by surrendering Heraclea, to endeavour to procure from the senate a pardon for their past madness, or error: that other Grecian states also had, during the present war, revolted from the Romans, to whom they were under the highest obligations; but that, inasmuch as, after the flight of the king, in reliance upon whom they had departed from their duty, they had not added obstinacy to their misbehaviour, they were re-admitted into friendship. In like manner, although the Aetolians had not followed in the steps of the king, but had invited him, and had been principals in the war, not auxiliaries; nevertheless, if they could bring themselves to repentance they might still insure their safety." As their answer to these suggestions showed nothing like a pacific disposition, and it was evident that the business must be determined by force of arms, and that, notwithstanding the defeat of the king, the war of Aetolia was as far from a conclusion as ever, Acilius removed his camp from Thermopylae to Heraclea; and on the same day rode on horseback entirely round the walls, in order to acquaint himself with the localities of the city. Heraclea is situated at the foot of Mount Oeta; the town itself is in the plain, but has a citadel overlooking it, which stands on an eminence of considerable height, terminated on all sides by precipices. Having examined every part which he wished to see, the consul determined to make the attack in four places at once. On the side next the river Asopus, where is also the Gymnasium, he gave the direction of the works and the assault to Lucius Valerius. He assigned to Tiberius Sempronius Longus the attack of a part of the suburbs, which was as thickly inhabited as the city itself. He appointed Marcus Baebius to act on the side opposite the Malian bay, a part where the access was far from easy; and Appius Claudius on the side next to another rivulet, called Melas; opposite to the temple of Diana. By the vigorous emulation of these the towers, rams, and other machines used in the besieging of towns, were all completed within a few days. The lands round Heraclea, naturally marshy, and abounding with tall trees,

<sup>238</sup> £4097l. 16s. 4d.

furnished timber in abundance for every kind of work; and then, as the Aetolians had fled into the city, the deserted suburbs supplied not only beams and boards, but also bricks and mortar, and stones of every size for all their various occasions.

### 23

The Romans carried on the assault upon this city by means of works more than by their arms; the Aetolians, on the contrary, maintained their defence by dint of arms. For when the walls were shaken by the ram they did not, as is usual, intercept and turn aside the strokes by the help of nooses formed on ropes, but sallied out in large armed bodies, with parties carrying fire, which they threw into the works. They had likewise arched passages through the parapet, for the purpose of making sallies; and when they built up the wall anew, in the room of any part that was demolished, they left a great number of these, that they might rush out upon the enemy from many places at once. In several days at the beginning, while their strength was unimpaired, they carried on this practice in numerous parties, and with much spirit, but afterwards in smaller numbers and more languidly. For though they had a multiplicity of difficulties to struggle with, what above all things utterly consumed their vigour was the want of sleep, as the Romans, having plenty of men, relieved each other regularly in their posts; while among the Aetolians, their numbers being small, the same persons had their strength consumed by unremitting labour night and day. During a space of twenty-four days, without any time being unemployed in the conflict, their toil was kept up against the attacks carried on by the enemy in four different quarters at once. When the consul, from computing the time, and from the reports of deserters, judged that the Aetolians were thoroughly fatigued, he adopted the following plan:--At midnight he gave the signal of retreat, and drawing off all his men at once from the assault, kept them quiet in the camp until the third hour of the next day. The attacks were then renewed, and continued until midnight, when they ceased, until the third hour of the day following. The Aetolians imagined that the Romans suspended the attack from the same cause by which they felt themselves distressed,--excessive fatigue. As soon, therefore, as the signal of retreat was given to the Romans, as if themselves were thereby recalled from duty, every one gladly retired from his post, nor did they again appear in arms on the walls before the third hour of the day.

### 24

The consul having put a stop to the assault at midnight, renewed it on three of the sides, at the fourth watch, with the utmost vigour; ordering Tiberius Sempronius, on the fourth, to keep his party alert, and ready to obey his signal; for he concluded assuredly, that in the tumult by night the enemy would all run to those quarters whence the shouting was heard. Of the Aetolians, such as had gone to rest, with difficulty roused their bodies from sleep, exhausted as they were with fatigue and watching; and such as were still awake, ran in the dark to the places where they heard the noise of fighting. Meanwhile the Romans endeavoured some to climb over the ruins of the walls, through the breaches; others, to scale the walls with ladders; while the Aetolians hastened in all directions to defend the parts attacked. In one quarter, where the buildings stood outside the city, there was neither attack nor defence. A party stood ready, waiting for the signal to make an attack, but there was none within to oppose them. The day now began to dawn, and the consul gave the signal; on which the party, without any opposition, made their way into the town; some through parts that had been battered, others scaling the walls where they were entire. As soon as the Aetolians heard them

raise the shout, which denoted the place being taken, they every where forsook their posts, and fled into the citadel. The victors sacked the city; the consul having given permission, not for the sake of gratifying resentment or animosity, but that the soldiers, after having been restrained from plunder in so many cities captured from the enemy, might at last, in some one place, enjoy the fruits of victory. About mid-day he recalled the troops, and dividing them into two parts, ordered one to be led round by the foot of the mountain to a rock, which was of equal height with the citadel, and seemed as if it had been broken off from it, leaving a hollow between; but the summits of these eminences are so nearly contiguous that weapons may be thrown into the citadel from the top of the other. With the other half of the troops the consul intended to march, up from the city to the citadel, and waited to receive a signal from those who were to mount the rock on the farther side. The Aetolians in the citadel could not support the shout of the party which had seized the rock, and the consequent attack of the Romans from the city; for their courage was now broken, and the place was by no means in a condition to hold out a siege of any continuance; the women, children, and great numbers of other helpless people, being crowded together in a fort, which was scarce capable of containing, much less of affording protection to such a multitude. On the first assault, therefore, they laid down their arms and submitted. Among the rest was delivered up Damocritus, chief magistrate of the Aetolians, who at the beginning of the war, when Titus Quinctius asked for a copy of the decree passed by the Aetolians for inviting Antiochus, told him, that, "in Italy, when the Aetolians were encamped there, it should be delivered to him." On account of this presumptuous insolence of his, his surrender was a matter of greater satisfaction to the victors.

## 25

At the same time, while the Romans were employed in the reduction of Heraclea, Philip, by concert, besieged Lamia. He had an interview with the consul, as he was returning from Boeotia, at Thermopylae, whither he came to congratulate him and the Roman people on their successes, and to apologize for his not having taken an active part in the war, being prevented by sickness; and then they went from thence, by different routes, to lay siege to the two cities at once. The distance between these places is about seven miles; and as Lamia stands on high ground, and has an open prospect, particularly towards the region of Mount Oeta, the distance seems very short, and every thing that passes can be seen from thence. The Romans and Macedonians, with all the emulation of competitors for a prize, employed the utmost exertions, both night and day, either in the works or in fighting; but the Macedonians encountered greater difficulty on this account, that the Romans made their approaches by mounds, covered galleries, and other works, which were all above ground; whereas the Macedonians worked under ground by mines, and, in that stony soil, often met a flinty rock, which iron could not penetrate. The king, seeing that his undertaking succeeded but ill, endeavoured, by conversations with the principal inhabitants, to prevail on the townspeople to surrender the place; for he was fully persuaded, that if Heraclea should be taken first, the Lamians would then choose to surrender to the Romans rather than to him; and that the consul would take to himself the merit of relieving them from a siege. Nor was he mistaken in that opinion; for no sooner was Heraclea reduced, than a message came to him to desist from the assault; because "it was more reasonable that the Roman soldiers, who had fought the Aetolians in the field, should reap the fruits of the victory." Thus was Lamia relieved, and the misfortune of a neighbouring city proved the means of its escaping a like disaster.

**26**

A few days before the capture of Heraclea, the Aetolians, having assembled a council at Hypata, sent ambassadors to Antiochus, among whom was Thoas, the same who had been sent on the former occasion. Their instructions were in the first place, to request the king again to assemble his land and marine forces and cross over into Greece; and, in the next place, if any circumstance should detain him, then to send them supplies of men and money. They were to remind him, that "it concerned his dignity and his honour, not to abandon his allies; and it likewise concerned the safety of his kingdom, not to leave the Romans at full leisure, after ruining the nation of the Aetolians, to carry their whole force into Asia." What they said was true, and therefore made the deeper impression on the king; in consequence of which, he immediately supplied the ambassadors with the money requisite for the exigencies of the war, and assured them, that he would send them succours both of troops and ships. One of the ambassadors, namely, Thoas, he kept with him, by no means against his will, as he hoped that, being present, he might induce the performance of the king's promises.

**27**

But the loss of Heraclea entirely broke the spirits of the Aetolians; insomuch that, within a few days after they had sent ambassadors into Asia for the purpose of renewing the war, and inviting the king, they threw aside all warlike designs, and despatched deputies to the consul to sue for peace. When these began to speak, the consul, interrupting them, said, that he had other business to attend to at present; and, ordering them to return to Hypata, granted them a truce for ten days, sending with them Lucius Valerius Flaccus, to whom, he desired, whatever business they intended to have proposed to himself might be communicated, with any other that they thought proper. On their arrival at Hypata, the chiefs of the Aetolians held a consultation, at which Flaccus was present, on the method to be used in treating with the consul. They showed an inclination to begin with addressing themselves wholly to the ancient treaties, and the services which they had performed to the Roman people; on which Flaccus desired them to "speak no more of treaties, which they themselves had violated and annulled." He told them, that "they might expect more advantage from an acknowledgment of their fault, and entreaty. For their hopes of safety rested not on the merits of their cause, but on the clemency of the Roman people. That, if they acted in a suppliant manner, he would himself be a solicitor in their favour, both with the consul and with the senate at Rome; for thither also they must send ambassadors." This appeared to all the only way to safety: "to submit themselves entirely to the faith of the Romans. For, in that case, the latter would be ashamed to do injury to suppliants; while themselves would, nevertheless, retain the power of consulting their own interest, should fortune offer any thing more advantageous."

**28**

When they came into the consul's presence, Phaeneas, who was at the head of the embassy, made a long speech, designed to mitigate the wrath of the conqueror by various considerations; and he concluded with saying, that "the Aetolians surrendered themselves, and all belonging to them, to the faith of the Roman people." The consul, on hearing this, said, "Aetolians, consider well whether you will yield on these terms:" and then Phaeneas produced the decree, in which the conditions were expressly mentioned. "Since then," said the consul, "you submit in this manner, I demand that, without delay, you deliver up to me Dicaearchus your countryman, Menetas the Epirot," who had, with

an armed force, entered Naupactum, and compelled the inhabitants to defection; "and also Amynder, with the Athamanian chiefs, by whose advice you revolted from us." Phaeneas, almost interrupting the Roman while he was speaking, answered,--"We surrendered ourselves, not into slavery, but to your faith; and I take it for granted, that, from not being sufficiently acquainted with us, you fall into the mistake of commanding what is inconsistent with the practice of the Greeks." "Nor in truth," replied the consul, "do I much concern myself, at present, what the Aetolians may think conformable to the practice of the Greeks; while I, conformably to the practice of the Romans, exercise authority over men, who just now surrendered themselves by a decree of their own, and were, before that, conquered by my arms. Wherefore, unless my commands are quickly complied with, I order that you be put in chains." At the same time he ordered chains to be brought forth, and the lictors to surround the ambassadors. This effectually subdued the arrogance of Phaeneas and the other Aetolians; and, at length, they became sensible of their situation. Phaeneas then said, that "as to himself and his countrymen there present, they knew that his commands must be obeyed: but it was necessary that a council of the Aetolians should meet, to pass decrees accordingly; and that, for that purpose, he requested a suspension of arms for ten days." At the intercession of Flaccus on behalf of the Aetolians, this was granted, and they returned to Hypata. When Phaeneas related here, in the select council, called Apocleti, the orders which they had received, and the treatment which they had narrowly escaped; although the chiefs bemoaned their condition, nevertheless they were of opinion, that the conqueror must be obeyed, and that the Aetolians should be summoned, from all their towns, to a general assembly.

## 29

But when the assembled multitude heard the same account, their minds were so highly exasperated, both by the harshness of the order and the indignity offered, that, even if they had been in a pacific temper before, the violent impulse of anger which they then felt would have been sufficient to rouse them to war. Their rage was increased also by the difficulty of executing what was enjoined on them; for, "how was it possible for them, for instance, to deliver up king Amynder?" It happened, also, that a favourable prospect seemed to open to them; for Nicander, returning from king Antiochus at that juncture, filled the minds of the people with unfounded assurances, that immense preparations for war were going on both by land and sea. This man, after finishing the business of his embassy, set out on his return to Aetolia; and on the twelfth day after he embarked, reached Phalara, on the Malian bay. Having conveyed thence to Lamia the money that he had brought, he, with a few light troops, directed, in the evening, his course toward Hypata, by known paths, through the country which lay between the Roman and Macedonian camps. Here he fell in with an advanced guard of the Macedonians, and was conducted to the king, whose dinner guests had not yet separated. Philip, being told of his coming, received him as a guest, not an enemy; desired him to take a seat, and join the entertainment; and afterwards, when he dismissed the rest, detained him alone, and told him, that he had nothing to fear for himself. He censured severely the conduct of the Aetolians, in bringing, first the Romans, and afterwards Antiochus, into Greece; designs which originated in a want of judgment, and always recoiled on their own heads. But "he would forget," he said, "all past transactions, which it was easier to blame than to amend; nor would he act in such a manner as to appear to insult their misfortunes. On the other hand, it would become the Aetolians to lay aside, at length, their animosity towards him; and it would become

Nicander himself, in his private capacity, to remember that day, on which he had been preserved by him." Having then appointed persons to escort him to a place of safety, Nicander arrived at Hypata, while his countrymen were consulting about the peace with Rome.

### 30

Manius Acilius having sold, or given to the soldiers, the booty found near Heraclea, and having learned that the counsels adopted at Hypata were not of a pacific nature, but that the Aetolians had hastily assembled at Naupactum, with intention to make a stand there against the whole brunt of the war, sent forward Appius Claudius, with four thousand men, to seize the heights of the mountains, where the passes were difficult; and he himself, ascending Mount Oeta, offered sacrifices to Hercules, in the spot called Pyra,<sup>239</sup> because there the mortal part of the demi-god was burned. He then set out with the main body of the army, and marched all the rest of the way with tolerable ease and expedition. But when they came to Corax, a very high mountain between Callipolis and Naupactum, great numbers of the beasts of burden, together with their loads, tumbled down the precipices, and many of the men were hurt. This clearly showed with how negligent an enemy they had to do, who had not secured so difficult a pass by a guard, and so blocked up the passage; for, even as the case was, the army suffered considerably. Hence he marched down to Naupactum; and having erected a fort against the citadel, he invested the other parts of the city, dividing his forces according to the situation of the walls. Nor was the siege likely to prove less difficult and laborious than that of Heraclea.

### 31

At the same time, the Achaeans laid siege to Messene, in Peloponnesus, because it refused to become a member of their body: for the two states of Messene and Elis were unconnected with the Achaean confederacy, and sympathized with the Aetolians. However, the Eleans, after Antiochus had been driven out of Greece, answered the deputies, sent by the Achaeans, with more moderation: that "when the king's troops were removed, they would consider what part they should take." But the Messenians had dismissed the deputies without an answer, and prepared for war. Alarmed, afterwards, at their own situation, when they saw the enemy ravaging their country without control, and pitching their camp close to their city, they sent deputies to Chalcis, to Titus Quinctius, the author of their liberty, to acquaint him, that "the Messenians were willing, both to open their gates, and surrender their city, to the Romans, but not to the Achaeans." On hearing this Quinctius immediately set out, and despatched from Megalopolis a messenger to Diophanes, praetor of the Achaeans, requiring him to draw off his army instantly from Messene, and to come to him. Diophanes obeyed the order; raising the siege, he hastened forward himself before the army, and met Quinctius near Andania, a small town between Megalopolis and Messene. When he began to explain the reasons for commencing the siege, Quinctius, gently reproving him for undertaking a business of that importance without consulting him, ordered him to disband his forces, and not to disturb a peace which had been established advantageously to all. He commanded the Messenians to recall the exiles, and to unite themselves to the confederacy of the Achaeans; and if there were any particulars to which they chose to object, or any precautions which they judged requisite for the future, they might apply

<sup>239</sup> The funeral pile.

to him at Corinth. He then gave directions to Diophanes, to convene immediately a general council of the Achaeans, that he might settle some business with them.

### 32

In this assembly he complained of their having acquired possession of the island of Zacynthus by unfair means, and demanded that it should be restored to the Romans. Zacynthus had formerly belonged to Philip, king of Macedonia, and he had made it over to Amynder, on condition of his giving him leave to march an army through Athamania, into the upper part of Aetolia, on that expedition wherein he compelled the Aetolians with dejected spirits to sue for peace. Amynder gave the government of the island to Philip, the Megalopolitan; and afterwards, during the war in which he united himself with Antiochus against the Romans, having called out Philip to the duties of the campaign, he sent, as his successor, Hierocles, of Agrigentum. This man, after the flight of Antiochus from Thermopylae, and the expulsion of Amynder from Athamania by Philip, sent emissaries of his own accord to Diophanes, praetor of the Achaeans; and having bargained for a sum of money, delivered over the island to the Achaeans. This acquisition, made during the war, the Romans claimed as their own; for they said, that "it was not for Diophanes and the Achaeans that the consul Manius Acilius, and the Roman legions, fought at Thermopylae." Diophanes, in answer, sometimes apologized for himself and his nation; sometimes insisted on the justice of the proceeding. But several of the Achaeans testified that they had, from the beginning, disapproved of that business, and they now blamed the obstinacy of the praetor. Pursuant to their advice, a decree was made, that the affair should be left entirely to the disposal of Titus Quinctius. As Quinctius was severe to such as made opposition, so, when complied with, he was easily appeased. Laying aside, therefore, every thing stern in his voice and looks, he said,--"If, Achaeans, I thought the possession of that island advantageous to you, I would be the first to advise the senate and people of Rome to permit you to hold it. But as I see that a tortoise, when collected within its natural covering, is safe against blows of any kind, and whenever it thrusts out any of its limbs, it feels whatever it has thus uncovered, weak and liable to every injury: so you, in like manner, Achaeans, being enclosed on all sides by the sea, can easily unite among yourselves, and maintain by that union all that is comprehended within the limits of Peloponnesus; but whenever, through ambition of enlarging your possessions, you overstep these limits, then all that you hold beyond them is naked, and exposed to every attack." The whole assembly declaring their assent, and Diophanes not daring to give further opposition, Zacynthus was ceded to the Romans.

### 33

When the consul was on his march to Naupactum, king Philip proposed, that, if it was agreeable to him, he would, in the mean time, retake those cities that had revolted from their alliance with Rome. Having obtained permission so to do, he, about this time, marched his army to Demetrias, being well aware that great distraction prevailed there; for the garrison, being destitute of all hope of succour since they were abandoned by Antiochus, and having no reliance on the Aetolians, daily and nightly expected the arrival of Philip or the Romans, whom they had most reason to dread, as these were most justly incensed against them. There was, in the place, an irregular multitude of the king's soldiers, a few of whom had been at first left there as a garrison, but the greater part had fled thither after the defeat of his army, most of them without arms, and without either strength or courage sufficient to sustain a siege. Wherefore on Philip's

sending on messengers, to offer them hopes of pardon being obtainable, they answered, that their gates were open for the king. On his first entrance, several of the chiefs left the city; Eurylochus killed himself. The soldiers of Antiochus, in conformity to a stipulation, were escorted, through Macedonia and Thrace, by a body of Macedonians, and conducted to Lysimachia. There were, also, a few ships at Demetrias, under the command of Isidorus, which, together with their commander, were dismissed. Philip then reduced Dolopia, Aperantia, and several cities of Perrhaebia.

### 34

While Philip was thus employed, Titus Quinctius, after receiving from the Achaean council the cession of Zacynthus, crossed over to Naupactum, which had stood a siege of near two months, but was now reduced to a desperate condition; and it was supposed, that if it should be taken by storm, the whole nation of the Aetolians would be sunk thereby in utter destruction. But, although he was deservedly incensed against the Aetolians, from the recollection that they alone had attempted to depreciate his merits, when he was giving liberty to Greece; and had been in no degree influenced by his advice, when he endeavoured, by forewarning them of the events, which had since occurred, to deter them from their mad undertaking: nevertheless, thinking it particularly his business to take care that none of the states of Greece which had been liberated by himself should be entirely subverted, he first walked about near the walls, that he might be easily known by the Aetolians. He was quickly distinguished by the first advanced guards, and the news spread from rank to rank that Quinctius was there. On this, the people from all sides ran to the walls, and eagerly stretching out their hands, all in one joint cry besought Quinctius by name, to assist and save them. Although he was much affected by these entreaties, yet for that time he made signs with his hands, that they were to expect no assistance from him. However, when he met the consul he accosted him thus:--"Manius Acilius, are you unapprized of what is passing; or do you know it, and think it immaterial to the interest of the commonwealth?" This inflamed the consul with curiosity, and he replied, "But explain what is your meaning." Quinctius then said,--"Do you not see that, since the defeat of Antiochus, you have been wasting time in besieging two cities, though the year of your command is near expiring; but that Philip, who never faced the enemy, or even saw their standards, has annexed to his dominions such a number, not only of cities, but of nations,--Athamania, Perrhaebia, Aperantia, Dolopia? But, surely, we are not so deeply interested in diminishing the strength and resources of the Aetolians, as in hindering those of Philip from being augmented beyond measure; and in you, and your soldiers, not having yet gained, to reward your victory, as many towns as Philip has gained Grecian states."

### 35

The consul assented to these remarks, but a feeling of shame suggested itself to him--if he should abandon the siege with his purpose unaccomplished. At length the matter was left entirely to the management of Quinctius. He went again to that part of the wall whence the Aetolians had called to him a little before; and on their entreating him now, with still greater earnestness, to take compassion on the nation of the Aetolians, he desired that some of them might come out to him. Accordingly, Phaeneas himself, with some others of the principal men, instantly came and threw themselves at his feet. He then said,--"Your condition causes me to restrain my resentment and my reproofs. The events which I foretold have come to pass, and you have not even this reflection left you, that they have fallen upon you undeservedly. Nevertheless, since fate has, in some

manner, destined me to the office of cherishing the interests of Greece, I will not cease to show kindness even to the unthankful. Send intercessors to the consul, and let them petition him for a suspension of hostilities, for so long a time as will allow you to send ambassadors to Rome, to surrender yourselves to the will of the senate. I will intercede, and plead in your favour with the consul." They did as Quinctius directed; nor did the consul reject their application. He granted them a truce for a certain time, until the embassy might bring a reply from Rome; and then, raising the siege, he sent his army into Phocis. The consul, with Titus Quinctius, crossed over thence to Aegium, to confer with the council of the Achaeans about the Eleans, and also the restoration of the Lacedaemonian exiles. But neither was carried into execution, because the Achaeans chose to reserve to themselves the merit of effecting the latter; and the Eleans preferred being united to the Achaean confederacy by a voluntary act of their own, rather than through the mediation of the Romans. Ambassadors came hither to the consul from the Epirots, who, it was well known, had not with honest fidelity maintained the alliance. Although they had not furnished Antiochus with any soldiers, yet they were charged with having assisted him with money; and they themselves did not disavow having sent ambassadors to him. They requested that they might be permitted to continue on the former footing of friendship. To which the consul answered, that "he did not yet know whether he was to consider them as friends or foes. The senate must be the judge of that matter. He would therefore take no step in the business, but leave it to be determined at Rome; and for that purpose he granted them a truce of ninety days." When the Epirots, who were sent to Rome, addressed the senate, they rather enumerated hostile acts which they had not committed, than cleared themselves of those laid to their charge; and they received such an answer that they seemed rather to have obtained pardon than proved their innocence. About the same time ambassadors from king Philip were introduced to the senate, and presented his congratulations on their late successes. They asked leave to sacrifice in the Capitol, and to deposit an offering of gold in the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great. This was granted by the senate, and they presented a golden crown of a hundred pounds' weight. The senate not only answered the ambassadors with kindness, but gave them Demetrius, Philip's son, who was at Rome as an hostage, to be conducted home to his father.--Such was the conclusion of the war waged in Greece by the consul Manius Acilius against Antiochus.

### 36

The other consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, who had obtained by lot the province of Gaul, before he set out to the war which was to be waged against the Boians, demanded of the senate, by a decree, to order him money for the exhibition of games, which, when acting as propraetor in Spain, he had vowed at a critical time of a battle. His demand was deemed unprecedented and unreasonable, and they therefore voted, that "whatever games he had vowed, on his own single judgment, without consulting the senate, he should celebrate out of the spoils, if he had reserved any for the purpose; otherwise, at his own expense." Accordingly, Publius Cornelius exhibited those games through the space of ten days. About this time the temple of the great Idaean Mother was dedicated; which deity, on her being brought from Asia, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, and Publius Lucinius, the above-mentioned Publius Cornelius had conducted from the sea-side to the Palatine. In pursuance of a decree of the senate, Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, censors, in the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, had contracted for the erection of the goddess's temple; and thirteen years after it had been so contracted for, it was

dedicated by Marcus Junius Brutus, and games were celebrated on occasion of its dedication: in which, according to the account of Valerius Antias, dramatic entertainments were, for the first time, introduced into the Megalesian games. Likewise, Caius Licinius Lucullus, being appointed duumvir, dedicated the temple of Youth in the great circus. This temple had been vowed sixteen years before by Marcus Livius, consul, on the day wherein he cut off Hasdrubal and his army; and the same person, when censor, in the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, had contracted for the building of it. Games were also exhibited on occasion of this consecration, and every thing was performed with the greater degree of religious zeal, on account of the impending war with Antiochus.

### 37

At the beginning of the year in which those transactions passed, after Manius Acilius had gone to open the campaign, and while the other consul, Publius Cornelius, yet remained in Rome, two tame oxen, it is said, climbed up by ladders on the tiles of a house in the Carina. The aruspices ordered them to be burned alive, and their ashes to be thrown into the Tiber. It was reported, that several showers of stones had fallen at Tarracina and Amiternum; that, at Minturnae, the temple of Jupiter, and the shops round the forum, were struck by lightning; that, at Vulturnum, in the mouth of the river, two ships were struck by lightning, and burnt to ashes. On occasion of these prodigies, the decemvirs, being ordered by a decree of the senate to consult the Sibylline books, declared, that "a fast ought to be instituted in honour of Ceres, and the same observed every fifth year; that the nine days' worship ought to be solemnized, and a supplication for one day; and that they should observe the supplication, with garlands on their heads; also that the consul Publius Cornelius should sacrifice to such deities, and with such victims, as the decemvirs should direct." When he had used every means to avert the wrath of the gods, by duly fulfilling vows and expiating prodigies, the consul went to his province; and, ordering the proconsul Cneius Domitius to disband his army, and go home to Rome, he marched his own legions into the territory of the Boians.

### 38

Nearly at the same time, the Ligurians, having collected an army under the sanction of their devoting law, made an unexpected attack, in the night, on the camp of the proconsul Quintus Minucius. Minucius kept his troops, until daylight, drawn up within the rampart, and watchful to prevent the enemy from scaling any part of the fortifications. At the first light, he made a sally by two gates at once: but the Ligurians did not, as he had expected, give way to his first onset; on the contrary, they maintained a dubious contest for more than two hours. At last, as other and still other troops came out from the camp, and fresh men took the place of those who were wearied in the fight, the Ligurians, who besides other hardships, felt a great loss of strength from the want of sleep, betook themselves to flight. Above four thousand of the enemy were killed; the Romans and allies lost not quite three hundred. About two months after this, the consul Publius Cornelius fought a pitched battle with the army of the Boians with extraordinary success. Valerius Antias affirms, that twenty-eight thousand of the enemy were slain, and three thousand four hundred taken, with a hundred and twenty-four military standards, one thousand two hundred and thirty horses, and two hundred and forty-seven waggons; and that of the conquerors there fell one thousand four hundred and eighty-four. Though we may not entirely credit this writer with respect to the numbers, as in such exaggeration no writer is more extravagant, yet it is certain that the

victory on this occasion was very complete; because the enemy's camp was taken, while, immediately after the battle, the Boians surrendered themselves; and because a supplication was decreed by the senate on account of it, and victims of the greater kinds were sacrificed. About the same time Marcus Fulvius Nobilior entered the city in ovation, returning from Farther Spain. He carried with him twelve thousand pounds of silver, one hundred and thirty thousand silver denarii, and one hundred and twenty-seven pounds of gold.<sup>240</sup>

### 39

The consul, Publius Cornelius, having received hostages from the Boians, punished them so far as to appropriate almost one-half of their lands for the use of the Roman people, and into which they might afterwards, if they chose, send colonies. Then returning home in full confidence of a triumph, he dismissed his troops, and ordered them to attend on the day of his triumph at Rome. The next day after his arrival, he held a meeting of the senate, in the temple of Bellona, when he detailed to them the services he had performed, and demanded to ride through the city in triumph. Publius Sempronius Blaesus, tribune of the people, advised, that "the honour of a triumph should not be refused to Scipio, but postponed. Wars of the Ligurians," he said, "were always united with wars of the Gauls; for these nations, lying so near, sent mutual assistance to each other. If Publius Scipio, after subduing the Boians in battle, had either gone himself, with his victorious army, into the country of the Ligurians, or sent a part of his forces to Quintus Minucius, who was detained there, now the third year, by a war which was still undecided, that with the Ligurians might have been brought to an end: instead of which, he had, in order to procure a full attendance on his triumph, brought home the troops, who might have performed most material services to the state; and might do so still, if the senate thought proper, by deferring this token of victory, to redeem that which had been omitted through eager haste for a triumph. If they would order the consul to return with his legions into his province, and to give his assistance towards subduing the Ligurians, (for, unless these were reduced under the dominion and jurisdiction of the Roman people, neither would the Boians ever remain quiet,) there must be either peace or war with both. When the Ligurians should be subdued, Publius Cornelius, in quality of proconsul, might triumph, a few months later, after the precedent of many, who did not attain that honour until the expiration of their office."

### 40

To this the consul answered, that "neither had the province of Liguria fallen to his lot, nor had he waged war with the Ligurians, nor did he demand a triumph over them. He confidently hoped, that in a short time Quintus Minucius, after completing their reduction, would demand and obtain a well-deserved triumph. For his part, he demanded a triumph over the Boian Gauls, whom he had conquered in battle and had driven out of their camp; of whose whole nation he had received an absolute submission within two days after the fight; and from whom he had brought home hostages to secure peace in future. But there was another circumstance, of much greater magnitude: he had slain in battle so great a number of Gauls, that no commander, before him, ever met in the field so many thousands, at least of the Boians. Out of fifty thousand men, more than one-half were killed, and many thousands made prisoners; so that the Boians had now remaining only old men and boys. Could it, then, be a matter of surprise to any one, that

<sup>240</sup> This statement has been made before at the close of chapter 21, and is probably repeated here through inadvertence.

a victorious army, which had not left one enemy in the province, should come to Rome to attend the triumph of their consul? And if the senate should choose to employ the services of these troops in another province also, which of the two kinds of treatment could it be supposed would make them enter on a new course of danger and another laborious enterprise with the greater alacrity; the paying them the reward of their former toils and dangers without defalcation; or, the sending them away, with the prospect, instead of the reality, when they had once been disappointed in their first expectation? As to what concerned himself personally, he had acquired a stock of glory sufficient for his whole life, on that day, when the senate adjudged him to be the best man (in the state), and commissioned him to give a reception to the Idaean Mother. With this inscription (though neither consulship nor triumph were added) the statue of Publius Scipio Nasica would be sufficiently honoured and dignified." The unanimous senate not only gave their vote for the triumph, but by their influence prevailed on the tribune to desist from his protest. Publius Cornelius, the consul, triumphed over the Boians. In this procession he carried, on Gallic waggons, arms, standards, and spoils of all sorts; the brazen utensils of the Gauls; and, together with the prisoners of distinction, he led a train of captured horses. He deposited in the treasury a thousand four hundred and seventy golden chains; and besides these, two hundred and forty-five pounds' weight of gold; two thousand three hundred and forty pounds' weight of silver, some unwrought, and some formed in vessels of the Gallic fashion, not without beauty; and two hundred and thirty-four thousand denarii.<sup>241</sup> To the soldiers who followed his chariot, he distributed three hundred and twenty-five *asses*<sup>242</sup> each, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman. Next day, he summoned an assembly, and after expatiating on his own services, and the ill-treatment shown him by the tribune who wanted to entangle him in a way which did not belong to him, in order to defraud him of the fruits of his success, he absolved the soldiers of their oath and discharged them.

#### 41

While this passed in Italy, Antiochus was at Ephesus divested of all concern respecting the war with Rome, as supposing that the Romans had no intention of coming into Asia; which state of security was occasioned by the erroneous opinions or the flattering representations of the greater part of his friends. Hannibal alone, whose judgment was, at that time, the most highly respected by the king, declared, that "he rather wondered the Romans were not already in Asia than entertained a doubt of their coming. The passage was easier from Greece to Asia, than from Italy to Greece, and Antiochus constituted a much more important object than the Aetolians. For the Roman arms were not less powerful on sea than on land. Their fleet had long been at Malea, and he had heard that a reinforcement of ships and a new commander had lately come from Italy, with intent to enter on action. He therefore advised Antiochus not to form to himself vain hopes of peace. He must necessarily in a short time maintain a contest with the Romans both by sea and land, in Asia, and for Asia itself; and must either wrest the power from those who grasped at the empire of the world, or lose his own dominions." He seemed to be the only person who could foresee, and honestly foretell, what was to happen. The king, therefore, with the ships which were equipped and in readiness, sailed to the Chersonesus, in order to strengthen the places there with garrisons, lest the Romans should happen to come by land. He left orders with Polyxenidas to fit out

<sup>241</sup> £7,523. 16s. 2d.

<sup>242</sup> £1. 4s. 2-1/2d.

the rest of the fleet, and put to sea; and sent out advice-boats among the islands to procure intelligence of every thing that was passing.

#### 42

When Caius Livius, commander of the Roman fleet, sailed with fifty decked ships from Rome, he went to Neapolis, where he had appointed the rendezvous of the undecked ships, which were due by treaty from the allies on that coast; and thence he proceeded to Sicily, where, as he sailed through the strait beyond Messana, he was joined by six Carthaginian ships, sent to his assistance; and then, having collected the vessels due from the Rhegians, Locrians, and other allies, who were bound by the same conditions, he purified the fleet at Lacinium, and put forth into the open sea. On his arrival at Corcyra, which was the first Grecian country where he touched, inquiring about the state of the war, (for all matters in Greece were not yet entirely settled,) and about the Roman fleet, he was told, that the consul and the king were posted at the pass of Thermopylae, and that the fleet lay at Piraeus: on which, judging expedition necessary on every account, he sailed directly forward to Peloponnesus. Having on his passage ravaged Samos and Zacynthus, because they favoured the party of the Aetolians, he bent his course to Malea; and, meeting very favourable weather, arrived in a few days at Piraeus, where he joined the old fleet. At Scyllaeum he was met by king Eumenes, with three ships, who had long hesitated at Aegina whether he should go home to defend his own kingdom, on hearing that Antiochus was preparing both marine and land forces at Ephesus; or whether he should unite himself inseparably to the Romans, on whose destiny his own depended. Aulus Atilius, having delivered to his successor twenty-five decked ships, sailed from Piraeus for Rome. Livius, with eighty-one beaked ships, besides many others of inferior rates, some of which were open and furnished with beaks, others without beaks, fit for advice-boats, crossed over to Delos.

#### 43

At this time, the consul Acilius was engaged in the siege of Naupactum. Livius was detained several days at Delos by contrary winds, for that tract among the Cyclades, which are separated in some places by larger straits, in others by smaller, is extremely subject to storms. Polyxenidas, receiving intelligence from his scout-ships, which were stationed in various places, that the Roman fleet lay at Delos, sent off an express to the king, who, quitting the business in which he was employed in Hellespontus, and taking with him all the ships of war, returned to Ephesus with all possible speed, and instantly called a council to determine whether he should risk an engagement at sea. Polyxenidas affirmed, that no delay should be incurred; "it was particularly requisite so to do, before the fleet of Eumenes and the Rhodian ships should join the Romans; in which case, even, they would scarcely be inferior in number, and in every other particular would have a great superiority, by reason of the agility of their vessels, and a variety of auxiliary circumstances. For the Roman ships, being unskilfully constructed, were slow in their motions; and, besides that, as they were coming to an enemy's coast, they would be heavily laden with provisions; whereas their own, leaving none but friends in all the countries round, would have nothing on board but men and arms. Moreover that their knowledge of the sea, of the adjacent lands, and of the winds, would be greatly in their favour; of all which the Romans being ignorant, would find themselves much distressed." In advising this plan he influenced all, especially as the same person who gave the advice was also to carry it into execution. Two days only were passed in making preparations; and on the third, setting sail with a hundred ships, of which

seventy had decks, and the rest were open, but all of the smaller rates, they steered their course to Phocaea. The king, as he did not intend to be present in the naval combat, on hearing that the Roman fleet was approaching, withdrew to Magnesia, near Sipylus, to collect his land forces, while his ships proceeded to Cysus, a port of Erythraea, where it was supposed they might with more convenience wait for the enemy. The Romans, as soon as the north wind, which had held for several days, ceased, sailed from Delos to Phanae, a port in Chios, opposite the Aegaeon sea. They afterwards brought round the fleet to the city of Chios, and having taken in provisions there, sailed over to Phocaea. Eumenes, who had gone to join his fleet at Elaea, returned a few days after, with twenty-four decked ships, and a greater number of open ones, to Phocaea, where were the Romans, who were fitting and preparing themselves for a sea-fight. Then setting sail with a hundred and five decked ships, and about fifty open ones, they were for some time driven forcibly towards the land, by a north wind blowing across its course. The ships were thereby obliged to go, for the most part, singly, one after another, in a thin line; afterwards, when the violence of the wind abated, they endeavoured to stretch over to the harbour of Corycus, beyond Cysus.

#### 44

When intelligence was brought to Polyxenidas that the enemy were approaching, he rejoiced at an opportunity of engaging them, and drew out the left squadron towards the open sea, at the same time ordering the commanders of the ships to extend the right division towards the land; and then advanced to the fight, with his fleet in a regular line of battle. The Roman commander, on seeing this, furled his sails, lowered his masts, and, at the same time adjusting his rigging, waited for the ships which were coming up. There were now about thirty in the line; and in order that his left squadron might form a front in like direction, he hoisted his top-sails, and stretched out into the deep, ordering the others to push forward, between him and the land, against the right squadron of the enemy. Eumenes brought up the rear; who, as soon as he saw the bustle of taking down the rigging begin, likewise brought up his ships with all possible speed. All their ships were by this time in sight; two Carthaginian vessels, however, which advanced before the Romans, came across three belonging to the king. As the numbers were unequal, two of the king's ships fell upon one, and, in the first place, swept away the oars from both its sides; the armed mariners then boarded, and killing some of its defenders and throwing others into the sea, took the ship. The one which had engaged in an equal contest, on seeing her companion taken, before she could be surrounded by the three, fled back to the fleet. Livius, fired with indignation, bore down with the praetorian ship against the enemy. The two which had overpowered the Carthaginian ship, in hopes of the same success against this one, advanced to the attack, on which he ordered the rowers on both sides to plunge their oars in the water, in order to hold the ship steady, and to throw grappling-irons into the enemy's vessels as they came up. Having, by these means, rendered the business something like a fight on land, he desired his men to bear in mind the courage of Romans, and not to regard the slaves of a king as men. Accordingly, this single ship now defeated and captured the two, with more ease than the two had before taken one. By this time the entire fleets were engaged and intermixed with each other. Eumenes, who had come up last, and after the battle was begun, when he saw the left squadron of the enemy thrown into disorder by Livius, directed his own attack against their right, where the contest was yet equal.

#### 45

In a short time a flight commenced, in the first instance, with the left squadron: for Polyxenidas, perceiving that he was evidently overmatched with respect to the bravery of the men, hoisted his top-sails, and betook himself to flight; and, quickly after, those who had engaged with Eumenes near the land did the same. The Romans and Eumenes pursued with much perseverance, as long as the rowers were able to hold out, and they had any prospect of annoying the rear of the enemy; but finding that the latter, by reason of the lightness and fleetness of their ships, baffled every effort that could be made by theirs, loaded as they were with provisions, they at length desisted, having taken thirteen ships together with the soldiers and rowers, and sunk ten. Of the Roman fleet, only the one Carthaginian ship, which, at the beginning of the action, had been attacked by two, was lost. Polyxenidas continued his flight, until he got into the harbour of Ephesus. The Romans staid, during the remainder of that day, in the port from which the king's fleet had sailed out, and on the day following proceeded in the pursuit. In the midst of their course they were met by twenty-five Rhodian decked ships, under Pausistratus, the commander of the fleet, and in conjunction with these followed the runaways to Ephesus, where they stood for some time, in order of battle, before the mouth of the harbour. Having thus extorted from the enemy a full confession of their being defeated, and having sent home the Rhodians and Eumenes, the Romans steered their course to Chios. When they had passed Phaenicus, a port of Erythraea, they cast anchor for the night; and proceeding next day to the island, came up to the city itself. After halting here a few days for the purpose chiefly of refreshing the rowers, they sailed over to Phocaea. Here they left four quinque remes for the defence of the city, and proceeded to Cannae, where, as the winter now approached, the ships were hauled on shore, and surrounded with a trench and rampart. At the close of the year, the elections were held at Rome, in which were chosen consuls, Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Laelius, from whom all men expected the conclusion of the war with Antiochus. Next day were elected praetors, Marcus Tuccius, Lucius Aurunculeius, Cneius Fulvius, Lucius Aemilius, Publius Junius, and Caius Atinius Labeo.

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## Book XXXVII

*Lucius Cornelius Scipio the consul, having as lieutenant Publius Scipio Africanus, (who had declared that he would be his brother's lieutenant if the province of Greece was decreed to him, when that province appeared likely to be assigned to Caius Lælius, who had great influence in the senate,) set out to wage war against Antiochus, and was the first Roman general that ever passed over into Asia. Æmilius Regillus, with the assistance of the Rhodians, fought successfully against the royal fleet of Antiochus at Myonnesus. The son of Africanus, having been taken by Antiochus, was sent back to his father. Manius Acilius Glabrio triumphed over Antiochus, whom he had driven out of Greece, and over the Ætolians. Antiochus being subsequently conquered by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, with the aid of Eumenes, son of Attalus, and king of Pergamus, peace was granted to him on these terms—that he should evacuate all the provinces on this side Mount Taurus. The kingdom of Eumenes, through whose assistance Antiochus had been conquered, was enlarged. Some states were granted to the Rhodians too, who also had assisted them. The colony of Bononia was founded. Æmilius Regillus, who had conquered the admirals of Antiochus in a naval engagement, triumphed. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who had brought the war with Antiochus to a conclusion, was called Asiaticus, attaining to an equality with his brother by this surname.*

### 1

Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Lælius being consuls, no business, after the duties of religion, was transacted in the senate prior to that of the Ætolians. Not only their ambassadors were urgent, because they had a truce of a short period, but they were aided by Titus Quinctius also, who had then returned to Rome from Greece. The Ætolians, as being persons to whom there was more hope in the mercy of the senate than in their cause, acted suppliantly, weighing their by-gone services against their recent misconduct. But when present, they were importuned by questions of the senators, wringing from them an acknowledgment of their guilt rather than replies, and when ordered to depart from the senate, they caused a great contest. Resentment had more power in their case than compassion; for the senate were incensed against them not merely as enemies, but as an uncivilized and unsocial race. After it had been contested several days, it was at last resolved, that peace should neither be granted nor refused. Two conditions were offered them, either that they should yield to the senate unconditional power over them, or pay one thousand talents,<sup>243</sup> and have the same friends and enemies. To them, desirous to elicit in what things they should give to the senate unconditional power over them, no positive answer is given; but being thus dismissed, without having concluded a peace, they were ordered to quit the city that very day, and Italy within fifteen days. They then began to debate concerning the provinces for the consuls. Both of these wished for Greece. Lælius had a powerful interest in the senate; and when the senate had ordered that the consuls should either cast lots for the provinces, or settle them between themselves, he observed, that they would act with more propriety in leaving that matter to the wisdom of the senators, than to the decision of lot. To this Scipio, an answer being given that he would take advice how he ought to act, having spoken to his brother alone, and having been desired

<sup>243</sup> 193,750*l.*

by him to leave it unhesitatingly to the senate, answered his colleague that he would do what he recommended. When this plan, either original or supported by precedents of a record now lost by antiquity, being referred to the senate, had aroused them by the expectation of a contest, Publius Scipio Africanus said, that "if they decreed that province to his brother, Lucius Scipio, he would go along with him, as his lieutenant-general." This proposal being received with universal approbation, put an end to all dispute. The senate were well pleased to make the trial, whether king Antiochus should have more effectual aid in the vanquished Hannibal, or the Roman consul and legions in his conqueror Africanus; and they almost all voted Greece to Scipio, and Italy to Lælius. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces: Lucius Aurunculeius obtained the city jurisdiction; Cneius Fulvius, the foreign; Lucius Æmilius Regillus, the fleet; Publius Junius Brutus, the Tuscans; Marcus Tuccius, Apulia and Bruttium; and Caius Atinius, Sicily.

## 2

Then to the consul to whom the province of Greece had been decreed, in addition to the army which he was about to receive from M. Acilius, (but they were two legions,) three thousand Roman foot and one hundred horse, and of the Latin confederates five thousand foot and two hundred horse, are added as a reinforcement; and it was further ordered, that if, when he arrived in his province, he would judge it conducive to the public interest, he should be at liberty to carry over the army into Asia. To the other consul was decreed an army entirely new; two Roman legions, and of the Latin confederates fifteen thousand foot and six hundred horse. Quintius Minucius was ordered to remove his forces out of Liguria (for he had written, that the province was completely subdued, and that the whole nation of the Ligurians had surrendered) into the country of the Boians, and to give up the command to Publius Cornelius, proconsul. The two city legions, enlisted the year before, about to be brought home from the country in which Cornelius had fined the conquered Boians, were assigned to Marcus Tuccius, prætor, together with fifteen thousand foot and six hundred horse, of the Latin confederates, to occupy Apulia and Bruttium. Orders were given to Aulus Cornelius, a prætor of the preceding year, who occupied Bruttium with an army, that if the consul judged it proper, he should transport his legions into Ætolia, and give them to Manius Acilius, provided the latter was inclined to remain there; but if Acilius wished to come to Rome, that then Aulus Cornelius should stay in Ætolia with that army. It was resolved that Caius Atinius Labeo should receive from Marcus Æmilius the province of Sicily, and the army there; and should, if he deemed it proper, enlist in the province itself two thousand foot and one hundred horse, for a reinforcement. Publius Junius Brutus was ordered to raise a new army for Tuscany, consisting of one Roman legion, and ten thousand foot of the allies and Latin nation, and four hundred horse. Lucius Æmilius, whose province was the sea, was ordered to receive from Marcus Junius, prætor of the former year, twenty ships of war, with their crews, and himself to enlist one thousand marines and two thousand foot soldiers, with which ships and soldiers he [ ] was to sail to Asia, and receive the command of the fleet from Caius Livius. To the governors of the two Spains and Sardinia, their command is prolonged for a year, and the same armies were decreed them. Sicily and Sardinia were, this year, assessed in two-tenths of their corn. All the corn from Sicily was ordered to be carried into Ætolia, to the army there; of that to be collected from Sardinia, one-half to Rome, and the other half into Ætolia, for the same use as the corn from Sicily.

## 3

It was judged proper, that, previous to the departure of the consuls for their provinces, the prodigies should be expiated under the direction of the pontiffs. The temple of Juno Lucina, at Rome, was struck by lightning in such a manner, that the summit and the folding-doors were much damaged. At Puteoli, the wall and a gate were struck by lightning in several parts, and two men killed. It was clearly proved, that, at Nursia, in the midst of a calm, a tempest suddenly burst forth; and there also two freemen were killed. The Tusculans reported, that a shower of earth fell in their country; and the Reatines, that a mule brought forth, young in theirs. These prodigies were expiated, and the Latin festival was celebrated a second time, because the flesh-meat, which ought to be given to the Laurentians, had not been given them. There was also a supplication made on account of those religious fears; the decemvirs gave directions from the books, to which of the gods it should be performed. Ten free-born youths, and ten virgins, all of whom had their fathers and mothers living, were employed in that ceremony; and the decemvirs sacrificed sucklings by night. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, before he left the city, erected an arch on the Capitol, facing the road by which we ascend to it, with seven gilded statues and two horses, and placed two marble cisterns in the front of the arch. During that period, forty-three of the principal Ætolians, among whom were Damocritus and his brother, were brought to Rome by two cohorts, sent by Manius Acilius, and were thrown into the prison called Lautumiaë, or the quarry. Lucius Cornelius the consul ordered the cohorts after that to return to the army. Ambassadors came from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, congratulating the Romans because the consul Manius Acilius had driven king Antiochus out of Greece, and advising that they should carry over their army into Asia. For "all places, not only in Asia, but also in Syria, were filled with consternation; and the king and queen of Egypt would be prepared to do those things which the senate should direct." Thanks were returned to the king and queen, and presents were ordered to be made to the ambassadors, four thousand *asses*<sup>244</sup> to each.

#### 4

The consul Lucius Cornelius, having finished what was necessary to be done at Rome, gave public notice, in an assembly of the people, that the soldiers, whom he himself had enlisted for a reinforcement, and those who were in Bruttium with Aulus Cornelius, proprætor, should all meet him at Brundisium on the ides of July. He likewise appointed three lieutenants-general, Sextus Digitius, Lucius Apustius, and Caius Fabricius Luscinius; who were to bring together ships from all parts of the sea-coast to Brundisium; and now, every thing being ready, he set out from the city in his military robe of state. About five thousand volunteers of the Romans and allies, who had served out their campaigns, under the command of Publius Africanus, attended the consul at his departure, and gave in their names. At the time in which the consul set out to the war during the celebration of the Apollinarian games, on the fifth day before the ides of July, though the sky was serene, the light was obscured in the middle of the day, when the moon passed beneath the orb of the sun. L. Æmilius Regillus, to whom the sea had fallen as his province, set out at the same time. To Lucius Aurunculeius this business was assigned by the senate, that he should build thirty quinqueremes and twenty triremes, because there was a report that Antiochus, since the engagement at sea, was fitting out a much larger fleet. The Ætolians, after the ambassadors brought back word from Rome that there was no hope of peace, although their whole sea-coast, which was

<sup>244</sup> 12l. 18s. 4d.

opposite to Peloponnesus, was ravaged by the Achæans, regarding the danger more than their losses, seized on Mount Corax, in order to shut up the pass against the Romans; for they had no doubt that they would return in the beginning of spring to the siege of Naupactum. It appeared better to Acilius, who knew that this was expected, to attempt a thing that was not anticipated, and to lay siege to Lamia; for the garrison had been reduced by Philip almost to a state of desperation; and being then off their guard, because they feared no such attempt, might be surprised by himself. Marching from Elatia, he formed his first encampment in the enemy's country, on the banks of the river Sperchius, and decamping thence in the night, he at break of day attacked the town with a line of troops that encircled it.

## 5

As is usual in an unexpected affair, great consternation and tumult ensued; yet the besieged, with greater resolution than any one could suppose them capable of under such a sudden alarm, when the men fought, and the women brought weapons of every kind, and stones, to the walls, defended the city for that day, although the scaling ladders were raised against the walls. About mid-day, Acilius, the signal for retreat being given, drew off his men to their camp. After their bodies were refreshed by food and rest, before he dismissed the meeting in the Prætorium, he gave them notice, "to be ready and under arms before day; and that they were not to return to their tents until the city should be taken." Next day, at the same hour as before, having began the assault in a greater number of places, as not only the strength, but also the weapons, and above all, the courage of the garrison began to fail, he took the town in the space of a few hours. One half of the spoil found there was sold in parcels; the other was divided among the soldiers; and a council was held to determine what he should next undertake. No one approved of going against Naupactum, while the pass at Corax was occupied by the Ætolians. That, however, the summer campaign might not be an idle one, and that the Ætolians might not through his supineness possess the peace that they could not obtain from the senate, Acilius resolved to besiege Amphissa; his army was led thither from Heraclea by Ceta. Having encamped under the walls, he proceeded to attack the town, not by general assault, as at Lamia, but by regular approaches. The ram was brought up to the walls in many places at once; and though these were shaken by it, yet the townsmen never attempted to provide or contrive any sort of defence against such a description of mechanism. All their hope was in arms and courage. By frequent sallies they much annoyed not only the advanced guards of the Romans, but even those who were employed at the works and machines.

## 6

However, the wall was broken down in many places, when word was brought, that his successor, having landed his army at Apollonia, was coming through Epirus and Thessaly. The consul came with thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. He had already arrived at the Malian bay; and after that, to his messengers sent forward to Hypata, to order a surrender of the city, this response was given, that they would do nothing except by the common consent of the Ætolians: that the siege of Hypata might not detain him while Amphissa was not yet recovered, having sent forward his brother Africanus, he leads his forces to Amphissa. A little before their arrival, the towns-people having abandoned the city, for it was now, for the most part, stripped of its walls; all, armed and unarmed, retired into the citadel, which they deemed an impregnable fortress. The consul pitched his camp at the distance of about six miles from the town;

and thither came ambassadors from the Athenians, addressing, first, Publius Scipio, who preceded the main body as before mentioned, and afterwards the consul, with earnest supplications in favour of the Ætolians. They received a milder answer from Africanus, who, wishing for an honourable pretext for relinquishing the Ætolian war, was directing his views towards Asia and king Antiochus, and had recommended to the Athenians to persuade, not only the Romans, but the Ætolians likewise, to prefer peace to war. By the advice of the Athenians a numerous embassy of the Ætolians came speedily from Hypata, and the discourse of Africanus, whom they addressed first, augmented their hopes of peace; for he mentioned, that “many nations and states, first in Spain, and afterwards in Africa, had thrown themselves on his protection; and that, in all of them, he had left greater monuments of clemency and kindness than of military prowess.” The business seemed to be concluded, when the consul, on being applied to, repeated the very same answer with which they had been driven off by the senate. When the Ætolians were thunderstruck at this, as if they had never heard it before, (for they now perceived that no progress was made either from the Athenian embassy or the favourable reply of Africanus,) they said that they wished to consult their countrymen on the affair.

## 7

They then returned to Hypata, nor were their plans cleared of difficulties. For they had no means of paying the thousand talents; and, in case of an unconditional submission, they dreaded lest cruelty should be inflicted on their persons. They, therefore, ordered the same ambassadors to return to the consul and Africanus, and to request, that if they meant in reality to grant them peace, and not merely to amuse them with a prospect of it, frustrating the hopes of the wretched, they would either remit some part of the money required to be paid, or order that the unconditional submission should not extend to their persons. Nothing was accomplished whereby the consul might change his resolution; and that embassy, also, was dismissed without effect. The Athenian ambassadors accompanied them. And Echedemus, their principal in the embassy, recalled to hope the Ætolians, dejected by so many repulses, and deploring with unavailing lamentations the hard fate of their nation—by advising them to request a suspension of arms for six months, in order that they might send an embassy to Rome. He urged that “the delay could add nothing to their present calamities, which were already severe in the extreme; but that, if time intervened, their present calamities might be alleviated by many chances. Agreeably to this advice of Echedemus, the same ambassadors were sent again; who, making their first application to Publius Scipio, obtained, through him, from the consul, a suspension of arms for the time they desired: and the siege of Amphissa being raised, Manius Acilius, the army being delivered to the consul, left the province; and the consul returned from Amphissa into Thessaly, with intention of leading his troops into Asia through Macedonia and Thrace. Here Africanus said to his brother, Lucius Scipio, “I also, Lucius Scipio, approve of the route which you adopt. But the whole matter rests on the inclinations of Philip; for if he be faithful to our government, he will afford us a passage, and provisions and all things which support and aid an army on a long march. But if he should fail in this, you will find no safety in any part of Thrace. In my opinion, therefore, the king’s disposition ought in the first place to be discovered. He will be best tested if the person who shall be sent will come suddenly upon him, doing nothing by a preconcerted plan.” Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a young man, the most active of all the youths at that time, being selected for this purpose, by means of relays of horses, and travelling with almost

incredible expedition, made good the journey from Amphissa, whence he had been despatched, to Pella, on the third day. The king was sitting at a banquet, and was far gone in his cups: that very relaxation of mind removed all suspicion of any intention of changing his measures. His guest was kindly entertained for the present; and next day he saw provisions in abundance already prepared for the army, bridges made over rivers, and roads fortified where the passage was difficult. As he was bringing back this intelligence, with the same speed which he had used in coming, he met the consul at Thaumaci. From this the army rejoicing, marched with more certain and greater hopes into Macedon, where all things were prepared. On their arrival, the king received them with royal magnificence, and accompanied them on their march. Much pleasantry and good humour appeared in him, which recommended him much to Africanus, a man who, as he was unparalleled in other respects, was not averse to courteousness unaccompanied by luxury. Passing from this not only through Macedon, but also through Thrace, they arrived at the Hellespont, Philip escorting them and making every preparation.

## 8

Antiochus, after the sea-fight at Corycus, when he had the whole winter disengaged to carry on his preparations by land and water, was chiefly intent on the refitting of his ships, lest he should be entirely excluded from the sea. It occurred to him that he had been defeated when the Rhodian fleet was absent; if this fleet were present in an engagement, (and the Rhodians would certainly not be guilty of being late a second time,) he required a vast number of ships to equal the fleet of the enemy, in the strength of their crews and size of their vessels. For this reason, he sent Hannibal into Syria, to bring in the Phœnician navy, and gave orders to Polyxenidas, that, the more unsuccessfully affairs had been managed before, the more diligently he should now repair the ships which he had, and procure others. He himself passed the winter in Phrygia, calling in auxiliaries from every quarter. He had even sent for that purpose to Gallogræcia. The people of that country were then more warlike than at present, retaining the Gallic spirit, as the generation which had emigrated thither was not yet extinct. He had left his son Seleucus with an army in Æolia, to keep in obedience the maritime cities, which on one side Eumenes from Pergamus, on the other, the Romans from Phocæa and Erythræ, were soliciting to revolt. The Roman fleet, as mentioned before, wintered at Canæ; thither, about the middle of the season, came king Eumenes, with two thousand foot and one hundred horse. He, when he affirmed that vast quantities of spoil might be brought off from the enemy's country round Thyatira; by his persuasions, prevailed on Livius to send with him five thousand soldiers. Those that were sent within a few days carried off an immense booty.

## 9

Meanwhile a sedition broke out at Phocæa, in consequence of some endeavouring to bring over the multitude to the party of Antiochus. The winter quarters of the ships were burdensome: the tribute was burdensome, because five hundred gowns with five hundred tunics were exacted from them: the scarcity of corn was also galling, on account of which the ships also and garrison of Rome evacuated the place. The faction which laboured in their assemblies to draw the commonalty over to Antiochus, was now freed from all apprehension: the senate, and higher ranks, were of opinion that they should persevere in the alliance with Rome. But the advisers of a revolt had greater influence with the multitude. The Rhodians, the earlier in proportion to their having

been too late in the former summer, sent in the vernal equinox, as commander of their fleet, with thirty-six ships, the same Pausistratus. At this time Livius, with thirty ships and seven quadriremes, which king Eumenes had brought with him, was on his passage from Canæ to the Hellespont, in order to prepare every thing necessary for the transportation of the army, which he expected to come by land. He first brought his fleet into the harbour called the Achæan; whence he went up to Ilium, and having offered sacrifice to Minerva, gave a kind reception to the embassies from the states in the neighbourhood, from Elæus, Dardanum, and Rhetæum, surrendering their respective states to him. Then he sailed to the entrance of the Hellespont; and, leaving ten ships stationed opposite to Abydos, he crossed over to Europe with the rest of the fleet, to attack Sestos. As the troops were advancing up to the walls, first of all inspired priests of Cybele,<sup>245</sup> in their solemn dress, met them before the gate. These said, that, "by order of the mother of the gods, they, the immediate servants of the goddess, were come to pray the Roman commander to spare the walls and the city." None of them was injured; and, presently, the whole senate and the magistrates came out to surrender the place. The fleet then sailed over to Abydos; where when, their minds being sounded by conferences, no peaceable answer was given, they prepared themselves for a siege.

## 10

While these transactions are carried on at the Hellespont, Polyxenidas, the commander of the king's fleet, (but he was an exile from Rhodes,) having heard that the ships of his countrymen had sailed from home, and that Pausistratus, who commanded them, had, in a public speech, uttered several haughty and contemptuous expressions respecting him, and having conceived a particular jealousy against him, considered nothing else, night or day, than that by his acts he should refute his boastful words. He sent a person, who was known to him, to say, that "if it were allowed, he would be of great service to Pausistratus, and to his native country; and that he might be restored by Pausistratus to his country." When Pausistratus, in surprise, asked by what means such things could be effected; and pledged his faith to the other, at his request, that he would either concur in the execution of the design, or bury it in silence; the emissary then told him, that "Polyxenidas would deliver into his hands, either the whole of the king's fleet or the greater part of it; and as a reward, he stipulated for nothing more, than a return to his native country." The importance of the business had this effect, that he neither believed nor despised his proposition. He sailed to Panormus, in the Samian territory, and stopped there in order to examine thoroughly the business which was proposed to him. Messengers passed rapidly from both parties, nor was confidence inspired into Pausistratus until, in the presence of his messenger, Polyxenidas wrote, with his own hand, an engagement that he would perform all that he had promised, and sent the tablets sealed with his own seal. By such a pledge as this, he thought that the traitor was completely engaged to him. For, "that he who lived under a king would never act so absurdly as to give evidence of guilt against himself, attested by his own signature." The method of conducting the pretended plot was then settled: Polyxenidas said that "he would neglect every kind of preparation; that he would not keep any considerable numbers on board, either of rowers or mariners; that he would haul up on land some of the ships, under pretence of refitting them; would send away others into the neighbouring ports, and keep a few at sea before the harbour of Ephesus; which, if circumstances made it necessary to come out, he would expose to a battle." The

<sup>245</sup> Called Galli, and Corybantès.

negligence which Pausistratus heard that Polyxenidas was about to use in his fleet, he himself immediately practised. Part of his ships he sent to Halicarnassus to bring provisions, another part to the city of Samos, while he himself waited at Panormus, that he might be ready when he should receive the signal of attack from the traitor. Polyxenidas encouraged his mistake by counterfeiting neglect; hauled up some ships, and, as if he intended to haul up others, put the docks in repair; he did not call the rowers from their winter quarters to Ephesus, but assembled them secretly at Magnesia.

## 11

By chance one of Antiochus's soldiers, when he had come to Samos on account of private business, being seized as a spy, is brought to Panormus to the admiral. This man, it is uncertain whether through fear or treachery towards his countrymen, disclosed all things to him, inquiring what was going on at Ephesus: that the fleet lay in harbour, fully equipped and ready for sea; that all the rowers had been sent to Magnesia (at Sipylos); that very few of the ships had been hauled on land; that the docks were shut, and that never was the business of the fleet conducted with greater diligence. But the mind of Pausistratus, prepossessed by misplaced confidence and vain hopes, caused these things not to be attended to as true. Polyxenidas, having fully adjusted all his measures, having called in the rowers from Magnesia, and launched hastily the ships that were in dock, by night, after wasting the day not so much in preparation as because he was unwilling that the fleet should be seen going to sea, set sail after sun-set with seventy decked ships, and, the wind being contrary, put into the harbour of Pygelia before daylight. Where when he had rested during the day, for the same reason as before, he passed over, in the night to the nearest part of the Samian territory. From this place, having ordered a certain Nicander, a chief pirate, to sail with five decked ships to Palinurus, and thence to lead his armed men by the shortest road through the fields towards Panormus, and so to come behind the enemy; he himself, in the mean time, with his fleet in two divisions, in order that it might command the mouth of the harbour on both sides, proceeded to Panormus. Pausistratus was at first confused for a little, as the thing was unexpected; but afterwards, being an old soldier, having quickly regained his courage, and judging that the enemy would be more easily repelled by land than by sea, he marched his armed forces in two bodies to the promontories, which, by their heads projecting into the deep, formed the harbour; under the impression that he could easily repel the enemy by weapons on both sides, from the two promontories. When the sight of Nicander on the land had disconcerted this undertaking, having suddenly changed his design, he ordered all to go on board the ships. Then truly a great confusion arose among soldiers and sailors alike, and a sort of flight to the ships took place, when they perceived themselves surrounded by land and sea at the same time. Pausistratus supposed that the only way of safety was to force through the narrow entrance of the port, and push out into the open sea; and after that he saw his men embarked, ordering the rest to follow, he himself the first, with ship urged vigorously by the oars, pressed to the mouth of the harbour. Just as his ship was clearing the entrance, Polyxenidas, with three quinqueremes, surrounded it. The vessel, shattered by their beaks, sunk; the crew were overwhelmed with weapons, and, among them, Pausistratus, fighting gallantly, was slain. Of the rest of the ships, some were taken outside of the harbour, some within, and others by Nicander, while they were putting off from the shore. Only five Rhodian and two Coan ships effected an escape, a passage being made for them through the thick of the enemy, by the terror of shining flames; for they carried before them, on two poles

projecting from their prows, a great quantity of fire contained in iron vessels. The galleys of Erythræ, after meeting not far from Samos the Rhodian ships, then flying, which they were coming to succour, bore away to the Romans in the direction of the Hellespont. About the same time, Seleucus got possession of Phocæa by treachery, one gate being opened by the sentinels. Cyme, with the other cities on that coast, revolted to him through fear.

## 12

Whilst these events are taking place in Æolis, after Abydos, which was defended by a garrison of the king's troops, had sustained a siege of several days, all parties then grew weary of the struggle, and the magistrates, with the permission of Philotas, the commander of the garrison, began to treat with Livius, concerning the terms on which they should surrender the city. Because they could not agree whether the king's troops should march out with their arms, or without them, this question protracted the matter. When the intelligence of the destruction of the Rhodians interrupted them, treating of these things, the matter was dropped. For Livius, fearing lest Polyxenidas, elated by his recent success in such an important enterprise, might surprise the fleet which lay at Canæ, instantly abandoned the siege of Abydos and the guard of the Hellespont, and drew out the ships that were in dock at Canæ, and Eumenes came to Elæa. Livius, with the whole fleet, to which he had joined two triremes of Mitylene, sailed to Phocæa; but, having learned that this place was held, by a strong garrison of the king's troops, and that the camp of Seleucus was not far distant, he ravaged the sea-coast, hastily conveying on board the booty, which consisted chiefly of men, and waiting only until Eumenes, with his fleet, came up, he endeavours to reach Samos. Among the Rhodians, the news of their misfortune excited, at first, both consternation, and the greatest grief, at the same time. For, besides the loss of their ships and soldiers, they had lost the flower and strength of their youth; many young men of distinction having been induced, among other motives, by the character of Pausistratus, which was deservedly very high among his countrymen. Afterwards, because they had been circumvented by treachery, and by a countryman of their own, above all men, their grief was changed into anger. They sent out ten ships immediately, and, in a few days, ten more, Eudamus being commander of all; who, though far inferior to Pausistratus in warlike qualifications, they supposed would be a more cautious leader, as he was not of so high a spirit. The Romans, and king Eumenes, put in their fleet, first, at Erythræ; and, having staid there one night, they, on next day, reached Corycus, a promontory in Teios. When they intended to pass over hence, to the nearest part of the Samian territory; not waiting for the rising of the sun, from which the pilots could learn the state of the weather, they exposed themselves to the varying storm. About the middle of the passage, the wind changing from north-east to north, they began to be tossed about on the sea, stormy with billows.

## 13

Polyxenidas, taking it for granted that the enemy would go to Samos to join the Rhodian fleet, set sail from Ephesus, and stopped first at Myonnesus, from whence he crossed over to the island which they call Macris; in order that, when the enemy's fleet should sail by, he might be able to attack, with advantage, either any ships that straggled from the main body, or might attack the rear of the fleet itself. After that he saw the fleet dispersed by the storm, first of all he thought this a good opportunity to attack it; but, in a little time, the wind increasing and raising a heavy sea, because he could not possibly

come up with them, he steered to the island of Æthalia, that, from thence, he might next day fall on the ships, as they made for Samos, from the main sea. A small number of Roman vessels, just as it grew dark, got into a desert harbour on the Samian coast; the rest, after being tossed about all night, ran into the same harbour. Then when it was learned from the country people, that the enemy's fleet lay at Æthalia, a consultation was held whether they should attack them immediately, or wait for that of the Rhodian fleet. The attack being deferred, for so they resolved, they sailed away to Corycus, whence they had come. Polyxenidas also, having kept his station for some time, without effecting any thing, returned to Ephesus. On this the Roman ships, the sea being clear of the enemy, sailed to Samos. The Rhodian fleet came to the same place after a few days. And that it might appear that they were only waiting for this, they immediately sailed away to Ephesus, that they should either decide it in a naval contest, or, in case the enemy should decline a battle, to extort from them a confession of fear, which would have the best effect on the minds of the states of Asia. They lay opposite the entrance of the harbour, with the fleet formed in a line abreast of it, but none came out against them; the fleet being divided, one part lay at anchor before the mouth of the harbour, the other landed a body of soldiers. Andronicus, a Macedonian, who was in garrison at Ephesus, then made a sally against them, driving off great booty from the widely-deserted country; when they came near the walls, he stripped them of the greatest part of their plunder, and drove them down to the shore and their ships. On the day following, the Romans, having laid an ambuscade about the middle of the way, marched in a body to the city, in order to entice the Macedonians out of the gates. Then, when that same fear had deterred any one from coming out, the Romans returned to their ships. And the enemy avoiding a contest by land or sea, the fleet sailed back to Samos, whence it came. The prætor then detached two Rhodian triremes, and two belonging to the Italian allies, under the command of Epicrates, a Rhodian, to guard the strait of Cephallenia. Hybristas, a Lacedæmonian, at the head of a band of young Cephallenians, infested it with piracies; and the passage was shut against the convoys from Italy.

#### 14

Epicrates met, at Piræus, Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who was on his way to take the command of the fleet. On hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, as he had only two quinqueremes, he carried back with him to Asia Epicrates and his four ships. Some undecked vessels of the Athenians followed him. He crossed the Ægean Sea to Chios. To which place came, in the middle of the night, Timasicrates, a Rhodian, with two quadriremes from Samos, and, being presented to Æmilius, he told him that he was despatched for the purpose of convoying him in safety, because the king's ships, by frequent excursions from the Hellespont and Abydos, rendered the sea on that coast dangerous to transports. Two Rhodian quadriremes met Æmilius on his passage from Chios to Samos, being sent by Livius to attend him, and king Eumenes with two quinqueremes met him. Æmilius, after he arrived at Samos, as soon as he had received the command of the fleet from Livius, and duly performed the usual sacrifices, called a council. Here, Caius Livius, whose opinion was first asked, said, that "no one could give advice with more sincerity than he, who recommended to another what himself would do in the same case. That he had intended to sail with the whole fleet to Ephesus; to take with him ships of burden, heavily laden with ballast, and to sink them in the entrance of the harbour. That the narrow passage might be shut up with less difficulty on this account, because the mouth of the port was like a river, long and narrow, and full of

shoals. By this expedient he was about to cut off the enemy's communication with the sea, and render their fleet useless."

## 15

This plan was not approved by any of the council. King Eumenes asked, "What then? when, by sinking the ships, they should have barred the pass to the sea, their own fleet being at liberty, would they depart from the place to bear aid to the allies, and strike terror into their enemies? or whether, with no less ardour, they would block up the port with their whole force? For, if they should withdraw, who could doubt that the enemy would weigh up the masses that were sunk, and open the port with less labour than it had cost to shut it? But if, after all, they were to remain there, what advantage would accrue from the harbour being closed? Nay, on the contrary, the enemy enjoying a safe haven, and an opulent city, furnished, at the same time, with every thing from Asia, would pass the summer at their ease, while the Romans, exposed in the open sea to winds and waves, and in want of every accommodation, must continue on guard, without intermission; and would be themselves tied down, and hindered from doing any thing that ought to be done, rather than to keep the enemy shut up." Eudamus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, rather showed his disapprobation of the plan proposed, than proposed himself what he thought should be done. Epicrates, the Rhodian, advised, "not to think of Ephesus for the present, but that a part of the fleet should be sent to Lycia, and that Patara, the metropolis of that nation, should be brought into a treaty of alliance. This would conduce to two important purposes: first, the Rhodians, owing to peace being established in the countries opposite to their island, could apply the whole of their strength to the care of the war against Antiochus; and then the fleet which the enemy were fitting out in Lycia, would be blocked up, and prevented from joining Polyxenidas." This plan influenced the most. Nevertheless, it was determined that Regillus should sail, with the entire fleet, to the harbour of Ephesus, to strike terror into the enemy.

## 16

Caius Livius was sent to Lycia, with two Roman quinqueremes, four Rhodian quadriremes, and two open vessels of Smyrna; being ordered to proceed, first, to Rhodes, and to communicate all his designs to the government there. The states which he passed in his way, Miletus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cous, diligently executed his orders. When he came to Rhodes, he explained, to the persons in authority, the business on which he was sent, and, at the same time, desired their opinion. All approving his design, and three quadriremes being added to that fleet which he had, he set sail for Patara. The wind being favourable at first, carried them very near the city, and they were in hopes of effecting something by surprise. After that, the wind veering, the sea had begun to roll in heavy waves, they persevered at their oars until they reached the land; but there was no safe anchorage there, nor could they ride in the road, as the sea was rough, and night was coming on. They, therefore, sailed past the city, to the port of Phœnicus, which was not quite two miles distant, and which afforded shelter from the violence of the waves, but high cliffs overlooked it, which the towns-people, joined by the king's troops which were in garrison, immediately seized. Livius, though the landing-places were rugged and difficult, sent against them a party of the auxiliaries, composed of Issæans, and light infantry of Smyrna. These (whilst they were skirmishing with missile weapons, and in slight attacks on the few who were there at first, rather than engaging in battle) supported the contest sufficiently well. After that greater

numbers flocked thither from the city, and at length, the whole multitude pouring out, fear seized Livius, not only that the auxiliaries might be cut off, but that the ships would be in danger from the land. In consequence he led out to the engagement, not only the soldiers, but the marines, and even the crowd of rowers, armed with such weapons as each could find. After all, however, the fight was doubtful; and, besides a considerable number of soldiers, Lucius Apustius fell in this disorderly combat. At last, the Lycians were routed, and driven within their gates; and the Romans, with a bloody victory, returned to their ships. They then proceeded to the gulf of Telmissus, which washes Caria on one side, and Lycia on the other, where all thoughts of any further attempt on Patara were laid aside, the Rhodians were sent home, and Livius, sailing along the coast of Asia, crossed over to Greece, that he might have a meeting with the Scipios, who were at that time in Thessaly, and then take his passage to Italy.

## 17

Æmilius, although he himself had been driven off from Ephesus by a storm, and had returned to Samos without effecting any thing, after he knew that the expedition to Lycia was dropped, and that Livius had gone to Italy, having thought it disgraceful that Patara should be attacked in vain, resolved to go thither and attack the city with his utmost force. Having sailed past Miletus, and the rest of the coast of the allies, he made a descent in the bay of Bargyllæ, with the design of reducing Jassus. A garrison of the king's troops held the city, and the Romans made hostile depredations on all the country round. He then sent persons to confer with the magistrates and principal inhabitants, and sound their dispositions. After they answered that nothing was in their power, he advanced to lay siege to the city. There were, with the Romans, some exiles from Jassus, who, in a body, earnestly importuned the Rhodians "not to suffer an unoffending city, which was as well a neighbouring one as also connected with them in consanguinity, to be ruined. They themselves were banished for no other cause than their faithful attachment to the Romans; and those who remained in the place were held in subjection by the same force by which they had been expelled. The wish of the people of Jassus was one, to escape from a state of slavery under the king." The Rhodians, moved by their entreaties, and calling in the assistance of king Eumenes, by representing, at the same time, their own connexions with them, and also the unfortunate condition of the city, which was kept in bondage by the king's garrison, prevailed on Æmilius to drop the siege. Departing hence, and coasting along the shore of Asia, the other places being at peace, they arrived at Loryma, a port opposite to Rhodes. Here, at head-quarters, a private conversation arises first among the tribunes of the soldiers, and afterwards reached the ears of Æmilius, that the fleet was going off to a distance from Ephesus, from the war which concerned themselves; so that the enemy, being left behind, without control, might safely make whatever attempts they pleased against so many states of the allies, in their neighbourhood. These remarks moved Æmilius; and calling the Rhodians to him, he asked them, whether the whole fleet could lie in the harbour of Patara: when they answered that it could not, furnished with an excuse for laying aside the design, he sailed back to Samos.

## 18

In the mean time Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who had kept his army in Ætolia, through the whole of the winter employed, partly, in succouring his allies, partly, in ravaging the lands of those whom he could not seduce to his side, resolved to make an incursion on the territory of king Eumenes, while he, at a great distance from home, was assisting

the Romans and Rhodians, in attacks on the maritime parts of Lycia. He advanced with hostile standards, first, to Elæa; afterwards, the design of besieging it being given up, having wasted the country in a hostile manner, he led his army to lay siege to Pergamus, the capital and principal fortress of the kingdom. Attalus, at first, posting advanced guards outside the city, and sending out parties of cavalry and light infantry, harassed rather than withstood the enemy. But, after some time, having discovered, in slight skirmishes, that he was not a match for the enemy in any respect, he drew back his men within the fortifications, and then the city began to be besieged. About this time, Antiochus, leaving Apamea with a vast army compounded of various nations, encamped first at Sardis, and afterwards took post at a small distance from the camp of Seleucus, at the head of the river Caicus. The most formidable part of his force was a body of four thousand Gauls, procured for hire: these, with a few others intermixed, he detached, with orders to waste utterly the country about Pergamus. When news of these transactions arrived at Samos, Eumenes being thus recalled by a war in his own dominions, sailed with his fleet to Elæa; and finding there, in readiness, some light troops of horse and foot, he took them for an escort, and proceeded directly to Pergamus, before the enemy could be apprized of his arrival, or could put themselves in motion. Then again skirmishes began to take place in the sallies, Eumenes undoubtedly shrinking from the risk of a decisive engagement. In a few days after the combined fleet of the Romans and Rhodians came from Samos to Elæa, to support the king. When information was brought to Antiochus that these had landed troops at Elæa, and that so many fleets were assembled in one harbour, and at the same time heard that the consul, with his army, was already in Macedonia, and that the things that were necessary for the passage of the Hellespont were being prepared, he judged that now was the time for negotiation, before he should be pressed on sea and land at once; and with this view he chose for his camp a rising ground opposite to Elæa. Leaving there all the infantry, with his cavalry, amounting to six thousand, he went down into the plains, which lay under the walls of the town, having despatched a herald to Æmilius, to acquaint him that he wished to treat of peace.

## 19

Æmilius sent to Pergamus for Eumenes, and desiring the Rhodians to be present, held a council on the message. The Rhodians were not averse to a pacification; but Eumenes affirmed that "it was not honourable to treat of peace at that time, nor could an end be put to the thing." "For," said he, "how can we, shut up as we are, within our walls, and besieged, with honour accept terms of peace? Or to whom shall that treaty be valid, which we shall conclude, without the presence of the consul, without a vote of the senate, and without an order of the Roman people? For, let me ask, supposing the matter concluded by you, would you immediately go home to Italy, and carry away your fleet and army, or would you wait to know the consul's determination on the case; what the senate should decree, or the people order? It remains therefore that you must stay in Asia, that your troops being led back again into winter quarters, the war being given over, must exhaust the allies in furnishing provisions; and then, if it seem fit to those who have the power of determining, we must begin the whole war anew, which we are able, with the aid of the gods, to finish before winter, if no relaxation from our present vigorous movements is made by delay." This opinion prevailed; and the answer given to Antiochus was, that they could not treat of peace before the arrival of the consul. Antiochus, peace being tried for in vain, ravaged, first, the territory of Elæa, then that of Pergamus; and, leaving there his son Seleucus, marched in a hostile manner to

Adramyttium, whence he proceeded to a rich tract of country called the Plain of Thebes, a city celebrated in one of Homer's poems; and in no other place in Asia did the king's soldiers find such a plenty of booty. At the same time, Æmilius and Eumenes also, sailing round with the fleet, came to Adramyttium, to protect the city.

## 20

By chance, at this time, one thousand foot with one hundred horse came to Elæa from Achaia, Diophanes being commander of all these forces; whom, on their landing, persons, sent by Eumenes to meet them, conducted by night to Pergamus. Veterans they all were, well skilled in war; and their commander was a disciple of Philopœmen, the most consummate general among the Greeks in that age. They set apart two days to give rest to the men and horses, and, at the same time, to view the posts of the enemy, and to learn at what places, and what times, they advanced and retired. The king's troops generally approached to the foot of the hill on which the town stands; so that the plundering in the rear was unimpeded, as not a man ever sallied out, even to throw darts from a distance, against their guards. After that they were once driven in, and with fear confined themselves within the walls, a contempt for them arises among the king's troops, and consequently negligence. The greater number did not keep their horses either saddled or bridled; while few remained under arms, and in the ranks; the rest, slipping away, had scattered themselves every where over the entire plain, some diverting themselves with youthful sports and amusements, others eating in the shade, and some even stretched on the ground asleep. Diophanes, having observed all these particulars from the lofty city of Pergamus, ordered his men to take arms, and to be ready at a particular gate. He himself went to Attalus, and told him that he intended to attack the out-posts of the enemy. Attalus giving his consent with reluctance, as he saw that one hundred horse must fight against six hundred, one thousand foot against four thousand, Diophanes then marched out of the gate, and took post at a small distance from the enemy's guard, waiting his opportunity. Both the people in Pergamus thought that it was madness rather than daring, and the enemy, after observing his party for a short time, as soon as they saw no movement among them, did not change their usual negligence, ridiculing moreover the smallness of their number. Diophanes for a long time kept his men quiet, as if they had been brought out merely for the purpose of looking about them; but as soon as he perceived that the enemy had quitted their ranks, ordering the infantry to follow as fast as they could, he himself, with his own troop, led the way at the head of the cavalry, and pushing on, with all possible speed, made a sudden charge on the enemy's party, while a shout was raised by every horseman and footman at once. Not only were the men so attacked terrified, but the horses also; and when they broke their collars, they caused great confusion and tumult throughout. A few of the horses, indeed, stood unaffrighted; but even these the troopers could not easily saddle, or bridle, or mount; for the Achæans struck much greater terror than would be supposed from so small a party of horse. But now the infantry, in due order and preparation, assailed the enemy, dispersed through their own negligence, and almost half asleep; and slaughter and flight ensued in every part of the plain. Diophanes pursued the runaways as far as he could with safety, and then returned into garrison, after acquiring very great honour for the Achæan nation; for not only the men, but also the women, had been spectators from the walls of Pergamus.

## 21

Next day the enemy's guard, in more regular and orderly condition, pitched their camp five hundred paces farther from the city, and the Achæans marched out at nearly the same time as before, and to the same place. During many hours, both parties intently awaited the assault, as if it were about to take place immediately. When it was not far from sun-set, the usual time of their returning to the main camp, the king's troops, forming in close order, began to retire in a body, arranged for a march rather than for a battle. Diophanes did not stir until they were out of sight; and then he rushed on their rear-guard with the same vehemence as before, and again excited such dismay and confusion, that, though the hindmost were put to the sword, not one of them halted to fight; they were driven into their camp in confusion, and scarcely observing any order in their march. These daring exertions of the Achæans obliged Seleucus to decamp, and quit the territory of Pergamus. Antiochus, having learned that the Romans and Eumenes were come to protect Adramyttium, made no attempt on that city, but ravaged the country adjoining. He afterwards reduced Peræa, a colony of Mityleneans; Cotton, Corylenus, Aphrodisias, and Crene, were all taken at the first assault. He then returned through Thyatira to Sardis. Seleucus, remaining on the sea-coast, was a terror to one party, a protection to the other. The Roman fleet, with Eumenes and the Rhodians, retired, first to Mitylene, and then to Elæa, whence they had set out. On their way to Phocæa, they put in at an island called Bachius; it is near the city of Phocæa; and when they had plundered the temples and statues, which they had before spared, (for the island was surpassingly adorned with them,) they then passed over to the city. When they, having divided the quarters among themselves, assaulted it, and saw that it could not be taken by arms and scaling-ladders, without regular works; after that a reinforcement of three thousand soldiers, sent by Antiochus, had got into the city, they immediately broke up the siege, and the fleet retired to the island, without having effected any thing more than the devastation of the enemy's country in the neighbourhood.

## 22

It was then resolved that Eumenes should return home, and make every necessary preparation for the passage of the consul and his army over the Hellespont; and that the Roman and Rhodian fleets should sail back to Samos, and remain stationed there, that Polyxenidas might not make any movement from Ephesus. The king returned to Elæa, the Romans and Rhodians to Samos. There, Marcus Æmilius, brother of the prætor, died. After his obsequies were performed, the Rhodians sailed, with thirteen of their own ships, one Coan, and one Cnidian quinquereme, to Rhodes, in order that they might take up a position there, against a fleet which was reported to be coming from Syria. Two days before the arrival of Eudamus and the fleet from Samos, another fleet of thirteen ships, under the command of Pamphilidas, had been sent out against the same Syrian fleet; and taking with them four ships, which had been left to protect Caria, they relieved from blockade Dædala, and several other fortresses of Peræa, which the king's troops were besieging. It was determined that Eudamus should put to sea directly, and an addition of six undecked ships was made to his fleet. He accordingly set sail; and using all possible expedition, overtook the first squadron at a port called Magiste, from whence they proceeded in one body to Phaselis, resolving to wait there for the enemy.

## 23

Phaselis stands on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia; it projects far into the sea, and is the first land seen by persons coming from Cilicia to Rhodes, and from hence ships

can be seen at a great distance. For this reason, chiefly, this place was made choice of, that they may lie in the way of the enemy's fleet. But in consequence of the unwholesomeness of the place, and of the season of the year, (for it was now the middle of summer,) and of the unusual stench, diseases began to spread with violence, particularly among the rowers, an event which they did not foresee. And having left the place from fear of this pestilence, when they were sailing by the Pamphylian bay, their fleet putting into port at the river Eurymedon, they hear from the people of Aspendus, that the enemy are now at Sida. The king's fleet had been the slower in its passage, the season of the Etesiaë being opposed to them, for this is the periodical time for the north-west winds. The Rhodians had thirty-two quadriremes and four triremes. In the king's fleet were thirty-seven ships of the larger rates; among which were three of seven, and four of six banks of oars; and besides these, ten triremes. They discovered too, from some watch-tower, that the Rhodians were at hand. Both fleets, at the dawn of the next day, moved out of port, as if resolved to come to an immediate engagement; and, as soon as the Rhodians passed the promontory that stretches into the deep from Sida, they descried the enemy, and were observed by them. On the king's side, Hannibal had the command of the left squadron, which stretched away seaward; Apollonius, one of the nobles, had the command of the right, and they had their ships already formed in a line a-head. The Rhodians approached in a long line. First was the admiral's ship, with Eudamus in it; Chariclitus brought up the rear; and Pamphilidas commanded the centre division. When Eudamus saw the enemy's line formed and ready for battle, he pushed out towards the main, ordering the ships that followed to form, regularly, as they came up, in line of battle. This caused confusion at first; for he had not stretched out to the main far enough for the line of all the ships to form in the direction of the land, and he himself hurrying on with precipitation, with only five ships, engaged with Hannibal; the rest, having received orders to form their line, did not come up. The rear division had no room left for it next to the land; and, while they were in disorder, the fight was already begun on the right against Hannibal.

## 24

But the goodness of their ships, and the expertness of their men in nautical business, quickly freed the Rhodians from all embarrassment. They pushed out hastily towards the main, and each made room next the land for the one immediately behind; and when any made a stroke with its beak against a ship of the enemy, it either shattered its prow, or swept off its oars; or passing by it in the clear space between the vessels, made an attack on its stern. One of the king's seven-banked ships being sunk with one stroke, by a Rhodian vessel of much smaller size, discouraged them very much. Therefore the right wing of the enemy was now undoubtedly verging to flight. Hannibal, in the open sea, by means chiefly of his superior number of ships, pressed hard on Eudamus, who surpassed him in every other respect: and he would have surrounded him were it not that, on the signal being given from the admiral's fleet, (by which it is usual to collect together the fleet when dispersed,) all the ships which had conquered on the right wing came speedily to bear aid to their own party. This made Hannibal himself, with all his division, betake themselves to flight; while the Rhodians could not pursue, because their rowers being most of them sick, were therefore the sooner wearied. When they were recruiting their strength with food on the sea where they brought to, Eudamus, observing the enemy towing, by means of their open vessels, several damaged and crippled ships, and seeing little more than twenty that were going off uninjured, commanded silence from the castle of the commander's ship, and then called out, "Arise,

and feast your eyes with an extraordinary sight." They all started up, and perceiving the disorderly flight of the enemy, cried out, almost with one voice, that they ought to pursue. Eudamus's ship was bulged in many places; he therefore ordered Pamphilidas and Chariclitus to pursue as far as they should think it safe. They, accordingly, pursued for a considerable time: but after that Hannibal made in close to the land, fearing to be wind-bound on an enemy's coast, they steered back to Eudamus, and with difficulty towed to Phaselis a captured seven-banked ship, which had been damaged in the beginning of the engagement. They then sailed home to Rhodes, not so much exulting in their victory as blaming one another because the entire fleet had not been taken or sunk, when it could have been done. Hannibal, disheartened by the loss of this one battle, did not even then dare to sail past the coast of Lycia, though he wished to join the king's main fleet as soon as possible. And that this action might not be unimpeded, the Rhodians sent Chariclitus with twenty ships of war to Patara and the harbour of Megiste. They then ordered Eudamus, with seven of the largest vessels belonging to the fleet which he had commanded, to rejoin the Romans at Samos, and to endeavour by every argument, and by all his influence, to prevail on the Romans to besiege Patara.

## 25

Now first of all the intelligence of the victory, and subsequently the arrival of the Rhodians, caused great joy to the Romans, and it appeared to them that if that anxiety was taken away from the Rhodians, they would when at leisure render the seas of that country safe. But the march of Antiochus from Sardis did not allow them to quit the guard of Ionia and Æolia, lest the maritime cities should be crushed by his arms. However, they sent Pamphilidas, with four decked ships, to join the fleet which was at Patara. Antiochus not only collected aids from the states that lay around, but also sent to Prusias, king of Bithynia, ambassadors and letters, in which he inveighed against the pressing of the Romans into Asia. "They were coming," he said, "to abolish all kingly governments; so that there should be no empire in any part of the world, save that of Rome. Philip and Nabis were subdued: he was the third object of attack. Thus the conflagration would spread, without interruption, from one to another, as each lay nearest to the one last ruined, until it enveloped them all. From him there was but one step to Bithynia, now that Eumenes had submitted to voluntary servitude." Though Prusias was greatly affected by these observations, his mind was relieved from all such doubts by a letter from Scipio, the consul, and still more so by one from his brother Africanus, who, besides urging the invariable practice of the Roman people of augmenting, by every honourable addition, the grandeur of kings in alliance with them, by instances taken from his own family, induced Prusias to earn their friendship. "The petty chieftains in Spain," he said, "who had been received into alliance, he had left kings. Masinissa he had not only re-established in his father's kingdom, but had put him in possession of that of Syphax, by whom he had been formerly dethroned: so that he was, at the present, not only by far the most powerful of all the kings in Africa, but equal, both in dignity and strength, to any monarch in any part of the world. Philip and Nabis, avowed enemies, were conquered in war by Titus Quintius; nevertheless, they were left in possession of their kingdoms. Philip even had the tributes remitted to him last year, and his son, who was a hostage, restored. Through the indulgence of the Roman commanders, he had also got possession of several states beyond the boundaries of Macedonia. As to Nabis, he might have remained in the same honourable rank, had not first his own madness, and afterwards the treachery of the Ætolians, brought him to ruin." The king's resolution was especially confirmed after that Caius Livius, who had

commanded the fleet as prætor, came to him as ambassador from Rome, and informed him how much better hope the Romans had of success than Antiochus; and how much more sacred and lasting an alliance with them would be.

## 26

Antiochus, after he lost the hope of an alliance with Prusias, went from Sardis to Ephesus, to review the fleet which was fitted out, and lay there ready, for several months; rather because he saw it impossible, with his land forces, to make any stand against the Roman army and its commanders, the two Scipios, than that his naval force by itself had ever been tried by him successfully, or afforded at this juncture any great or well-grounded confidence. Yet there was an incentive to hope on the present occasion; for he had heard that a large portion of the Rhodian fleet was at Patara, and that king Eumenes had gone to the Hellespont, with all his ships, to meet the consul. Besides, the destruction of the Rhodian fleet at Samos, on an opportunity prepared by treachery, inspired some degree of confidence. Relying on these things, he sent Polyxenidas with orders to try, at all events, the fortune of a naval engagement; while he himself marched his land forces to Notium. This town, which belongs to Colophon, stands close to the sea, and is distant about two miles from Old Colophon. He wished to get this city into his power, because it was so near to Ephesus that nothing could be done there, on sea or land, that was not open to the view of the Colophonians, and, through them, instantly made known to the Romans; and he had no doubt that the latter, having heard of the siege, would bring their fleet from Samos to the relief of an ally, which would give Polyxenidas an opportunity of coming to action. He therefore began to lay regular siege to the city, making his approaches at the same time on the two sides next the sea; in both places he joined his engines and mounds to the wall, and brought up the rams under covered galleries. By which dangers the Colophonians being terrified, sent envoys to Lucius Æmilius, at Samos, imploring the protection of the prætor and people of Rome. His lying so long inactive at Samos offended Æmilius, thinking nothing more improbable than that Polyxenidas, whom he had twice challenged in vain to fight, should ever offer him battle; and he considered it as dishonourable, that the fleet of Eumenes should assist the consul in conveying the legions into Asia, that he should be fettered by bearing to the besieged Colophon an assistance destined to have an uncertain end. Eudamus, the Rhodian, (who had before prevailed upon him to stay at Samos, when he wished to go to the Hellespont,) with all the other officers, pressed him to comply, representing "how much more eligible it would be, either to relieve confederates from a siege, or to vanquish that fleet which he had vanquished before, and to take from the enemy the entire possession of the sea, than, deserting his allies, and delivering Asia to Antiochus by land and sea, to depart from his own part of the war to the Hellespont, when the fleet of Eumenes was sufficient for that station."

## 27

They accordingly, having set sail from Samos in quest of provisions, their stock being consumed, were preparing to pass over to Chios. Samos served as a granary to the Romans, and thither all the store-ships sent from Rome directed their course. When they had sailed round from the city to the back of the island, which looks northward towards Chios and Erythræ, and were preparing to cross over, the prætor is informed by a letter, that a vast quantity of corn had arrived at Chios, from Italy; but that the vessels laden with wine were detained by storms. At the same time accounts were

received, that the people of Teos had furnished large supplies of provisions to the king's fleet, and had promised five thousand vessels of wine. On this the prætor immediately changed his course, and steered away to Teos, resolved either to make use of the provisions prepared for the enemy, with the consent of the inhabitants, or to treat them as foes. When they had turned their prows to the land, about fifteen vessels appeared in sight near Myonnesus, which the prætor at first supposed to belong to the king's fleet, and hastened to pursue. It appeared afterwards, that they were piratical cutters and galleys. They, having ravaged the sea-coast of Chios, returning with booty of every kind, betook themselves to flight when they saw the fleet on the open sea. They had much the advantage in swiftness, their galleys being lighter and constructed for the purpose, and were nearer the land; therefore before the fleet could overtake them, they made their escape to Myonnesus. And the prætor, unacquainted with the place, followed in expectation of forcing their ships from it out of the harbour. Myonnesus is a promontory between Teos and Samos. It consists of a hill rising from a pretty large base to a sharp top, in the shape of an obelisk. From the land it has access by a narrow path towards the sea, cliffs undermined by the waves terminate it, so that in some places the superimpending rocks project beyond the vessels that lie at anchor. The ships not daring to approach lest they should be exposed to the weapons of the pirates, who stood above on the cliffs, wasted the day to no purpose. At length, after they had desisted from this useless undertaking a little before night, they the next day reached Teos. Here the prætor, after mooring in the port at the back of the city, which the inhabitants call Geræsticum, sent out the soldiers to ravage the land about the city.

## 28

The Teians, as these ravages passed under their eyes, sent deputies to the Roman commander, carrying fillets, and other badges of suppliants. And when they were exculpating their state from every hostile act or word against the Romans, he strongly charged them with "having assisted the enemy's fleet with provisions, and with having promised a quantity of wine to Polyxenidas." He further told them, that "if they would furnish the same supplies to the Roman fleet, he would recall his troops from plundering; otherwise, he would treat them as enemies." When the deputies carried back this distressing answer, the people were summoned to an assembly by the magistrates, to consult on what they should do. It happened that Polyxenidas, who had sailed with the king's fleet from Colophon, after he heard that the Romans had left Samos and pursued the pirates to Myonnesus, and that they were laying waste the lands of the Teians, and that their fleet lay in the harbour of Geræsticus, cast anchor, in a retired harbour of an island called by the sailors Macris, opposite to Myonnesus. Then from his neighbouring position, exploring what his enemies were doing, at first he was in great hopes of vanquishing the Roman fleet here, in like manner as he had vanquished the Rhodian at Samos, by besetting the narrow entrance at the mouth of the port. Nor is the nature of the place unlike: by the promontories advancing towards each other, the harbour is enclosed in such a manner, that two ships can scarcely go out together. Polyxenidas intended to seize this narrow pass in the night; and, while ten ships stood at each of the promontories, to attack, from the right and left, both sides of the enemy's fleet sailing out, having landed his armed men from the fleet, as he had done at Panormus, to overpower the Romans on land and sea at once. And this design would not have been formed by him in vain, had it not appeared to the Romans better for receiving the provisions, when the Teians had promised to execute their commands, that the fleet should pass into that harbour, which is before the city. It is said, also, that

Eudamus, the Rhodian, had pointed out the fault of the outer harbour, when two ships broke their oars locked together in the narrow entrance. Among other motives, this too induced the prætor to remove his fleet, because there was danger from the land, as Antiochus kept his camp not far from it.

## 29

When the fleet was brought round to the city, all being ignorant of the approach of the enemy, both soldiers and sailors went on shore to divide the provisions, and the wine particularly, among the ships; when, about mid-day, a peasant happened to be brought before the prætor, who told him, that the enemy's fleet was lying at the island of Macris these two days; and that, a little while ago, some of them were observed to be in motion, as if preparing to sail. Greatly alarmed at this unexpected event, the prætor ordered the trumpets to sound, to call in such as might have straggled into the country, and sent the tribunes into the city, to hasten the soldiers and sailors on board. The confusion was not less than if the place were on fire, or taken by an enemy; some running to call out the men; others hurrying to the ships, while the orders of the officers were confounded by irregular shouts, amid which the trumpets raised their din, until at length the crowd collected at the ships. Here scarcely could each know his own ship, or make his way through the tumult; and the disorder would probably have been productive of much mischief, on land and sea had not Æmilius, in the commander's ship, sailed out first into the main; where, receiving those following, he put each into its own place, so as to form a line abreast: and Eudamus, with the Rhodian fleet, waited at the shore, that the men might be embarked without confusion, and that every ship might leave the harbour as soon as it was ready. By these means, the foremost division formed under the eye of the prætor, while the rear was brought up by the Rhodians; and then the whole line, in as regular order as if within sight of the foe, advanced into the open sea. They were between Myonnesus and the promontory of Corycus, when they first got sight of the enemy. The king's fleet, which was coming in a long line, with only two vessels abreast, then formed themselves in order of battle, stretching out their left division so far, as that it might enclose the right of the Romans. When Eudamus, who commanded in the rear, perceived that the Romans could not form an equal front, but were just on the point of being surrounded, he pushed up his ships. They were Rhodians, by far the fastest sailers of any of the fleet; and having filled up the deficiency in the extent of the line, he opposed his own ship to the commander's, on board of which was Polyxenidas.

## 30

Now the entire fleets in every part were engaged in action. On the side of the Romans eighty ships were fighting, of which twenty-two were Rhodian. The enemy's fleet consisted of eighty-nine ships, and they had of the largest rates, three of six, and two of seven banks. In the strength of the vessels, and valour of the soldiers, the Romans had greatly the advantage of the king's party, as had the Rhodians in the activity of their vessels, the skill of the pilots, and the dexterity of the rowers. However, those which carried fire before them were the greatest terror to the enemy: and what was the sole cause of their preservation when they were surrounded at Panormus, proved here the principal means of victory. For when the king's ships, through fear of the fire, had turned aside, in order to avoid at the same time encountering the enemy's prow with their own, they could not strike their antagonist with the beaks, but exposed the side of their ships to his strokes; and if any did venture an encounter, it was immediately overspread with the fire that was poured in; while the men were more alarmed at the

fire than the battle. However, the bravery of the soldiers, as is generally the case, chiefly availed in deciding the battle. For the Romans, having broke through the centre of the enemy's line, tacked about and fell upon the rear of the division which was engaged with the Rhodians; and, in an instant of time, both Antiochus's centre division, and the ships on the left, were surrounded and sunk. The squadron on the right, which was still entire, was terrified rather by the disaster of their friends, than by any immediate danger threatening themselves; but, when they saw the others surrounded, and Polyxenidas's ship deserting its associates, and sailing away, having quickly hoisted their topsails, they betook themselves to flight, (and they steering for Ephesus had a favourable wind,) having lost forty-two ships in that battle; of which thirteen struck, and fell into the hands of the Romans; the rest were burned or sunk. Two Roman ships were shattered, and several were much damaged. One Rhodian vessel was taken by an extraordinary casualty; for, on its striking a Sidonian ship with its beak, its anchor, thrown out by the force of the shock, caught fast hold of the other's prow with its fluke, as if it were a grappling-iron thrown in. Great confusion ensuing thereon, when the Rhodians, who wished to disengage themselves from the enemy, pulled back, its cable being dragged forcibly, and at the same time entangled with the oars, swept off one side of them. The very ship, which, when struck, had grappled with it, took the Rhodian galley in its weakened state. The naval battle at Myonnesus was fought principally in this manner.

### 31

By which Antiochus being terrified, because, as he was driven from the possession of the sea, he despaired of being able to defend his distant possessions, ordered the garrison to be withdrawn from Lysimachia, which plan was ill devised, as the event subsequently proved, lest it should be there cut off by the Romans. As it was easy for him, not only to defend Lysimachia from the first attack of the Romans, but to protract the siege through the whole winter; and by thus prolonging the time, to reduce the besiegers to the extremity of want; and in the mean time try the hope of peace, as opportunities should present themselves. But, after the defeat at sea, he not only gave up Lysimachia, but even raised the siege of Colophon, and retired to Sardis. Here, bending all his thoughts to one single object, that of meeting the enemy in the field, he sent into Cappadocia, to Ariarathes, to request assistance, and to every other place within his power, to collect forces. Æmilius Regillus, after his victory at sea, proceeded to Ephesus, having drawn up his ships before the harbour, when he had extorted from the enemy a final acknowledgment of their having surrendered the dominion of the sea, sailed to Chios, to which he had directed his course from Samos, before the sea-fight. As soon as he had refitted the ships that had been damaged in the battle, he sent off Lucius Æmilius Scaurus, with thirty others, to the Hellespont, to transport the army; and decorating the Rhodian vessels with naval spoils, and allowing them a part of the booty, he ordered them to return home. The Rhodians energetically took the lead, and proceeded to assist in transporting the consul's forces, and when they had completed that service also, then at length returned to Rhodes. The Roman fleet sailed from Chios to Phocæa. This city stands at the bottom of a bay, and is of an oblong shape. The wall encompasses a space of two miles and a half in length, and then contracts on both sides into a very narrow wedge-like form, which place they call Lampter (or the light-house). The breadth here extends one thousand two hundred paces; and a tongue of land stretching out about a mile into the sea, divides the bay nearly in the middle, as if with a line; where it is connected with the main land by a narrow isthmus, it has two very safe

harbours, turned to each side. The one that fronts the south they call Naustathmos, (the station for ships,) from the circumstance of its being capable of containing a vast number of ships; the other is close to Lampter.

### 32

When the Roman fleet had taken possession of these very safe harbours, the prætor thought proper, before he attempted the fortifications, either by escalade or works, that persons should be sent to sound the disposition of the magistrates and principal people in the place: when he saw them obstinate, he determined to attack the city in two places at the same time. One part was thinly occupied by private dwellings, temples of the gods occupying a great deal of the ground. In that part first, having brought up the battering-ram, he began to shake the wall and towers; and when the multitude within ran thither to defend that spot, the battering-rams were applied in the other quarter, and the walls were now knocked down in both places. On the fall of which, when some of the Roman soldiers were making an assault over the scattered masses of ruins, others attempted to scale walls; the townsmen made such an obstinate resistance, as plainly showed that they had a firmer dependence on their arms and courage, than on their fortifications. The prætor, compelled by the danger of the soldiers, sounded a retreat, that he might not expose them incautious to his opponents, maddened with despair and rage. The fighting being ended, the besieged did not, even then, think of rest; but all hastened from every quarter, to strengthen the walls, and to raise new ones in the place of those that had been demolished. While they were busily employed in this manner, Quintus Antonius, being sent by the prætor, came to them, who, after having blamed their obstinacy, assured them that “the Romans were more anxious than they were themselves that the battle should not be carried on to the destruction of the city. If they would desist from their madness, Æmilius would allow them to capitulate on the same terms on which they had formerly surrendered to Caius Livius.” When they heard this, having taken five days’ time to deliberate, and having in the mean time tried the hope of aid from Antiochus, after that the ambassadors sent to the king had brought back word that there was no aid in him, they opened their gates, stipulating that they should suffer nothing hostile. When the troops were marching into the city, and the prætor had proclaimed that it was his pleasure that the surrendered townsmen should be spared, there arose an universal clamour, “that it was shameful that the Phocæans, who had never been faithful to any alliance, and had always been bitter in enmity, should escape with impunity.” After which words, as if a signal had been given by the prætor, they ran, in parties, every way, to plunder the city. Æmilius, at first, began to resist, and call them back, saying, that “towns taken by storm, and not such as surrendered, were plundered; and that, even with regard to the former, the determination lay with the commander, not with the soldiers.” But rage and avarice were too strong for his authority; wherefore, despatching heralds through all parts of the city, he ordered, that all persons of free condition should come to him in the forum, that they should not be injured: and in all things which were in his power, the promise of the prætor was observed. He restored to them their city, their lands, and their laws; and, as the winter now approached, he chose the harbour of Phocæa for his fleet to pass the winter in.

### 33

About the same time it was announced to the consul, as he was marching along the frontiers of the Ænians and Maronites, that the king’s fleet was conquered at Myonnesus, and that Lysimachia was evacuated by its garrison. This latter event gave

much more satisfaction than even the success at sea; especially after they came thither, and were hospitably received in the city, filled with provisions of all sorts, as if provided for the arrival of the army; when, in besieging the city, they had anticipated extreme want and hardship. There they made a halt for a few days, that the baggage and sick might overtake them, who, overcome by diseases, or the length of the way, had been left behind in all the forts of Thrace. When all had joined, they began again their march through the Chersonese, and arrived at the Hellespont; where every thing requisite for their passage having been previously got ready, by the care of king Eumenes, they crossed over, without confusion, as if to friendly shores, no one opposing, and the ships putting in at several different places. This raised to a high degree the spirits of the Romans, who saw the passage into Asia left open to them; which thing they supposed would cost them a severe struggle. They afterwards remained encamped a considerable time at the Hellespont, because it happened to be a period too holy for marching, during which the sacred shields are moved. The same festival had separated Publius Scipio from the army, as the religious ceremony was more incumbent on him, because he was one of the Salian priests; and he himself was a source of delay, till he overtook the rest of the army.

### 34

In the mean time an ambassador came from Antiochus to the camp,—Heraclides, a Byzantian, having mandates concerning peace. The delay and tardiness of the Romans gave him great hope that this might be attained; for he had imagined, that as soon as they set foot in Asia, they would advance in a rapid march against the king. He resolved, however, not to address himself to the consul until he had first applied to Publius Scipio, and instructions to that effect were given him by the king. In him he had the greatest hope, besides that his greatness of soul, and the fulness of his glory, tended very much to make him inclined to peace, and it was known to all nations what sort of a conqueror he had been, both in Spain and afterwards in Africa; and also because his son was then a prisoner with Antiochus. Where, and when, and by what accident he became a prisoner, is, like very many other things, not ascertained among writers. Some say, that in the beginning of the war, as he was going from Chalcis to Oreum, he was intercepted by some of the king's ships; others, that after the army came into Asia, he was sent with a troop of Fregellans to Antiochus's camp, to gain intelligence; that on the cavalry sallying out against him, he retreated, and having fallen from his horse in the confusion, he was together with two horsemen, overpowered, and thus conducted to the king. This however is fully ascertained, that if peace had still subsisted with the Romans, and likewise a personal friendship between the king and the Scipios, the young man could not have been treated and courted with greater kindness than he was. When the ambassador, for these reasons, had waited the arrival of Publius Scipio, as soon as he came he applied to the consul, and requested that he should hear his instructions.

### 35

A full council being assembled, audience was given to the ambassador, who said, that, "though many embassies about peace had already been sent backwards and forwards, without producing any effect, yet he conceived strong hopes of obtaining it, because the former ambassadors had obtained nothing. For the objects of contention in those discussions were Smyrna and Lampsacus, Alexandria in the Troad, and Lysimachia in Europe. Of these, the king had already ceded Lysimachia, that they might not say that he possessed any thing in Europe; and those cities which lay in Asia, he was now ready to

deliver up as well as any others, which the Romans might wish to render independent of the king's government, because they belonged to their party. The king was also willing to pay to the Roman people half the expense of the war." These were the conditions of peace. The rest of his discourse was, "that, mindful of human affairs, they should use with moderation their own good fortune, and not press too severely on the misfortune of others; that they should limit their empire by Europe; that single acquisitions could be made with more ease than that necessary for holding them collectively. But if they would wish to take away some part of Asia, provided that they would define it by indisputable limits, the king, for the sake of peace and harmony, would willingly suffer his own moderate temper to be overcome by the insatiableness of the Romans." These concessions, which appeared to the ambassador of great moment towards obtaining a peace, the Romans deemed trifling. They thought it just, that "the king should defray the whole expense occasioned by the war, because it was through his fault that it was begun. And that, not only Ionia and Æolia ought to be evacuated by the king's troops, but as all Greece had been set free, so all the cities of that nation in Asia should also be free. That this could be effected in no other way, than by Antiochus relinquishing the possession of that part of Asia on the hither side of Mount Taurus."

### 36

The ambassador, after he came to the conclusion that he could obtain no reasonable terms in the council, tried to influence the mind of Publius Scipio in private (for such were his orders). First of all he told him that the king would restore him his son without a ransom; and then, as ignorant of the disposition of Scipio as he was of the Roman manners, he promised an immense weight of gold, and, excepting the title of king, an absolute partnership in the sovereignty, if through his means he should obtain a peace. To which Scipio answered, "I am the less surprised that you are ignorant of the Romans in general, and of me, to whom you have been sent, when I see that you are unacquainted with the situation even of the person from whom you come. You ought to have kept Lysimachia to prevent our entering the Chersonese, or to have opposed us at the Hellespont to hinder our passing into Asia, if you meant to ask peace from us as from people solicitous about the issue of war. But after leaving the passage into Asia open, and receiving not only a bridle, but also a yoke, what negotiation on an equality has been left you, when you must submit to orders? I shall consider my son as a very great gift from the munificence of the king; I pray to the gods that my circumstances may never require others, my mind certainly never will require any. For such an act of generosity to me he shall find me grateful, if for a personal favour he will accept a personal return of gratitude. In my public capacity, I will neither accept from him nor give him any thing. All that I can give at present is sincere advice. Go then, and desire him in my name, to cease hostilities, and to refuse no terms of peace." These words had no effect on the king, who thought that the chance of war would be comparatively safe, since terms were dictated to him already as if he were totally vanquished. Laying aside, therefore, for the present, all farther mention of peace, he turned his whole attention to the preparations for war.

### 37

The consul having made every preparation for the execution of his designs, when he had quitted the post where he lay, marched first to Dardanus, and then to Rhœteum; from both states the people came out in crowds to meet him. He then advanced to Troy, and having pitched his camp in the plain which is under the walls, when he had gone up to

the city and into the citadel, he offered sacrifices to Minerva, the guardian of the citadel; the Trojans, by every act and expression of respect, showing themselves proud of the Romans being descended from them, and the Romans expressing their delight in their origin. The army marching thence, arrived, on the sixth encampment, at the source of the Caicus. To this place also king Eumenes came. He at first endeavoured to bring back his fleet from the Hellespont to Elæa, for the winter; subsequently, when by adverse winds he could not, for several days, pass the promontory of Lectos, that he might not be absent at the commencement of operations, he landed and came, with a small body of men, by the shortest road to the Roman camp. From the camp he was sent home to Pergamus, to hasten supplies of provisions; and when the corn was delivered to the persons whom the consul had ordered to receive it, he returned to the same camp. The plan was, provisions for several days being prepared, to march hence against the enemy, before the winter should prevent them. The king's camp was near Thyatira; and Antiochus, hearing there that Publius Scipio had fallen sick and was conveyed to Elæa, sent ambassadors to conduct his son to him. As this present was highly grateful to the mind of the father, so was the satisfaction which it gave no less salutary to his body. At length, being sated with the embraces of his son, he said to the ambassadors, "Tell the king that I return him thanks; that at present I can make him no other requital than my advice; which is, not to come to an engagement, until he shall have heard that I have rejoined the army." Although sixty-two thousand foot, and more than twelve thousand horse, inspired the king at times with hopes in the result of a battle; yet, moved by the advice of so great a man as Scipio, in whom, when he considered the uncertainty of the events of war, he placed safety in any reverse of fortune, he retired, and having crossed the Phrygian river, pitched his camp near Magnesia, which is at Sipylus. And lest, if he wished to prolong the time, the Romans might attack his works, he drew round it a fosse six cubits deep and twelve broad, and on the outside surrounded the fosse with a double rampart: on the inside bank, he raised a wall flanked with towers at small distances, by which the enemy could easily be prevented from crossing the fosse.

### 38

The consul, thinking that the king was still in the neighbourhood of Thyatira, came down by continued marches on the fifth day into the Hyrcanian plains. Then when he heard that the other had departed, he followed his track, and pitched his camp on the hither side of the Phrygian river, at the distance of four miles from the enemy. Here, a body of about one thousand horse, (the greatest part of whom were Gallogræcians, the rest Dahans, and archers on horseback, of other nations intermixed,) passing the river with great tumult, made an attack on the advanced Roman guards. First of all they threw into confusion those unprepared; then, when the contest continued longer, and the number of the Romans increased, as succours were easily sent from the neighbouring camp, the king's troops, becoming weary and unable to withstand superior numbers, endeavoured to retreat; but, before they could reach the river, very many were killed on the bank, by the enemy pressing on their rear. For two days after there was quiet, neither party passing the river. On the third, the Romans passed it with their whole force, and encamped at the distance of about two miles and a half from the enemy. While they were employed in measuring and fortifying the camp, a body of the king's troops, consisting of three thousand chosen horse and foot, approached with great rapidity and violence. The party on guard, though much inferior in number, (being only two thousand,) without calling off any of the soldiers from the fortifying of the camp, sustained the combat with equal success at first, and, in the progress of the contest,

repulsed the enemy, killing a hundred, and taking about the same number. During the four ensuing days, both armies stood in order of battle, before their respective camps. On the fifth, the Romans advanced into the middle of the plain, but Antiochus did not stir; so that his rear was not so far as a thousand feet from his rampart.

### 39

The consul, after perceiving that he declined the contest, called a council next day, and asked their opinion, "how he ought to act if Antiochus would not give him an opportunity of engaging. For the winter was at hand, and he must either keep the soldiers in camp; or, if they chose to retire to winter quarters, defer the business of the war until summer." The Romans never despised any enemy so much. The assembly on every side called on him to lead on immediately, and make use of the present ardour of the troops; who, as if the business were not to fight against so many thousands, but to slaughter an equal number of cattle, were ready to force their way, through trenches and ramparts, into the camp, if the enemy would not come out to battle. Cneius Domitius was sent to discover the nature of the ground, and on what side the enemies' rampart could be approached; after he returned with a full account of every particular, it was resolved that the camp should next day be moved nearer to the enemy. On the third day, the standards were carried forward into the middle of the plain, and the soldiers began to form line. Antiochus, thinking that he could hesitate no longer, lest, by declining a battle, he should damp the courage of his men, and add to the confidence of the enemy, drew out his forces in person, advancing only so far from the enemy's camp as to make it apparent that he was willing to come to an engagement. The Roman line was nearly uniform throughout with respect to both men and armour. There were two Roman legions, and two brigades of allies and Latins, each containing five thousand four hundred men. The Romans formed the centre, the Latins the wings. The spearmen composed the first line, the first-rank men the second, and the veterans closed the rear. Beyond this, which formed as it were the regular line of battle, the consul formed on the right of it, and in one continued line, the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, intermixed with Achæan targeteers, making about three thousand foot; beyond these he posted somewhat less than three thousand horse, of which, eight hundred belonged to Eumenes; all the rest of the cavalry were Roman: and in the extremity of the line he placed bodies of Trallians and Cretans, equal in number, who were composed of five hundred men each. His left wing did not appear to require such supports, because a river and steep banks flanked it. However, four troops of horse were posted there. This was the whole amount of the Roman force, besides two thousand Macedonians and Thracians, who had, as volunteers, accompanied the army. These were left to guard the camp. They placed sixteen elephants behind the veterans, in reserve. For besides that they were not supposed capable of withstanding the great number of the king's elephants, which were no less than fifty-four, the African elephants are not able to cope with an equal number of Indians, either because they are inferior to them in size, (in which the Indian have much the advantage,) or in unyielding courage.

### 40

The king's line was more chequered with troops of many nations, dissimilar both in their persons and armour. There was a body of sixteen thousand men armed after the manner of the Macedonians, which were called a phalanx. This formed the centre, and was divided in front into ten parts. These parts were separated by two elephants placed between each two; the line of soldiers was thirty-two ranks deep from point to rear.

This was the main strength of the king's army, and it exhibited a formidable sight, both in the other particulars of its appearance, and in the elephants towering so high among the soldiers. They were of huge bulk, and the caparisons of their foreheads and crests, and the towers fixed on their backs, with four armed men standing on each tower, besides the managers of the beasts, gave them a terrific appearance. On the right side of the phalanx, he placed five hundred Gallogræcian horsemen. To these he joined three thousand horsemen clad in complete armour, whom they call Cataphracti, or mailed. To these were added a brigade of near a thousand horse, which they called Agema. They were Medes, all picked men, with a mixture of horsemen from many other nations in that part of the world. Adjoining these, a body of sixteen elephants was placed in reserve. On the same side, a little farther on towards the wing, was the royal cohort; these were called Argyraspides<sup>246</sup>, from the kind of armour which they wore. Next to these stood one thousand two hundred Dahan bowmen on horseback; then, three thousand light infantry, part Cretans and part Trallians, the number of each being equal; adjoining these, were two thousand five hundred Mysian archers. Four thousand Cyrtæan slingers and Elymæan archers mixed together covered the flank of the wing. Next to the left flank of the phalanx, stood one thousand five hundred Gallogræcian horse, and two thousand Cappadocians, (which were sent by king Ariarathes,) wearing the same kind of armour; then, auxiliaries of all kinds mixed together, two thousand seven hundred; then, three thousand mailed horsemen; then, one thousand other horsemen, being a royal cohort, equipped with lighter coverings for themselves and their horses, but, in other respects, not unlike the rest; they were mostly Syrians, with a mixture of Phrygians and Lydians. In the front of this body of cavalry were the chariots armed with scythes, and a kind of camels called dromedaries. These were ridden by Arabian archers, who carried thin swords four cubits long, that they might be able to reach the enemy from so great a height. Then followed another multitude, like that in the right wing,—first, Tarentines; then, two thousand five hundred Gallogræcian horsemen; then, one thousand new Cretans, and one thousand five hundred Carians and Cilicians, armed in the same manner; then, an equal number of Trallians, with three thousand targeteers (these were Pisidians, Pamphylians, and Lycians); then came brigades of Cyrtæans and Elymæans, equal to the auxiliaries placed on the right wing, and sixteen elephants, separated by a small interval. The king himself was in the right wing; the command of the left he gave to his son Seleucus, and Antipater, the son of his brother; the centre was intrusted to three, Minio, Zeuxis, and Philip, the master of the elephants.

#### 41

A morning mist, which as the day advanced rose up in clouds, spread a general darkness; and the moisture issuing from it, and coming from the southward, wetted every thing. This circumstance, which was scarcely any inconvenience to the Romans, was very disadvantageous to the king's troops. For the indistinctness of the light did not take away from the Romans the view of all parts of their line, since it was of moderate length; and the moisture tended but little to blunt their swords and javelins, as they were almost all heavy-armed troops. The king's soldiers, as the line was so extensive, could not even see their wings from the centre, much less could those at the extremities see one another; and then, the moisture relaxed the strings of their bows, their slings, and the thongs of their javelins. Besides, the armed chariots, by means of which

<sup>246</sup> Silver shield-bearers.

Antiochus had trusted utterly to disorder the enemy's line, turned the terror of their operations on their owners. The manner in which they were armed was this: from the yoke, on both sides of the pole, they had lances.<sup>247</sup> ten cubits long, projecting like horns, to transfix any thing that came in their way. At each extremity of the yoke, two scythe-blades projected, one on a line with the yoke, the other on its lower side, pointing to the ground; the former to cut through any thing that might come within its reach on the side, the other to catch such as fell, or endeavoured to go under it. At each extremity of the axle of the wheels, two scythe-blades were fastened in the same manner. The king, as we mentioned before, had placed the chariots so armed in the front, because if they were placed in the rear, or between the ranks, they must be driven through their own soldiers. Which when Eumenes saw, not being ignorant of the method of opposing them, and knowing that aid of that sort might be rendered as dangerous to one side as the other, if an opponent should cast terror into the horses, rather than attack them in a regular battle, ordered the Cretan bowmen, and slingers, and javelin-bearers, with some troops of horse, not in a body, but scattering themselves as widely as possible, to rush forwards, and pour weapons on them from all sides at once. This storm, as it were, partly by the wounds made by the missile weapons thrown from every quarter, and partly by the discordant shouts raised, so terrified the horses, that immediately, as if unbridled, they galloped about at random. The light infantry, the lightly-accoutred slingers, and the active Cretans, quickly evaded their encounter. The horsemen, following them, increased the tumult and the terror of the horses and camels, which were likewise affrighted, the clamour being multiplied and increased by the rest of the crowd of bystanders. By these means, the chariots were driven out of the ground between the two lines. When this fruitless mimicry of war was over, both parties gave the signal, and advanced to a regular engagement.

#### 42

But that futile affair was soon the cause of real loss. For the auxiliaries in reserve, which were posted next, being terrified at the turn and disorder of the chariots, betook themselves to flight, leaving all exposed as far as the post of the mailed horsemen; to whom when the Roman cavalry, after dispersing the reserves, approached, they did not sustain their first onset. Some fled, and others, being delayed by the weight of their coverings and armour, were put to the sword. The whole left wing then gave way, and the auxiliaries, posted between the cavalry and the phalanx, being thrown into confusion, the terror spread even to the centre. Here the ranks were broken, and by the flying soldiers rushing in between them, the use of their long spears, called by the Macedonians sarissas, was hindered. The Roman legions advanced and discharged their

<sup>247</sup> The difficulty, which Scheffer, Crevier, and Drakenborch apparently had, in interpreting this passage with the reading (*decem cubita*), seems to me to have arisen principally from their misinterpretation of the word *cuspis*; which in the classics is no where used as the edge of a cutting, but the point of a piercing instrument—*differt a mucrone, quæ est acies gladii.*—Facciolati. That the *cuspides*, here spoken of, must have been piercing, not cutting instruments, is likewise proved from the meaning of the word “transfigerent,” which is never used in reference to a cutting instrument. Taking it for granted, then, that the “*cuspitibus decem cubita*” were spears ten feet long, fastened to the pole and extended from the yoke, I can easily understand how they, being so long, were likely to clear the way far in front of the horses, while the “*falces*” on either side were intended to cut down those that escaped the *cuspides*; and this being the case, I see no necessity for Scheffer's reading, “*cubito*,” which Crevier also seems to favour, and Drakenborch's “*duo*” for “*decem*,” both of which seem to have been adopted, owing to the seeming improbability of cutting weapons so long, and proportionably heavy, being attached to the poles of chariots.

javelins among them in disorder. Even the elephants, standing in the way, did not deter the Roman soldiers, who had learned by experience in the African wars, both to evade the onset of the animal, and, getting at one side of it, either to ply it with darts, or, if they could come near enough, to wound its sinews with their swords. The front of the centre was now almost crushed, and the reserve, being surrounded, was attacked on the rear, when the Romans perceived their troops in another quarter flying, and heard shouts of dismay almost close to their camp. For Antiochus, who commanded the right wing, having observed that the enemy, through confidence in the river, had placed no reserve there, except four troops of horse, and that these, keeping close to the infantry, left an open space on the bank of the river, made a charge on them, with a body of auxiliaries and mailed horsemen. He not only attacked them in front, but having surrounded the wing in the direction of the river, pressed them in flank also; until the routed cavalry first, and then the infantry that were next them, fled with precipitation to the camp.

#### 43

Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, son of Marcus Lepidus, who, in a few years after, became chief pontiff, had the charge of the camp. He, when he saw the troops flying, went out, with his whole guard, to meet them. He ordered them, first, to halt, and then to return to the fight; at the same time upbraiding them with cowardice and disgraceful flight. He then proceeded to threats,—that if they did not obey his orders, they would rush blindly on their own destruction. At last he gave orders to his own men to kill the foremost of the runaways, and with sword-wounds to drive the crowd of fugitives back against the enemy. The greater fear now overcame the less. Compelled by the danger on either side, they first halted, and then returned to the encounter, and Æmilius, with his guard, consisting of two thousand men of distinguished valour, gave a vigorous check to the furious pursuit of Antiochus. At the same time, Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, came up in good time with two hundred horse from the right wing, by which the left of the enemy had been routed, at the beginning of the engagement, as soon as he observed the flight of his friends on the left, and the tumult near the camp. When Antiochus saw those men renewing the fight, whom, but just before, he had seen running away, and another large body advancing from the camp, with a third from the line, he turned his horse to flight. The Romans, thus victorious in both wings, advanced over heaps of slain, (which had been raised principally in the centre, where the strength of the bravest men and the armour by its weight had prevented flight,) to plunder the camp. The horsemen of Eumenes first, and then the rest of the cavalry, pursued the enemy through all parts of the plain, and killed the hindmost as they overtook them. But the fugitives suffered more severe loss by the chariots, elephants, and camels intermixed, and by their own disorderly crowd; for, after they once broke their ranks, they rushed, as if blind, one upon another, and were trodden to death by the trampling of the beasts. In the camp also there was great slaughter committed, rather greater than even in the field; for the flight of the first generally tended to the camp. The guard, through confidence in the great number of these, defended their works with the more obstinacy. The Romans having been stopped at the gates and rampart, which they had expected to take at the first rush, when they did at length break through, actuated by rage, made the more dreadful carnage.

#### 44

Up to fifty thousand foot and three thousand horse are said to have been killed that day; one thousand four hundred taken, with fifteen elephants and their drivers. Of the

Romans, many were wounded, but no more than three hundred foot and twenty-four horsemen killed; and of the troops of Eumenes, twenty-five. That day the victors, after plundering the enemy's camp, returned with great store of booty to their own. On the day following, they stripped the bodies of the slain, and collected the prisoners.

Ambassadors came from Thyatira and Magnesia, near Sipylus, with a surrender of those cities. Antiochus fled, with very few attendants; but greater numbers collecting about him on the road, he arrived at Sardis, with a tolerable body of soldiers, about the middle of the night. Then when he heard that his son Seleucus and several of his friends had gone on to Apamea, he likewise at the fourth watch set out for Apamea with his wife and daughter, having committed to Zeno the command of the city, and having placed Timon over Lydia; which being disregarded, ambassadors are sent to the consul, by the unanimous voice of the citizens and soldiers who were in the garrison.

#### 45

About this time deputies came from Tralles, from Magnesia on the Masander, and from Ephesus, to surrender those cities. Polyxenidas had quitted Ephesus, as soon as he heard of the battle; and, sailing with the fleet as far as Patara, in Lycia, where, through fear of the Rhodian fleet stationed at Megiste, he landed, and, with a small retinue, pursued his journey, by land, into Syria. The several states of Asia placed themselves under the protection of the consul and the dominion of the Roman people. He was now at Sardis, whither Publius Scipio came from Elæa, as soon as he was able to endure the fatigue of travelling. Shortly after, a herald from Antiochus solicited through Publius Scipio, and obtained from the consul, permission for the king to send ambassadors. In a few days' time, Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia, and Antipater, the king's nephew, arrived. These, having first had a meeting with Eumenes, whom they expected to find most averse to peace, on account of old disputes, and seeing him better disposed than they or the king could have hoped, addressed themselves then to Publius Scipio, and through him to the consul: and a numerous council being granted to them at their request to declare their commission, Zeuxis said, "we have not any thing to propose ourselves, but rather to inquire from you, Romans, by what atonements we can expiate the error of our king, and obtain pardon and peace from our conquerors. You have ever pardoned, with the greatest magnanimity, vanquished kings and nations. With how much greater and more placable spirit ought you to act now, after your late victory, which has made you masters of the whole world! You ought now, like deities laying aside all disputes with mortal beings, to protect and spare the human race." It had been determined, before the ambassadors came, what answer should be given them; and it was agreed that Africanus should deliver it. He is said to have spoken thus: "Of those things that are in the gift of the immortal gods, we, Romans, possess as much as the gods have been pleased to bestow. In every state of fortune we have had, and have, the same spirit for this, under the sway of our reason: prosperity has never elated, nor adversity depressed it. Of the truth of this, (to omit other instances,) I might produce your friend Hannibal as a convincing proof: but I can appeal to yourselves. We now conquerors offer to you conquered the same conditions which we offered to you when on an equal footing, at the time that you made proposals of peace, after we crossed the Hellespont, before we beheld the king's camp or army, when the chance of war was equal and the issue uncertain. Resign all pretensions in Europe, and cede that part of Asia which lies on this side of Mount Taurus. Then, towards the expenses of the war, ye

shall pay fifteen thousand talents of Eubœa;<sup>248</sup> five hundred immediately, two thousand five hundred when the senate and people of Rome shall have ratified the peace, and one thousand annually for twelve years after. It likewise pleases us, that four hundred talents be paid to Eumenes, and the quantity of corn remaining unpaid, of what was due to his father. When we shall have settled these articles, it will be a sort of pledge, that we may consider it certain that you will perform them, if you give twenty hostages such as we shall choose. But it never will be clear to us that the Roman people will enjoy peace where Hannibal shall be. Him, therefore, we demand, above all. Ye shall also deliver up Thoas, the Ætolian, the fomentor of the Ætolian war, who armed you against us by the assurances of their support, and them by assurances of yours; and, together with him, Mnesilochus, the Acarnanian, and Philo, and Eubulidas, of Chalcis. The king will now make peace under worse circumstances on his side, because he makes it later than he might have done. If he now causes any delay, let him consider, that it is more difficult to pull down the majesty of kings from the highest to the middle stage, than it is to precipitate it from the middle to the lowest." The ambassadors were sent by the king with these instructions, that they should accede to any terms of peace. It was resolved, therefore, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome. The consul distributed his army in winter quarters at Magnesia, on the Mæander, Tralles, and Ephesus. A few days after, the king brought the hostages to Ephesus to the consul; the ambassadors also, who were to go to Rome, arrived. Eumenes set out for Rome at the same time with the king's ambassadors, and they were followed by embassies from all the states of Asia.

#### 46

Whilst these things are being transacted in Asia, two proconsuls arrived almost together at Rome, from their provinces, with hopes of triumphing: Quintus Minucius, from Liguria, and Manius Acilius, from Ætolia. After hearing their services, the senate refused a triumph to Minucius, but, with great unanimity, decreed one to Acilius, and he rode through the city in triumph over king Antiochus and the Ætolians. In the procession were carried, two hundred and thirty military ensigns; of unwrought silver, three thousand pounds' weight; of coin, one hundred and thirteen thousand Attic tetradrachms;<sup>249</sup> and two hundred and forty-eight thousand<sup>250</sup> cistophoruses;<sup>251</sup> of chased silver vessels, a great number, and of great weight. He bore, also, the king's silver, furniture, and splendid wardrobe; golden crowns, presents from the allied states, forty-five; with spoils of all kinds. He led thirty-six prisoners of distinction, generals of the Ætolian and royal armies. Damocritus, the Ætolian general, a few days before, when he had escaped out of prison in the night, being overtaken by the guards on the bank of the Tiber, stabbed himself with a sword before he was seized. Nothing was wanted but the soldiers, to follow the general's chariot; in every other respect the triumph was magnificent, both in the grandeur of the procession and the fame of his achievements. Sad intelligence from Spain diminished the joy of this triumph, viz. that in an unsuccessful battle in the territory of the Bastitani, under the command of Lucius Æmilius, the proconsul, at the town of Lycon, there fell six thousand of the Roman army against the Lusitanians; and that the rest, being driven in a panic within their rampart, found it difficult to defend the camp, and had retreated, by forced marches, as if flying,

<sup>248</sup> About 2,900,000*l.*

<sup>249</sup> 14,596*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

<sup>250</sup> 4270*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*

<sup>251</sup> A coin so called, from its bearing the image of a priest carrying in a box (cistus) the consecrated things, used in the mysteries of Ceres, and of other deities. Its value, 7-1/2*d.*, was equal to four drachmas.

into a friendly country. Such were the accounts from Spain. Lucius Aurunculeius, the prætor, introduced to the senate the deputies of Placentia and Cremona, in Cisalpine Gaul. When they complained of the want of colonists, some having been carried off by the casualties of war, others by sickness, and several having left the colonies, through disgust at the vicinity of the Gauls; on this, the senate decreed, that "Caius Lælius, the consul, if he thought proper, should enrol six thousand families, to be distributed among these colonies, and that Lucius Aurunculeius, the prætor, should appoint commissioners to conduct the colonists." Accordingly, Marcus Atilius Serranus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, son of Publius, and Lucius Valerius Tappo, son of Caius, were nominated to that office.

#### 47

Not long after, as the time of the consular elections drew nigh, the consul, Caius Lælius, came home to Rome from Gaul. He not only enrolled the colonists, according to a decree of the senate, passed in his absence, as a supplement to Cremona and Placentia, but proposed,—and, on his recommendation, the senate voted,—that two new colonies should be established in the lands which had belonged to the Boians. At the same time arrived a letter from the prætor, Lucius Æmilius, containing intelligence of the sea-fight that took place at Myonesus, and of Lucius Scipio the consul having transported his army into Asia. A supplication for one day was decreed, on account of the naval victory, and another, for the second day, in order that, as the Roman army had then for the first time pitched a camp in Asia, this circumstance might turn out prosperous and happy. The consul was ordered to sacrifice twenty of the greater victims on occasion of each supplication. The election of consuls was then held with a warm contest. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus sought the office under general censure, for having, in order to sue for the office, left his province of Sicily without having asked the senate for permission to do so. Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Marcus Valerius Messala, were his competitors for the office. Fulvius alone was elected consul, since the rest could not make up the number of centuries; and the next day, rejecting Lepidus, (for Messala had declined,) he declared Cneius Manlius his colleague. Then were chosen prætors, two of the name of Quintus Fabius, Labeo and Pictor, (the latter of whom had in that year been inaugurated flamen quirinalis,) Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, Spurius Posthumius Albinus, Lucius Plautius Hypsæus, and Lucius Bæbius Dives.

#### 48

Valerius Antias says, that at the time when Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Cneius Manlius Vulso were consuls, a rumour prevailed strongly at Rome, and was received as almost certain, that the consul, Lucius Scipio, and with him Publius Africanus, had been invited by the king to a conference, under pretence of restoring young Scipio, and were both seized, and that when the leaders were thus made prisoners, the enemy's army was immediately led up to the Roman camp, that this was stormed, and the forces entirely cut off; that in consequence of this, the Ætolians had taken courage and refused to obey orders; and that several of their principal men had gone into Macedonia, Dardania, and Thrace, to hire auxiliaries; that Aulus Tarentius Varro, and Marcus Claudius Lepidus, had been sent by Aulus Cornelius, proprætor, from Ætolia, to carry this intelligence to Rome. To this story Valerius annexed that the Ætolian ambassadors were asked in the senate this question among others, from whom they had heard that the Roman generals were made prisoners by king Antiochus in Asia, and the army cut off; and that the Ætolians answered, that they had been informed of it by their own ambassadors, who

were with the consul. As I have no other authority for this report, it has neither been confirmed in my opinion, nor has it been overlooked as groundless.

#### 49

When the Ætolian ambassadors were brought to an audience of the senate, although their cause and their circumstances required, that they, by an ample confession, should suppliantly seek pardon for what was either their misfortune or their fault, yet having begun with enumerating their services to the Roman people, and talking reproachfully of their own valour in the war with Philip, they offended the ears of the senators by the insolence of their discourse. By calling up old and forgotten matters, they brought the affair to this, that the memory of many more injuries than services done by that nation occurred to the minds of the senate; and that they, who needed compassion, provoked anger and hatred. They were asked by one senator whether they yielded the disposal of themselves to the Roman people; then, by another, whether they would have the same allies and enemies as the Roman people: when they gave no answer, they were ordered to withdraw from the senate-house. The whole senate then, almost with one voice, cried out, that “the Ætolians were still entirely devoted to Antiochus; and that on that solitary hope their spirits depended. Wherefore the war ought to be carried on against such decided enemies, and their haughty spirits tamed.” Another circumstance inflamed the resentment of the senate, because that, in the very moment in which they were soliciting peace from the Romans, they were making war on Dolopia and Athamania. A decree of the senate was passed, on the motion of Manius Acilius, who had defeated Antiochus and the Ætolians, that “the Ætolian ambassadors should be ordered to leave the city that day, and quit Italy within fifteen days.” Aulus Terentius Varro was appointed to escort them on the road; and a threatening notice was given to them, that, “if any embassy from the Ætolians should thenceforth come to Rome, unless with the permission of the general who might be in command of that province, and with a Roman deputy, all such would be treated as enemies.”—In this manner were the Ætolians dismissed.

#### 50

The consuls then consulted the senate concerning the provinces; and it was resolved that they should cast lots for Ætolia and Asia. To him who should obtain by lot Asia, was assigned the army which Lucius Scipio then had; and, as a reinforcement, four thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse, and of the allies and Latins eight thousand foot and four hundred horse: with which force he was to carry on the war with Antiochus. To the other consul was decreed the army in Ætolia; and he was allowed to raise, for a reinforcement, the same number of natives and allies as his colleague. The same consul was likewise ordered to equip and take with him the ships that had been fitted out the year before; and not only to wage war with the Ætolians, but also to pass over into the island of Cephallenia. Instructions were given to the same consul, that if he could do it to the advantage of the republic, he should come home to Rome to hold the elections; for, besides that the annual magistrates were to be replaced, it was resolved that censors also should be created; and if any particular business should detain him, he was then to acquaint the senate, that he could not attend at the time of the elections. Ætolia fell by lot to Marcus Fulvius; Asia, to Cneius Manlius. The prætors then cast lots, and Spurius Postumius Albinus obtained the city and foreign jurisdiction; Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, Sicily; Quintus Fabius Pictor, the priest of Romulus, Sardinia; Quintus Fabius Labeo, the fleet; Lucius Plautius Hypsæus, Hither Spain; Lucius Bæbius Dives, Farther

Spain. One legion, and the squadron which was then in Sicily, were decreed for that province; and it was ordered that the new prætor should levy on the Sicilians two tenths of the corn; one of which he was to send into Asia, the other into Ætolia. It was also ordered, that the same impost should be collected in Sardinia, and the corn sent to the same armies as the Sicilian corn. A reinforcement was given to Lucius Bæbius, for Spain, one thousand Roman foot and fifty horse, with six thousand Latin foot and two hundred horse. To Plautius Hypsæus, for the Hither Spain, were assigned one thousand Roman foot, and two thousand Latins, with two hundred horse; so that with these supplies the two Spains should have each a legion. In the case of the magistrates of the preceding year, the command was prolonged to Caius Lælius for a year, with his present army, and to Publius Junius, the proprætor in Etruria, with the army which, was then in the province, and Marcus Tuccius, the proprætor in Bruttium and Apulia.

## 51

Before the prætors went into their provinces, a dispute arose between Publius Licinius, chief pontiff, and Quintus Fabius Pictor, priest of Romulus; such as had happened in the recollection of their fathers, between Lucius Metellus and Postumius Albinus. Metellus, who was chief pontiff at the time, had detained, for the performance of the business of religion, Albinus, the consul, who was setting out with his colleague, Caius Lutatius, to the fleet at Sicily; and now Publius Licinius detained the prætor Fabius from going to Sardinia. The matter was agitated in stormy debates, both in the senate and before the commons: authoritative commands were issued on both sides, pledges were seized, fines imposed, the tribunes applied to, and appeals made to the people. At last religion prevailed, so that the flamen obeyed the order of the pontiff; and the fines were remitted by order of the people. The senate by their authority prevented the prætor when attempting to abdicate the magistracy through anger at the loss of his province, and decreed that he should dispense justice among foreigners. The levies being finished in a few days, (for the soldiers to be enlisted were not many,) the consuls and prætors repaired to their provinces. Then a report of the transactions in Asia spread vaguely without an author; and in a few days after, certain information, and a letter from the general, arrived at Rome; which occasioned joy, not so much from recent fear, (for they had ceased to fear him who was conquered in Ætolia,) as from former fame; because by them commencing this war he was considered as a very formidable enemy, both on account of his own strength and because he had Hannibal to direct the business of the war. The senate determined that no change should be made in their sending the consul into Asia, and that no diminution of his forces should take place through apprehension of a war with the Gauls.

## 52

In a short time after, Marcus Aurelius Cotta, deputy from Lucius Scipio, with ambassadors from king Antiochus and king Eumenes, and the Rhodian delegates, arrived at Rome. Cotta, first in the senate, and then by their order in the assembly of the people, stated the services which were performed in Asia. Then a supplication for three days was decreed, and forty victims of the greater kinds ordered to be sacrificed. Then audience was given first to Eumenes. He, when he had briefly returned thanks to the senate, "because they had relieved him and his brother from a siege, and protected his kingdom from the unjust attacks of Antiochus" and had congratulated them "because they had carried on affairs successfully by sea and land, and because they had utterly routed, driven out of his camp, and expelled king Antiochus, first from Europe, and then

from all Asia on this side of Mount Taurus;" then said "he preferred that they should learn his own deserts from their generals and deputies, rather than from his mouth." All being pleased with his discourse, and desiring him to tell frankly, bashfulness being for the present laid aside, "what recompence he thought proper to be given by the senate and people of Rome;" assuring him that "the senate were inclined to act with greater zeal and more abundant liberality, if possible, according to his deserts." To this the king answered, "if the choice of rewards were offered him by others, if only permission to consult the Roman senate were given to him, he would have availed himself of the advice of that most noble body, lest he might appear to have been either immoderate in his desires or shameless in his requests. But now, when they themselves were the donors, it was much more proper that their munificence towards him and his brothers should be regulated by their own judgment." The senate were not discouraged by this answer from desiring him to speak; and when there had been a long contest of kindness on one side, and reserve on the other, whilst they deferred to one another with a politeness not more mutual than insuperable, Eumenes departed from the senate-house. The senate persisted in their resolution so far as to say, "that it was absurd that the king should not know with what hopes or request he came. That he himself best knew what would be suitable to his own dominions. He was much better acquainted with Asia than were the senate. That he ought to be called back and compelled to state what were his wishes and sentiments."

### 53

The king, being brought back by the prætor into the senate-house, and desired to speak freely, began thus: "Conscript fathers. I should have persevered in being silent, but that I knew you would presently call in the Rhodian ambassadors, and that when they had been heard, the necessity of speaking would be imposed on me. And this my speech will be the more difficult on this account, because their demands will be of such a nature, that they will appear not only to make no demands which may be contrary to my interests, but not even to request any thing which may be intimately connected with themselves. For they will plead the cause of the Grecian states, and allege that they ought to be set free; which point being gained, to whom is it doubtful that they will alienate from us not only those states which shall be liberated, but likewise our ancient tributaries; and that after having bound them under so great an obligation, they will keep them under the denomination of allies, in reality subject to their government and entirely at their disposal? And, if it pleases the gods, while they will aspire to this so great power, they will pretend that this is no way connected with them; they will only say, that it is becoming you and conformable to your past conduct. You must be cautious, therefore, lest this speech deceive you; and lest by an unfair distribution, you not only depress some of your allies too much, while you exalt others beyond measure, but also put those who bore arms against you in a better state than your allies and friends. As to what regards myself in other cases, I should prefer to appear to any one to have yielded within the limit of my right, rather than to have struggled too obstinately in maintaining it; but in a contest of friendship and good-will towards you, and of the respect to be paid to you, I cannot with any patience bear to be outdone. This was the principal inheritance that I received from my father; who, of all the inhabitants of Asia and Greece, was the first who embraced your friendship; and this he maintained with constant and invariable fidelity to the last hour of his life. Nor did he display merely a faithful and kind inclination towards you, but was actively engaged in all the wars which you waged in Greece, whether on land or sea; he aided you with all kinds of

provisions in such a manner, that not one of your allies could vie with him in any respect; and finally, while he was exhorting the Bœotians to an alliance with you, having fainted in the middle of his discourse, he shortly expired. In his steps have I trodden; and though I could not surpass the warmth of his wishes, and his zeal in courting your friendship—for these could not be exceeded—yet fortune, the times, Antiochus, and the war waged in Asia, afforded me occasions of surpassing him in real acts and merits, and valuable services. Antiochus, king of Asia, and of a part of Europe, offered me his daughter in marriage; offered to restore immediately the states that had revolted from us, and gave great hopes of enlarging my dominions, if I would have carried on war in conjunction with him against you. I will not boast on this account, because I was guilty of no trespass against you; but I will rather mention those instances of conduct which are worthy of the very early friendship between our house and you. I assisted your commanders with forces by land and sea, so that not one of your allies can stand in competition with me. I supplied them with provisions by land and sea. I was present in all the naval engagements which are fought in many places; and I never was sparing of my labour and danger. I underwent a siege, the most dreadful suffering that can occur in war, being shut up in Pergamus, in the utmost danger both of my kingdom and of my life. Afterwards when liberated from the siege, although in one part Antiochus, in another Seleucus, were encamped about the citadel of my kingdom, having deserted my own affairs, I went with my whole fleet to the Hellespont, to meet your consul Lucius Scipio, to assist in transporting his army. From the time that the army came over into Asia, I never quitted the consul; no Roman soldier was more regular in his attendance in your camp, than I and my brothers. No expedition, no cavalry action, was undertaken without me. In the field I took that post, and I maintained that ground, in which the consul wished me to be. I do not intend, conscript fathers, to say who in that war can be compared to me in services towards you. I would not hesitate to compare myself to any of those nations or kings whom you hold in great honour. Masinissa was your enemy before he became your ally; nor did he repair to you with his auxiliaries when his kingdom was safe; but dethroned, exiled, and stripped of all his forces, he fled for refuge to your camp with one troop of horse. Nevertheless, because he faithfully and diligently adhered to your cause in Africa, against Syphax and the Carthaginians, you not only restored him to the throne of his father, but by adding to his domain the most opulent part of the kingdom of Syphax, rendered him the most potent of all the kings in Africa. What reward then, and what honour are we worthy of at your hands, who have never been foes, but always allies? My father, myself, my brothers, have carried arms in your cause by sea and land, not only in Asia, but in countries remote from our home; in Peloponnesus, in Bœotia, in Ætolia, during the wars with Philip, and Antiochus, and the Ætolians. Some one may say, what therefore do you demand? Conscript fathers, since I must obey you when you desire me to explain my wishes: if you have removed Antiochus beyond the mountains of Taurus with the intention of holding those countries yourselves, I wish for no other people to settle near me, no other neighbours than you; nor could I hope that my kingdom would be rendered safer or firmer by any other event. But if your purpose is to retire hence, and withdraw your armies, I may venture to affirm, that not one of your allies is more deserving than I am of possessing what you have acquired. But then it will be a glorious act to liberate states that are in slavery. I agree that it will, provided they have committed nothing hostile against you. But if they took part with Antiochus, is it not much more becoming your wisdom and equity, to consult the interest of your well-deserving friends than that of your enemies?"

The king's speech was pleasing to the senate, and it was very evident that they would do all things liberally, and with a desire to serve him. As one of the Rhodian ambassadors was absent, an embassy from Smyrna was next introduced, which was briefly disposed of. When the Smyrnæans were highly complimented because they had resolved to endure the last extremities rather than surrender to the king, the Rhodians were next introduced. The chief of their embassy, after stating the commencement of their friendship with the Roman people and merits of the Rhodians, first in the war with Philip, and afterwards in that with Antiochus, said: "Conscript fathers, there is nothing in the whole course of our affairs that gives us more trouble and uneasiness than that we should have a debate with Eumenes; with whom alone, of all the kings in the world, each of us as individuals has a private tie of hospitality, and, what weighs more with us, our state has a public one. But, conscript fathers, it is not our own inclinations that disunite us, but the nature of circumstances which exercise an all-powerful influence, so that we, being free ourselves, plead the cause of other men's freedom; while kings wish to have all things subservient and subject to their command. Yet, be that as it may, our respect towards the king is an obstacle to us, rather than that the debate is intricate, or likely to give you perplexity in your deliberations. For if no honour could be otherwise paid to the king, your friend and ally, who has merited highly in this very war, and concerning whose reward the consideration is, unless you should deliver free states into his power, the deliberation would be a difficult one, lest you should either send away a king, your friend, without due honour, or depart from your own institutions, and sully now, by the servitude of so many states, the glory which you have acquired in the war with Philip. But from this necessity of diminishing either your gratitude towards your friend, or your own glory, fortune completely frees you. For, through the bounty of the gods, your victory is not more glorious than it is rich, so that it can easily acquit you of that just as a debt. Lycaonia, both the Phrygias, with Pisidia, the Chersonese, and the adjoining parts of Europe, are all in your power; and any one of these, given to the king, can double his dominions; but if they were all conferred upon him, they would set him on a level with the greatest of kings. You have it, therefore, in your power to enrich your allies with the prizes of the war; and, not to depart from your usual line of policy, and to remember what motive you assigned as your cause of war, formerly against Philip, latterly against Antiochus; what you performed on the conquest of Philip; what is now desired and expected from you, not so much because you have done it before, as because it becomes you to do it. For different persons look on different circumstances as specious and plausible motives for taking up arms. Some go to war to get possession of land, some of villages, some of towns, some of ports, and some of the sea-coast. Such things you never coveted, when you had them not; and you cannot covet them now, when the whole world is under your dominion. You ever fought for your dignity and glory, in the sight of the whole human race, which long since has learned to respect your name and empire next to that of the immortal gods. And to procure and acquire these was an arduous task. I know not whether it may be more difficult to retain them. You have undertaken to defend from the slavery of kings the liberty of a nation the most ancient and most highly distinguished, both by the fame of its exploits, and by universal praise for politeness and learning; it becomes you to make this patronage of an entire nation, received under your care and protection, perpetual. The cities standing on the original soil, are not more Grecian than their colonies, which formerly migrated thence into Asia; nor has change of country changed either their race or manners. Every state among us has ventured to contend in a respectful contest, in every good quality and virtue, with its parents and founders. Most of you have visited the cities in Greece, and

those in Asia. We are surpassed in no other circumstance than that we are too far distant from you. We hear that the inhabitants of Marseilles (who, if nature, implanted, as it were, in their bosoms, could be overcome by the genius of the soil, would ere this have been rendered savage, by the many barbarous tribes surrounding them) are deservedly held in as high honour and esteem by you as if they were inhabitants of the very centre of Greece. For they have preserved, not only the sound of the language, the mode of dress, and the habit; but, above all, the manners, the laws, and a mind pure and untainted by contagion from their neighbours. The boundary of your empire, at present, is Mount Taurus. Nothing within that line ought to be thought remote. To whatever extent your arms have reached, let justice, emanating from Rome, spread. Let barbarians, with whom the commands of masters have always served instead of laws, have kings, in which government they delight; the Greeks endure their own fortune; they have a spirit like your own. They too, in former times, grasped at empire by their internal strength. They now pray that empire may remain to eternity where it is at present. They consider it sufficient that their liberty should be defended by your arms, since they are unable to protect it by their own. But it is objected, that some of their states sided with Antiochus. So did others, before, with Philip; so did the Tarentines with Pyrrhus. Not to enumerate other nations, Carthage enjoys liberty and its own laws. Consider, conscript fathers, how much you owe to this example, set by yourselves. You will surely make up your mind to refuse to the ambition of Eumenes, what you refused to your own most just resentment. With what brave and faithful exertions we, Rhodians, have assisted you, both in this late war, and in all the wars that you have waged in that part of the world, we leave to your own judgment. We now, in peace, offer you such advice, that if you conform to it, all the world will judge that you used your victory with more honour to yourselves, than that with which you gained it." Their arguments seemed well adapted to the Roman grandeur.

## 55

After the Rhodians, the ambassadors of Antiochus were called. These, after the common practice of petitioners for pardon, acknowledged the king's error, and besought the conscript fathers to deliberate, mindful rather of their own mercy than of the misconduct of the king, who had suffered enough and more than enough of punishment; in fine, to ratify, by their authority, the peace granted by their general, Lucius Scipio, with the conditions on which he had given it. The senate voted, that the peace should be observed; and the people, a few days after, ordered it. The treaty was concluded in the Capitol with Antipater, chief of the embassy, and son of the brother of king Antiochus. Then the other embassies from Asia were heard, to all of whom was returned the same answer, that "the senate, in conformity with the usage of their ancestors, would send ten ambassadors to examine and adjust the affairs of Asia. That the general plan was to be this: that the places on this side of Mount Taurus, which had been within the limits of the realm of Antiochus, should be assigned to Eumenes, excepting Lycia and Caria, as far as the river Mæander; and that these last-mentioned should become the property of the Rhodians. That the other states of Asia, which had been tributary to Attalus, should likewise pay tribute to Eumenes; and such as had been tributary to Antiochus, should be free and independent." They appointed ten ambassadors, Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius Thermus, Appius Claudius Nero, Cneius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Junius Brutus, Lucius Aurunculeius, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Ælius Tubero.

## 56

To these full instructions were given to decide whatever required an examination of the place. Concerning the general plan the senate voted: that "all Lycaonia, both the Phrygias, and Mysia, the royal forests, and Lydia, and Ionia, excepting those towns which had been free on the day whereon the battle was fought with Antiochus, and excepting by name Magnesia at Sipylus; then the city of Caria, called also Hydrela, and the territory of Hydrela, stretching towards Phrygia, and the forts and villages on the river Mæander, and likewise the towns, excepting such as had been free before the war, and excepting by name, Telmissus, and the fort of Telmissium, and the lands which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmissus; all these which are written above, were ordered to be given to king Eumenes. Lycia was given to the Rhodians, excepting the same Telmissus, and the fort of Telmissium, with the lands which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmissus; these were withheld both from Eumenes and the Rhodians. To the latter was given also that part of Caria which lies beyond the river Mæander nearest to the island of Rhodes, with its towns, villages, forts, and lands, extending to Pisidia, excepting those towns which had been in a state of freedom on the day before that of the battle with Antiochus." The Rhodians, after returning thanks for these favours, mentioned the city of Soli in Cilicia, "the inhabitants of which," they said, "as well as themselves, derived their origin from Argos; and, in consequence of this relation, a brotherly affection subsisted between the two states. They, therefore, requested the senate, as an extraordinary favour, to exempt that city from subjection to the king." The ambassadors of Antiochus were called in, and the matter was proposed to them, but their consent could not be obtained; Antipater appealing to the treaty, in opposition to which, not only Soli, but Cilicia was sought by the Rhodians, and they were passing the summits of Taurus. The Rhodians being summoned again before the senate, the fathers, after they had stated how earnestly the king's ambassador opposed the measure, added that "if the Rhodians were of opinion that the affair particularly affected the dignity of their state, the senate would try by all means to overcome the obstinacy of the ambassadors." Hereupon the Rhodians, with greater warmth than before, returned thanks, and declared, that they would rather give way to the arrogance of Antipater, than afford any reason for disturbing the peace. So no change was made with respect to Soli.

## 57

During the time in which these things were transacted, deputies from Marseilles announced that Lucius Bæbius, the prætor, on his way into his province of Spain, had been surrounded by the Ligurians; that a great part of his retinue being slain, he himself, wounded, had made his escape, without his lictors, and with but few attendants, to Marseilles, and in three days after expired. The senate, on hearing of this misfortune, decreed, that Publius Junius Brutus, who was the proprætor in Etruria, having delivered the province and army to whichever of the lieutenants he should think proper, should go himself into Farther Spain, which was to be his province. This decree of the senate and a letter was sent by the prætor, Spurius Posthumius, into Etruria; and Publius Junius, the proprætor, set out for Spain, in which province, long before a successor could arrive, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who afterwards with great glory conquered king Perseus, though he had carried on matters unsuccessfully the year before, having raised an army by a hasty levy, fought a pitched battle with the Lusitanians. The enemy were routed, and put to flight; eighteen thousand were killed, three thousand three hundred taken, and their camp stormed. The fame of this victory made matters more tranquil in Spain. In the same year, on the third day before the calends of January, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Atilius Serranus, and Lucius Valerius Tappo, triumvirs, settled a Latin colony at

Bononia, according to a decree of the senate. Three thousand men were led to that place. Seventy acres were given to each horseman, fifty to each of the other colonists. The land had been taken from the Boian Gauls, who had formerly expelled the Tuscans.

## 58

In the same year, many distinguished men strove for the censorship; and this business, as if it furnished in itself insufficient grounds for dispute, gave rise to another contest of a much more violent nature. The candidates were, Titus Quintius Flamininus, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, who had defeated Antiochus and the *Ætolians* at Thermopylæ. The favour of the people inclined to the last in particular, because he had given many largesses, by which he had bound a great number of men to him. When so many nobles could ill brook that a man of no family should be so much preferred to them, Publius Sempronius Gracchus and Caius Sempronius Rutilus, tribunes of the people, commenced a prosecution against him, on a charge, that he had neither exhibited in his triumph, nor lodged in the treasury, a large part of the royal treasure, and of the booty taken in the camp of Antiochus. The depositions of the lieutenants-general and military tribunes were at variance. Beyond all the other witnesses, Marcus Cato was remarkable, whose authority, acquired by the uniform tenor of his life, the fact of his being a candidate diminished. He, when a witness, affirmed, that he had not observed, in the triumph, the gold and silver vessels which, on the taking of the camp, he had seen among the other spoils of the king. At last Glabrio declared, that he declined the election, chiefly to throw odium on Cato; since he, a candidate of an origin as humble as his own, by an abominable perjury, attacked that which men of noble birth bore with silent indignation. A fine of one hundred thousand *asses*<sup>252</sup> was proposed to the people against him. Twice there was a contest on the subject. On the third hearing, as the accused had declined the election, and the people were unwilling to vote about the fine, the tribunes also dropped the business. The censors elected were, Titus Quintius Flamininus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus.

## 59

At the same time, when an audience of the senate, in the temple of Apollo outside the city, was granted to Lucius *Æmilius* Regillus, who, with the fleet, had defeated the admiral of king Antiochus; after hearing the recital of his services, with what great fleets of the enemy he had engaged, how many of their ships he had sunk or taken, a naval triumph was voted him by the unanimous consent of the fathers. He triumphed on the calends of February. In this procession were carried forty-nine golden crowns; the quantity of money was by no means so great considering the appearance of the triumph over the king, being only thirty-four thousand seven hundred Attic tetradrachms,<sup>253</sup> and one hundred and thirty-two thousand three hundred cistophoruses.<sup>254</sup> Supplications were then performed, by order of the senate, in consideration of the successful services to the state, achieved in Spain by Lucius *Æmilius* Paulus. Not long after, Lucius Scipio arrived in the city; and, that he might not be inferior to his brother in point of a surname, he chose to be called Asiaticus. He spoke largely of his services both before the senate and a general assembly. There were some who judged that the war was greater by fame than by real difficulty; for it was

<sup>252</sup> 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

<sup>253</sup> 4482*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*

<sup>254</sup> About 2260*l.*

terminated entirely by one memorable engagement; and that the glory of that victory had been stripped of its bloom at Thermopylæ. But, to any person judging impartially, it must appear, that the light at Thermopylæ was with the Ætolians, rather than with the king. For with how small a portion of his own strength did Antiochus engage in that battle! whereas, in the other, in Asia, the strength of the whole Asiatic continent stood combined; for he had collected auxiliaries of all nations from the most remote quarters of the east. Justly, therefore, were the greatest possible honours paid to the immortal gods, for having rendered a most important victory easy in the acquisition; and a triumph was decreed to the commander. He triumphed in the intercalary month, the day before the calends of March; which triumph was greater in the display to the eye than that of Africanus his brother, yet if we recall to our memory the circumstances, and estimate the dangers and difficulty, it was no more to be compared to it, than if you would contrast one general with the other, Antiochus with Hannibal. He carried, in his triumph, military standards, two hundred and thirty-four; models of towns, one hundred and thirty-four; elephants' teeth, one thousand two hundred and thirty; crowns of gold, two hundred and twenty-four: pounds-weight of silver, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty; Attic tetradrachms, two hundred and twenty-four thousand;<sup>255</sup> cistophoruses, three hundred and thirty-one thousand and seventy;<sup>256</sup> gold pieces, called Philippians, one hundred and forty thousand;<sup>257</sup> silver vases, all engraved, to the amount of one thousand four hundred and twenty-four pounds' weight; of golden vases, one thousand and twenty-four pounds' weight; and of the king's generals, governors, and officers at court, thirty-two were led before his chariot. Twenty-five denariuses<sup>258</sup> were given to each of his soldiers, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman; and after the triumph, their pay and allowance of corn were doubled. He had already doubled them after the battle in Asia. He triumphed about a year after the expiration of his consulship.

## 60

Cneius Manlius, the consul, arrived in Asia, and Quintus Fabius Labeo, the prætor, reached the fleet, nearly at the same time. The consul did not want reasons for war against the Gauls; the sea was subjected to the Romans since the conquest of Antiochus. It appeared best to Quintus Fabius, considering to what thing in particular he should apply himself, lest he might seem to have had a province in which there was no employment, to sail over to the island of Crete. The Cydonians were engaged in war against the Gortynians and Gnoossians; and a great number of Roman and Italian captives were said to be in slavery in different parts of the island. Having sailed with the fleet from Ephesus, as soon as he touched the shore of Crete, he despatched orders to all the states to cease from hostilities, and to search each of them for the captives in its own cities and territory, and bring them to him; also, to send ambassadors to him, to treat of matters belonging alike to the Romans and Cretans. These orders had little influence on the Cretans. Excepting the Gortynians, none of them restored the captives. Valerius Antias relates, that as many as four thousand captives were restored out of the whole island, because the Cretans feared his threats of war; and that this was deemed a sufficient reason for Fabius obtaining from the senate a naval triumph, although he performed no other exploit. From Crete Fabius returned to Ephesus: having despatched

<sup>255</sup> 28,984*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

<sup>256</sup> 5699*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*

<sup>257</sup> 77,629*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

<sup>258</sup> 16*s.* 1-1/2*d.*

three ships from the latter place to the coast of Thrace, he ordered the garrisons of Antiochus to be withdrawn from Ænos and Maronea, that these cities might be left at liberty.

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## Book XXXVIII

*Marcus Fulvius the consul besieged Ambracia, in Epirus, and received its surrender; he reduced Cephallenia, and granted peace to the Ætolians, on their complete subjection. Cneius Manlius the consul, his colleague, conquered the Gallogræcians, including the Tolistoboi, Tectosagi, and Trocmi who, under the command of Brennus, had crossed over into Asia, since they were the only refractory nation on this side of Mount Taurus. Their origin is related, and likewise the manner in which they became masters of the territories which they now hold. An instance, also, of virtue and chastity in a woman is recorded: for when the wife of Ortiagon, king of the Gallogræcians, was a captive, she slew a centurion who was sentinel over her, because he offered her violence. The lustrum was closed by the censors. Two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and twenty-eight citizens were rated. A treaty of amity was entered into with Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. Cneius Manlius, although the ten ambassadors by whose advice he had written the terms of the treaty with Antiochus, opposed him, pleaded his cause in person in the senate, and triumphed over the Gallogræcians. Scipio Africanus, a day of trial being appointed him, as some say, by Quintus Petillius, tribune of the people, as others say, by Nævius, on the charge of having fraudulently deprived the treasury of the plunder taken from Antiochus, when the day of trial came on, was summoned to the rostrum, and said, "On this day, Romans, I conquered Carthage;" and, followed by the people, ascended the Capitol. Subsequently, that he might not receive any further annoyance from the injuries done him by the tribunes, he retired into voluntary exile at Liternum: it is uncertain whether he died there or at Rome, for monuments were erected to his memory in both places. Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, brother of Africanus, was accused and condemned on the same charge of embezzlement as his brother: when he was being led to prison, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, tribune of the commons, who had been previously on unfriendly terms with the Scipios, vetoed it; and in return for that kindness, received in marriage the daughter of Africanus. When the quæstors were sent to take public possession of the property of Lucius Scipio, not only was no trace of the king's money apparent in it, but not even so much was raised thereby as the amount in which he was fined. He would not receive the countless sum collected by his relations and friends: the mere necessaries of life were purchased back.*

### 1

While the war is being carried on in Asia, matters were not even then tranquil among the Ætolians, a commencement of these disturbances having originated with the nation of the Athamanians. At that period, since the expulsion of Amynder, Athamania was kept in subjection by royal garrisons, under governors appointed by Philip, who by their haughty and overbearing exercise of power, had made the people regret the loss of Amynder. The hope of recovering the kingdom was presented to Amynder, then an exile in Ætolia, by the letters of his partisans, who informed him of the state of Athamania: and messengers were sent to Argithea, (for that was the chief city of Athamania,) to inform the principal men, that, if they were sufficiently assured of the inclinations of their countrymen, he, having obtained succours from the Ætolians, would come, into Athamania with a chosen body of Ætolians, who constituted the council of that nation, and their prætor, Nicander. And, when he found that they were prepared for every thing, he gave them notice, immediately after, of the day on which he would enter

Athamania at the head of an army. At first there were four conspirators against the Macedonian garrison; then each of these took as associates six assistants for the execution of the business; but, afterwards, distrusting their small number, which was rather calculated for the concealment than for the execution of the design, they took in a number of associates, equal to the former. Being thus increased to fifty-two, they divided themselves into four parties, one of which repaired to Heraclea, another to Tetrachylia, where the royal treasure used to be kept, a third to Theudoria, and the fourth to Argitheia. It was agreed that they should at first appear in the forum publicly, without any bustle, as if they had come about their own ordinary concerns; and then, on a certain day, raise the whole populace, so as to dislodge the Macedonian garrisons from the citadels. When the day came, and Amynder with a thousand Ætolians was on the frontiers, by the preconcerted plan the Macedonian garrisons were driven from the four places at once, and letters were despatched to all the other cities, calling on them to rescue themselves from the exorbitant tyranny of Philip, and to reinstate their hereditary and lawful prince. Accordingly, the Macedonians were, every where, expelled. The town of Theium, (in consequence of the letters being intercepted by Teno, commander of the garrison, and owing to the citadel being occupied by the king's troops,) stood a siege of a few days, and then surrendered to Amynder, who had now all Athamania in his power, except the fort of Athenæum, on the borders of Macedonia.

## 2

When Philip heard of the defection of Athamania, he out at the head of six thousand men, and proceeded, with the utmost speed, to Gomphi. Having left the greater part of his force, as they would not have been equal to such long marches, he went forward, with two thousand, to Athenæum, the only place which had been retained by his troops. Then, having made attempts on the nearest places, when he clearly perceived that all the rest of the country was hostile to him, he retreated to Gomphi, and returned with the whole of his army into Athamania. He then sent Zeno, at the head of one thousand foot, with orders to seize on Ethopia, which stands advantageously for commanding Argitheia; and, as soon as he understood that this post was in possession of his party, he himself encamped near the temple of Acræan Jupiter. Here he was detained one whole day, by a tremendous storm; and on the next, proceeded to lead them towards Argitheia. On the troops commencing their march the Athamanians immediately appeared hastening to the hills which overlooked the road. On the sight of whom, the foremost battalions halted, while fear and confusion spread through the whole army, and every one began to consider what might have been the consequence, if the troops had gone down into the valleys commanded by those cliffs. This confusion compelled the king, who wished, if his men would follow him, to push on rapidly through the defile, to call back the foremost, and return by the same road by which he came. The Athamanians at first followed at a distance, without making any attempt: after the Ætolians joined them, they left these to harass the rear, and extended themselves on both flanks. Some of them, by taking a shorter way, through known paths, seized the passes; and such terror was struck into the Macedonians, that they repassed the river in a manner more like a hasty flight than a regular march, leaving behind many of their men and arms. Here was the end of the pursuit, and the Macedonians, in safety, returned to Gomphi, and from Gomphi into Macedonia. The Athamanians and Ætolians ran together, from all sides, to Ethopia, to crush Zeno and his thousand Macedonians. The Macedonians, distrusting their position, removed from Ethopia, to a hill which was higher and steeper on all sides; from which the Athamanians, having found access in several places, dislodged

them; and while they were dispersed, and unable to find the road for flight, through impassable and unknown rocks, slew part of them and made part prisoners. Great numbers, in their panic, tumbled down the precipices; very few, with Zeno, effected their escape to the king. Afterwards, permission to bury their dead was given to them during the truce.

### 3

Amynder, on recovering possession of his kingdom, sent ambassadors, both to the senate at Rome and to the Scipios in Asia, who, since the grand battle with Antiochus, stayed at Ephesus. He requested a treaty of amity, and apologized for having had recourse to the Ætoliens, for the recovery of his hereditary dominions. He made many charges against Philip. The Ætoliens from Athamania proceeded into Amphilochia, and, with the consent of the greater part of the inhabitants, reduced that nation under their power and dominion. After the recovery of Amphilochia, for it had formerly belonged to the Ætoliens, they passed on, with hopes of equal success, into Aperantia. That also, for the most part, surrendered to the Ætoliens without a contest. The Dolopians had never been subject to the Ætoliens, but they were to Philip. These, at first, ran to arms; but when they were informed of the Amphilochians taking part with the Ætoliens, of Philip's flight from Athamania, and the destruction of his detachment, they also revolted from Philip to the Ætoliens. Whilst the Ætoliens believed that they were now secured against the Macedonians on all sides, by these nations surrounding them, the report is brought to them that Antiochus was conquered in Asia by the Romans. Not very long after, their ambassadors came home from Rome, without the prospect of peace, announcing that the consul Fulvius, with his army, had already crossed the sea. Dismayed at these accounts, they send the chief men of the state to Rome to try the last hope, having previously solicited embassies from Rhodes and Athens, that, through the influence of those states, their petitions, lately rejected, might meet with a more favourable reception from the senate: they took no kind of precaution to avert the war, before it was almost within sight. Marcus Fulvius, having brought over his army to Apollonia, was, at this time, consulting with the Epirot chiefs where he should commence his operations. It was the opinion of the Epirots that he should attack Ambracia, which had lately united itself to Ætolia; alleging, that, "in case the Ætoliens should come to its relief, there were open plains around it, to fight in; or that if they should avoid a battle there would be no great difficulty in the siege, for there were at hand abundant materials for raising mounds and other works, while the Arachthus, a navigable river, well adapted to convey every thing requisite, flowed by the walls; besides, the summer was just approaching, the fittest season for the enterprise." By these arguments they persuaded him to march on through Epirus.

### 4

To the consul, on his arrival at Ambracia, the siege appeared to be a work of no small difficulty. Ambracia stands at the foot of a rocky hill, called by the natives Perranthe: the city, where the wall faces the plain and the river, looks towards the west; the citadel, which is seated on the hill, towards the east. The river Arachthus, which rises in Athamania, falls here into a gulf of the sea, called the Ambracian, from the name of the adjacent city. Besides that the river defended it on one side and the hills on the other, it was also surrounded by a strong wall, extending in circuit somewhat more than three miles. Fulvius formed two camps at a short distance from each other, and one fort on the high ground opposite to the citadel; all which he intended to join together by a

rampart and trench, in such a manner that there should be no exit from the city for the besieged, nor entrance for the introduction of assistance from without. The Ætolians, on the report of the siege of Ambracia, were by this time assembled at Stratus, in obedience to an edict of their prætor, Nicander. At first they intended to have marched hence, with their whole force, to raise the siege; afterwards, when they heard that the place was already, in a great measure, surrounded with works, and that the Epirots were encamped on level ground, on the other side of the river, they resolved to divide their forces. Eupolemus, with one thousand light troops, marching to Ambracia, made his way into the city, though the works were joined to each other. Nicander's first plan was to have attacked the camp of the Epirots in the night, with the rest of the troops, as assistance could not be easily received from the Romans, because the river ran between them. Afterward, judging it too dangerous an undertaking, lest the Romans should by any means discover it, and his retreat become unsafe, he was deterred from this design, and marched away to ravage the country of Acarnania.

## 5

The consul having now finished the intrenchments with which it was necessary to surround the city, and likewise the works which he was preparing to bring forward to the walls, attacked the city in five different places; three attacks, at equal distances from each other, he directed against the quarter which they called Pyrrheum, as the approach was easier from the plain; one opposite to the temple of Æsculapius, and one against the citadel. He broke down the walls with battering-rams, and tore down the battlements with poles armed with scythes. At first, terror and dismay seized the townsmen, at the formidable appearance of the works, and the shocks given to the walls, which were attended with a dreadful noise: afterwards, when they beheld them contrary to their hopes standing, having again resumed courage, they, by means of cranes, threw down upon the battering-rams weighty masses of lead, or stone, or beams of timber; dragging the armed poles, with iron grapples, within the walls, they broke off the hooks; besides, by sallies, both by night against the watch-guards of the engines, and by day against the advanced posts, they kept the besiegers in a state of continual alarm. While affairs at Ambracia were in this state, the Ætolians had returned from ravaging Acarnania, to Stratus. Their prætor, Nicander, having conceived hopes of raising the siege by a bold effort, sent a person called Nicodamus, with five hundred Ætolians, into Ambracia, and appointed a certain night, and even the time of the night, on which, from within the city, they were to assault the works of the enemy, opposite to the Pyrrheum, while he himself should alarm the Roman camp. He supposed that, in consequence of the alarm on both sides, and night increasing the terror, something memorable might be achieved. And Nicodamus, in the dead of the night, (when he had escaped the notice of some of the parties on watch, and broken through others by his determined onset,) having passed the intrenchment, penetrated into the city; and gave the besieged considerable hope and courage for any enterprise; and as soon as the appointed time arrived, according to the plan preconcerted, he made a sudden assault on the works. This undertaking was more formidable in the attempt than in the effect, because no attack was made from without; for the prætor of the Ætolians had either been deterred by fear, or had judged it more advisable to carry succours to Amphilochia, which had been lately reduced; which Perseus, the son of Philip, who was sent to recover Dolopia and Amphilochia, was besieging with the greatest vigour.

## 6

The works of the Romans against the Pyrrheum were carried on in three different places, as has been mentioned before, all which works the Ætolians assaulted at once, but not with similar weapons or similar force. Some advanced with burning torches, others carrying tow and pitch, and fire-darts, their entire line being illuminated by the blaze. At the first assault they cut off many of the men on guard. Afterwards, when the shout and uproar reached the camp, and the signal was given by the consul, the troops took arms and poured out of all the gates to succour their friends. In one place the contest was carried on with fire and sword; from the other two, the Ætolians retired with disappointment, after essaying rather than supporting a fight. The whole brunt of the battle fell on the one quarter with great fury. Here the two commanders, Eupolemus and Nicodamus, in their different posts, encouraged their men and animated them with hope amounting almost to certainty, that Nicander would, according to his agreement, come up speedily and attack the enemy's rear. This expectation for some time supported their courage in the fight. But at last, as they did not receive the concerted signal from their friends, and saw the number of their enemies continually increasing, they pressed on with less energy, as if deserted; finally, having abandoned the attempt, their retreat now becoming almost impracticable, they were driven in flight into the city, after having burned a part of the works, however, and killed a much greater number than they lost themselves. If the affair had been conducted according to the plan concerted, there was no reason to doubt but that one part at least of the works might have been stormed with great havoc of the Romans;. The Ambracians and the Ætolians, who were within, not only renounced the enterprise of that night, but supposing themselves betrayed by their friends, became much less spirited. None of them any longer sallied out, as before, against the enemy's stations, but posted on the walls and towers, fought without danger.

## 7

Perseus, on hearing of the approach of the Ætolians, having raised the siege of the city in which he was employed, and having ravaged the country, quitted Amphilocheia, and returned into Macedon. The devastation of their sea-coast called away the Ætolians from this region. Pleuratus, king of the Illyrians, entered the Corinthian gulf with sixty barks, and having formed a junction with the ships of the Achæans lying at Patræ, wasted the maritime parts of Ætolia. Against these one thousand Ætolians were sent, who, by taking short routes, met the fleet wherever it, while sailing around the indentations of the coast, attempted a landing. The Romans at Ambracia, by the battering of their rams in many places at once, laid open a great part of the city; but nevertheless were unable to penetrate into the heart of it. For instead of the wall knocked down a new one was raised with proportionate speed, while the armed men standing on the ruins, formed a kind of bulwark. The consul, therefore, when he made no progress by open force, resolved to form a secret mine, covering the ground first with his machines. And for a long time his workmen, though employed both night and day, not only in digging under the ground but also in carrying away the earth, escaped the observation of the enemy. A heap of it, however, rising suddenly, gave the townsmen intimation of their work, and terrified lest, the wall being undermined, a passage should be opened into the city, they determined to draw a trench within, opposite to the work that was covered with machines. In which when they reached such a depth as the bottom of the mine could well be, then keeping profound silence, having applied their ears to several different places, they endeavoured to catch the sound of the miners; which being heard, they opened a way directly towards them. Nor did it require much

exertion, for they came in a short time to an open space where the wall was supported with props by the enemy. The works joining here, as the passage was open from the trench to the mine, the parties began to fight in the dark under ground, first of all with the tools which they had used in the works, but afterwards armed men came quickly up. Subsequently the contest became less spirited; as the besieged stopped the passage, sometimes by stretching strong hair-cloths across it, sometimes by hastily placing doors in the way of their antagonists. A new engine, requiring no great labour, was invented against those who were in the mine. The besieged bored a hole in the bottom of a cask, by which a moderate-sized pipe could be inserted, and made an iron pipe and iron head for the cask, which was perforated in many places. They placed this cask, filled with small feathers, with its mouth turned towards the mine. Through the holes in the head of the cask projected those very long spears, which they call sarissas, to keep off the enemy. They kindled a small spark of fire, placed among the feathers, by blowing with a smith's bellows, inserted into the end of the pipe. After that the smoke arising from this, not only in great quantities, but also more offensive from the nauseous stench proceeding from the burnt feathers, had filled the mine, scarcely any one could stay within.

## 8

Whilst affairs at Ambracia were in this state, Phæneas and Damoteles came to the consul, as ambassadors from the Ætoliens, invested with full powers by a decree of the general assembly of that nation. For when their prætor saw on one side Ambracia besieged; on another, the sea-coast infested by the enemy's ships; on a third, Amphilochia and Dolopia ravaged by the Macedonians, and that the Ætoliens were incapable of meeting the three enemies at once, having summoned a council, he consulted the chiefs on what was to be done. The opinions of all tended to one point: "that peace should be solicited on equal terms if possible; if not, on any terms that could be borne. That the war was undertaken in reliance on Antiochus. Since Antiochus was vanquished by land and sea, and driven beyond the mountains of Taurus, almost out of the world, what hope remained of their being able to support it? That Phæneas and Damoteles, since the emergency was so great, should do whatever they might judge to tend to the interest of the Ætoliens and their own honour. For what counsel, what option had been left them by fortune?" Ambassadors were despatched with instructions, to beseech the consul to "have mercy on the city, and to take compassion on a nation once acknowledged as an ally; and driven to madness, they would not say by ill treatment, but undoubtedly by their sufferings." That the Ætoliens "had not in Antiochus' war deserved a larger share of punishment than they had of reward in that against Philip. That neither then was compensation liberally made them, nor ought punishment now to be inflicted on them in an immoderate degree." To this the consul answered, that "the Ætoliens had sued for peace often, rather than ever with sincere intentions. Let them in soliciting peace imitate Antiochus, whom they had drawn into the war. He had ceded, not the few cities whose liberty was the ground of the dispute, but an opulent kingdom, all Asia on this side Mount Taurus. That he (the consul) would not listen to the Ætoliens, treating concerning peace, unless they laid down their arms. That, in the first place, their arms and all their horses must be delivered up; and in the next place, one thousand talents<sup>259</sup> of silver must be paid to the Roman people; half of which sum must be laid down immediately, if they wished for peace. To these articles he

<sup>259</sup> 193,750l.

would add when concluding the treaty, that they must have the same allies and the same enemies as the Roman people.”

## 9

To which demands the ambassadors having made no reply, both because they were severe, and because they knew the spirit of their country to be unbroken and changeable, returned home, that they might again and again, while the thing was undecided, consult the prætor and chiefs as to what was to be done. They were received with clamour and reproaches, and were asked “how long would they protract the matter, though commanded to bring with them a peace of some kind or other?” But as they were going back to Ambracia, they were caught in an ambuscade, laid near the road by the Acarnanians, with whom they were at war, and carried to Thyrium to be confined. The delay arising from this incident interrupted the negotiations. When the ambassadors of the Athenians and Rhodians, who had come to intercede for them, were now with the consul, Amynder also, king of Athamania, having obtained a safe-conduct, had come into the Roman camp, being more concerned for the city of Ambracia, where he had spent the greatest part of his exile, than for the nation of the Ætolians. When the consul was informed by them of the accident which had befallen the ambassadors, he ordered them to be brought from Thyrium; and on their arrival they began to treat concerning peace. Amynder, as that was his principal object, laboured assiduously to persuade the Ambracians to capitulate. When he made but little progress in this, while he was coming under the walls and conferring with their chiefs, he at last, with the consul’s permission, went into the city; where, partly by arguments, partly by entreaties, he prevailed on them to surrender themselves to the Romans. Caius Valerius, the son of Lævinus, who was the first that had made a treaty of alliance with that nation, the brother of the consul, born of the same mother, eminently aided the Ætolians. The Ambracians, having first stipulated that they might send away the auxiliary Ætolians in safety, opened their gates. Then the Ætolians stipulated that “they should pay five hundred Euboic talents,<sup>260</sup> two hundred of this sum at present, and three hundred at six equal annual payments; that they should deliver up to the Romans the prisoners and deserters; that they should not subject any city to their jurisdiction, which, since the first coming of Titus Quintius into Greece, had either been taken by the arms of the Romans, or voluntarily entered into alliance with them: and that the island of Cephallenia should be excluded from the treaty.” Although these terms were more moderate than they themselves had expected, yet the Ætolians begged permission to lay them before the council, which request was granted. A short discussion about the cities engaged the council. Since they had been for some time under their laws, they bore with pain that they should be torn off, as it were, from their body. However, they unanimously voted that the terms of peace should be accepted. The Ambracians presented the consul with a golden crown of one hundred and fifty pounds’ weight. The brazen and marble statues and paintings, with which Ambracia was more richly decorated than any other city in that country, since it was the royal residence of Pyrrhus, were all removed and carried away; but nothing else was injured or even touched.

## 10

The consul, marching into the interior parts of Ætolia, encamped at Amphiloichian Argos, twenty-two miles from Ambracia. Here, at length, the Ætolian ambassadors

<sup>260</sup> About 96,000*l*.

arrived, the consul in the mean time wondered at the cause of their delay. Then, after he heard that the council of the Ætolians had approved of the terms of peace, having ordered them to go to Rome to the senate, and having permitted the Athenian and Rhodian mediators to go with them, and appointed his brother, Caius Valerius, to accompany them, he himself passed over to Cephallenia. The ambassadors found the ears and minds of all the principal people at Rome prepossessed by charges made against them by Philip, who, by complaining both by ambassadors and by letters, that Dolopia, Amphilochia, and Athamania had been forcibly taken from him, that his garrison, and at last even his son Perseus, had been driven out of Amphilochia, had turned away the senate from their entreaties. The Athenians and Rhodians were, nevertheless, heard with attention. An Athenian ambassador, Leon, son of Icesias, is said to have even affected them much by his eloquence. Making use of a common simile, and comparing the multitude of the Ætolians to a calm sea, when it comes to be ruffled by the winds, he said, that "as long as they faithfully adhered to the alliance with Rome, they rested in the calm state natural to nations; but that when Thoas and Dicæarchus began to blow from Asia, Menetas and Damocrites from Europe, then was raised that storm which dashed them on Antiochus as on a rock."

## 11

The Ætolians, after being a long time buffeted about, at length prevailed to have articles of peace concluded. They were these:—"Let the Ætolian nation, without fraud or deceit, maintain the empire and majesty of the Roman people; let them not suffer to pass through their territories, nor, in any manner whatever, aid or assist any army that shall march against the allies and friends of the Romans; let them have the same enemies as the Roman people; let them bear arms against them, and take a share in their wars; let them deliver up the deserters, fugitives, and prisoners, to the Romans and their allies, excepting such as were prisoners before, who having returned home, were afterwards captured; and also such as, at the time of their being taken, were enemies to Rome, while the Ætolians were in the Roman army. Let such of the others as can be found be delivered up, without reserve, to the magistrates of Corcyra, within one hundred days; and such as cannot now be found, as soon as they shall be discovered. Let them give forty hostages at the discretion of the Roman consul, none younger than twelve years nor older than forty; let neither the prætor, nor the general of the horse, nor the public secretary, be a hostage; nor any person who has before been a hostage in the hands of the Romans. Let Cephallenia be excluded from these articles." With respect to the sum of money which they were to pay, and the mode of payment, no alteration was made in the arrangement which had been made by the consul. If they chose to give gold instead of silver, it was agreed that they might do so, provided that one piece of gold should be deemed equivalent to ten of silver of the same weight. "Whatever cities, whatever lands, whatever men have been formerly under the jurisdiction of the Ætolians, and have, either in the consulate of Titus Quintius and Publius Ælius, or since their consulate, been subdued by the arms of the Roman people, or have made a voluntary submission to them, the Ætolians are not to reclaim. The Cœnians, with their city and lands, are to belong to the Acarnanians." On these conditions was the treaty concluded with the Ætolians.

## 12

Not only in the same summer, but almost at the very time in which these acts were performed by Marcus Fulvius the consul in Ætolia, the other consul, Cneius Manlius,

carried on war in Gallogræcia; the progress of which I shall now relate. In the beginning of spring the consul came to Ephesus, and having received the command of the army from Lucius Scipio, and reviewed the troops, he made an harangue to the soldiers; in which, having praised their bravery in having completely conquered Antiochus in a single battle, he encouraged them to undertake a new war against the Gauls, who had supported Antiochus with auxiliaries, and were, besides, of such untractable tempers, that Antiochus was to no purpose removed beyond the range of Mount Taurus, unless the power of the Gauls was broken; he then spoke briefly of himself, in terms neither ill-grounded nor extravagant. The delighted soldiers heard the consul with frequent bursts of applause, considering the Gauls as having been a part of the strength of Antiochus; and that, since that king had been vanquished, there would be no power in the forces of the Gauls, by themselves. The consul judged that Eumenes was absent at an unseasonable time, (he was then at Rome,) as he was well acquainted with the nature of the country and of the inhabitants, and as it was his interest that the power of the Gauls should be broken. He therefore sends for his brother Attalus, from Pergamus, and having exhorted him to undertake the war in conjunction with him, he sends him, away to make preparations, after promising his own exertions and those of his countrymen. A few days after, Attalus with one thousand foot and two hundred horse, having ordered his brother Athenæus to follow with the rest of the troops, and committed the care of Pergamus to persons whom he knew to be faithful to his brother and to his government, met the consul, who had marched from Ephesus to Magnesia. The consul, after highly commending the young prince, having advanced with all his forces, encamped on the bank of the Mæander, for as that river could not be forded, it was necessary to collect shipping for carrying over the army.

### 13

Having passed the Mæander, they came to Hiera Come.<sup>261</sup> In this place there is a magnificent temple, and oracle of Apollo; the priests are said to deliver their responses in verses by no means inelegant. Hence, in two days' march they reached the river Harpasus; whither came ambassadors from Alabandæ, entreating the consul, either by his authority or his arms, to compel a fort, which had lately revolted from it, to return to its former allegiance. To the same place came Athenæus the brother of Eumenes, and Attalus, with Leusus, a Cretan, and Corragos, a Macedonian commander. They brought with them one thousand foot and three hundred horse, composed of various nations. The consul, having sent a military tribune with a small party, took the fort by assault, and restored it to the Alabandians. He himself, not deviating from his route, pitched his camp at Antioch on the Mæander. The source of this river is in Celænæ, which city was formerly the metropolis of Phrygia. The inhabitants afterwards removed to a spot not far distant from Old Celænæ, and the name of Apama was given to their new city, from Apama the sister of king Seleucus. The river Marsyas also, rising at a little distance from the head of the Mæander, falls into the latter river, and report so has it, that at Celænæ Marsyas contended with Apollo in the music of the pipe. The Mæander, springing up in the highest part of the citadel of Celænæ, runs down through the middle of the city, then through Caria, afterwards through Ionia, and empties itself into a bay which lies between Priene and Miletus. Seleucus, son of Antiochus, came into the consul's camp at Antioch, to furnish corn for the troops, in conformity with the treaty with Scipio. Here a small dispute arose, concerning the auxiliary troops of Attalus; for Seleucus affirmed,

<sup>261</sup> Holy Town.

that Antiochus engaged to supply corn to the Roman soldiers only. This difference was terminated by the firmness of the consul, who gave orders to a tribune despatched by him, that the Roman soldiers should receive none, until the auxiliaries under Attalus should have received their share. From hence the army advanced to Gordiutichos,<sup>262</sup> as they call it: from which place it marched, in three days, to Tabæ. This city stands on the confines of Pisidia, in that part which verges to the Pamphylian sea. Whilst the strength of that country was unimpaired, it produced valiant warriors: and even on this occasion, their horsemen, sallying out on the Roman troops, caused by their first onset no small confusion; then, as soon as it appeared that they were not equal to them either in numbers or bravery, being driven back to the city, they begged pardon for their transgressions, and offered to surrender the city. They were ordered to pay twenty-five talents of silver,<sup>263</sup> and ten thousand bushels of wheat; and on these terms their surrender was accepted.

#### 14

On the third day after their leaving this place, the army reached the river Chaus, and proceeding thence, took the city of Eriza at the first assault. They then came to Thabusios, a fort standing on the bank of the river Indus, to which an elephant's guide thrown from the animal had given its name. They were now not far from Cibyra, yet no embassy appeared from Moagetes, the tyrant of that state; a man faithless and tyrannical in every respect. The consul, in order to sound his intentions, sent forward Caius Helvius, with four thousand foot and five hundred horse. Ambassadors met this body on their entrance into his territories, declaring, that the king was ready to execute their commands. They entreated Helvius to enter their confines in a friendly manner, and to restrain his soldiers from plundering the land; and they brought with them in lieu of a golden crown fifteen talents. Helvius, having promised to keep their lands safe from plunderers, ordered the ambassadors to go on to the consul. And when they delivered the same message to him, the consul said, "We Romans have not any sign of the tyrant's good will towards us, and we are agreed that he is such a person that we ought rather to think of punishing him than of contracting friendship with him." Struck with astonishment at such a reception, the ambassadors requested nothing more than that he should receive the present, and give permission to the tyrant to come to him, and an opportunity to speak and excuse himself. By the permission of the consul, the tyrant came next day into the camp. His dress and retinue were scarcely equal to the style of a private person of moderate fortune; while his discourse was humble and incoherent, depreciating his own wealth and complaining of the poverty of the cities under his sway. He had under his dominion, (beside Cibyra,) Syleum, and the city called Alimne. Out of these he promised (in such a manner as if he were diffident that he could strip himself and his subjects of so much) to raise twenty-five talents.<sup>264</sup> "Truly," said the consul, "this trifling cannot be borne. It is not enough for you that you did not blush, though absent, when you were imposing on us by your ambassadors; but even when present you persist in the same effrontery. Is it that twenty-five talents would exhaust your dominions? If within three days you do not pay down five hundred talents,<sup>265</sup> expect the devastation of your lands and the siege of your city." Although terrified by this menace, he persisted obstinately in his plea of poverty; gradually by

<sup>262</sup> The Gordian wall.

<sup>263</sup> 4843l. 15s.

<sup>264</sup> 4813l. 15s.

<sup>265</sup> 96,875l.

illiberal advances, (sometimes cavilling, sometimes recurring to prayers and counterfeit tears,) he was brought to agree to the payment of one hundred talents,<sup>266</sup> to which, were added ten thousand bushels of corn. All this was done within six days.

## 15

From Cibyra the army was led through the territory of the Sindensians, and, after crossing the river Caularis, encamped. Next day they marched along the side of the lake of Caralitis, and passed the night at Mandropolis. As they advanced to the next city, Lagos, the inhabitants fled through fear. The place being deserted, yet filled with abundance of every thing, was pillaged by the soldiers. From this they marched to the sources of the river Lysis, and on the next day to the river Cobulatus. At this time the Termessians were besieging the citadel of the Isiondensians, after having taken the city. The besieged, when they had no other hope of aid, sent ambassadors to the consul, imploring succour; adding, that, "being shut up in the citadel, with their wives and children, they were in daily expectation of suffering death, either by the sword or famine." An occasion for turning aside to Pamphylia was thereby offered to the consul, who was very desirous of it. By his approach he raised the siege of Isionda. He granted peace to Termessus on receiving fifty talents of silver;<sup>267</sup> and, likewise, to the Aspendians and other states of Pamphylia. Returning from Pamphylia he pitched his camp, the first day, at the river Taurus, and the second at Come Xylene,<sup>268</sup> as they call it. Departing from which, he proceeded, by uninterrupted marches, to the city of Cormasa. The next city was Darsa, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants through fear, but filled with abundance of every thing useful. Ambassadors from Lysinoe, with the surrender of that state, met him while marching along the marshes. He then came into the Sagalassenian territory, rich and abounding in every kind of production. The inhabitants are Pisidians, the best soldiers, by far, of any in that part of the world. This circumstance, as well as the fertility of their soil, the multitude of their people, and the situation of their city, preeminently fortified, gave them boldness. The consul sent a party to ravage the country, because no embassy attended him on the frontiers. Then, at length, their obstinacy was overcome, as soon as they saw their property carried off and driven away. After sending ambassadors, and agreeing to pay fifty talents, with twenty thousand bushels of wheat and twenty thousand of barley, they obtained peace. The consul then marched to the source of the Obrima, and encamped at a village called Come Acaridos.<sup>269</sup> Hither Seleucus came, next day, from Apamea. Then when the consul had sent the sick and the useless baggage to Apamea, having received guides from Seleucus, he marched that day into the plain of Metropolis, and advanced on the day following to Diniaë in Phrygia, and thence to Synnas; all the towns on every side being deserted by the inhabitants through fear. And now, bringing along his army encumbered with the spoil of those cities, after scarcely completing in a whole day a march of five miles, he arrived at a town called Old Beudi. Next day he encamped at Anabura; on the following, at the source of the Alander, and on the third at Abassus, where he halted for several days, because he arrived at the borders of the Tolistoboians.

## 16

<sup>266</sup> 19,375*l.*

<sup>267</sup> 7*l.* 10*s.*

<sup>268</sup> The wood town.

<sup>269</sup> The town of Acaris.

These Gauls, in a very numerous body, induced either by scarcity of land or hopes of plunder, and thinking that no nation through which they were to pass would be a match for them in arms, made their way under the command of Brennus into Dardania. There a dissension arose, and about twenty thousand men under the chieftains Leonorius and Lutarius, a secession being made from Brennus, turned their route to Thrace. Then when, fighting with such as resisted them, and imposing a tribute on such as sued for peace, they had arrived at Byzantium, they held possession for a long time of the cities in that quarter, laying the coast of the Propontis under contribution. Then a desire of passing over into Asia seized them, hearing in the neighbourhood how great the fertility of that continent was; and, having taken Lysimachia by treachery, and possessed themselves of the whole Chersonesus by force of arms, they went down to the Hellespont. When they there beheld Asia separated from them by a narrow strait, their wishes to pass into it were much more highly inflamed, and they despatched envoys to Antipater, governor of that coast, to treat of a passage. And when, business being protracted to a greater length than they expected, a new quarrel broke out between their chieftains, Leonorius, with the greater part of the people, went back to Byzantium, whence they came: Lutarius takes two decked ships and three barks from some Macedonians, sent by Antipater, under the pretext of an embassy, to act as spies. By carrying over in these galleys detachment after detachment, day and night, he transported all his troops within a few days. Not long after, Leonorius, with the assistance of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, passed over from Byzantium. The Gauls then re-united their forces, and assisted Nicomedes in a war which he was carrying on against Zybœta, who held possession of a part of Bithynia. By their assistance chiefly Zybœta was subdued, and the whole of Bithynia reduced under the dominion of Nicomedes. Then leaving Bithynia, they advanced into Asia; and although, of their twenty thousand men, not more than ten thousand carried arms, yet such a degree of terror did they strike into all the natives, dwelling on this side of Taurus, that those which they visited, and those which they did not visit, the most remote as well as the nearest, submitted to their authority. At length as there were three tribes of them, the Tolistoboians, the Trocmians, and the Tectosagians, they made a division of Asia into three provinces, according to which it was made tributary to each of their states. The coast of the Hellespont was assigned to the Trocmians; the Tolistoboians obtained of the allotment Æolia and Ionia; the Tectosagians received the inland parts of Asia. They levied tribute throughout every part of Asia on this side Mount Taurus; but chose their own residence on the banks of the river Halys; and so great was the terror of their name, their numbers, too, increasing by a rapid population, that at last even the kings of Syria did not refuse to pay them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants of Asia who refused, was Attalus, the father of king Eumenes; and beyond the expectation of all, fortune favoured his bold resolution, and he defeated them in a pitched battle; yet he did not so effectually break their spirits, as to make them give up their pretensions to empire. Their power continued the same until the war between Antiochus and the Romans; and, even then, after Antiochus was expelled the country, they still entertained a hope, that, as they lived remote from the sea, the Roman army would not come so far.

## 17

As the troops were about to act against this enemy, so terrible to all in that part of the world, the consul, in an assembly, addressed the soldiers for the most part to this effect: "It does not escape me, that, of all the nations inhabiting Asia, the Gauls are pre-eminent for military fame. A fierce nation, after overrunning the face of the earth with its arms,

has fixed its abode in the midst of a race of men the gentlest in the world. Their tall persons, their long red hair, their vast shields, and swords of enormous length; their songs also, when they are advancing to action, their yells and dances, and the horrid clashing of their armour, while they brandish their shields in a peculiar manner, practised in their original country; all these circumstances are preconcerted to inspire terror. But let Greeks, and Phrygians, and Carians, to whom these things are unusual and strange, be frightened by such acts: to the Romans, accustomed to Gallic tumults, even these vain efforts to strike terror are known. Once our ancestors fled from them, but it was long ago, when they first met them at the Allia. Ever since that time, for, now, two hundred years, the Romans drive them before them in dismay, and kill them like cattle; there have, indeed, been more triumphs celebrated over the Gauls, than over almost all the rest of the world. It is now well known by experience, that if you sustain their first onset, which they make with fiery eagerness and blind fury, their limbs are unnerved with sweat and fatigue; their arms flag; and, though you should not employ a weapon on them, the sun, dust, and thirst prostrate their enervated bodies and minds when their fury has ceased. We have tried them, not only with our legions against theirs, but in single combat, man to man. Titus Manlius and Marcus Valerius have demonstrated how far Roman valour surpasses Gallic fury. Marcus Manlius, singly, thrust back the Gauls who were mounting the Capitol in a body. Our forefathers had to deal with genuine Gauls, born in their own lands; but they are now degenerate, a mongrel race, and, in reality, what they are named, Gallogræcians; just as is the case of vegetables and cattle, the seeds are not so efficacious in preserving their original constitution, as the properties of the soil and climate under which they are reared, are in changing it. The Macedonians who settled at Alexandria in Egypt, or in Seleucia, or Babylonia, or in any other of their colonies scattered over the world, have sunk into Syrians, Parthians, or Egyptians. Marseilles, owing to its situation in the midst of Gauls, has contracted somewhat of the disposition of its adjoining neighbours. What of the hardy, rugged discipline of Sparta hath remained to the Tarentines? Every thing is produced in higher perfection in its own native soil; whatever is planted in a foreign land, by a gradual change in its nature, degenerates into that by which it is nurtured. Therefore you, victorious, will slay the conquered Phrygians, though laden with Gallic armour, as you slew them in the ranks of Antiochus. I am more apprehensive of our gaining but little honour from the victory, than of the struggle being a severe one. King Attalus often routed and put them to flight. Do you think that brutes only, when taken, retain at first their natural ferocity, and subsequently grow tame, after being long fed by the hands of men; and that nature does not exert the same power in softening the savage disposition of men. Do you believe these to be of the same kind that their fathers and grandfathers were? Exiles from home through scarcity of land, they marched along the craggy coast of Illyricum, then traversed Pæonia and Thrace, in a continual struggle against the fiercest nations, and took possession of these countries. A land which could glut them with plenty of every thing, received them hardened and infuriated by so many evils. By the very great fertility of the soil, the very great mildness of the climate, and the gentle dispositions of the neighbouring nations, all that fierceness with which they came has been quite mollified. You, by Hercules, who are the sons of Mars, ought to guard against the seductions of Asia, and shun them from the very first; so great is the power of those foreign pleasures in extinguishing the vigour of the mind, so strong the contagion from the relaxed discipline and manners of the people about you. One thing has happened fortunately; that though they will not bring against you a degree of strength by any means equal to what they formerly possessed, yet they still retain a

character among the Greeks equal to what they had at their first coming; consequently you, when victors, will acquire the same warlike renown, as if you had conquered the Gauls still acting up to their ancient standard of courage."

## 18

Having then dismissed the assembly, and having despatched ambassadors to Eposognatus, (who alone of all the petty princes had remained in friendship with Eumenes, and refused to assist Antiochus against the Romans,) he proceeded on his march. He came the first day to the river Alander, and the next to a village called Tyscos. When ambassadors of the Oroandensians had come to that place, seeking amity, two hundred talents<sup>270</sup> were levied on them; and on their requesting that they might bear this announcement home, permission to do so was given. The consul then led the army to Plitendos; then the Roman camp was pitched at Alyatti. The persons sent to Eposognatus returned to him here, and with them ambassadors from that chieftain, who entreated him not to make war on the Tolistoboians, for that Eposognatus himself would go among that people and persuade them to submit. This request of the prince was complied with. The army then began to march through the country called Axylos:<sup>271</sup> which derives its name from the nature of the place; for it not only does not produce timber, but not even brambles, or any species of fire-wood. The inhabitants, instead of wood, use cow dung. While the Romans were encamped at Cuballum, a fort of Gallogræcia, the enemy's cavalry appeared with great tumult. They not only disordered by their sudden charge the advanced guards of the Romans, but killed several of the men; and when this alarm was spread to the camp, the Roman cavalry, pouring out hastily by all the gates, routed and dispersed the Gauls, and killed many as they fled. The consul, now perceiving that he had reached the enemy's country, marched henceforth exploring his route and carefully bringing up his rear. When by continued marches he had arrived at the river Sangarius, he set about constructing a bridge, because no where was there a passage by a ford. The Sangarius, running from the mountain of Adoreus, through Phrygia, joins the river Thymbris at the confines of Bithynia. After doubling its quantity of water by this junction, it proceeds in a more copious stream through Bithynia, and empties itself into the Euxine Sea. Yet it is not so remarkable for the size of its current, as for the vast quantity of fish which it supplies to the people in its vicinity. When the bridge was finished, and the army had passed the river, as they were marching along the bank, the Gallic priests of the Great Mother, coming from Pessinus with the symbols of their office, met them; who, in inspired rhymes, foretold that the goddess would grant the Romans a safe passage, success in the war, and the empire over that country. When the consul had said that he embraced the omen, he pitched his camp on that very spot. On the following day he arrived at Gordium. This is not a large town, but a mart more frequented and noted than an inland town generally is. It has three seas nearly at equal distances from it, that at the Hellespont, that at Sinope, and that at the shore of the opposite coast, in which the maritime Cilicians dwell. It is also contiguous to the borders of many and great nations, the commerce of which has been centred by mutual convenience principally in this place. The Romans found the town deserted owing to the flight of the inhabitants, yet at the same time filled with plenty of every thing. While they halted here, ambassadors came from Eposognatus, with information that "he had applied to the petty princes of the Gauls, and had been unable to bring them to reason; that they were removing in

<sup>270</sup> 38,750*l.*

<sup>271</sup> Woodless.

crowds from the villages and lands in the open country; and, with their wives and children, carrying and driving whatever could be carried or driven, were going to Mount Olympus, that there they might defend themselves by their arms and the nature of the ground."

## 19

Deputies from the Oroandensians afterwards brought more particular intelligence; that "the state of the Tolistoboians had seized Mount Olympus, but that the Tectosagians, taking a different route, were gone to another mountain called Magaba; and that the Trocmians, leaving their wives and children in charge with the Tectosagians, had resolved to carry their armed force to the assistance of the Tolistoboians." The chieftains of the three states were at that time, Ortiagon, Combolomarus, and Gaulotus; and this was their reason in particular for choosing this mode of warfare, because as they had possession of the highest mountains in that part of the world, and had conveyed thither stores of every kind, sufficient for their consumption during the time, although long, they thought that they would weary out the enemy by the tediousness of the enterprise: "for neither would they dare to climb over places so steep and uneven; and if they should attempt it, they could be prevented and driven down, even by a small band; nor would they, sitting in inactivity at the foot of the frosty mountains, endure cold and hunger." Although the height of their posts was in itself a strong defence, yet they drew, besides, a trench and other fortifications round the summits which they occupied. The least part of their care was employed in providing a stock of missile weapons; for they trusted that the rocky ground itself would furnish stones in abundance.

## 20

The consul, as he had foreseen that the fight would not be hand to hand, but at a distance, in the attack of the enemy's post, had prepared an immense quantity of javelins, light infantry, spears, arrows, balls of lead, and small stones, fit to be thrown with slings. Furnished with this stock of missile weapons, he marched towards Mount Olympus, and encamped within five miles of it. On the next day, as he was advancing with four hundred horse, and Attalus, to examine the nature of the mountain and situation of the camp of the Gauls; a party of the enemy's cavalry, double in number to his, sallying from the camp, forced him to take to flight. A few of his soldiers were killed in the flight, and several wounded. On the third day, marching to explore the ground at the head of all his cavalry, as none of the enemy advanced beyond their fortifications, he rode round the mountain with safety, and saw that on the south side the hills were composed of earth, and rose to a certain height, with a gentle slope, but that on the north there was nothing but steep and almost perpendicular cliffs; and that there were but three practicable ways, almost all the others being impassable; one at the middle of the mountain, where the ground was earthy, and two others, both very difficult, one on the south-east, and the other on the north-west. After taking a full view of all these places, he pitched his camp that day close to the foot of the mountain. On the day following, after that, offering sacrifice, he had received favourable auspices with the first victims, he proceeds to lead his army, in three divisions, against the enemy. He himself, with the greatest part of the forces, marched up where the mountain afforded the easiest ascent. He ordered his brother, Lucius Manlius, to ascend on the south-east side, as far as the ground allowed him to do so with safety; but if any dangerous and steep precipices should lie in his way, then not to contend with the unfavourable nature of the

place, or attempt to conquer insuperable obstacles, but by a slope across the mountain to incline towards him, and join the body under his command; and he directed Caius Helvius, with the third division, to march round leisurely, by the foot of the mountain, and to climb the hill on the north-east. The auxiliary troops of Attalus he distributed equally among the three divisions, ordering the young prince to accompany him. The cavalry and elephants he left in the plain, at the foot of the hills; orders were given to the prefects to watch attentively every thing that should happen, and to be expeditious in bringing succour wherever circumstances should require it.

## 21

The Gauls, (thoroughly satisfied that the ground on their two flanks was impassable,) in order to secure, by arms, the ascent on the side which was situated towards the south, sent about four thousand soldiers to keep possession of a hill which hung over the road, at the distance of near a mile from their camp; hoping that they might stop the enemies' progress by this as by a fortress. Which when the Romans saw, they prepared for battle. The light infantry marched a little in advance of the line, supported by draughts from Attalus's troops, composed of the Cretan archers and slingers, the Trallians and Thracians. The battalions of infantry, as the ground was steep, marched at a slow pace, holding their shields before them, merely to ward off missile weapons, as they did not seem likely to fight in a close engagement. The fight commenced with the missile weapons, at the proper interval, and was at first equal. as the situation aided the Gauls, the variety and abundance of weapons, the Romans. But, as the contest advanced, there was no longer any equality: their shields, long, but too narrow for the breadth of their bodies, and besides being flat, ill protected the Gauls. Nor had they now any other weapons except their swords, which they had no opportunity of using, as the enemy did not come to close action. They used stones, and these not of a proper size, as they had not previously laid them up, but whatever came to the hand of each in his haste and confusion, as persons unaccustomed generally do, aiding the blow neither by skill nor strength. Incautiously exposing themselves, they were transfixed on all sides by arrows, leaden balls, and darts; nor did they know what to do, their minds being paralysed by rage and fear; and they were engaged in a kind of fight for which they were least of all qualified. For, as in a close encounter, where they can receive and give wounds in turn, rage inflames their courage; so when they are wounded at a distance, with light weapons from unknown hands, and have no object on which they can rush in their blind fury, they rush forward at random, like wounded wild beasts, often upon their own party. Their wounds were more conspicuous because they always fight naked, and their bodies are large and white, since they are never stripped except in battle; thus more blood was poured from their large persons, and the cuts appeared the more shocking, while the whiteness of their skins offered a stronger contrast to the black blood. But they were not much moved by open wounds. Sometimes they even cut off the skin, when the wound was more broad than deep, thinking that in this condition they fought with the greater glory. But when the point of an arrow or a ball, sinking deep in the flesh, tormented them, with a wound small in appearance, and the weapon did not come forth although they used every effort to extract it, then they fell into fits of phrensy and shame, at being destroyed by so small a hurt; and dashing themselves on the ground, they lay scattered over the place. Some rushing against the enemy were overwhelmed with darts; and when any of them came near, they were slain by the swords of the light infantry. A soldier of this description carries a shield three feet long, and, in his right hand, javelins, which he throws at a distance. He is begirt with a Spanish sword, and

when he must fight in close encounter, having shifted his spears into his left hand, he draws it. There were few of the Gauls now left; and these, seeing themselves overpowered by the light infantry, and the battalions of the legions advancing, fled in confusion to the camp, now full of tumult and dismay, as the women, children, and others unfit to bear arms, were all crowded together there. The hills, thus abandoned by the enemy, were seized by the victorious Romans.

## 22

At this juncture, Lucius Manlius and Caius Helvius, having marched up as high as the sloping hills allowed them to do, after they came to insuperable steeps, turned towards that side of the mountain which alone had a practicable ascent; and began, as if by concert, to follow the consul's party at a moderate distance; being driven by necessity to adopt the plan, now, which would have been the best at the beginning. For in such disadvantageous ground reserves have often been of the utmost use; for instance, should the first line happen to be repulsed, the second may both cover their retreat, and, being fresh, succeed to their place in the fight. The consul, as soon as the vanguard of the legions reached the hills taken by the light infantry, ordered the troops to halt and take breath; at the same time he showed them the bodies of the Gauls spread about the hills, asking them, "Since the light troops had fought such a battle, what might be expected from the legions, from a regular army, and from the spirit of the bravest soldiers? They ought certainly to take the camp into which the enemy had been driven in confusion by the light infantry." He then orders the light infantry to go forward, who, while the army halted, had not spent their time in idleness, but in gathering weapons about the hills, that there might be a sufficient supply of missiles. They now approached the camp. The Gauls, lest their fortifications might not give them sufficient protection, had posted themselves, in arms, on the outside of the rampart. Then being overwhelmed with weapons of every description, since in proportion as they were more numerous and crowded together, the less likely were the weapons to fall between them without effect, they were driven in an instant within their trenches, leaving only strong guards at the entrances of the gates. Against the crowd that fled into the camp a vast quantity of missile weapons was discharged, and the shouts, intermixed with lamentations of the women and children, showed that great numbers were wounded. The first line of the legions hurled their javelins against those who were posted to guard the gate; these, however, were not wounded, but most of them, having their shields pierced through, were entangled and fastened together, nor did they longer withstand the attack.

## 23

The gates being now open, a flight of the Gauls in every direction from the camp took place before the victors could burst in. They rushed on blindly through passable and impassable places; no craggy cliffs, nor even perpendicular rocks, stopped them; they feared nothing but the enemy. Great numbers, therefore, falling down precipices of vast height, were either maimed or killed. The consul, taking possession of the camp, restrained the soldiers from plunder and booty; he orders every one to pursue with his utmost speed, to press on the enemy, and to increase their panic while they were in dismay. The other party, under Lucius Manlius, now came up. These he did not suffer to enter the camp, but sent them forward in the pursuit, and followed shortly in person, after committing the guard of the prisoners to some military tribunes: for he thought that the war would be finished, if in that consternation the greatest possible number

should be slain or taken prisoners. After the consul's departure, Caius Helvius arrived, with the third division: he was not able to prevent their sacking the camp; and, by a most unjust dispensation, the booty fell into the hands of men who had not had any concern in the action. The cavalry stood for a long time ignorant of the fight, and of the success of their army. At last, they also, as far as they could ascend the hills on horseback, pursuing the Gauls, (who were now dispersed round the foot of the mountain,) either killed or made prisoners of them. The number of the slain could not easily be ascertained because the flight and slaughter were widely extended through all the windings of the mountains; and a great number fell from impassable cliffs into cavities of prodigious depth; others were killed in the woods and thickets. Claudius, who mentions two battles on Mount Olympus, asserts, that forty-thousand fell in them; yet Valerius Antias, who is generally addicted to great exaggeration on the point of numbers, says, not more than ten thousand. The number of prisoners undoubtedly amounted to forty thousand, because the Gauls had dragged along with them a crowd of people of all descriptions and of all ages, like men removing to another country, rather than going out to war. The consul, having burnt the arms of the enemy collected in one heap, then ordered all to bring together the rest of the booty, and either sold that portion which was to be applied to the use of the public, or distributed the remainder among the soldiers, taking care that the shares should be as just as possible. They were all praised in a public assembly, and presented with gifts each according to his merit; Attalus was distinguished above all, with the general approbation of the rest. For not only were the courage and activity of that young prince conspicuous in undergoing dangers and fatigue, but also the modesty of his deportment.

## 24

The war with the Tectosagians remained still in its original state. The consul, marching against them, arrived, on the third day, at Ancyra, a city remarkable in those parts, from which the enemy were but a little more than ten miles distant. While his camp lay there, a memorable action was performed by a female. Among many other captives, the wife of the Gallic chieftain Ortiagon, a woman of exquisite beauty, was strictly guarded, and a centurion, possessing the lust and avarice usual among military men, commanded this guard. He, first, endeavoured to learn her sentiments; but, finding that she abhorred the thought of voluntary prostitution, he offered violence to her person, which by the decree of fortune was his slave. Afterwards, in order to soothe her indignation at the insult, he gives the lady hope of a return to her friends; and not even that gratuitously, like a lover. He stipulated for a certain weight of gold, but, being unwilling to have any of his countrymen privy to it, he gave her leave to send any one of the prisoners, whom she chose, as a messenger to her friends. He appointed a spot near the river, to which two of this woman's friends, and not more, were to come with the gold in the night following, to receive her. It happened that among the prisoners under the same guard was a servant of the lady; the centurion, as soon as it grew dark, conveyed this messenger beyond the advanced posts. Her friends came to the place at the appointed time, likewise the centurion with his prisoner. Here, on their producing the gold, which mounted to an Attic talent, for he had stipulated for that sum the lady in her own language ordered them to draw their swords, and kill the centurion, while he was weighing the gold. She herself, bearing wrapped up in her garment the head of the slain centurion, detached from the trunk, reached her husband Ortiagon, who had fled home from Olympus. And before she would embrace him, she threw down the centurion's head at his feet; and on his asking, with astonishment, whose head it was, and what was

the meaning of such a proceeding, so unaccountable in a female, she acknowledged to her husband the injury committed on her person, and the vengeance she had taken for the forcible violation of her chastity. She maintained to the last, as it is said, by the purity and strictness of the rest of her life, the glory of this achievement, so honourable to her sex.

## 25

Envoys from the Tectosagians met the consul at Ancyra, entreating him not to decamp until he had held a conference with their kings; that any conditions of peace were in their opinion preferable to war. The time fixed was the next day, and the place that which seemed the most central between the camp of the Gauls and Ancyra. The consul came thither at the appointed hour, with a guard of five hundred horse, but seeing none of the Gauls there, returned into his camp: after which the same envoys came again, with an apology, that their kings could not come, since religious feelings deterred them; but that the principal men of the nation would attend, and that the business might be as well transacted by them. To which the consul answered, that he would send Attalus on his part. To this meeting both parties came. When Attalus had brought with him as an escort three hundred horse, the terms of peace were proposed. As there could not be a conclusion to the affair in the absence of the leaders, it was agreed, that the consul and the kings should meet in the same place on the following day. The delay of the Gauls had the following objects: first, to waste time, that they might remove their effects, which they were unwilling to risk, and also their wives and children, to the other side of the river Halys; and, secondly, because they were framing a plot against the consul, who took no precautions against treachery in the conference. They chose for this purpose, out of all their number, one thousand horsemen of approved intrepidity; and their treachery would have taken effect, had not fortune exerted herself in favour of the law of nations, in violation of which their plan was laid. The Roman parties, who went out for forage and wood, were led towards that quarter where the conference was to be held; for the tribunes judged that to be the safest course, as they would have the consul's escort, and himself, as a guard opposed to the enemy. However, they posted another guard of their own, of six hundred horse, nearer to the camp. The consul, being assured by Attalus that the kings would come, and that the business might be concluded, having set out from his camp with the same attendants as before, when he had advanced about five miles, and was not far from the place appointed, he saw, on a sudden, the Gauls coming on with hostile fury, and with their horses at full gallop. He halted, and ordering his horsemen to make ready their arms, and recall their courage, received the enemy's first charge with firmness, nor gave way. At length, when their numbers were overpowering him, he began to retreat leisurely, without disturbing the order of the troops, but at last, when there was more danger in delay than protection in keeping their ranks, they all fled in hurry and disorder. Then truly the Gauls pressed hard on them, dispersed, and killed several; and a great part of them would have been cut off, had not the six hundred horse, the guard of the foragers, come up to meet them. These, on hearing, at a distance, the shout of dismay raised by their friends, made ready their weapons and horses, and, being quite fresh, renewed the fight after it was almost over. The fortune of the battle, therefore, was instantly reversed, and dismay recoiled from the conquered on the conquerors. At the first charge the Gauls were routed; at the same time the foragers from the fields ran together towards the spot, and an enemy was on every side of the Gauls in such a manner that they could not have an easy or safe retreat, especially as the Romans pursued on fresh horses, while theirs were fatigued.

Few therefore escaped; yet not one was taken; by far the greater part paid their lives as a forfeit for having violated the faith of a conference. The whole army of the Romans, with minds burning with rage, marched up, next day, close to the enemy.

## 26

The consul, that no particular should escape his knowledge, spent two days in examining the nature of the mountain with his own eyes. On the third day, after taking the auspices, and then offering sacrifice, he formed his troops in four divisions, that he might lead two up the middle of the mountain, and direct the other two, one on each side, against the wings of the Gauls. The main strength of the enemy, the Tectosagians and Trocmians, amounting to fifty thousand men, formed the centre of their line. They dismounted their cavalry, in number ten thousand men, because horsemen could not act among the uneven rocks, and placed them on the right wing. The Cappadocians of Ariarathes, with the auxiliary troops of Morzes, on the left, made up almost four thousand. The consul, having placed his light troops in the van, as he had done before at Mount Olympus, took care that they should have ready at hand the same abundance of weapons of every sort. When they approached the enemy, all circumstances, on both sides, were the same as in the former battle, excepting their spirits; those of the victors being elated by their success, and those of the Gauls depressed; because, though they themselves had not been defeated, yet they considered as their own, the overthrow of people of their own race. The battle, therefore, commencing under similar circumstances, had the same issue. The cloud, as it were, of light weapons that were thrown, overwhelmed the army of the Gauls; and, as none of them dared to charge forward from their ranks, for fear of exposing all parts of their bodies to the blows, so while they stood still, the closer they were together the more wounds they received, as the assailants directed their weapons as if at a mark. The consul now judged, that if he should once show the standards of the legions to them already disordered, they would instantly turn about and fly; receiving, therefore, the light infantry, and the rest of the auxiliaries, between the ranks, he ordered the line to advance.

## 27

The Gauls, discouraged by the memory of the defeat of the Tolistoboians, and carrying weapons sticking in their flesh, fatigued also by long standing and wounds, were not able to support even the first shout and onset of the Romans. Their flight was directed towards their camp; only a few of them entered the trenches; the greater part, passing by, on the right and left, fled whichever way each man's giddy haste carried him. The conquerors, following them to the camp, cut off their rear; but then, through greediness for booty, they stopped in the camp, and not one of them continued the pursuit. The Gauls in the wings stood some time longer, because the Romans reached them at a later period. But they did not endure even the first discharge of weapons. The consul, as he could not draw off the men who had got into the camp for plunder, sent forward those, who had been in the wings, to pursue the enemy. They, accordingly, followed them a considerable way; yet, in the pursuit, for there was no fight, they killed not more than eight thousand men: the rest crossed the river Halys. A great part of the Romans lodged that night in the enemy's camp; the consul led back the rest to his own. Next day, he took a review of the prisoners, and of the booty, the quantity of which was as great as a nation most greedy of rapine could amass, after holding possession, by force of arms, of all the country on this side Mount Taurus, during a space of many years. The Gauls, after this scattered and confused flight, re-assembled in one place, a great part of them being

wounded or unarmed, and as all were destitute of every kind of property, they sent deputies to the consul, to supplicate for peace. Manlius ordered them to attend him at Ephesus; and, being in haste to quit those cold regions, in the vicinity of Mount Taurus, as it was now the middle of autumn, he led back his victorious army into winter quarters on the sea-coast.

## 28

During the time of those transactions in Asia, affairs were tranquil in the other provinces. At Rome, the censors, Titus Quintius Flamininus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, read over the roll of the senate; Publius Scipio Africanus was, a third time, declared prince of the senate, and only four members were struck out, none of whom had held any curule office. In their review of the knights, also, their censorship was very mild. They contracted for the erection of a building in the Æquimælium, on the capitoline mount, and for paving, with flint, a road from the gate Capena to the temple of Mars. The Campanians consulted the senate respecting the place where they should have their census; and an order was passed that they should be rated at Rome. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell this year; twelve times the Tiber overflowed the field of Mars and the lower parts of the city. The war with the Gauls in Asia having been brought to a conclusion by the consul Cneius Manlius, the other consul, Marcus Fulvius, as the Ætolians were now completely reduced, passed over to Cephallenia, and sent messengers round the states of the island, to inquire whether they chose to submit to the Romans, or to try the fortune of war. Fear prevailed so strongly on them all, that they did not refuse to surrender. They gave the number of hostages demanded, which was proportioned to the abilities of a weak people, the Nesians, Cranians, Pallenians, and Samæans, giving twenty each. An unhoped-for peace had now shone on Cephallenia, when one state, the Samæans, suddenly revolted, from some motive not yet ascertained. They said, that as their city was commodiously situated, they were afraid that the Romans would compel them to remove from it. But whether, they conceived this in their own minds, and, under the impulse of a groundless fear, disturbed the general quiet, or whether, such a project had been mentioned in conversation among the Romans, and reported to them, nothing is ascertained, unless that after having given hostages they suddenly shut their gates, and would not relinquish their design, even for the prayers of their friends, whom the consul sent to the walls, to try how far they might be influenced by compassion for their parents and countrymen. When no pacific answer was given, the city began to be besieged. The consul had all the apparatus, engines and machines, which had been brought over from Ambracia; and the soldiers executed with great diligence the works necessary to be formed. The rams were therefore brought forward in two places, and began to batter the walls.

## 29

The townsmen omitted nothing by which the works or the motions of the besiegers could be obstructed. But they resisted in two ways in particular; one of which was to raise constantly, instead of the part of the wall knocked down, a new wall of equal strength on the inside; and the other was to make sudden sallies, at one time against the enemy's works, at another against his advanced guards; and in those attacks, they generally got the better. The only plan that was invented to confine them within the walls, though ineffectual, deserves to be recorded. One hundred slingers were brought from Ægium, Patras, and Dymæ. These men, according to the customary practice of that nation, were exercised from their childhood in throwing with a sling, into the open sea,

the round pebbles, with which, mixed with sand, the shores were generally strewn; therefore they cast weapons of that sort to a greater distance, with surer aim, and more powerful effect, than even the Balearian slingers. Besides, their sling does not consist merely of a single strap, like the Balearic and that of other nations, but the thong of the sling is three-fold, and made firm by several seams, that the bullet may not, by the yielding of the strap in the act of throwing, be let fly at random, but after sticking fast while whirled about, it may be discharged as if sent from the string of a bow. Being accustomed to drive their bullets through circular marks of small circumference, placed at a great distance, they not only hit the enemy's heads, but any part of their face that they aimed at. These slings checked the Samæans from sallying either so frequently or so boldly; insomuch that they would, sometimes, from the walls, beseech the Achæans to retire for a while, and be quiet spectators of their fight with the Roman guards. Same supported a siege of four months. When some of their small number were daily killed or wounded, and the survivors were, through continual fatigues, greatly reduced both in strength and spirits, the Romans, one night scaling the wall of the citadel, which they call Cyatides, (for the city sloping towards the sea verges towards the west,) made their way into the forum. The Samæans, on discovering that a part of the city was taken, fled, with their wives and children, into the greater citadel; but submitting next day, they were all sold as slaves, their city being plundered.

### 30

As soon as he had settled the affairs of Cephallenia, the consul, leaving a garrison in Same, sailed over to Peloponnesus, where the Ægians and Lacedæmonians, chiefly, solicited his presence for a long time. From the first institution of the Achæan council, the assemblies of the nation had been held at Ægium, whether that was conceded to the dignity of the city, or the commodiousness of its situation. This usage Philopœmen first attempted to subvert in that year, and determined to introduce an ordinance, that these should be held in rotation in every one of the cities, which were members of the Achæan union; and a little before the arrival of the consul, when the Demiurguses, who are the chief magistrates in the states, summoned the representatives to Ægium, Philopœmen, then prætor, by proclamation, appointed their meeting at Argos. To which place when it was apparent that all would come, the consul likewise, though he favoured the cause of the Ægians, went to Argos, but, after there had been a debate, and he saw the scale turning against the Ægians, he desisted from his undertaking. The Lacedæmonians then drew his attention to their disputes. The exiles especially kept that state in alarm: of whom great numbers resided in the maritime forts on the coast of Laconia, all which had been taken from the Lacedæmonians. At this the Lacedæmonians were deeply chagrined, and in order that they might have some where a free access to the sea, if they should have occasion to send ambassadors to Rome, or any other place, and at the same time possess some mart and repository for foreign merchandise, for their necessary demands, attacked in the night a maritime village called Las, and seized it by surprise. The inhabitants, and the exiles residing in the place, were terrified, at first, by the sudden assault; but afterwards collecting in a body before day, after a slight contest, they drove back the Lacedæmonians. A general alarm, nevertheless, spread over the whole coast, and all the forts and villages, with the exiles whose homes were there, united in sending a common embassy to the Achæans.

### 31

The prætor, Philopœmen,—(who, from the beginning, had ever been a friend to the cause of the exiles, and had always advised the Achæans to reduce the power and influence of the Lacedæmonians,)—gave an audience of the council to the ambassadors while making their complaints. There, on a motion made by him, a decree was passed, that, “whereas Titus Quintius and the Romans had committed their forts and villages, on the coast of Laconia, to the protection and guardianship of the Achæans; and whereas the Lacedæmonians, according to the treaty, ought to leave them unmolested; notwithstanding which, the village of Las has been attacked by them and bloodshed committed therein; therefore, unless the authors and abettors of this outrage were delivered up to the Achæans, the treaty would be considered as violated.” To demand those persons, ambassadors were instantly despatched to Lacedæmon. This authoritative injunction appeared to the Lacedæmonians so haughty and insolent, that if their state had been in its ancient condition, they would undoubtedly have taken to arms. But they were principally alarmed by apprehensions, lest, if by obeying the first mandates they once received the yoke, Philopœmen should put the exiles in possession of Lacedæmon, a design which he had been a long time planning. Maddened therefore with anger, they put to death thirty men of the faction which had held some correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles, and passed a decree, that the alliance with the Achæans should be renounced, and that ambassadors should be sent immediately to Cephallenia, to surrender Lacedæmon to the consul Marcus Fulvius and the Romans, and beseech him to come into Peloponnesus, and to receive Lacedæmon under the protection and dominion of the Roman people.

### 32

When the Achæan ambassadors returned with an account of these proceedings, war was declared against the Lacedæmonians, by a unanimous vote of all the states of the confederacy; but the winter prevented its being commenced immediately. However, the confines of the Lacedæmonians were laid waste by small expeditions, more like freebooting than a regular war, made not only by land, but also by ships at sea. This commotion brought the consul into Peloponnesus, and, by his order, a council being summoned at Elis, the Lacedæmonians were called on to plead their own cause. There were not only violent debates then, but even altercation. To which, the consul, although his answer had been indecisive in other respects, since he encouraged both parties through a very eager desire to please, put an end, by one decisive order, that they should desist from hostilities, until they sent ambassadors to Rome, to the senate. An embassy was despatched by both parties to Rome. The Lacedæmonian exiles intrusted their cause and embassy to the Achæans. Diophanes and Lycortas, both of them Megalopolitans, were at the head of the Achæan embassy, who, being at variance in their own republic, there also delivered speeches by no means in unison. Diophanes was for leaving the determination of every point to the senate—that they would best decide the controversies between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians; while Lycortas, according to the instructions of Philopœmen, required, that the senate should permit the Achæans to execute their own decrees, made conformable to the treaty, and their own laws; and that they should concede to them, uninfringed, the liberty which they themselves had bestowed. The Achæan nation was, at that time, in high esteem with the Romans; yet it was resolved, that no alteration should be made respecting the Lacedæmonians; but the answer given was so confused, that, while the Achæans understood it as full permission given to them in relation to Lacedæmon, the Lacedæmonians construed it, that unlimited power was not conceded to them.

## 33

The Achæans used this power in an immoderate and tyrannical manner. Philopœmen is continued in office, and he, in the beginning of spring, collecting an army, encamped in the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and thence sent ambassadors to insist on their delivering up the authors of the insurrection; promising, that if they complied, their state should remain in peace, and that those persons should not suffer any punishment, without having pleaded their cause. There was silence among the rest through fear; but the persons demanded by name, declared that they would voluntarily go, if their faith was pledged by the ambassadors, that violence would not be resorted to, until their cause were heard. Several other men, of illustrious characters, went along with them, both as supporters of those private individuals, and because they thought their cause concerned the public interest. The Achæans had never before brought the Lacedæmonian exiles into the country, because they knew that nothing would disgust the people so much; but now, the vanguard of almost their whole army was composed of them. When the Lacedæmonians came to the gate of the camp, these men met them in a body, and, first, began to provoke them with insulting language; a wrangle then ensuing, and their passions being inflamed, the most furious of the exiles made an attack on the Lacedæmonians. While these appealed to the gods, and the faith of the ambassadors; and while the ambassadors and the prætor were driving back the crowd, and protecting the Lacedæmonians, and were keeping back some who were already binding them in chains,—the multitude was increasing, owing to a tumult having been excited. The Achæans, at first, ran thither to view the spectacle; but then the exiles, with loud clamours, complained of the sufferings that they had undergone, implored assistance, and at the same time insisted, that they would never have such an opportunity if they neglected this; that the treaties, solemnly ratified in the Capitol, at Olympia, and in the citadel of Athens, had been rendered void by these men; and that before they should be bound by a new treaty, the guilty ought to be punished. The multitude being inflamed by these expressions, at the voice of one who called out that they should fall on, attacked them with stones; and seventeen persons, who, during the disturbance, had been put in chains, were killed. The next day, sixty-three, whom the prætor had protected from violence, not because he wished them safe, but because he was unwilling that they should perish without a defence, being taken into custody, and brought before an enraged multitude, after addressing a few words to such prejudiced ears, were all condemned and executed.

## 34

After this fear had been inspired, orders were sent to the Lacedæmonians, first, that they should demolish their walls; then, that all the foreign auxiliaries, who had served for pay under the tyrants, should quit the Laconian territories; then, that the slaves, whom the tyrants had set free, who amounted to a great multitude, should depart before a certain day; that the Achæans should be authorized to seize, sell, and carry away those who might remain in the country. That they should abrogate the laws and customs of Lycurgus, and adopt the laws and institutions of the Achæans; that thus all would become one body, and concord would be established among them. They obeyed none of these injunctions more willingly than that of demolishing the walls, nor suffered any with more reluctance than the restoration of the exiles. A decree for their restoration was made at Tegea, in a general council of the Achæans; where, an account being brought, that the foreign auxiliaries had been sent away, and that the newly-registered Lacedæmonians (so they called the slaves who were enfranchised by the

tyrants) had left the city and dispersed through the country, it was resolved, that, before the army was disbanded, the prætor should go with some light troops, and, seizing that description of people, sell them as spoil. Great numbers were accordingly seized, and sold; and with that money a portico at Megalopolis, which the Lacedæmonians had demolished, was rebuilt, with the approbation of the Achæans. The lands of Belbinis, of which the Lacedæmonian tyrants had unjustly kept possession, were also restored to that state, according to an old decree of the Achæans, made in the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas. The state of Lacedæmon having, by these means, lost the sinews of its strength, remained long in subjection to the Achæans; but nothing hurt it so materially as the abolition of the discipline of Lycurgus, in the practice of which they had continued during seven hundred years.

### 35

After the sitting of the council, wherein the debate between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians was held in presence of the consul, as the year was expiring, Marcus Fulvius, having gone home to Rome to hold the elections, appointed Marcus Valerius Messala and Caius Livius Salinator consuls, after having, this year, procured the rejection of his enemy, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. Then Quintus Marcius Philippus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Stertinius, Caius Atinius, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, were elected prætors. When the elections were finished, it was resolved, that the consul, Marcus Fulvius, should return into his province to the army; and to him and his colleague, Cneius Manlius, their command was prolonged for a year. In this year, in pursuance of directions from the decemvirs, a statue of Hercules was set up in his temple, and a gilded chariot with six horses were placed in the Capitol, by Publius Cornelius. The inscription mentioned, that Publius Cornelius, the consul,<sup>272</sup> made the offering. Also twelve gilded shields, out of money raised by fines on corn merchants, for raising the market by hoarding the grain, were dedicated by the curule ædiles, Publius Claudius Pulcher and Servius Sulpicius Galba; and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the plebeian ædile, having convicted one malefactor, (for the ædiles prosecuted separately,) dedicated two gilded statues. His colleague, Aulus Cæcilius, did not convict any one. The Roman games were exhibited thrice; the plebeian, five times altogether. Marcus Valerius Messala, and Caius Livius Salinator, after entering into office on the ides of March, consulted the senate concerning the state of the commonwealth, the provinces, and the armies. With respect to Ætolia and Asia no alteration was made. With regard to the consuls, to the one Pisæ, with the Ligurians, is decreed as his province; to the other, Gaul. They were ordered to cast lots for these, or to settle the matter between themselves, to enrol new armies, two legions for each; and to levy off the allies of the Latin name, fifteen thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse. Liguria fell, by lot, to Messala; Gaul, to Salinator. The prætors then cast lots, and the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Claudius; the foreign, to Publius Claudius. Quintus Marcius obtained, by lot, Sicily; Caius Stertinius, Sardinia; Lucius Manlius, Hither Spain; Caius Atinius, Farther Spain.

### 36

Respecting the armies, they passed the following resolutions—that the legions which had served under Caius Lælius, should be removed out of Gaul into Bruttium, to Marcus Tuccius, the proprætor; that the army which was in Sicily should be disbanded, and that

<sup>272</sup> This does not prove that he was in the office of consul at the time of his making it; for it was usual to mention, in such inscriptions, the highest office that the person had ever held.

Marcus Sempronius, the proprætor, should bring back to Rome the fleet that was there. For the Spains were decreed the legions then in those provinces, one for each, with orders, that each of the two prætors should levy from among the allies, as a reinforcement, three thousand foot and two hundred horse, and bring them with them. Before the new magistrates set out for their provinces, a supplication, of three days' continuance, was ordered by the college of decemvirs to be performed in every street, on account of a darkness having overspread the light of day, between the third and fourth hours; and the nine days' solemnity was proclaimed, because there had been a shower of stones on the Aventine. The Campanians, as the censors obliged them, pursuant to the decree of the senate, made last year, to pass the general survey at Rome, (for before that, it had not been fixed where they should be surveyed,) petitioned that they might be allowed to take in marriage women who were citizens of Rome, and that any who had, heretofore, married such, might retain them; and, likewise, that children born of such marriages, before that day, might be legitimate, and entitled to inherit; both which requests were obtained. Caius Valerius Tappus, a tribune of the commons, proposed an order of the people concerning the citizens of the free towns of Formiæ, Fundi, and Arpinum, that they should be invested with the right of voting, for hitherto they had had the rights of citizenship without the privilege of voting. When four tribunes of the commons were protesting against the bill, because it was not made under the direction of the senate, on being informed, that the power of imparting the privilege of voting to any person they should choose belonged to the people, and not to the senate, they desisted from their opposition. An order was passed, that the Formians and Fundans should vote in the Æmilian tribe, and the Arpinians in the Cornelian; and in these tribes they were then, for the first time, rated in the census, in pursuance of the order of the people proposed by Valerius. Marcus Claudius Marcellus, the censor, having got the better of Titus Quintius in the lots, closed the lustrum. Two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and eight citizens were rated. When the lustrum was finished, the consuls set out for their provinces.

### 37

During the winter wherein these acts were performed at Rome, embassies from all the nations and states which dwelt on this side of Mount Taurus, came together on all sides to Cneius Manlius, at first consul, and afterwards proconsul, passing the winter in Asia; and although the conquest of Antiochus was more splendid and glorious to the Romans than that of the Gauls, yet the latter gave greater joy to the allies than the former. Subjection to the king had been more tolerable to them than the savage nature of those wild barbarians, and the daily alarm, with the uncertainty of the direction in which the storm would, as it were, drift them in their desolating path. Therefore since to them liberty was given by the expulsion of Antiochus, and permanent peace by the conquest of the Gauls, they brought, not only congratulations, but also golden crowns, in proportion to the ability of each. Ambassadors also came from Antiochus, and from the Gauls themselves, that the conditions of peace might be dictated to them; and from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, to solicit pardon, and make atonement, by money, for his crime in assisting Antiochus with troops. Six hundred talents of silver are levied off him. Answer was made to the Gauls, that when king Eumenes arrived, he would settle the conditions. The embassies of the several states were dismissed with kind answers, much happier than when they arrived. The ambassadors of Antiochus were ordered to bring the money and the corn, (according to the treaty concluded with Lucius Scipio,) into Pamphylia, whither the consul intended to go with his forces. In the beginning of

the next spring, after purifying the army, he began his march, and on the eighth day arrived at Apamea. Having halted there during three days, he, on the third day after his departure from that place, arrived in Pamphylia, to which place he had ordered the king's ambassadors to bring together the money and corn. Two thousand five hundred talents<sup>273</sup> of silver, being received by him, were conveyed to Apamea; the corn was distributed among the army. Thence he marched to Perga, the only place in the country still held by a garrison of the king's troops. On his approach, the governor of the town met him, and requested thirty days' time, that he might consult Antiochus about the surrender of the city. The time being granted, on the appointed day the garrison evacuated the city. From Perga, he detached his brother, Lucius Manlius, with four thousand men, to Oroanda, to exact from that town the remainder of the money which they had promised; and, having ordered the ambassadors of Antiochus to follow, he led back his army to Apamea, because he heard that king Eumenes, and the ten ambassadors from Rome, were arrived at Ephesus.

### 38

Then, with the concurrence of the ten ambassadors, a treaty was concluded with Antiochus, in nearly the following words: "Let there be friendship between king Antiochus and the Roman people, on the following terms and conditions—Let not the king suffer any army, intended to act against the Roman people, or their allies, to pass through the territories of his own realm, or of any state under his dominion, nor supply it with provisions, or with any other assistance. Let the Romans and their allies observe the same conduct toward Antiochus, and those under his government. Let there not be to Antiochus the right of carrying on war with the inhabitants of the islands, or of passing over into Europe. Let him evacuate the cities, lands, villages, and forts on this side of Mount Taurus, as far as the river Halys; and from the foot of Mount Taurus to the summit, where it verges upon Lycaonia. Let him not remove any arms out of those towns, lands, or forts which he may evacuate; if he hath removed any, let him honourably replace what he ought to make good, and in the place that he ought. Let him not receive any soldier, or other person, from the kingdom of Eumenes. If any natives of those cities, which are hereby separated from his kingdom, are now with Antiochus, or within the bounds of his realms, let them all return to Apamea, before a certain day. Let such of the natives of Antiochus's kingdom, as are now with the Romans and their allies, have liberty to depart or to stay. Let him deliver to the Romans and their allies, all their slaves, whether fugitives or taken in war, likewise whatever free-born person may be a prisoner or deserter. Let him give up all his elephants, and not procure others. Let him also surrender his ships of war, and their stores; let him not keep more than ten light trading vessels, none of which are to be worked with more than thirty oars, nor a galley of one tier of oars, for the purpose of an offensive war; let him not ail on this side of the promontories, Calycadnus and Sarpedon, except in a ship which will carry money, tribute, ambassadors, or hostages. Let there not be to king Antiochus the right of hiring soldiers out of those nations which are under the dominion of the Roman people, nor of receiving volunteers. Whatever houses and buildings, within the limits of Antiochus's kingdom, belong to the Rhodians and their allies, let them belong to the Rhodians and allies on the same footing as they did before the war. If any sums of money are due to them, let them have a right to enforce payment; likewise, if any of their property has been taken away, let them have a right to search for, discover, and reclaim it. If any

<sup>273</sup> 484,275l.

persons, to whom Antiochus hath given the cities which ought to be surrendered, still hold them, let him remove the garrisons, and take care that they may be properly surrendered. Let him pay, within twelve years, by equal annual payments, twelve thousand Attic talents of silver,<sup>274</sup> the talent to weigh not less than eighty Roman pounds; and five hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat. He shall pay to king Eumenes, within five years, three hundred and fifty talents;<sup>275</sup> and, for the corn due, the sum which arises from his own valuation, one hundred and twenty seven talents.<sup>276</sup> Let him deliver to the Romans twenty hostages, and change them every third year; none of which are to be younger than eighteen, or older than forty-five years. If any of the allies of the Roman people shall make war on Antiochus, let him have liberty to repel force by force, provided he does not keep possession of any city, either by right of arms, or by admitting it into a treaty of amity. Let them decide the controversies among themselves by equity and arbitration; or, if it shall be the choice of both parties, by arms." A clause was added to this treaty also, about delivering up Hannibal the Carthaginian, Thoas the Ætolian, Mnasimachus the Acarnanian, and the Chalcidians Eubalidas and Philo; and another, that if it should afterwards please the parties that any thing should be added, cancelled, or altered, that it might be done without invalidating the treaty.

### 39

The consul swore to the observance of this treaty. Quintus Minucius Thermus and Lucius Manlius, who happened to return just at that time from Oroanda, went to require the oath of the king. At the same time he wrote to Quintus Fabius Labeo, commander of the fleet, to sail, without delay, to Patara, to break up and burn the king's ships that lay there. Sailing, accordingly, from Ephesus, he broke up or burned fifty decked ships; and, in the same voyage, took Telmessus, the inhabitants being terrified by his sudden appearance. Then having ordered those who were left at Ephesus to follow him, he passed onward from Lycia, through the islands to Greece. At Athens, after waiting a few days, until the ships from Ephesus came to Piræus, he then brought home the whole fleet to Italy. Cneius Manlius, when he had, among other matters to be given up by Antiochus, received his elephants, and given them all as a present to Eumenes, then examined the causes of the several states, since many had been thrown into confusion amid the violent changes. King Ariarathes, the half of the money levied on him being remitted, through the kind offices of Eumenes, to whom he had betrothed, during that time, his daughter, was received into friendship. The ten ambassadors, after examining the causes of the respective states, made different arrangements, in different cases. They gave independence to those which had been tributary to king Antiochus and had sided with the Romans; and they ordered all such as had taken part with Antiochus, or had been tributary to king Attalus, to pay tribute to Eumenes. Besides they granted independence to the Colophonians, who live in Notium, the Cymæans, and Milasenians, all of whom they specified by name. To the Clazomenians they gave, besides their independence, the island of Drymusa. To the Milesians they restored what was called the sacred lands. They added to the territory of the Trojans, Rhœteum and Gergithus, not so much in consideration of any recent merits of theirs, as out of respect to their own origin. The same motive was the reason of their liberating Dardanum. They gifted the Chians, also the Smyrnæans and Erythræans, with lands, in consideration of the singular fidelity which they displayed during the war, and treated them with every

<sup>274</sup> 2,235,000*l.*

<sup>275</sup> 67,812*l.*

<sup>276</sup> 24,609*l.*

distinguished honour. To the Phocæans, the territory which they had enjoyed before the war was restored; and permission was given them to use their ancient laws. They confirmed to the Rhodians the grants which were mentioned in the former decree. Lycia and Caria were assigned to them as far as the river Mæander, excepting Telmessus. To king Eumenes they gave, in Europe, the Chersonese and Lysimachia, with the forts, towns, and lands thereof, with the same frontier as Antiochus had held them; and, in Asia, both the Phrygias, the one on the Hellespont, and the other called the Greater, and restored to him Mysia, which had been taken by king Prusias, and also gave to him Lycaonia, and Milyas, and Lydia, and, by express mention, the cities of Tralles, and Ephesus, and Telmessus. When a dispute had arisen between Eumenes and Antiochus's ambassadors, concerning Pamphylia, because part of it lay on the hither side, and part on the further side of Taurus, the matter was referred wholly to the senate.

#### 40

When these treaties and grants were concluded, Manlius, with the ten ambassadors, and all his army, marched to the Hellespont, and dictated to the chiefs of the Gauls, whom he had summoned thither, terms on which they should maintain peace with Eumenes; and warned them to put an end to the practice of straggling in arms, and to confine themselves within the bounds of their own territories. Then, having collected ships from all parts of the coast, and Eumenes's fleet also being brought thither from Elæa by Athenæus, that king's brother, he transported all his forces into Europe. Then leading slowly through the Chersonese, by short marches, the army heavily encumbered with booty of every sort, he halted at Lysimachia; in order that he might enter Thrace, the march through which they in general dreaded, with the beasts of burden as fresh and vigorous as possible. On the day in which he set out from Lysimachia, he came to the river which they call Melas,<sup>277</sup> and thence, next day, to Cypsela. The road, about ten miles from Cypsela, proved to be obstructed by woods, narrow and broken. On account of these difficulties he divided the army into two parts; and, ordering one to advance in front, and the other at a considerable distance, to cover the rear, he placed between them the baggage; it was composed of waggons with the public money, and other booty of great value. As he was marching in this order through the defile, a body of Thracians, not more in number than ten thousand, composed of four states, the Astians, Cænians, Maduatians, and Corelians, posted themselves on both sides of the road at the narrowest part. There was an opinion that this was not done without the treacherous connivance of Philip, king of Macedonia; that he knew that the Romans would return by no other route than that through Thrace, and what an immense sum they would carry with them. The general himself was in the van, anxious about the disadvantages of the ground. The Thracians did not stir until the troops passed by; but, when they saw that the foremost division had got clear of the narrow pass, and that the rear division was not yet drawing near, they rushed upon the encumbrances and the baggage, and after killing the guards, some rifled the waggons, while others led off the horses under their loads. After their shouts reached those on the rear, who were then just entering the pass, and afterwards those in the van, the Romans ran together from both extremities to the centre, and an irregular sort of fight commenced, in many different places at once. The booty itself exposed the Thracians to slaughter, as they were encumbered with burdens, and most of them had thrown away their arms, that they might have their hands disengaged for plundering; the disadvantageous nature of the ground militated

<sup>277</sup> Black.

against the Romans, as the barbarians attacked them through well-known paths, and sometimes lurked in the ravines. The loads too, and the waggons, lying incommodiously for one party or the other, as chance directed, were great obstructions to their movements; and here the plunderer, there the defender of the booty, fell. The fortune of the fight was variable, according as the ground was favourable or unfavourable to this party or that, and according to the spirit of the combatants, and their numbers, for some had come in contact with a stronger party than themselves, others with a weaker. On both sides, however, great numbers fell. The night was now approaching, when the Thracians retired from the fight, not for the purpose of avoiding wounds or death, but because they had got enough of booty.

#### 41

The first division of the Romans encamped beyond the pass, in open ground, round the temple of Bendis;<sup>278</sup> the second division remained in the middle of the defile, surrounded by a double rampart, to guard the baggage. Next day, having carefully examined the ground before they put themselves in motion, they rejoined the first. In that battle, although part of the baggage was lost, while a great part of the attendants and many of the soldiers perished, (since the fight was carried on through almost the whole extent of the defile,) yet the heaviest loss sustained was in the death of Quintus Minucius Thermus, a brave and gallant officer. The army arrived that day at the Hebrus, and thence passed through the country of the Ænians, by the temple of Apollo, whom the natives call Zerynthius. Another defile, as rugged and uneven as the former, awaits them around Tempyra (this is the name of the place); but, as there were no woods near, it afforded no cover for an ambuscade. Hither assembled the Thrausians, (who are also a Thracian tribe,) with the same hope of plunder; but because the bare valleys had this effect, that they were visible at a distance besetting the defile, there was less terror and tumult among the Romans; for, although they were obliged to fight on disadvantageous ground, yet it was in a regular battle, in an open field, and a fair encounter. Advancing in close order, with the war-shout, and falling on the enemy, they soon drove them off the ground, and put them to flight. Afterwards the rout and massacre began to take place, for the narrow passes actually impeded them. The victorious Romans encamped at a village of the Maronites, called Sare. Next day, after marching through an open country, the plain of Priate received them, where they halted three days, to receive supplies of corn, partly from the country of the Maronites, who made a voluntary contribution, and partly from their own ships, which attended them with stores of every kind. From this post there was one day's march to Apollonia, whence they proceeded through the territory of Abdera to Neapolis. All this march through the Grecian colonies was performed in security. The rest of their march through the midst of the Thracians, though not harassed, was full of apprehension, by day and night, until they arrived in Macedon. This same army, when it proceeded by the same route under Scipio, had found the Thracians more peaceable, but for no other reason, than because it had then less booty, which was the object of their attack: although Claudius writes, that even on that occasion, a body of fifteen thousand Thracians opposed Mutines, the Numidian, who had advanced to reconnoitre the country. That the Numidians were four hundred horsemen, and a few elephants. That the son of Mutines, with a hundred and fifty chosen horsemen, broke through the middle of the enemy; and that the same individual, presently, when Mutines, placing his elephants in the centre, and the horse on the

<sup>278</sup> The name of Diana in the Thracian language.

wings, had begun to engage the enemy, cast terror into them by an attack on their rear; and that owing to this, the enemy, routed by the storm, as it were, of cavalry, did not come near the main body of infantry. Cneius Manlius conducted his army through Macedon into Thessaly; and, having proceeded, through Epirus to Apollonia, passed the winter there, as the sea in the winter was not as yet considered so little formidable that he might venture on the passage.

#### 42

It was almost at the expiration of the year, that the consul, Marcus Valerius, came from Liguria to Rome to elect new magistrates, although he had not performed in his province any memorable act that could afford a reasonable excuse for coming later than usual to the elections. The assembly for choosing the consuls was held on the twelfth day before the calends of March. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Caius Flaminius were elected consuls. The following day, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Servius Sulpicius Galba, Quintus Terentius Culleo, Lucius Terentius Massa, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and Marcus Furius Crassipes were elected prætors. When the elections were concluded, the consul asked the senate what were the provinces that they wished should be given to the prætors: they decreed two for the administration of justice in Rome; two out of Italy—Sicily and Sardinia; and two in Italy—Tarentum and Gaul: the prætors were ordered to cast lots immediately, before they entered on their office. Servius Sulpicius received by lot the city jurisdiction; Quintus Terentius, the foreign; Lucius Terentius obtained Sicily; Quintus Fulvius, Sardinia; Appius Claudius, Tarentum; and Marcus Furius, Gaul. In that year, Lucius Minucius Myrtilus and Lucius Manlius, as they were charged with having beaten the Carthaginian ambassadors, were, by order of Marcus Claudius, city prætor, delivered up by heralds to the ambassadors, and carried to Carthage. Reports prevailed of a great war, growing too every day more formidable, in Liguria. The senate, therefore, decreed Liguria as the province of both the new consuls, on the day that they made their motion in the senate concerning the republic and the provinces. To this vote the consul, Lepidus, objected, asserting that “it would be highly indecorous to shut up the consuls among the valleys of Liguria, while Marcus Fulvius and Cneius Manlius reigned, a second year, one in Europe, another in Asia, as if substituted in the room of Philip and Antiochus. If it was resolved to keep armies in those countries, it was more fitting that consuls, rather than private persons, should have the command of them. That they made their circuits with all the terrors of war, among nations against whom war had not been declared, trafficking peace for money. If it was necessary to hold these provinces with armies, in the same manner as Lucius Scipio, consul, had succeeded Manius Acilius, consul; and as Marcus Fulvius and Cneius Manlius succeeded Lucius Scipio; so ought Caius Livius and Marcus Valerius, the consuls, to have succeeded Fulvius and Manlius. But, unquestionably, at this time, after the Ætolian war had been concluded, Asia taken from Antiochus, and the Gauls subdued,—either the consuls ought to be sent to the consular armies, or the legions ought be brought home, and restored to the commonwealth.” The senate, although they heard these words, persisted in their vote, that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls; but they ordered, that Manlius and Fulvius should leave their provinces, withdraw the troops, and come home to Rome.

#### 43

There was a quarrel between Marcus Fulvius and the consul Æmilius; and in addition to other motives, Æmilius thought, that he had been made consul two years later, by the

opposition of Marcus Fulvius. In order, therefore, to exasperate the minds of the public against him, he introduced to the senate ambassadors from Ambracia, whom he had secretly instructed in the charges they were to make against him. These complained, that "war had been made on them when they were in a state of peace, after they had executed the commands of former consuls, and were ready to show the same obedience to Marcus Fulvius; that first their lands were ravaged; and that, the terror of rapine and carnage was then cast into the city, that by that fear they might be compelled to shut their gates. They were then besieged and assaulted, and all the horrors of war were inflicted on them, murders, burnings, the sacking and demolishing of their city. Their wives and children were dragged away into slavery; their goods taken from them; and, what shocked them more than all, their temples were despoiled of their ornaments, and the images of their gods, nay, the gods themselves were torn from their mansions, and carried away; so that the Ambracians had nothing left to adore, to which they could address their prayers and supplications, but naked walls and pillars." While they were making these complaints, the consul, as had been agreed, by asking questions leading to further charges, drew them on, as if against their inclinations, to the mention of other matters. The senators being moved by these accusations, the other consul, Caius Flaminius, took up the cause of Marcus Fulvius: and he said that "the Ambracians had set out in an old course, now long out of use. In this manner Marcus Marcellus had been accused by the Syracusans; and Quintus Fulvius by the Campanians. Why might not the senate as well allow Titus Quintius to be accused by king Philip; Manius Acilius and Lucius Scipio, by Antiochus; Cneius Manlius, by the Gauls; and Fulvius himself, by the Ætolians and the states of Cephallenia? Do you think, conscript fathers, either that I in behalf of Marcus Fulvius, or that Marcus Fulvius himself, will deny the besieging and taking Ambracia, the removing thence the statues and ornaments, and the other proceedings, which are usual on the capture of cities? He is about to demand a triumph from you for those very services, and to carry before his chariot those statues, the removal of which is charged as criminal, together with the other spoils of that city, and hang them up on the pillars of his house. There is no kind of pretence for their separating themselves from the Ætolians; the cause of the Ambracians and of the Ætolians is the same. Let, therefore, my colleague either vent his malice in some other case; or, if he is determined to proceed in this, let him detain his Ambracians until Fulvius comes home. I will not suffer any determination, concerning either the Ambracians or Ætolians, to pass in the absence of Marcus Fulvius."

#### 44

When Æmilius inveighed against the artful malignity of his adversary as being notorious to all, and affirmed, that he would spin out the time by affecting delays, so as not to return to Rome while an adversary was consul; two days were wasted in this dispute, and it was apparent that while Flaminius was present, no decision of the cause could be procured. The opportunity was eagerly caught at by Æmilius, when Flaminius, happening to fall sick, was absent, and on his proposing the motion the senate decreed, that, "all their effects should be restored to the Ambracians, that they should enjoy liberty, and the benefit of their own laws, and should levy what duties they might think proper on goods conveyed by land or sea, provided that the Romans and the allies of the Latin nation should be exempted therefrom. That with respect to the statues, and other ornaments, which they complained were carried away from their sacred buildings, their order was, that immediately on the return of Marcus Fulvius to Rome, the business should be laid before the college of pontiffs, and that whatever they might think proper

should be done." Nor was the consul content with this; but afterwards, in a badly attended meeting, he procured a clause to be added to the decree, "that it did not appear that Ambracia was taken by force." A supplication of three days' continuance was then performed for the health of the people, because a grievous pestilence was desolating the city and country. The Latin festival was afterwards celebrated, when the consuls, being relieved from these religious duties, and having finished their levies, (for both of them chose to employ new soldiers,) set out for their provinces, where they disbanded all the old troops.

Shortly after the departure of the consuls, Cneius Manlius, the proconsul, arrived at Rome; and, when an audience of the senate was granted to him in the temple of Bellona, by Servius Sulpicius, the prætor, after enumerating the services which he had performed, he demanded that, in consideration thereof, public thanks should be offered to the immortal gods, and permission be granted to himself, to ride through the city in triumph; the greater number of the ten ambassadors, who had been in the province along with him, opposed the grant, and particularly Lucius Furius Purpureo, and Lucius Æmilius Paulus.

#### 45

They alleged that "they had been appointed ambassadors in conjunction with Manlius, to make peace with Antiochus, and to conclude the terms of the treaty which had been entered on with Lucius Scipio. That Cneius Manlius laboured to the utmost of his power, to confound this peace, and to seize Antiochus by treachery, if he should put his person in the consul's power; but that he (Antiochus) having discovered the treacherous designs of the consul, though frequently tempted by proposals of a conference, had not only avoided the meeting, but even the sight of him. That Manlius, desiring to cross Mount Taurus, was with difficulty restrained by the entreaties of all the ambassadors, who besought him not to brave the curse denounced in the Sibylline verses against such as should pass those fatal limits. Nevertheless, he marched his army thither, and encamped almost on the very summit where the waters take opposite directions. As he could find no sort of pretence for hostilities, the king's subjects being perfectly quiet, he led his army round to the Gallogræcians, against which nation war was waged, without any decree of the senate, or order of the people. Which did ever any general before presume to do in like manner, on his own judgment? The latest wars were those with Antiochus, with Philip, and with Hannibal and the Carthaginians; concerning all these the senate had passed its decrees, the people their orders; several embassies were previously sent; restitution demanded; and, finally, heralds were sent to proclaim war. Now, Cneius Manlius," said they, "has any one of these proceedings been observed in the present case, that we should consider it a war of the Roman people, and not a predatory expedition of your own contrivance? But, were you even content with this? Did you lead your army against those whom you had chosen to consider as enemies, by the direct course; or did you ramble through every deflection of the roads, when you stopped at every division of the way, in order that, to whatever side Eumenes's brother, Attalus, should turn his route, you the consul, as an auxiliary in his pay, might follow with a Roman army? Did you not traverse every recess and corner of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia; levying contributions from the tyrants and peasants in those remote regions? For, what had you to do with the Oroandians, what with other states equally inoffensive?"

“But, in what manner did you conduct this war, on the merit of which you ask a triumph? Did you fight on equal ground, and at the time of your own choosing? Indeed you with propriety require that thanks be returned to the immortal gods; first, because they did not ordain that the army should undergo the penalty deserved by the temerity of its commander, in commencing a war in accordance with no law of nations; and next, because they gave us, for antagonists, brutes, and not men.

#### 46

“Do not suppose that the name only of the Gallogræcians is a mixed one: their bodies, and their minds, have undergone a similar process, and have been corrupted by the mixture. Had they been such Gauls as those whom we have a thousand times encountered in Italy, with various success, would any one of us, considering the conduct of our commander, have returned to tell the story? Two battles were fought; twice he sustained the disadvantages of position, and, at the bottom of a valley, almost placed his army under the feet of the enemy; so that they were able to overwhelm us, even though they did not cast their weapons from the higher ground, but merely threw themselves on us without arms. What, then, was the consequence? Great is the fortune of the Roman people; great and terrible its name! By the recent downfall of Hannibal, Philip, and Antiochus, the Gauls were, in a manner, thunderstruck. Bulky as their bodies were, they were dismayed, and put to flight, by slings and arrows; not a sword was stained in battle during the Gallic war. Like flocks of birds, they flew away at the very sound of our missiles. But, indeed, when we, the same army, were on our return, and happened to fall in with a party of Thracian robbers, (as if fortune meant to teach us what the issue would have been, if we had met an enemy,) we were beaten, routed, and stripped of our baggage. Among many other brave soldiers fell Quintus Minucius Thermus, whose death was a much greater loss, than if Cneius Manlius, to whose rashness the misfortune had happened, had perished. An army, carrying home the spoils of king Antiochus, was dispersed in three places, and with the vanguard in one place, the rear in another, and the baggage in a third, hid itself for a night among bushes, in the dens of wild beasts. Is a triumph demanded for such exploits as these? Although no disaster and disgrace had been suffered in Thrace, over what enemies would you triumph? Over those, I suppose, whom the Roman senate or people had assigned to you as your enemies. On these grounds, indeed, a triumph was granted to Lucius Scipio; to Manius Acilius, over king Antiochus; to Titus Quintius, over king Philip; and to Publius Africanus, over Hannibal, the Carthaginians, and Syphax. Now, after the senate had voted a declaration of war, the following unimportant matters were inquired into:—To whom the declaration ought to be made; whether to the kings in person, or whether making it at some of their garrisons were sufficient? Do you wish, then, that all these rites should be disregarded and profaned? That the laws of the heralds be abrogated? That there should be no heralds? Let religion (the gods pardon the expression) be thrown aside; let forgetfulness of the gods occupy your minds. Do you, also, judge it fit that the senate should not be consulted concerning war? That the people should not be asked, whether they choose and order war to be made on the Gauls? On a late occasion, the consuls, certainly, wished for the provinces of Greece and Asia; yet, when you persisted in assigning Liguria as their province, they obeyed your commands. They will, therefore, if the war should be successfully carried on, justly demand a triumph from you, conscript fathers, under whose authority they carried it on.”

#### 47

Such were the arguments of Furius and Æmilius. We have heard that Maulius replied in nearly the following manner: "Conscript fathers, formerly the tribunes of the people were accustomed to oppose generals demanding a triumph. I am thankful to the present tribunes because they have conceded so much either to me, or to the greatness of my services, as not only to show, by their silence, their approbation of my pretensions to that honour, but likewise their readiness, if there were occasion, to make a motion to that purpose. I have, since it is the pleasure of the gods, as my opponents some of the ten ambassadors, the actual council which our ancestors assigned to generals for the purpose of arranging their conquests and gracing their victories. Lucius Furius and Lucius Æmilius forbid me to mount the triumphal chariot, and pluck from my head the crown of glory, the persons whom, if the tribunes had opposed triumph, I should have cited as witnesses to bear testimony to my services. Conscript fathers, I envy no man's honours; but, on a late occasion, you yourselves deterred by your authority the tribunes of the people, brave and active men, from impeding the triumph of Quintus Fabius Labeo. Fabius enjoyed a triumph; and yet his adversaries alleged, not that he had carried on an unjust war, but that he had not seen the enemy at all. Whereas I, who fought so many pitched battles with one hundred thousand of your fiercest enemies; who killed or made prisoners more than forty thousand; who stormed two of their camps; who left all the countries on this side of the summits of Taurus in greater tranquillity than is the country of Italy; am not only defrauded of a triumph, but obliged to plead my cause before you, conscript fathers, whilst my own council of ambassadors accuse me. Conscript fathers, their charge, as you perceive, is twofold: for they assert, that I ought not to have waged war with the Gauls; and besides, that the war was carried on rashly and imprudently. The Gauls were not enemies; but, you committed hostilities against them, when peaceable and obedient to your orders. I am not about to require from you, conscript fathers, that you may attribute to the Gauls who inhabit Asia, those characteristics which you are well aware belong to the Gallic race in general, savage fierceness and most inveterate hatred to the name of Rome. Excluding the infamous and odious character of the whole nation, judge of these Gauls by themselves. I wish king Eumenes, I wish all the states of Asia were present, and that you heard their complaints, rather than my charges against them. Send ambassadors round all the cities of Asia, and ask whether they were relieved from more grievous servitude by the removal of Antiochus beyond the summits of Taurus, or by the conquest of the Gauls. Let them tell you how often their territories were ravaged, how often their property and their people were carried off as prey; while they had scarcely ever an opportunity of ransoming any prisoners, they heard of nothing but human victims slain, and their children offered up in sacrifice. Be assured that your allies paid tribute to these Gauls; and, though delivered now by you from the yoke of Antiochus, must still have continued to pay it, if I had been inactive. The farther Antiochus was removed, the more tyrannically would the Gauls have domineered in Asia; and all the countries on this side of Taurus you would have annexed to their empire, not to your own.

#### 48

"But, allowing all this to be so; the Gauls formerly sacked Delphi, the common oracle to which all mankind resort, and the central point of the globe of the earth; yet the Roman people did not, on that account, proclaim or wage war against them. I really thought, that there was some distinction to be made between that period when Greece and Asia were not yet under your jurisdiction and dominion, and the present, when you have made Mount Taurus the boundary of the Roman empire; when you grant liberty and

independence to the states of that country; when you augment the territories of some; amerce others in a part of their lands; impose tribute; add to, diminish, give, and take away kingdoms, and deem it your business to take care that they may enjoy peace both on land and sea. Is it not the case that you would not have thought Asia liberated unless Antiochus withdrew his garrisons, which lay quiet in their citadels: if the armies of the Gauls roamed about without control, would the grants which you made to king Eumenes be secure, or the liberty of the states entire? But why do I reason thus? as if I had not found the Gauls enemies, but made them such! I appeal to you, Lucius Scipio, whose bravery and good fortune alike I suppliantly sought, and not in vain, from the immortal gods, when I succeeded you in the command; and to you, Publius Scipio, who held, both with your brother the consul, and with the army, the commission of a lieutenant-general and the dignity of a colleague; did you ascertain that legions of the Gauls were in the army of Antiochus? Did you see them in his line of battle, posted in both wings; for there was his main strength? Did you fight with them as declared enemies? Did you kill them? Did you carry off their spoils? Yet the senate had decreed, and the people ordered, war against Antiochus, not against the Gauls. But as I judge, they had at the same time decreed and ordered that war should be with all those who should be reckoned among his troops; so that, excepting Antiochus, with whom Scipio had negotiated a peace, and with whom, specifying him by name, you had directed a treaty to be concluded, every one who had borne arms on the side of Antiochus against us, were our enemies. And although the Gauls had been conspicuous in that cause, and several petty princes and tyrants also; nevertheless, I made peace with the rest, after compelling them to atone for their transgressions, as the dignity of your empire required. I made trial, at the same time, of the temper of the Gauls, whether they could be reclaimed from their natural ferocity; but, perceiving them untractable and implacable, I then judged it necessary to chastise them by force of arms.

#### 49

“Now, since the charge respecting the undertaking of the war has been fully refuted, I must account for my conduct in the prosecution of it. In which, indeed, I should perfectly confide in the merits of my cause, though I were pleading, not before a Roman, but before a Carthaginian senate, by whom their commanders are said to be crucified, if they act on wrong plans, even with success. But in such a state as this, which, in the commencement and progress of every undertaking, makes application to the gods on this account, because it subjects to no malicious cavilling those plans of which the gods have approved; and which, in the established form, when it decrees a supplication or triumph, uses these words,—‘For having conducted the business of the public successfully and fortunately;’ if I should be unwilling, if I should think it presumptuous and arrogant to boast of my own bravery, and if I should demand, in consideration of my own good fortune, and that of my army, in having vanquished so great a nation, without any loss of men, that thanks should be given to the immortal gods, and that I should ascend the Capitol in triumph, from whence I took my departure, with vows duly offered;—would you refuse this to me, and the immortal gods? Yes; for I fought on unfavourable ground. Tell me, then, on what more favourable ground could I have fought, when the enemy had seized on a mountain, and kept themselves in a strong post; surely, if I wished to conquer them, I must go where they were. What if they had a town on the same spot, and kept within the walls: surely they must be attacked. Did Manlius Acilius fight with Antiochus, at Thermopylæ on favourable ground? Did not Titus Quintius dislodge Philip when he was posted in the same manner, on the tops of

mountains, over the river Anio\*? Truly I cannot yet discover what sort of an enemy they may represent to themselves, or in what light they may wish them to appear to you. If as being degenerate and softened by the pleasures of Asia, what danger was there in advancing against them even on unfavourable ground? If formidable, both for fierceness of courage and strength of body, do you refuse a triumph to victories so honourable? Conscript fathers, envy is blind, and only capable of depreciating merit, and poisoning its honours and rewards. Pardon me, I beseech you, conscript fathers, on these conditions, if it be the case that the necessary reply to the accusation, and not my desire of boasting of my exploits, hath made my speech too long. Whether could I, in my march through Thrace, create open glades out of narrow defiles, and level plains out of steep precipices, and fields out of woods, and insure that the Thracian plunderers should not lurk any where in those concealments which they were acquainted with; that none of our packages should be snatched away, none of our loaded horses, out of so large a train, led off; that no one should be wounded; and that the brave and active Lucius Minucius should not die of his wound? On this mischance, by which we unfortunately lost so valuable a citizen, those men declaim profusely. That the enemy attacked us in a dangerous pass, where every advantage of ground was against us; that our two divisions, the front and the rear, surrounded by a combined movement the army of the barbarians, while they were employed about our baggage; that they killed and took prisoners many thousands on that day; and, in a few days after, many more;—do they imagine that you would not ascertain this, even if they passed it over in silence, when the whole army can testify the truth of what I assert? If I had never drawn a sword in Asia, if I had never seen an enemy there, yet, by the two battles fought in Thrace, I had merited a triumph, as proconsul. But I have said enough, and shall only request, and, I should hope, obtain, your pardon, conscript fathers, for having troubled you longer than I could have wished to do.”

## 50

The accusations that day would have been more powerful than the defence, had they not prolonged the debate to a late hour; for the senate adjourned in a mood likely to refuse the triumph. Next day the relations and friends of Cneius Manlius exerted their utmost efforts in his behalf; and the opinion of the elder senators prevailed, who asserted, that there was no instance on record of a commander who had subdued the enemy, completed the business of his province, and brought home his army, entering the city as a private citizen, without honours, and without the chariot and laurel. This feeling of shame overcame their prejudices against him, and a great majority voted for his triumph. A greater contest which was set on foot against a greater and more illustrious personage, suppressed all mention and memory of this struggle. The two Petillii, as Valerius Antias writes, instituted a prosecution against Publius Scipio Africanus. Men construed this according to their different dispositions; some did not blame the plebeian tribunes, but the public in general, that could suffer such a process to be carried on. They observed, that “the two greatest states in the world proved, nearly at the same time, ungrateful to their chief commanders; but Rome the more ungrateful of the two, because Carthage was subdued when she sent the vanquished Hannibal into exile; whereas Rome, when victorious, was for banishing the conqueror Africanus.” Others asserted, that “no one citizen ought to stand so high above the rest, as not to be made answerable to the laws for his conduct: for nothing contributed so much towards the equalization of liberty, as that the most powerful might be brought to trial. For how could any charge, especially the administration of government, be safely

intrusted to any man, if he were not liable to be called to an account? That force was not unjustly used against him who could not bear an equality of rights." These subjects were discussed in conversation, until the day of trial came. Never was either any other person, or Scipio himself, when consul or censor, escorted to the forum by a more numerous multitude of all kinds, than he was on that day when he appeared to answer the charge against him. When ordered to make his defence, without taking any notice of the facts laid to his charge, he delivered so magnificent a speech concerning his exploits, that it was universally agreed, that no man had been ever praised either to more advantage or with more truth. For his achievements were described with the same ardent spirit and powerful genius with which they had been performed; and his auditors felt no disgust, because his acts were mentioned to meet the peril, and not for ostentation.

## 51

The plebeian tribunes, in order to procure credit to their present accusations, introduced the old imputations of his luxurious style of living in his winter quarters at Syracuse, and the tumult raised by Pleminius at Locri. They then brought forward against him the charge of receiving money, grounded on suspicion, not on proof. They alleged, that "his son, being taken prisoner, was restored without ransom; and that, in every other instance, Scipio was courted by Antiochus, as if peace and war with Rome were at his sole disposal. He had acted towards the consul, in his province, as dictator, not as lieutenant-general; nor had he gone thither with any other view than that this might appear to Greece and Asia, and all the kings and nations eastward, which had been long since the settled conviction of Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa, that he alone was the head and pillar of the Roman empire; that a state which was mistress of the world, lay sheltered under the shade of Scipio; and that his nods were equivalent to decrees of the senate, and orders of the people." They attack by envy, as much as they can, him out of the reach of dishonour. The pleading having lasted till night, the trial was adjourned to another day. When that came, the tribunes took their seat in the rostrum at the dawn of day. The accused being summoned, came, with a numerous train of friends and dependents, through the middle of the assembly, to the rostrum; and, silence being made, he said,—“Tribunes of the people, and you, Romans, on the anniversary of this day I fought a pitched battle in Africa, with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, with good fortune and success. As, therefore, it is but decent that a stop be put, for this day, to litigation and wrangling, I will immediately go to the Capitol, there to return my acknowledgments to Jupiter the supremely good and great, to Juno, Minerva, and the other deities presiding over the Capitol and citadel, and will give them thanks for having, on this day, and at many other times, endowed me both with the will and ability to perform extraordinary services to the commonwealth. Such of you also, Romans, as it suits, come with me and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself; since, from my seventeenth year to old age, you have always anticipated my years with honours, and I, your honours with services.” Accordingly, he went up from the rostrum to the Capitol; and, at the same time, the whole assembly turned about and followed him; insomuch, that at last even the clerks and messengers left the tribunes, not one remaining, except the slaves who attended them, and the crier, who was in the habit of summoning the accused from the rostrum. Scipio, attended by the whole body of the Roman people, went round all the temples of the gods, not only in the Capitol, but throughout the whole city. This day was almost more famous owing to the favour of the

Romans towards him, and their high estimation of his real greatness, than that on which he rode through Rome in triumph over king Syphax and the Carthaginians.

## 52

It was, however, the last day that shone with lustre on Publius Scipio. For, as he could foresee nothing but the prosecutions of envy, and continual disputes with the tribunes, the trial being adjourned to a future day, he retired to the territory of Liternum, with a fixed determination not to attend the trial. His spirit was by nature too lofty, and habituated to such an elevated course of fortune, that he did not know how to act the part of an accused person, or stoop to the humble deportment of men pleading their cause. When the day came, and he began to be summoned in his absence, Lucius Scipio pleaded in his excuse that sickness was the reason of his absence. Which excuse the tribunes, who were the prosecutors, would not admit, but insisted that he did not come to plead his cause, owing to the same arrogance with which he had left the trial, the tribunes of the people, and the general assembly; and followed by the very men whom he had robbed of the right of passing sentence on him, together with their freedom of suffrage, had exhibited a triumph over the Roman people, and made a secession, the same day, from the tribunes to the Capitol. "You have therefore," said they, "the due reward of that thoughtless conduct. You are, yourselves, forsaken by him under whose lead and direction you forsook us. And so much is our spirit daily on the decline, that although, seventeen years ago, when he was at the head of an army and fleet, we had resolution enough to send plebeian tribunes and an ædile into Sicily to take him into custody, and bring him home to Rome; yet we dare not now send to compel him, though a private citizen, to come from his country-seat to stand his trial." The tribunes of the commons, being appealed to by Lucius Scipio, came to the following determination: that "since the excuse of sickness was pleaded" it was their judgment that this excuse should be admitted, and that the day of trial should be adjourned by their colleagues."

## 53

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was, at that time, a plebeian tribune, and between him and Publius Scipio there was an enmity subsisting. When he had forbidden his name to be subscribed to the determination of his colleague, and every one expected from him a sentence more severe, he pronounced his judgment thus: that "Inasmuch as Lucius Scipio had pleaded sickness in excuse for his brother, that plea appeared to him to be sufficient: that he would not suffer Publius Scipio to be accused until he should return to Rome: and even then, if he appealed to him, he would support him in refusing to abide a trial: that Publius Scipio, by his great achievements, by the honours received from the Roman people, by the joint consent of gods and men, had risen to such a height of dignity, that were he to stand as a criminal, under the rostrum, and afford a hearing to the insults of young men, it would reflect more disgrace on the Romans than on him." To his decree he added the language of indignation: "Shall Scipio, the celebrated conqueror of Africa, stand at the feet of you, tribunes? Was it for this he defeated and routed, in Spain, four of the most distinguished generals of the Carthaginians, and their four armies? Was it for this he took Syphax prisoner, conquered Hannibal, made Carthage tributary to you, and removed Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus (for Lucius Scipio received his brother Africanus as his associate in this glory); that he should crouch under two Petillii? that you should gain the palm of victory over Publius Africanus? Will men of illustrious characters never, through their own merits, or through honours conferred by you, arrive at a safe and inviolable sanctuary, where their old age may

repose, if not revered, at least secure from injury?" Both his decree and additional discourse made a deep impression, not only on the rest of the assembly, but even on the prosecutors; who said that they would consider further what might be consistent with their rights and duties. Afterwards, as soon as the assembly of the people broke up, the senate met, and at that meeting the warmest thanks were bestowed by the whole body, especially by the consular and elder members, on Tiberius Gracchus, for having consulted the public good in preference to private animosity; and the Petillii were assailed with severe insults, because they had endeavoured to become distinguished by exciting odium against another, and were seeking spoils from a triumph over Africanus. After that there was silence concerning Africanus. He passed the remainder of his life at Liternum, without a wish to revisit the city; and it is said that when he was dying he ordered his body to be buried in the country, in that very place, and his monument to be erected there, that even his obsequies might not be performed in his ungrateful country. He was a man of eminent merit; but more conspicuous in the affairs of war than in those of peace. The former part of his life was more illustrious than the latter, because in his early years wars were constantly carried on by him; with old age his exploits faded away, as occasions did not occur to call forth the exercise of his talents. What was his second consulship to his first, even if you should add to it the censorship? What, compared with it, was his commission in Asia, rendered useless by want of health, and clouded by the misfortune of his son, and the necessity to which it subjected him after his return, of either undergoing a trial, or withdrawing himself from that and his country together. However, he enjoyed alone the distinguished honour of putting an end to the Carthaginian war, which was by far the most difficult and dangerous war in which the Roman state was ever engaged.

#### 54

The death of Africanus increased the courage of his enemies, the chief of whom was Marcus Porcius Cato, who, even during his life, was accustomed to sneer at his splendid character. The Petillii are supposed, both to have commenced the prosecution against Africanus at his instigation while he was alive, and on his death to have proposed a bill against him. The motion for the order was made in these words: "Romans, is it your will and order, with respect to the money taken, carried off, and collected from king Antiochus, and those under his government, and with respect to such part thereof as has not been accounted for to the public, that Servius Sulpicius, the city prætor, shall ask the senate which of the present prætors they will appoint to hold an inquiry concerning those matters?" Quintus and Lucius Mummius at first objected to this motion: they thought it proper that, according to the practice always hitherto observed, the senate should make the inquiry concerning such money as had not been brought into the public treasury. The Petillii represented the great influence, the sovereign power which the Scipios possessed in the senate. Lucius Furius Purpureo, a senator of consular rank, who had been one of the ten ambassadors in Asia, was of opinion that the inquiry ought to be carried to a wider extent; not only as to the money taken from Antiochus, but to what had been taken from other kings and nations, attacking his enemy Cneius Manlius. Lucius Scipio, who, it was evident, was arguing rather in favour of himself than against the order, stood forward to oppose it. He complained heavily of such a motion being brought on after the death of his brother, Publius Africanus, the bravest and most illustrious of men. For "it had not been deemed sufficient that Publius Africanus was not eulogized from the rostrum after his death, unless he should be also the subject of accusation. The Carthaginians had been content with the banishment of Hannibal, but

the Roman people would not be satisfied even with the death of Publius Scipio, unless, after he was laid in his grave, his character were mangled, and his brother also sacrificed, another victim to envy." Marcus Cato supported the motion in a speech on the money of king Antiochus, which is still extant; and, by his influence, deterred the Mummii, the two tribunes, from their opposition to the order. On their withdrawing their intended protest, every one of the tribes voted in favour of the motion.

## 55

Servius Sulpicius then putting the question to the senate, whom they would appoint, according to the Petillian order of the people, to hold the inquiry, they appointed Quintus Terentius Culleo. Before this prætor, so warmly attached to the Cornelian family, (that those writers, who say that Publius Scipio died and was buried at Rome, for that too is asserted, have left on record, that he walked at his funeral before the bier with a cap of liberty on his head, as he had done before at his triumph; and that, at the Capuan gate, he gave wine and honey to those who attended the obsequies, to show his gratitude for having been recovered by Scipio, among other captives, out of the hands of the enemy in Africa,) or so great an enemy to that family, that on account of his known animosity, he was selected in particular by the faction that supported the proceedings against the Scipios, to hold the inquiry; however that may be, before this prætor, whether too favourable or too much the contrary, Lucius Scipio was immediately arraigned. At the same time charges were presented and received against his lieutenants-general, the two Hostilius Catos, Aulus and Lucius; and his quæstor, Caius Furius Aculeo: and (that all things might appear infected with the contagion of peculation) against his two secretaries and crier, Lucius Hostilius. The secretaries and the crier were acquitted before Scipio was tried. Scipio and Aulus Hostilius, his lieutenant-general, and Caius Furius, were convicted on the following charges, that, "as bribes, for granting more favourable terms of peace to Antiochus, Scipio had received, over and above what he brought into the treasury, six thousand pounds' weight of gold, and four hundred and eighty of silver; Aulus Hostilius, eighty pounds of gold, and four hundred and three of silver; and Furius, the quæstor, one hundred and thirty of gold, and two hundred of silver." These sums of gold and silver I find mentioned by Antias. As to what regards Lucius Scipio, I suspect some mistake of the transcriber, rather than a falsehood of the historian, respecting the amount of the gold and silver. For it is more probable that the weight of silver was greater than that of gold, and that the fine was laid at four millions,<sup>279</sup> than at twenty-four millions of sesterces,<sup>280</sup> the more on this account, as they record that an account of that sum was demanded from Publius Scipio himself, in the senate; and that when he had desired his brother Lucius to bring the book of his accounts, he tore it to pieces in the view of the senate, at the same time expressing indignation at being called to account for four millions after he had brought two hundred millions<sup>281</sup> into the treasury. From the same confidence of spirit, when the quæstors would not venture to bring money out of the coffers contrary to law, he demanded the keys of the treasury, declaring that he would open it as he had caused it to be shut.

## 56

<sup>279</sup> 3,229*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

<sup>280</sup> 193,750*l.*

<sup>281</sup> 1,614,583*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Many other things are at variance respecting the latter part, particularly, of Scipio's life, that is to say, his trial death, funeral, and sepulchre, so that I cannot determine which tradition or which writings I ought to credit. Writers do not agree as to his accuser; some affirming that Marcus Nævius, others that the Petillii, instituted the prosecution; neither are they agreed as to the time when it was carried on; nor the year in which he died; nor the place; nor where he was buried. Some assert, that he died and was buried at Rome; others, at Liternum; and in both places memorials and statues of him are shown. For at Liternum there was a monument, and on it stood his statue, which we in person lately saw cast down by a storm. At Rome likewise, on a monument of the Scipios outside the Capuan gate, are three statues, two of which are said to be those of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third that of the poet Quintus Ennius. Nor do these differences exist between historians only; the speeches attributed to Publius Scipio and Tiberius Gracchus, if they really are theirs, differ widely from one another. The title of Publius Scipio's speech bears the name of Marcus Nævius, the tribune of the commons; the speech itself does not furnish the name of the prosecutor; it only calls him sometimes a knave, sometimes a trifler. Even the speech of Gracchus makes no mention of the Petillii accusing Africanus, or of the prosecution carried on against him. An entirely different story must be framed consistent with the speech of Gracchus; and those writers must be followed who affirm, that, at the time when Lucius Scipio was impeached, and convicted of having taken money from the king, Africanus was a lieutenant-general in Etruria; whence, on hearing of this misfortune, throwing up his commission, he hastened to Rome; and when he came straight from the gate to the forum, because he was told that his brother was being led into confinement, he drove away the officer from his person; and, on the tribunes attempting to detain him, laid violent hands on them, showing more affection towards his brother than regard for the laws. Of these acts, Gracchus himself complained, saying, that the tribunitian power was annulled by a private person; and at last, when he promises support to Lucius Scipio, he adds, that the precedent would be more tolerable, if both the tribunitian authority and the state appeared to be overpowered by a tribune of the commons, than if by a private citizen. But he loaded him with reproaches for this signal instance of intemperate violence, in such a manner, that while he charged him with having degenerated so far from himself, he gave to him his long-established praises for moderation, self-control, with many-fold increase, so as to make ample amends for the present reprehension. For he said, that the people were formerly severely rebuked by Scipio, because they wished to make him perpetual consul and dictator; that he hindered statues from being erected to him in the comitium, in the rostrum, in the senate-house, in the Capitol, in the chapel of Jupiter's temple, and that he prevented, a decree being passed, that his image, in a triumphal habit, should be brought in procession out of the temple of Jupiter the supremely good and great. Such particulars as these, which even an enemy acknowledged while censuring him, even if inserted in a professed panegyric, would demonstrate an uncommon greatness of mind, in limiting his honours conformably to his position as a citizen.

## 57

It is universally agreed, that the younger of Scipio's two daughters was married to this Gracchus; for the elder was undoubtedly disposed of by her father, to Publius Cornelius Nasica. But it is not so certain, whether she was both betrothed and married after her father's death, or whether the accounts are true, that Gracchus, when Lucius Scipio was being led to prison, and no other of the tribunes interfered to protect him, swore, that

“the same enmity which he had entertained against the Scipios still subsisted; and that he did not perform any act for the sake of gaining their favour. But that, having seen Publius Africanus leading the kings and generals of enemies to prison, he would never suffer his brother to be led to the same place.” They add, that the senators, happening to sup that day in the Capitol, rose up together, and requested of Africanus, before the company departed, to betroth his daughter to Gracchus: that the contract was accordingly executed in due form, in the presence of this assembly; and that Scipio, on his return home, told his wife Æmilia that he had concluded a match for her younger daughter. That she, feeling her female pride hurt, expressing some resentment on not having been consulted in the disposal of their common child, added, that, even were he giving her to Tiberius Gracchus, her mother ought not to be kept in ignorance of his intention; to which Scipio, rejoiced at her judgment concurring so entirely with his own, replied, that she was betrothed to that very man. These circumstances respecting so great a captain, though they might vary, both in traditionary and written relation, ought to be stated.

## 58

On the proceedings being finished by the prætor Quintus Terentius, Hostilius and Furius, being condemned, gave securities the same day to the city quæstors. Scipio, when he insisted that all the money received by him was in the treasury, and that he had not in his possession any thing whatever belonging to the public, was ordered to prison. Publius Scipio Nasica then appealed to the tribunes, and made a speech fraught with just encomiums, not only on the Cornelian family in general, but on his own branch of it in particular. “His father,” he said, “and the father of Publius Africanus and Lucius Scipio, who was now ordered to prison, were Cneius and Publius Scipio, men of the most illustrious characters; that when, through a long course of years, they had highly enhanced the reputation of the Roman name in the land of Spain, against many commanders and many armies of the Carthaginians and Spaniards, not only by their military exploits, but also by exhibiting to the nations of that country brilliant examples of Roman moderation and fidelity, both, at last, fell in the service of the Roman people. Although it ought to be sufficient to their descendants to support the glory derived from them, yet Publius Africanus so far surpassed his father’s renown, as to occasion a belief that he was not sprung from the human race, but was of divine extraction. As to Lucius Scipio, concerning whom the question then was, to pass over his exploits in Spain and in Africa, (while he was lieutenant-general to his brother,) on his being elected consul, was by the senate considered so worthy, that the province of Asia and the war with Antiochus were assigned him, without leaving it to the decision of the lots; and by his brother, that, after two consulships, the censorship, and a triumph, he attended him into Asia in quality of lieutenant-general. There, that the great and splendid character of the lieutenant might not eclipse the fame of the consul, it so happened, that, on the day when Lucius Scipio conquered Antiochus in a pitched battle at Magnesia, Publius Scipio was absent at the distance of several days’ journey, being sick at Elæa. The army of the enemy, on that occasion, was not inferior to that of Hannibal, when the battle was fought with him in Africa; and the same Hannibal, who was commander-in-chief in the Carthaginian war, was among many other generals of the king. The war indeed was so conducted, that no one could throw blame even on fortune. A ground of accusation is sought for in the peace; it is said that it was sold. The ten ambassadors, in pursuance of whose counsel the peace was concluded, are at the same time included in this charge. Some of the ten ambassadors had even stood forth as accusers of Cneius Manlius, yet

their charges were so far from gaining credit that they did not produce even a delay of his triumph.

## 59

“But truly, in the case of Scipio, the articles of the peace are suspected as being too favourable to Antiochus. For his entire kingdom has been left to him: although conquered, he retains possession of every thing that belonged to him before the war; and though, he had an immense quantity of gold and silver, none of it has been applied to the use of the public: all has been converted to private purposes. Now, was there not a quantity of gold and silver carried before the eyes of the public in the triumph of Lucius Scipio, so great that an equal quantity was not carried in ten of the former triumphs, even if it was amassed together? Why need I speak of the extent of the kingdom of Antiochus, or that he held all Asia, and the adjoining parts of Europe? Every body knows what a large portion of the surface of the earth that is, which stretches from Mount Taurus quite to the Ægean Sea; what a number, not only of cities, but of nations, it comprehends; and that this tract, as far as the summit of Mount Taurus, more than thirty days’ journey in length and ten in breadth, from one sea to the other,—has been taken from Antiochus, who is thereby removed to the most distant corner of the world? Now if peace had been granted him without any pecuniary consideration, could more have been taken from him? Macedon was left to Philip after he was conquered; Lacedæmon to Nabis; yet the grounds of an accusation were never sought against Quintius on that account. The reason was, that he had not Africanus for a brother, whose high renown ought to have been serviceable to Lucius Scipio; but envy of his merit had done him injury. A quantity of gold and silver was mentioned in the senate to have been conveyed to the house of Lucius Scipio, greater than could be raised from the sale of his whole property. Where, then, was all this royal treasure; where the value of so many estates received? Surely in a house, which extravagance never exhausted, this new accumulation of wealth ought to appear. But what cannot be levied out of his effects, the enemies of Lucius Scipio will exact from his person, and from his very flesh, by vexatious persecution and insult; carried to such a degree that a man of his illustrious character would be shut up in a prison, among midnight thieves and robbers, and forced to breathe his last in a dungeon and in darkness, and his naked corpse thrown before the prison door. Such proceedings will reflect more disgrace on the city of Rome, than they will on the Cornelian family.”

## 60

In answer to this, the prætor, Terentius, read the Petillian order of the people, the decree of the senate, and the judgment pronounced against Lucius Scipio; and declared that unless the money adjudged were paid into the public treasury, he had no other step to take, than to order the person convicted to be taken into custody, and carried to prison. The tribunes retired to confer together, and in a short time after, Caius Fannius, according to his own opinion and that of all his colleagues, except Gracchus, declared that the tribunes would not interfere with the prætor to hinder his making use of his power. Tiberius Gracchus thus decreed: “that he would not protest against the prætor’s levying the sum adjudged out of the effects of Lucius Scipio; but that Lucius Scipio, who had subdued the most powerful king in the world, had extended the empire of the Roman people to the utmost limits of the earth, had bound under obligations to the Roman people king Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so many other states of Asia, and had led in triumph so many generals of the enemies, and imprisoned them, should himself

lie in prison among the enemies of the Roman people, and in chains, he never would suffer; and therefore he ordered him to be discharged." This decision was heard with such approbation, and the people beheld with so much pleasure the liberation of Scipio, that it could hardly appear that the sentence had been passed in the same community. The prætor then sent the quæstors to take possession of Lucius Scipio's property, for the use of the public. And not only did no trace appear of money received from the king, but not even so much was made up from the sale as the sum in which he was fined. So large a contribution was made for Lucius Scipio by his relations, friends, and clients, that, if he had accepted it, he would have been much richer than before this misfortune: but he received nothing. Such things as were necessary for his family occasions, were bought back at the sale by his nearest relations. And the public hatred which had been pointed against the Scipios, reverted on the prætor, his advisers, and the accusers.

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## Book XXXIX

*Marcus Æmilius, the consul, having subdued the Ligurians, made a road from Placentia as far as Ariminum, and connected it with the Flaminian way. The commencement of luxury, introduced by the Asiatic army, is related. All the Ligurians who dwell on the hither side of the Apennines were subdued. The Bacchanalia, a Grecian sacred ceremony, held at night, a hot-bed of every vice, after having become a conspiracy including great numbers, were discovered by one of the consuls and suppressed, while many of those concerned were punished. Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, the brother of Titus, was expelled the senate, by the censors Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato, who was most distinguished in the arts of war and peace, for the following reason: because when, as consul, he had held the province of Gaul, he slew with his own hand a certain Gaul, at the request of Philip, a Carthaginian, his noble minion; or, as some have stated, because he had beheaded a condemned criminal at the request of a courtesan of Placentia, with whom he was desperately in love. The speech of Marcus Cato against him is still extant. Scipio died at Liternum. And, as if fortune destined for the same period the death of the two most distinguished men of the day, Hannibal committed suicide by taking poison, when he was on the point of being given up to the Romans by Prusias, king of Bithynia, to whom he had fled for refuge on the defeat of Antiochus: the Romans had sent Titus Quinctius Flaminius to demand Hannibal. Philopœmen likewise, the general of the Achæans, a most distinguished man, after having fallen into the hands of the Messenians in war, was put to death by poison. Colonies are planted at Potentia, Pisaurus, Modena, and Parma. This book contains in addition the success over the Celtiberians, and the commencement and cause of the Macedonian war; the origin of which proceeded from the following source: Philip was dissatisfied that his kingdom was being diminished by the Romans, and because he was compelled to withdraw his garrisons from Thrace and other places.*

### 1

While these things are done at Rome, (if they were truly transacted in this year,) both the consuls were employed in the war with the Ligurians. This enemy seemed born for the purpose of preserving military discipline among the Romans, during the intervals between important wars; nor was any province better calculated to form a soldier to active valour. For Asia, from the enticing pleasures of its cities, the abundance of every production both of land and sea, the unwarlike temper of the enemy, and the wealth of its princes, made Roman armies rich, rather than brave. Under the command of Cneius Manlius, particularly, the troops were kept in a state of idleness and licentiousness. Therefore, in Thrace, a passage somewhat more difficult, and a more vigorous enemy, checked them with severe loss. Whereas in Liguria there was every circumstance that could invigorate the courage of soldiers; the country mountainous and rugged, so that even the taking possession of unoccupied posts, and much more the dislodging of an enemy from those already in possession, was attended with much labour; the roads hilly, narrow, and exposed to ambuscades; the enemy light, active, and energetic in their motions, so as to allow no season or place to be quiet or secure; the necessary attack on the strong forts with much toil and danger; and the country so poor as to constrain the soldier to a sparing mode of living, while it afforded but a small share of booty. Accordingly, no sutler followed the army, no long train of baggage horses extended its line of march, nothing was to be seen but arms, and men having all their hopes in their

arms. Nor was either subject or cause for hostilities with them ever wanting; because on account of their poverty at home they made frequent incursions on the territories of their neighbours; they did not. however, fight a battle which could decide the entire war.

## 2

The consul, Caius Flaminius, after several successful battles against the Frinian Ligurians in their own country, received the submission of that tribe, and ordered them to deliver up their arms; as they did not give them up honourably, and were reprov'd for their behaviour, who abandoned their villages, and fled to the mountain called Auginus, whither the consul immediately followed them. A part of the enemy again betook themselves to flight; and, running with precipitate haste, the greatest part without arms, over pathless tracts and rocky precipices, they escaped to places where an enemy could not follow them. Thus they got away beyond the Apennine; the rest, who remained in the camp, were surrounded and reduced by assault. The legions were then led over the Apennine; then the enemy, assisted by the height of the mountain, which they had occupied at first, stood on their defence; but, in a little time, submitted. Their arms were then sought for with greater care and all taken from them. The war was then transferred to the Apuan tribe of Ligurians, who had made so many incursions into the territory of Pisa and Bononia, that it could not be cultivated. These being entirely subdued, the consul restored peace to the neighbourhood. And, as he had effected the security of the province from the war, he made a road from Bononia to Anetium, that he might not keep the soldiers in a state of idleness. The other consul, Marcus Æmilius, ravaged with fire and sword the lands of the Ligurians, together with their villages that stood in the plains, while the inhabitants remained posted on two mountains, Ballista and Suismontium. He then attacked those who were on the mountains, harassed them for some time in skirmishes, and, at last, compelled them to come to an engagement, and utterly defeated them in a regular battle: in which he vowed a temple to Diana. Having now reduced all on this side of the Apennine, he marched against those on the other side of that mountain; among whom were the Brinian tribe, which had not been attacked by Flaminius: Æmilius subdued them all, stripped them of their arms, and obliged the multitude to come down from the mountains into the plains. The Ligurians being brought to a state of peace, he led his army into the Gallic territory, and drew a road from Placentia to Ariminum, to meet that made by Flaminius. During the last engagement, when he fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Imperial Juno. Such were the transactions of this year in Liguria.

## 3

In Gaul, the prætor, Marcus Furius, seeking a pretext for war in the midst of peace, deprived, the unoffending Cænomanians of their arms. The Cænomanians complained of this to the senate at Rome, and were by them referred to the consul Æmilius, whom the senate authorized to examine into and determine the cause; after a warm contest with the prætor they gained their cause. The prætor was ordered to restore their arms to the Cænomanians, and quit the province.

The senate afterwards gave audience to envoys of the Latin confederation, who had come, in great numbers, from all parts of Latium. On their complaint that a great multitude of their citizens had been removed to Rome, and had been assessed there in the survey; a commission was given to Quintus Terentius Culleo, the prætor, to make

inquiry after such persons; and on the allies proving that those persons themselves, or their fathers, had been assessed in the surveys of their states in the censorship of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius, or at some time subsequent to their censorship, he was ordered to compel all such to return to the several states wherein they had been so rated. In consequence of this inquiry, twelve thousand Latins returned home; as the multitude of foreigners even then burdened the city.

#### 4

Before the consuls came home to Rome, Marcus Fulvius, the proconsul, returned from Ætolia. He, when he had as usual recited to the senate, in the temple of Apollo, the services which he had performed in Ætolia and Cephallenia, then requested of the fathers, that, in consideration of his having conducted the business of the public with good fortune and success, they would think proper to order public thanks to be offered to the immortal gods, and to decree a triumph to him. Marcus Aebutius, a tribune of the commons, gave notice, that, if any thing were determined on that subject before the arrival of Marcus Æmilius, he would enter his protest: for “the consul intended to oppose that measure; and, at his setting out for his province, had given him a charge to keep the discussion of it open until he should come home. That Fulvius would suffer a loss of nothing but time; for, notwithstanding the presence of the consul, the senate would determine according to their own wishes.” Fulvius replied, that, “even if the quarrel subsisting between him and Marcus Æmilius was unknown to the world, or with what overbearing, and, in some measure, tyrannical rancour, that man prosecuted his enmity; yet it was insufferable, that the absence of the consul should both obstruct the worship of the immortal gods, and delay a triumph merited and due; that a commander, after performing signal services, and his victorious army with its booty and prisoners, should remain outside the gates, until a consul, who purposely delayed abroad, should be pleased to return to Rome. But, in the present case, when the animosity between him and the consul was most notorious, what fair dealing could any one expect from a man who procured clandestinely, in a thin house, and lodged in the treasury, a decree of the senate, that “it did not appear that Ambracia was taken by force:” a town which was attacked with mounds and engines; where, after the works were burned, others were constructed anew; where a fight was carried on around the walls for fifteen days, both above and under ground; where, from the first dawn, when the soldiers mounted the walls, a battle, for a long time doubtful, lasted until night; and where more than three thousand of the enemy were killed? Then, again, what a malicious misrepresentation did he make to the pontiffs, of the temples of the immortal gods being plundered in a captured city! If it were allowable that Rome should be decorated with the ornaments of Syracuse, and other conquered places, then the laws of war must lose their force in the case of Ambracia alone, among conquered towns. For his part, he besought the conscript fathers, and requested the tribunes, not to suffer him to become a subject of derision to a most haughty enemy.”

#### 5

All around were in his favour; and some entreated the tribune to desist, while others sharply reprov'd his conduct. The speech of his colleague, Tiberius Gracchus, moved him most, that, “for a man in office to prosecute even his own quarrels, was an example of no good tendency; but, that a tribune of the people should take upon himself to be a solicitor in the quarrel of another, was infamous, and highly unworthy of the power and sacred laws of the order to which he belonged. That men ought to love or hate others,

approve or disapprove of measures, according to the dictates of their own judgment; but that a tribune ought not to depend on the look or nod of another man, veer about at the movements of another's will, and make himself a tool to his displeasure; nor remember a private charge, committed to him by Marcus Æmilius, and forget that the tribuneship was a public charge, intrusted to him by the Roman people, for the protection and liberty of private citizens, not to aggrandize the arbitrary power of a consul. His colleague did not seem to consider that this circumstance would be committed to record and posterity: that, of two plebeian tribunes of the same college, one sacrificed his own resentment to the public good, the other prosecuted the resentment of another man which was merely intrusted to him." When the tribune, overcome by these severe rebukes, had withdrawn from the meeting, a triumph was voted to Marcus Fulvius, on the motion of Servius Sulpicius, the prætor. When he returned thanks to the conscript fathers, he then mentioned, that, "on the day of his taking Ambracia, he had vowed to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter the supremely good and great; that a contribution for that purpose had been made to him by the several states, amounting to one hundred and ten pounds' weight of gold; and he requested them to order that sum to be set apart, out of the money which he was to deposit in the treasury, after being borne in triumph." The senate ordered the college of pontiffs to be consulted, whether it were necessary that the whole of that sum should be expended on the games: when the pontiffs had answered, that it mattered little to religion what was the expense of the games, the senate gave permission to Fulvius to expend as much as he thought proper, provided he did not exceed eighty thousand sesterces.<sup>282</sup> He, at first, intended to celebrate his triumph in the month of January; but, hearing that the consul Æmilius, in consequence of a letter from the tribune Abutius, concerning his waving his protest, was coming in person to Rome, to hinder his triumph, but had been obliged, by sickness to halt on the road, he hastened the time of the celebration, lest he should have more contests about it than he had met in the war. He triumphed over the Ætolians and Cephallenia on the tenth day before the calends of January. There were carried before his chariot, golden crowns to the amount of one hundred and twelve pounds' weight; of silver, eighty-three thousand pounds; of gold, two hundred and forty-three thousand; of Attic tetradrachms, one hundred and eighteen thousand;<sup>283</sup> of the coin called Philippeans, twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-two;<sup>284</sup> brazen statues, two hundred and eighty-five; marble statues, two hundred and thirty; arms, weapons, and other spoils in great quantities: besides these, catapultas, ballistas, and engines of every kind; and in the procession were led twenty-seven commanders, either Ætolian and Cephallenian, or belonging to king Antiochus, and left with them. Before he rode into the city, in the Flaminian circus, he presented great numbers of tribunes, præfects, horsemen, centurions, both Romans and allies, with military gifts; to each of the soldiers he distributed out of the booty twenty-five denariuses,<sup>285</sup> double to a centurion, triple to a horseman.

## 6

The time of the election of consuls now approached; and as Marcus Æmilius, to whose lot that business had fallen, could not attend, Caius Flaminius came home to Rome. Spurius Posthumius Albinus and Quintus Marcus Philippus were elected consuls by him.

<sup>282</sup> 645l. 17s. 2d.

<sup>283</sup> 2 15,241l. 12s. 4d.

<sup>284</sup> 801l. 3s. 3d.

<sup>285</sup> 16s. 1-1/4d.

Then were chosen as prætors,—Titus Mænius, Publius Cornelius Sulla, Caius Calpurnius Piso, Marcus Licinius Lucullus, Caius Aurelius Scaurus, and Lucius Quintus Crispinus. At the close of the year, after the magistrates were appointed, on the third day before the nones of March, Cneius Manlius Vulso triumphed over the Gauls inhabiting Asia. The reason of his deferring his triumph so long was, to avoid standing a trial under the Petillian law, during the prætorship of Quintus Terentius Culleo; and the being involved in the ill consequences of the sentence passed on another, that by which Lucius Scipio was condemned; especially as the judges would be more disposed to severity against him than against Scipio, for this reason, because fame had reported, that he, Scipio's successor, had, by tolerating every description of licentiousness, ruined military discipline, so strictly preserved by his predecessor. Nor were the facts, which were reported to have happened in the province far from the eyes of spectators, the only things that disgraced his character; but still more so, those circumstances which were every day beheld in his soldiers; for by this army returning from Asia was the origin of foreign luxury imported into the city. These men first brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry, with hangings and other works of the loom; and, what were then deemed magnificent furniture, single-footed tables and buffets. At entertainments, likewise, were introduced female players on the harp and timbrel, with buffoons for the diversion of the guests. Their meats also began to be prepared with greater care and cost; while the cook, whom the ancients considered as the meanest of their slaves both in estimation and use, became highly valuable, and what was considered as a servile office began to be considered an art. Nevertheless, those introductions which were then looked on as remarkable were scarcely even the seeds of the future luxury.

## 7

Cneius Manlius carried in the triumph two hundred golden crowns of twelve pounds' weight; two hundred and twenty thousand pounds' weight of silver; two thousand two hundred and three of gold; one hundred and twenty-seven thousand Attic tetradrachms;<sup>286</sup> two hundred and fifty thousand cistophoruses;<sup>287</sup> sixteen thousand three hundred and twenty golden Philippeans;<sup>288</sup> together with abundance of Gallic arms and spoils in chariots. Fifty-two generals of the enemy were led before his car. He distributed to each of his soldiers forty-two denariuses,<sup>289</sup> and double that sum to a centurion; to the foot-soldiers double pay, to the horsemen triple. Great numbers of all ranks, whom he had distinguished by gifts, accompanied him. The verses thrown out by the soldiers were of such a kind, that it was quite evident that they were sung to a commander who had been indulgent to them, and courted their affections. It was indeed evident that the triumph was celebrated with a greater degree of favour by the troops, than by the citizens. The friends of Manlius, however, were able to acquire for him the regard of the people also; through whose efforts a decree of the senate was passed, ordering, that "such part of the soldiers' pay, contributed to the public funds by the people, as was not yet repaid, should be discharged out of that which had been carried in the procession to the treasury." Accordingly the city prætors, with care and fidelity, paid twenty-five denariuses and a half<sup>290</sup> instead of each thousand asses.<sup>291</sup> About this

<sup>286</sup> 16,404l. 3s. 4d.

<sup>287</sup> 4309l. 14s. 9d.

<sup>288</sup> 1054l.

<sup>289</sup> 1l. 6s. 3d.

<sup>290</sup> 6s. 5d.

<sup>291</sup> 3l. 4s. 7d.

time two military tribunes arrived from the two Spains with letters from Caius Atinius and Lucius Manlius, who governed those provinces. From these letters it appeared, that the Celtiberians and Lusitanians were in arms, and ravaging the territories of the allies; the senate, however, deferred all consideration of that business until the new magistrates should come into office. This year, during the celebration of the Roman games which Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Aulus Postumius Albinus exhibited, a pole in the circus, being loosely set in the ground, fell on the statue of Pollentia, and threw it down. The senate moved by such a religious circumstance, voted that one day should be added to the celebration of the games, that two statues should be set up instead of the one, and that one of them, a new statue, should be gilded. The plebeian games were likewise repeated for one day, by the ædiles Caius Sempronius Blæsus and Marcus Furius Luscus.

## 8

The following year diverted Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus, from the care of armies, and wars, and provinces, to the punishing of an intestine conspiracy. The prætors cast lots for their provinces, Titus Mænius obtained the city jurisdiction; Marcus Licinius Lucullus, that between citizens and foreigners; Caius Aurelius Scaurus, Sardinia; Publius Cornelius Sulla, Sicily; Lucius Quintus Crispinus, Hither Spain; Caius Calpurnius Piso, Farther Spain. The making inquisition concerning clandestine meetings was decreed to both the consuls. A Greek of mean condition came, first, into Etruria, not with one of the many trades which his nation, of all others the most skilful in the cultivation of the mind and body, has introduced among us, but a low operator in sacrifices, and a soothsayer; nor was he one who, by open religious rites, and by publicly professing his calling and teaching, imbued the minds of his followers with terror, but a priest of secret and nocturnal rites. These mysterious rites were, at first, imparted to a few, but afterwards communicated to great numbers, both men and women. To their religious performances were added the pleasures of wine and feasting, to allure a greater number of proselytes. When wine, lascivious discourse, night, and the intercourse of the sexes had extinguished every sentiment of modesty, then debaucheries of every kind began to be practised, as every person found at hand that sort of enjoyment to which he was disposed by the passion predominant in his nature. Nor were they confined to one species of vice—the promiscuous intercourse of free-born men and women; but from this store-house of villany proceeded false witnesses, counterfeit seals, false evidences, and pretended discoveries. From the same place, too, proceeded poison and secret murders, so that in some cases, even the bodies could not be found for burial. Many of their audacious deeds were brought about by treachery, but most of them by force; it served to conceal the violence, that, on account of the loud shouting, and the noise of drums and cymbals, none of the cries uttered by the persons suffering violation or murder could be heard abroad.

## 9

The infection of this mischief, like that from the contagion of disease, spread from Etruria to Rome; where, the size of the city affording greater room for such evils, and more means of concealment, cloaked it at first; but information of it was at length brought to the consul, Postumius, principally in the following manner. Publius Æbutius, whose father had held equestrian rank in the army, was left an orphan, and his guardians dying, he was educated under the eye of his mother Duronia, and his stepfather Titus Sempronius Rutilus. Duronia was entirely devoted to her husband; and

Sempronius, having managed the guardianship in such a manner that he could not give an account of the property, wished that his ward should be either made away with, or bound to compliance with his will by some strong tie. The Bacchanalian rites were the only way to effect the ruin of the youth. His mother told him, that, "during his sickness, she had made a vow for him, that if he should recover, she would initiate him among the Bacchanalians; that being, through the kindness of the gods, bound by this vow, she wished now to fulfil it; that it was necessary he should preserve chastity for ten days, and on the tenth, after he should have supped and washed himself, she would conduct him into the place of worship." There was a freedwoman called Hispala Fecenia, a noted courtesan, but deserving of a better lot than the mode of life to which she had been accustomed when very young, and a slave, and by which she had maintained herself since her manumission. As they lived in the same neighbourhood, an intimacy subsisted between her and Æbutius, which was far from being injurious either to the young man's character or property; for he had been loved and wooed by her unsolicited; and as his friends supplied his wants illiberally, he was supported by the generosity of this woman; nay, to such a length did she go under the influence of her affection, that, on the death of her patron, because she was under the protection of no one, having petitioned the tribunes and prætors for a guardian, when she was making her will, she constituted Æbutius her sole heir.

## 10

As such pledges of mutual love subsisted, and as neither kept any thing secret from the other, the young man, jokingly bid her not be surprised if he separated himself from her for a few nights; as, "on account of a religious duty, to a vow made for his health, he intended to be initiated among the Bacchanalians." On hearing this, the woman, greatly alarmed, cried out, "May the gods will more favourably!" affirming that "it would be better, both for him and her, to lose their lives than that he should do such a thing:" she then imprecated curses, vengeance, and destruction, on the head of those who advised him to such a step. The young man, surprised both at her expressions and at the violence of her alarm, bid her refrain from curses, for "it was his mother who ordered him to do so, with the approbation of his stepfather." "Then," said she, "your stepfather (for perhaps it is not allowable to censure your mother) is in haste to destroy, by that act, your chastity, your character, your hopes, and your life." To him, now surprised by such language, and inquiring what was the matter, she said, (after imploring the favour and pardon of the gods and goddesses, if, compelled by her regard for him, she disclosed what ought not to be revealed,) that "when in service, she had gone into that place of worship, as an attendant on her mistress; but that, since she had obtained her liberty, she had never once gone near it: that she knew it to be the receptacle of all kinds of debaucheries; that it was well known that, for two years past, no one older than twenty had been initiated there. When any person was introduced he was delivered as a victim to the priests, who led him away to a place resounding with shouts, the sound of music, and the beating of cymbals and drums, lest his cries, while suffering violation, should be heard abroad." She then entreated and besought him to put an end to that matter in some way or other; and not to plunge himself into a situation, where he must first, suffer, and afterwards commit, every thing that was abominable. Nor did she quit him until the young man gave her his promise to keep himself clear of those rites.

## 11

When he came home, and his mother made mention of such things pertaining to the ceremony as were to be performed on this day, and on the several following days, he told her that he would not perform any of them, nor did he intend to be initiated. His stepfather was present at this discourse. Immediately the woman observed, that "he could not deprive himself of the company of Hispala for ten nights; that he was so fascinated by the caresses and baneful influence of that serpent, that he retained no respect for his mother or stepfather, or even the gods themselves." His mother on one side and his stepfather on the other loading him with reproaches, drove him out of the house, assisted by four slaves. The youth on this repaired to his aunt Æbutia, told her the reason of his being turned out by his mother, and the next day, by her advice, gave information of the affair to the consul Postumius, without any witnesses of the interview. The consul dismissed him, with an order to come again on the third day following. In the mean time, he inquired of his mother-in-law Sulpicia, a woman of respectable character, "whether she knew an old matron called Æbutia, who lived on the Aventine hill?" When she had answered that "she knew her well, and that Æbutia was a woman of virtue, and of the ancient purity of morals"; he said that he required a conference with her, and that a messenger should be sent for her to come. Æbutia, on receiving the message, came to Sulpicia's house, and the consul, soon after, coming in, as if by accident, introduced a conversation about Æbutius, her brother's son. The tears of the woman burst forth, and she began to lament the unhappy lot of the youth: "who, after being robbed of his property by persons whom it least of all became, was then residing with her, being driven out of doors by his mother, because, being a good youth, (may the gods be propitious to him,)" he refused to be initiated in ceremonies devoted to lewdness, as report goes.

## 12

The consul, thinking that he had made sufficient inquiries concerning Æbutius, and that his testimony was unquestionable, having dismissed Æbutia, requested his mother-in-law to send again to the Aventine, and bring from that quarter Hispala, a freedwoman, not unknown in that neighbourhood; for there were some queries which he wished to make of her. Hispala being alarmed because she was sent for by a woman of such high rank and respectable character, and being ignorant of the cause, after that she saw the lictors in the porch, the multitude attending on the consul and the consul himself, was very near fainting. The consul led her into a retired part of the house, and, in the presence of his mother-in-law, told her, that "she need not be uneasy, if she could resolve to speak the truth. She might receive a promise of protection either from Sulpicia, a matron of such dignified character, or from himself. That she ought to tell him, what was accustomed to be done at the Bacchanalia, in the nocturnal orgies in the grove of Stimula. When the woman heard this, such terror and trembling of all her limbs seized her, that for a long time she was unable to speak; but recovering, at length she said, that "when she was very young, and a slave, she had been initiated, together with her mistress; but for several years past, since she had obtained her liberty, she knew nothing of what was done there." The consul commended her so far, as not having denied that she was initiated, but charged her to explain all the rest with the same sincerity; and told her, affirming that she knew nothing further, that "there would not be the same tenderness or pardon extended to her, if she should be convicted by another person, and one who had made a voluntary confession; that there was such a person, who had heard the whole from her, and had given him a full account of it."

## 13

The woman, now thinking without a doubt that it must certainly be Æbutius who had discovered the secret, threw herself at Sulpicia's feet, and at first began to beseech her, "not to let the private conversation of a freedwoman with her lover be turned not only into a serious business, but even capital charge;" declaring that "she had spoken of such things merely to frighten him, and not because she knew any thing of the kind." On this Postumius, growing angry, said, "she seemed to imagine that then too she was wrangling with her gallant Æbutius, and not that she was speaking in the house of a most respectable matron, and to a consul." Sulpicia raised her, terrified, from the ground, and while she encouraged her to speak out, at the same time pacified her son-in-law's anger. At length she took courage, and, having censured severely the perfidy of Æbutius, because he had made such a return for the extraordinary kindness shown to him in that very instance, she declared that "she stood in great dread of the gods, whose secret mysteries she was to divulge; and in much greater dread of the men implicated, who would tear her asunder with their hands if she became an informer. Therefore, she entreated this favour of Sulpicia, and likewise of the consul, that they would send her away to some place out of Italy, where she might pass the remainder of her life in safety." The consul desired her to be of good spirits, and said that it should be his care that she might live securely in Rome.

Hispala then gave a full account of the origin of the mysteries. "At first," she said, "those rites were performed by women. No man used to be admitted. They had three stated days in the year on which persons were initiated among the Bacchanalians, in the daytime. The matrons used to be appointed priestesses, in rotation. Paculla Minia, a Campanian, when priestess, made an alteration in every particular, as if by the direction of the gods. For she first introduced men, who were her own sons, Minucius and Herrenius, both surnamed Cerrinius; changed the time of celebration, from day to night; and, instead of three days in the year, appointed five days of initiation, in each month. From the time that the rites were thus made common, and men were intermixed with women, and the licentious freedom of the night was added, there was nothing wicked, nothing flagitious, that had not been practised among them. There were more frequent pollution of men, with each other, than with women. If any were less patient in submitting to dishonour, or more averse to the commission of vice, they were sacrificed as victims. To think nothing unlawful, was the grand maxim of their religion. The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered predictions, with frantic contortions of their bodies; the women, in the habit of Bacchantes, with their hair dishevelled, and carrying blazing torches, ran down to the Tiber; where, dipping their torches in the water, they drew them up again with the flame unextinguished, being composed of native sulphur and charcoal. They said that those men were carried off by the gods, whom the machines laid hold of and dragged from their view into secret caves. These were such as refused to take the oath of the society, or to associate in their crimes, or to submit to defilement. Their number was exceedingly great now, almost a second state in themselves, and among them were many men and women of noble families. During the last two years it had been a rule, that no person above the age of twenty should be initiated; for they sought for people of such age as made them more liable to suffer deception and personal abuse."

#### 14

When she had completed her information, she again fell at the consuls knees, and repeated the same entreaties, that he might send her out of the country. The consul requests his mother-in-law to clear some part of the house, into which Hispala might

remove; accordingly, an apartment was assigned her in the upper part of it, of which the stairs, opening into the street, were stopped up, and the entrance made from the inner court. Thither all Fecenia's effects were immediately removed, and her domestics sent for. Æbutius, also, was ordered to remove to the house of one of the consul's clients.

When both the informers were by these means in his power, Postumius represented the affair to the senate, laying before them the whole circumstance, in due order; the information given to him at first, and the discoveries gained by his inquiries afterwards. Great consternation seized on the senators; not only on the public account, lest such conspiracies and nightly meetings might be productive of secret treachery and mischief, but, likewise, on account of their own particular families, lest some of their relations might be involved in this infamous affair. The senate voted, however, that thanks should be given to the consul because he had investigated the matter with singular diligence, and without exciting any alarm. They then commit to the consuls the holding an inquiry, out of the common course, concerning the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies. They order them to take care that the informers, Æbutius and Fecenia, might suffer no injury on that account; and to invite other informers in the matter, by offering rewards. They ordered that the officials in those rites, whether men or women, should be sought for, not only at Rome, but also throughout all the market towns and places of assembly, and be delivered over to the power of the consuls; and also that proclamation should be made in the city of Rome, and published through all Italy, that "no persons initiated in the Bacchanalian rites should presume to come together or assemble on account of those rites, or to perform any such kind of worship;" and above all, that search should be made for those who had assembled or conspired for personal abuse, or for any other flagitious practices. The senate passed these decrees. The consuls directed the curule ædiles to make strict inquiry after all the priests of those mysteries, and to keep such as they could apprehend in custody until their trial; they at the same time charged the plebeian ædiles to take care that no religious ceremonies should be performed in private. To the capital triumvirs the task was assigned to post watches in proper places of the city, and to use vigilance in preventing any meetings by night. In order likewise to guard against fires, five assistants were joined to the triumvirs, so that each might have the charge of the buildings in his own separate district, on this side the Tiber.

## 15

After despatching these officers to their several employments, the consuls mounted the rostrum; and, having summoned an assembly of the people, one of the consuls, when he had finished the solemn form of prayer which the magistrates are accustomed to pronounce before they address the people, proceeded thus: "Romans, to no former assembly was this solemn supplication to the gods more suitable or even more necessary: as it serves to remind you, that these are the deities whom your forefathers pointed out as the objects of your worship, veneration, and prayers: and not those which infatuated men's minds with corrupt and foreign modes of religion, and drove them, as if goaded by the furies, to every lust and every vice. I am at a loss to know what I should conceal, or how far I ought to speak out; for I dread lest, if I leave you ignorant of any particular, I should give room for carelessness, or if I disclose the whole, that I should too much awaken your fears. Whatever I shall say, be assured that it is less than the magnitude and atrociousness of the affair would justify: exertions will be used by us that it may be sufficient to set us properly on our guard. That the Bacchanalian rites have subsisted for some time past in every country in Italy, and are at present performed in many parts of this city also, I am sure you must have been informed, not

only by report, but by the nightly noises and horrid yells that resound through the whole city; but still you are ignorant of the nature of that business. Part of you think it is some kind of worship of the gods; others, some excusable sport and amusement, and that, whatever it may be, it concerns but a few. As regards the number, if I tell you that they are many thousands, that you would be immediately terrified to excess is a necessary consequence; unless I further acquaint you who and what sort of persons they are. First, then, a great part of them are women, and this was the source of the evil; the rest are males, but nearly resembling women; actors and pathics in the vilest lewdness; night revellers, driven frantic by wine, noise of instruments, and clamours. The conspiracy, as yet, has no strength; but it has abundant means of acquiring strength, for they are becoming more numerous every day. Your ancestors would not allow that you should ever assemble casually, without some good reason; that is, either when the standard was erected on the Janiculum, and the army led out on occasion of elections; or when the tribunes proclaimed a meeting of the commons, or some of the magistrates summoned you to it. And they judged it necessary, that wherever a multitude was, there should be a lawful governor of that multitude present. Of what kind do you suppose are the meetings of these people? In the first place, held in the night, and in the next, composed promiscuously of men and women. If you knew at what ages the males are initiated, you would feel not only pity but also shame for them. Romans, can you think youths initiated, under such oaths as theirs, are fit to be made soldiers? That arms should be intrusted with wretches brought out of that temple of obscenity? Shall these, contaminated with their own foul debaucheries and those of others, be champions for the chastity of your wives and children?

## 16

“But the mischief were less, if they were only effeminated by their practices; of that the disgrace would chiefly affect themselves; if they refrained their hands from outrage, and their thoughts from fraud. But never was there in the state an evil of so great magnitude, or one that extended to so many persons or so many acts of wickedness. Whatever deeds of villany have, during late years, been committed through lust; whatever, through fraud; whatever, through violence; they have all, be assured, proceeded from that association alone. They have not yet perpetrated all the crimes for which they combined. The impious assembly at present confines itself to outrages on private citizens; because it has not yet acquired force sufficient to crush the commonwealth: but the evil increases and spreads daily; it is already too great for the private ranks of life to contain it, and aims Us views at the body of the state. Unless you take timely precautions, Romans, their nightly assembly may become as large as this, held in open day, and legally summoned by a consul. Now they one by one dread you collected together in the assembly; presently, when you shall have separated and retired to your several dwellings, in town and country, they will again come together, and will hold a consultation on the means of their own safety, and, at the same time, of your destruction. Thus united, they will cause terror to every one of you. Each of you, therefore, ought to pray that his kindred may have behaved with wisdom and prudence; and if lust, if madness, has dragged any of them into that abyss, to consider such a person as the relation of those with whom he has conspired for every disgraceful and reckless act, and not as one of your own. I am not secure, lest some, even of yourselves, may have erred through mistake; for nothing is more deceptive in appearance than false religion. When the authority of the gods is held out as a pretext to cover vice, fear enters our minds, lest, in punishing the crimes of men, we may violate some divine right

connected therewith. Numberless decisions of the pontiffs, decrees of the senate, and even answers of the aruspices, free you from religious scruples of this character. How often in the ages of our fathers was it given in charge to the magistrates, to prohibit the performance of any foreign religious rites; to banish strolling sacrificers and soothsayers from the forum, the circus, and the city; to search for, and burn, books of divination; and to abolish every mode of sacrificing that was not conformable to the Roman practice! For they, completely versed in every divine and human law, maintained, that nothing tended so strongly to the subversion of religion as sacrifice, when we offered it not after the institutions of our forefathers, but after foreign customs. Thus much I thought necessary to mention to you beforehand, that no vain scruple might disturb your minds when you should see us demolishing the places resorted to by the Bacchanalians, and dispersing their impious assemblies. We shall do all these things with the favour and approbation of the gods; who, because they were indignant that their divinity was dishonoured by those people's lusts and crimes, have drawn forth their proceedings from hidden darkness into the open light; and who have directed them to be exposed, not that they may escape with impunity, but in order that they may be punished and suppressed. The senate have committed to me and my colleague, an inquisition extraordinary concerning that affair. What is requisite to be done by ourselves, in person, we will do with energy. The charge of posting watches through the city, during the night, we have committed to the inferior magistrates; and, for your parts, it is incumbent on you to execute vigorously whatever duties are assigned you, and in the several places where each will be placed, to perform whatever orders you shall receive, and to use your best endeavours that no danger or tumult may arise from the treachery of the party involved in the guilt."

## 17

They then ordered the decrees of the senate to be read, and published a reward for any discoverer who should bring any of the guilty before them, or give information against any of the absent, adding, that "if any person accused should fly", they would limit a certain day upon which, if he did not answer when summoned, he would be condemned in his absence; and if any one should be charged who was out of Italy, they would allow him a longer time, if he should wish to come and make his defence." They then issued an edict, that "no person whatever should presume to buy or sell any thing for the purpose of leaving the country; or to receive or conceal, or by any means aid the fugitives." On the assembly being dismissed, great terror spread throughout the city; nor was it confined merely within the walls, or to the Roman territory, for every where throughout the whole of Italy alarm began to be felt, when the letters from the guest-friends were received, concerning the decree of the senate, and what passed in the assembly, and the edict of the consuls. During the night, which succeeded the day in which the affair was made public, great numbers, attempting to fly, were seized, and brought back by the triumvirs, who had posted guards at all the gates; and informations were lodged against many, some of whom, both men and women, put themselves to death. Above seven thousand men and women are said to have taken the oath of the association. But it appeared that the heads of the conspiracy were the two Catinii, Marcus and Caius, Roman plebeians; Lucius Opiturnius, a Faliscian; and Minius Cerrinius, a Campanian: that from these proceeded all their criminal practices, and that these, were the chief priests and founders of the sect. Care was taken that they should be apprehended as soon as possible. They were brought before the consuls, and, confessing their guilt, caused no delay to the ends of justice.

## 18

But so great were the numbers that fled from the city, that because the lawsuits and property of many persons were going to ruin, the prætors, Titus Mænius and Marcus Licinius, were obliged, under the direction of the senate, to adjourn their courts for thirty days, until the inquiries should be finished by the consuls. The same deserted state of the law-courts, since the persons, against whom charges were brought, did not appear to answer, nor could be found in Rome, necessitated the consuls to make a circuit of the country towns, and there to make their inquiries and hold the trials. Those who, as it appeared, had been only initiated, and had made after the priest, and in the most solemn form, the prescribed imprecations, in which the accursed conspiracy for the perpetration of every crime and lust was contained, but who had not themselves committed, or compelled others to commit, any of those acts to which they were bound by the oath,—all such they left in prison. But those who had forcibly committed personal defilements or murders, or were stained with the guilt of false evidence, counterfeit seals, forged wills, or other frauds, all these they punished with death. A greater number were executed than thrown into prison; indeed, the multitude of men and women who suffered in both ways, was very considerable. The consuls delivered the women, who were condemned, to their relations, or to those under whose guardianship they were, that they might inflict the punishment in private; but if there did not appear any proper person of the kind to execute the sentence, the punishment was inflicted in public. A charge was then given to demolish all the places where the Bacchanalians had held their meetings; first, in Rome, and then throughout all Italy; excepting those wherein should be found some ancient altar, or consecrated statue. With regard to the future, the senate passed a decree, “that no Bacchanalian rites should be celebrated in Rome or in Italy:” and ordering that, “in case any person should believe some such kind of worship incumbent on him, and necessary; and that he could not, without offence to religion, and incurring guilt, omit it, he should represent this to the city prætor, and the prætor should lay the business before the senate. If permission were granted by the senate, when not less than one hundred members were present, then he might perform those rites, provided that no more than five persons should be present at the sacrifice, and that they should have no common stock of money, nor any president of the ceremonies, nor priest.”

## 19

Another decree connected with this was then made, on a motion of the consul, Quintus Marcius, that “the business respecting the persons who had served the consuls as informers should be proposed to the senate in its original form, when Spurius Postumius should have finished his inquiries, and returned to Rome.” They voted that Minius Cerrinius, the Campanian, should be sent to Ardea, to be kept in custody there; and that a caution should be given to the magistrates of that city, to guard him with more than ordinary care, so as to prevent not only his escaping, but his having an opportunity of committing suicide. Spurius Postumius some time after came to Rome, and on his proposing the question, concerning the reward to be given to Publius Æbutius and Hispala Fecenia, because the Bacchanalian ceremonies were discovered by their exertions, the senate passed a vote, that “the city quæstors should give to each of them, out of the public treasury, one hundred thousand *asses*;<sup>292</sup> and that the consuls should desire the plebeian tribunes to propose to the commons as soon as convenient,

<sup>292</sup> 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

that the campaigns of Publius Æbutius should be considered as served, that he should not become a soldier against his wishes, nor should any censor assign him a horse<sup>293</sup> at the public charge." They voted also, that "Hispala Fecenia should enjoy the privileges of alienating her property by gift or deed; of marrying out of her rank, and of choosing a guardian, as if a husband had conferred them by will; that she should be at liberty to wed a man of honourable birth, and that there should be no disgrace or ignominy to him who should marry her; and that the consuls and prætors then in office, and their successors, should take care that no injury should be offered to that woman, and that she might live in safety. That the senate wished, and thought proper, that all these things should be so ordered."—All these particulars were proposed to the commons, and executed, according to the vote of the senate; and full permission was given to the consuls to determine respecting the impunity and rewards of the other informers.

## 20

Quintus Marcius, having completed the inquiries in his district, prepared at length to proceed into the province of Liguria, for the service of which he received a supply of three thousand Roman foot and one hundred and fifty horse, with five thousand Latin foot and two hundred horse. The same province, and the same numbers of horse and foot, had been voted to his colleague, and they received the armies which, during the preceding year, the consuls, Caius Flaminius and Marcus Æmilius, had commanded. They were also ordered, by a decree of the senate, to raise two new legions, and they demanded from the allies and Latins twenty thousand foot and one thousand three hundred horse; besides, they levied three thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse. It was resolved that all this army, except the legions, should be led to reinforce the army in Spain. The consuls, therefore, while they themselves were engaged in the inquisitions, appointed Titus Mænius to hold the levy. When the trials were finished, Quintus Marcius first marched against the Apuan Ligurians. While he pursued these into very remote fastnesses, which had always served them as lurking-places and receptacles, he was surrounded in a disadvantageous position, a narrow defile which the enemy had previously seized. Here four thousand soldiers fell, and three standards of the second legion, with eleven ensigns of the Latin allies, were taken; abundance of arms were likewise lost, which were thrown away by the men in every direction, because they impeded their flight through the woody paths. The Ligurians ceased to pursue, sooner than the Romans to fly. As soon as the consul had effected his escape out of the enemy's territories, he disbanded the troops, in the country of their friends, in order that the greatness of the loss sustained might not appear. But he could not obliterate all memorial of his misconduct; for the pass, from which the Ligurians put him to flight, has been called the Marcian pass.

## 21

A little before this intelligence from the war in Liguria was made public, a letter from Spain was read to them, which brought joy mingled with grief. Caius Atinius, who, two years before, had gone to that province in quality of prætor, fought in the territory of Asta a pitched battle with the Lusitanians. About six thousand of the enemy were killed, the rest routed, driven from the field, and their camp taken. He then led his legions to

<sup>293</sup> Those to whom the censor assigned a horse, were bound to serve. But as liberty was granted to Æbutius to serve or not, as he chose, it became necessary that the censor should be thus restrained, by a vote of the senate, from assigning him a horse; otherwise, if one had been assigned him, whether willing or not, he must have served.

attack the town of Asta, which he took with little more trouble than he met at the camp; but, having been wounded whilst he was approaching the walls too incautiously, he died in a few days from the effects of the wound. When the letter was read, acquainting them with the proprætor's death, the senate voted, that a courier should be sent to overtake the prætor, Caius Calpurnius, at the port of Luna, and inform him, that the senate thought proper that he should hasten his journey lest the province should be without a governor. The person who was sent reached Luna on the fourth day, but Calpurnius had set out some days before. In Hither Spain, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, who had come into that province at the same time when Caius Atinius came into his, fought a battle with the Celtiberians. They quitted the field, the victory being undecided with the exception of this, that the Celtiberians removed their camp from that quarter on the following night: permission was thus afforded to the Romans to bury their dead, and collect the spoils. In a few days after, the Celtiberians, having gathered a large army, attacked the Romans, near the town of Calaguris. Nothing is recorded respecting the cause that rendered them weaker after their numbers were increased, but they were defeated in the battle; twelve thousand of their men were killed, more than two thousand taken, and the Roman army got possession of their camp, and had not a successor, by his arrival, checked the career of the conqueror, the Celtiberians would have been completely subdued. Both the new prætors drew off their armies into winter quarters.

## 22

During the time in which this intelligence was announced from Spain, the games called Taurilia<sup>294</sup> were celebrated, during two days, on a religious account. Then Marcus Fulvius exhibited games, which he had vowed in the Ætolian war, and which lasted ten days. Many artists, out of respect to him, came from Greece on the occasion; and now, for the first time, the Romans had an opportunity of seeing contests of wrestlers; they were also presented with a hunt of lions and panthers; the games were celebrated with almost the variety and abundance of the present age. The nine days' solemnity succeeded, because showers of stones had fallen, for three days, in Picenum; and fires from heaven were said to have arisen in various places, and singed the clothes of many persons by slight flashes. By order of the pontiffs, a supplication, of one day's continuance, was added because the temple of Ops, in the Capitol, was struck by lightning. The consuls sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, and purified the city. At the same time, an account was brought from Umbria, of a hermaphrodite, twelve years old, being found there. The consuls wishing to get rid of the prodigy, as it was a fearful omen, ordered that it should be removed instantly out of the Roman territory, and put to death. During this year, a body of Transalpine Gauls came into Venetia, without committing depredation or hostility, and pitched on a spot for building a town, not far from that where Aquileia now stands. Ambassadors were sent from Rome, over the Alps, on this business, and to them an answer was given that "they had not emigrated by the authority of their state, nor did their countrymen know what they were doing in Italy." About this time Lucius Scipio celebrated games, which he said he had vowed during the war with Antiochus; they lasted ten days, and the money was contributed for the purpose by the kings and states of Asia. Valerius Antias asserts, that, after his condemnation, and the sale of his effects, he was sent as ambassador into Asia, to adjust disputes between the kings Antiochus and Eumenes; that there the money was contributed for him, and actors collected through Asia: and that after his embassy, the

<sup>294</sup> Games in honour of the infernal deities, instituted in the reign of Tarquin the Proud, on occasion of a malignant disorder that had attacked pregnant women. Black bulls were sacrificed, whence the name.

subject of those games (of which he had made no mention after the war, in which he asserted that they had been vowed) was at length introduced in the senate-house.

### 23

As the year was now drawing to a conclusion, Quintus Marcius, then abroad, was soon to go out of office. Spurius Postumius, after having conducted the inquisitions with the utmost care and propriety, held the elections. Appius Claudius Pulcher and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus were chosen consuls. Next day, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Afranius Stello, Caius Atilius Serranus Lucius Postumius Tempsanus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus were elected prætors. Towards the close of the year, because the consul Spurius Postumius reported that in travelling along the coasts of Italy, for the purpose of holding the inquisitions, he had found two colonies deserted, Sipontum on the upper sea, and Buxentum on the lower; in pursuance of a decree of the senate, Lucius Scribonus Libo, Marcus Tuccius, and Cneius Bebius Tamphilus, were appointed commissioners for conducting colonies thither, by Titus Mænius, city prætor. The war with king Perseus and the Macedonians, which was impending, has not derived its origin from what most persons imagine, nor from Perseus himself. The preliminary steps were taken by Philip, and, if he had lived some time longer, he would himself have carried on that war. When the conditions of peace were imposed on him, when he was vanquished, one particular chagrined him more than all the rest; this was because the liberty of wreaking his vengeance on such of the Macedonians as had revolted from him in the course of the war, was taken from him by the senate; although, because Quintus had left that point undetermined, when he was adjusting the articles of pacification, he had not despaired of the possibility of obtaining it. Afterwards, on the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, the armies being separated at the time when the consul Acilius carried on the siege of Heraclea, and Philip besieged Lamia, because he was ordered to retire from the walls of Lamia, as soon as Heraclea was taken, and the town was surrendered to the Romans, he was grievously offended with this circumstance. The consul, indeed, in some measure, soothed his resentment; for, when he was hastening to Naupactum, where the Ætolians had re-assembled after their flight, he gave Philip permission to make war on Amynder and Athamania; and to annex to his dominions the cities which the Ætolians had taken from the Thessalians. Without much difficulty, he expelled Amynder from Athamania, and got possession of several cities. He also reduced under his dominion the city of Demetrias, a place of great strength, and convenient in every respect; with the whole of the Magnesian state. Afterwards, finding that several cities in Thrace, through an abuse of the liberty which they had lately acquired, and to which they had not been accustomed, were distracted by dissensions among their leading men, he, by uniting himself to the parties that were worsted in their disputes with their countrymen, made himself master of them all.

### 24

By these means the king's wrath against the Romans was appeased for the present; but he never abandoned the project of collecting such a force during peace, as would enable him to maintain a war, whenever the fortunate occasion should be offered. He augmented the revenues of his kingdom, not only out of the produce of the lands and the port duties, but also he worked the mines, both the old ones which had been neglected, and new ones which he opened in many places. Then, (in order to restore the former degree of population, which had been diminished by the calamities of war,) he not only caused an increase in the offspring of that generation, by compelling every one

to marry and rear children; but he transplanted a great multitude of Thracians into Macedonia, and, during a long suspension of arms, he employed the utmost assiduity in augmenting, by every possible means, the strength of his kingdom. Causes afterward occurred, which served to revive his animosity against the Romans. Complaints made by the Thessalians and Perrhæbians, of his holding possession of their towns, and, by ambassadors from king Eumenes, of his having forcibly seized the cities of Thrace, and transplanted great numbers of their people into Macedonia, had been received in such a manner as plainly evinced that they were not thought unworthy of attention. What made the greatest impression on the senate, was, their having been informed, that Philip aimed at the possession of Ænus and Maronea; as to the Thessalians, they regarded them less. Ambassadors came, likewise, from the Athamanians, complaining not of the loss of a part of their territory, nor of encroachment on their frontier,—but that all Athamania had been brought under the dominion and jurisdiction of the king. Exiles from Maronea also appeared, who had been expelled by the king's troops, for having supported the cause of liberty; who reported, that not only Maronea, but Ænus too, was held in subjection by him. Ambassadors came from Philip to defend his conduct, who asserted, that, nothing bad had been done without permission from the Roman commanders. That “the states of the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Magnesians, and the nation of the Athamanians, with Amynder, had all been engaged in the same cause with the Ætolians. That after the expulsion of king Antiochus, the consul, being himself busy in reducing the towns of Ætolia, had named Philip to subdue those states, and they remained subject to him in consequence of their being conquered by his arms.” The senate, too, that they might not make any decision concerning the king in his absence, sent Quintus Cascilius Metellus, Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus, and Tiberius Sempronius, ambassadors to adjust those disputes. Previous to their arrival, a convention of all those states who had disputes with the king, was summoned to meet at Tempe in Thessaly.

## 25

When all were seated there, (the Roman ambassadors in the character of arbitrators, the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Athamanians professedly as accusers, and Philip as defendant, to hear the accusations brought against him,) those who were the heads of the embassies, according to their several tempers, their favour, or their hatred towards the king, spoke, some with acrimony, others with mildness. Philippopolis, Trica, Phaloria, Eurymenæ, and the other towns in their neighbourhood, became the subject of dispute. The point in controversy was, whether these towns were the property of the Thessalians, when they were forcibly taken from them, and held by the Ætolians, (for from these it was acknowledged that Philip had received them,) or whether they were originally belonging to the Ætolians: Acilius having granted them to the king, on the condition that “they had been the property of the Ætolians; and if they had sided with the Ætolians of their own free will, and not compelled by violence and arms.” The question in regard to the towns of the Perrhæbians and Magnesians turned on the same points; for the Ætolians, by holding possession of them occasionally, had confused the rights of all. To these particulars, which were matter of discussion, the complaints of the Thessalians were added, that “if these towns were now restored to them, they would come into their hands in a state of desolation, and depopulated; for besides the loss of inhabitants through the casualties of war, Philip had carried away five hundred of their young men of the first rank into Macedonia, and abused their labour by employing them in servile offices; and had taken pains to render useless whatever he should be

compelled to restore to the Thessalians. That Thebes in Phthiotis was the only sea-port they had, which formerly produced much profit and advantage to the inhabitants of Thessaly; but that Philip, having collected there a number of ships of burthen, made them steer their course past Thebes to Demetrias, and turned thither the whole commerce by sea. That he did not now scruple to offer violence, even to ambassadors, who, by the law of nations, are every where held inviolable, but had laid an ambush for theirs who were going to Titus Quintius, that the Thessalians were in consequence seized with such dread, that not one of them, even in their own states, or in the general assemblies of the nation, ventured to open his lips. For the Romans, the defenders of their liberty, were far distant; and a severe master close at their side, debarring them from using the kindness of the Romans. If speech were not free, what else could be said to be so: at present, through confidence in the protection of the ambassadors, they uttered their groans rather than words; but, unless the Romans would take some precautions that both the fears of the Greeks bordering on Macedonia and the arrogance of Philip should be abated, his having been conquered, and their being set at liberty, would prove utterly fruitless. Like a restive, unmanageable horse, he required to be checked with a strong bridle." These bitter expressions were used by the last speakers among them; those who spoke before having endeavoured by mildness to mitigate his resentment; requesting of him "that he should pardon persons pleading in defence of their liberty; that he should, laying aside the harshness of a master, generally display himself an ally and friend; that he should imitate the Roman people, who wished to unite their allies to them by the ties of affection, rather than of fear." When the Thessalians had finished, the Perrhæbians pleaded that Gonnocondylos, to which Philip had given the name of Olympias, belonged to Perrhæbia, and ought to be restored to them; and the same demand was made with respect to Malœa, and Ericinium. The Athamanians claimed a restoration of liberty, and the forts Athenæus and Pœtneus.

## 26

Philip began his discourse also with complaints, that he might maintain the appearance of an accuser rather than of a defendant. He complained that "the Thessalians had taken by force of arms, Menelais in Dolopia, a town belonging to his dominions; likewise, Petra in Pieria was taken by the same Thessalians and the Perrhæbians; that they had reduced under their government Xyniæ, which unquestionably belonged to Ætolia; and that Parachelois, which was under Athamania, was, without any just claim, subjected to the jurisdiction of the Thessalians. As to the charges brought against him, concerning an ambush laid for ambassadors, and of sea-ports being frequented or deserted, the one was quite ridiculous, (as if he were to account for what harbours merchants or sailors should frequent,) and the other the constant tenor of his conduct rejected with scorn. During a number of years, ambassadors had never ceased carrying complaints against him, sometimes to the Roman generals, at others to Rome to the senate. Which of them had ever been injured, even in words? They said, indeed, that an ambush was once laid for some who were going to Quintius, but they are silent in regard to consequences. Such were the accusations of men searching for false imputations, because they had no truth on their side." He said, that "the Thessalians, insolently and wantonly, abused the indulgence of the Roman people, too greedily drinking, as it were, strong draughts of liberty after a long thirst; and thus, in the manner of slaves lately set free, made trial of their voices and tongues, and prided themselves in invectives and railings against their masters." Then, hurried on by passion, he added, that "his sun had not set yet;" which expression, not only the Thessalians, but the Romans also, took as a menace to

themselves; and when a murmur of displeasure followed his words, and was at length hushed, he replied to the ambassadors of the Perrhæbians and Athamanians, "that the cases of the cities of which they had spoken were the same. The consul Acilius and the Romans gave them to him, when they were the property of enemies. If the donors chose to resume what they had given, he knew he must submit, but in that case they would, for the gratification of inconstant and unprofitable allies, do injury to a more useful and more faithful friend. For no favour produced less permanent gratitude than the gift of liberty, especially among people who were ready to corrupt it by using it badly." After examining the merits of the cause, the ambassadors pronounced their judgment, that "the Macedonian garrisons should be withdrawn from the cities in question, and that the kingdom of Macedonia should be limited by its ancient boundaries. That with regard to the injuries which both parties complained of being done to them, it would be requisite to institute some compact for the attainment of justice, in order to decide the controversies between those states and the Macedonians."

## 27

The king being grievously offended, the ambassadors proceeded thence to Thessalonica, to give a hearing to the business concerning the cities of Thrace. Here the ambassadors of Eumenes said, that "if the Romans wished that Ænus and Maronea should be independent, the king felt ashamed to say more, than to recommend it to them to leave those people free in fact, and not in words; nor to suffer their kindness to be intercepted by another. But if they had not so much concern for the states situated in Thrace, it was much more reasonable that Eumenes should possess, as the rewards of war, the places which had been under the dominion of Antiochus, than Philip; and that, either on account of his father Attalus's deserts in the war, waged by the Roman people against Philip himself, or on account of his own, because he had shared all the toils and dangers on land and sea, during the war with Antiochus. Besides, he had the previous judgment of the ten ambassadors to that purpose; who, when they granted the Chersonesus and Lysimachia, surely yielded at the same time Ænus and Maronea; which, even from the proximity of situation, were but a sort of appendage to the larger gift. For, as to Philip, by what merits towards the Roman people, or what right of dominion, had he put garrisons into those places, which were at so great a distance from the borders of Macedonia? They then desired that the Romans would order the Maronites to be called, from whom they would receive more positive information of the condition of those cities." The Maronite ambassadors being called in, declared, that "not in one spot of the city, as in other garrisoned towns, but in every quarter of it, there was a party of the king's troops, and that Maronea was full of Macedonians; in consequence of which, the favourites of the king domineered over the rest; they alone had liberty of speaking, either in the senate or assemblies of the people. All posts of eminence they assumed to themselves, or conferred on whom they thought proper. That the most deserving persons, who had a regard for liberty and for the laws, were either expelled their country, and in exile, or remained in silence, dishonoured and subjected to men of the worst description." They added also a few words respecting their right to the frontier places, affirming, that "Quintus Fabius Labeo, when he was in that country, had fixed as a boundary line to Philip, the old royal road leading to Paroreia, in Thrace, which in no place leads towards the sea; and that Philip afterwards drew a new one in another direction, in order to include the cities and lands of the Maronites."

## 28

Philip, in his reply to these charges, took quite another course than when lately answering the Thessalians and Perrhæbians, and said:—"My dispute is not now with the Maronites, or with Eumenes, but with you yourselves, Romans, from whom I have long ago seen that I can obtain no justice. The cities of Macedonia, which had revolted from me during a suspension of arms, I thought should in justice be restored to me; not that they would have made any great accession to my dominions, because the towns are small in themselves, and besides, are situated on the extremities of the frontiers; but because the example was of great consequence towards retaining the rest of the Macedonians in their allegiance. This was refused me. In the Ætolian war, I was ordered by the consul, Manius Acilius, to lay siege to Lamia, and when I had there undergone a long course of fatigue in fighting and constructing works, and was on the point of mounting the walls, the consul recalled me from the city when almost in my possession, and compelled me to draw off my troops from it. As some consolation for this hard treatment, I received permission to seize on some forts, rather than cities, of Thessaly, Perrhæbia, and Athamania. These also you yourselves, Quintus Cæcilius, have taken from me a few days ago. The ambassadors of Eumenes, just now, took for granted, it seems, that Eumenes would with more justice than I possess whatever belonged to Antiochus. I judge the matter to be widely different. For Eumenes could not have remained on his throne, unless the Romans had engaged in the war, and not unless they had conquered. Therefore he has received a favour from you, not you from him; whereas, so far were any part of my dominions from being in danger, that, when Antiochus voluntarily offered to purchase my alliance, with three thousand talents and fifty decked ships, guaranteeing to me all the cities of Greece of which I had heretofore been in possession, I rejected that offer. I avowed myself his enemy, even before Manius Acilius brought over an army into Greece. In conjunction with that consul, I supported whatever share of the war he gave me in charge. To the succeeding consul, Lucius Scipio, when he proposed leading his army by land to the Hellespont, I not only gave a passage through my dominions, but also made roads for him, built bridges, supplied him with provisions, and escorted him, not only through Macedon, but likewise through Thrace; where, besides other business, I had to procure peace from the barbarians. In requital of this zeal, not to call it merit, towards you, whether would it be proper in you, Romans, to enlarge and increase my dominions by acts of generosity, or to ravish from me what I possessed, either in my own right or through your kindness. The cities of Macedon, which you acknowledge to have belonged to my kingdom, are not restored. Eumenes comes to plunder me as he would Antiochus, and, if you choose to believe him, covers his most shameless chicanery under the decree of the ten ambassadors, by which principally he can be refuted and convicted. For is it not expressly and plainly set down in that writing, that the Chersonese and Lysimachia are granted to Eumenes; and where are Ænus, Maronea, and the cities of Thrace annexed to it in writing? That which he did not dare even to ask from them, shall he obtain from you, as if under their grant? It is a matter of importance in what light you choose to consider me. If you are resolved to persecute me as an enemy and foe, proceed to act as you have begun: but, if you have any consideration for me as a king in friendship and alliance with you, I must entreat you not to judge me deserving of such injurious treatment."

## 29

The king's discourse made a considerable impression on the ambassadors; they therefore left the matter in suspense, by this indecisive resolution, that "if the cities in question were granted to Eumenes by the decree of the ten ambassadors, they would

make no alteration. If Philip subdued them in war, he should, by the laws of war, hold them as the prize of victory. If neither were the case, then their judgment was, that the decision should be referred to the senate; and in order that all things might remain in their original state, the garrisons in those cities should be withdrawn." These causes, principally, alienated the regard of Philip from the Romans, so that the war naturally seems not set on foot by his son Perseus for any fresh causes, but rather for these causes, bequeathed by the father to the son. At Rome there was hitherto no suspicion of a war with Macedonia. Lucius Manlius, the proconsul, had by this time come home from Spain. On his demanding a triumph from the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona, the greatness of his exploits justified the demand, but precedent opposed it; for it was a rule, established by ancient practice, that no commander, who had not brought home his troops, should triumph, unless he had delivered up the province to his successor, in a state of thorough subjection and tranquillity. An honour of a middling grade was conferred on Manlius, namely, that he should enter the city in ovation. He carried in the procession fifty-two golden crowns, one hundred and twenty-two pounds' weight of gold, with sixteen thousand three hundred pounds of silver; and announced in the senate, that his quæstor, Quintus Fabius, was bringing ten thousand pounds' weight of silver, and eighty of gold, and that he would carry it likewise to the treasury. During that year there was a formidable insurrection of the slaves in Apulia. Lucius Postumius, prætor, governed the province of Tarentum, and conducted with much severity inquiries into a conspiracy of peasants, who had infested the roads and public pastures with robberies. Of these, he passed sentence on no less than seven thousand; many of whom made their escape, and on many punishment was inflicted. The consuls, after being long detained in the city by the levies, set out at length for their provinces.

### 30

This year, Caius Calpurnius and Lucius Quintius, the two prætors in Spain, drew their troops out of winter quarters, at the commencement of spring, and making a junction of them in Bæturia, for they were resolved to proceed in the operations of the campaign with united zeal and harmony, advanced into Carpetania, where the enemy's camp lay. At a small distance from the towns of Hippo and Toletum, a fight began between the foraging parties, to whom when reinforcements came from both armies from the camps, the entire armies were by degrees drawn out into the field. In this irregular kind of battle, the advantage of the ground and the manner of fighting were in favour of the enemy. The two Roman armies were routed, and driven into their camp; but the enemy did not pursue the dismayed Romans. The Roman prætors, lest their camp should be attacked next day, giving the signal in silence, led away their army in the dead of the following night. At the first dawn, the Spaniards came up to the rampart in battle array, and entered the camp which, beyond their expectation, was deserted, and made prey of whatever had in the hurry and confusion been first left behind; and then, returning to their own station, remained, for a few days, at rest within their camp. Of the Romans and allies, there were killed in the battle and the pursuit, five thousand men, out of whose spoils the enemy furnished themselves with arms. They then advanced to the river Tagus. All the intermediate time the Roman prætors employed in collecting aid from the allied Spanish states, and reviving the spirits of their men after the dismay occasioned by their defeat. When their strength appeared adequate, and the soldiers too called for their enemy, to blot out in vengeance their former disgrace, they pitched their camp at the distance of twelve miles from the river Tagus; but decamping thence at the third watch, and marching with their army in a square, reached the bank of the river at

break of day. The enemy's camp was on a hill at the other side of the river. They immediately led their army across the river where it was fordable in two places, Calpurnius having the command of the right, Quintius of the left. The enemy continued motionless, since they were surprised at the sudden arrival of the Romans, and busy in consultations, when they might have excited confusion among the troops during their hurry in passing the river. In the mean time the Romans brought over all their baggage, and threw it together in a heap, and seeing the enemy, at length, begin to move, and having no time for fortifying a camp, they formed their line of battle. In the centre were placed the fifth legion, serving under Calpurnius, and the eighth, under Quintius, which composed the principal strength of their army. All the way to the enemy's camp they had an open plain, free from all danger of ambush.

### 31

When the Spaniards saw the two bodies of Romans, on their side of the river, they rushed suddenly out of the camp, and advanced to battle at full speed, that they might fall upon them before they should unite and put themselves in order. The fight, in the beginning, was urged with great fury; the Spaniards being elated by their late success, and the Roman soldiery inflamed to rage, by a discomfiture to which they were unaccustomed. The centre, consisting of two legions of the greatest bravery, fought with the utmost vigour. The enemy, seeing that they could not be forced from their ground by any other means, resolved to make their attack in form of a wedge; and this body, becoming continually more numerous and more compact, pressed hard on them. When the prætor, Calpurnius, perceived that his line was distressed in this part, he hastily despatched two lieutenants-general, Titus Quintilius Varus and Lucius Juventius Thalna, to animate the courage of the two legions, who were ordered to say, that "all hopes of victory, and of retaining possession of Spain, depended entirely on them. If they should give ground, not a man in that whole army would ever see Italy, no, nor even the farther bank of the Tagus." He himself, at the head of the cavalry of the two legions, making a small circuit, charged the flank of the wedge, which was pressing upon his centre. Quintius, likewise, with his cavalry, charged the enemy on the other flank; but the horsemen of Calpurnius fought with far greater spirit, while the prætor himself exceeded all others. He was the first that struck down one of the enemy, and he pushed in among the troops in the centre, in such a manner that it was hard to distinguish to which side he belonged. Thus the horse were animated by the extraordinary valour of the prætor, and the infantry by that of the horse. Shame, because they saw the prætor in the midst of the enemy's weapons, inspired the foremost centurions. They all, therefore, earnestly pressed the standard-bearers, urging them to carry forward the ensigns, and the soldiers to follow with speed. All set up the shout anew, and made an attack as violent as if it were made from the higher ground. Like a flood, therefore, they broke and bore down the enemy in dismay, nor could they be resisted, pouring in one after another, The cavalry pursued the fugitives to their camp, and mixing with the crowd of the runaways, penetrated within the rampart. Here the fight was renewed by the troops left to guard the camp, and the Roman horsemen were obliged to dismount. While they were engaged, the fifth legion came up, and afterwards the rest of the troops joined them with all the speed they could. The Spaniards were cut to pieces in all parts of the camp; not more than four thousand men made their escape. Of these about three thousand, who kept their arms, took possession of a mountain in the neighbourhood, and one thousand, who were in general but half armed, dispersed through the country. This army of the enemy had contained thirty-five thousand men, of whom that very

small number survived the battle. One hundred and thirty-three standards were taken. Of the Romans and allies, a few more than six hundred fell; and of the provincial auxiliaries, about one hundred and fifty. The loss of five military tribunes, and a few Roman horsemen, served principally to give the victory the appearance of being a bloody one. The army lodged in the enemy's camp, as they had not had time to fortify one of their own. Next day the cavalry was praised by Calpurnius in an assembly, and presented with trappings; and he declared publicly, that through their bravery, principally, the enemy had been defeated, and their camp stormed and taken. Quinctius, the other prætor, presented his cavalry also with chains and clasps. A great many centurions also, of both the armies, received gratuities, especially those who were in the centre.

### 32

The consuls, as soon as they had finished the levies, and other business which required to be done at Rome, led the army into their province, Liguria. Sempronius marched from Pisæ against the Apuan Ligurians, and by ravaging their lands, and by burning their villages and forts, he opened that difficult country, as far as the river Macra and the harbour of Luna. The enemy took possession of a mountain which had been the ancient retreat of their forefathers; but the difficulty of access being overcome, they were dislodged by force. Appius Claudius, against the Ingaunian tribe, rivalled in several successful battles the good fortune and bravery of his colleague. He also stormed six of their towns, in which he made many thousand prisoners, beheading forty-three of the chief promoters of the war. The time of the elections now drew near; but Claudius came home to Rome sooner than Sempronius, to whom the business of presiding at the elections had been allotted, because his brother, Publius Claudius, stood candidate for the consulship. His competitors, of patrician rank, were Lucius Æmilius, Quintus Fabius Labeo, and Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been candidates before, and now renewed their suit, for an honour which was the more justly due to them, owing to their repulses, as it had been refused before. Besides, as it was not lawful that more than one patrician should be appointed, there was a closer contest between the four candidates. The plebeian candidates likewise were men in high esteem. Lucius Porcius, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus; these two had been disappointed, but had cherished hopes of attaining the honour at some future time. Claudius was the only new candidate. Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Porcius Licinus were marked out by public opinion as the successful persons; but Claudius, the consul, unattended by his lictors, canvassed with his brother through all parts of the forum, notwithstanding the loud remonstrances of his opponents and the greater part of the senate, who insisted that "he ought to remember that he was consul of the Roman people, rather than the brother of Publius Claudius. Why should he not rather sit on his tribunal, content himself with presiding, and remain a silent spectator of the business." Yet he could not be restrained from a display of his immoderate zeal. The election was, also, several times interrupted by contentions between the plebeian tribunes; some of whom struggled hard in opposition to the consul, and others in support of the cause which he favoured. At last, Appius conquered all opposition, so as to set aside Fabius, and bring in his brother. Thus was Publius Claudius Pulcher elected consul, beyond his own, and indeed the general expectation. Lucius Porcius Licinus carried his election also, because the contest among the plebeian candidates was conducted with a decent degree of warmth, and not with the violence of Claudius. Then was held the election of prætors. Caius Decimius Flavus, Publius Sempronius Longus, Publius Cornelius Cethegus,

Quintus Nævius Matho, Caius Sempronius Blæsus, and Aulus Terentius Varro, were made prætors. Such were the occurrences at home and abroad of this year, during the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius.

### 33

In the beginning of the following year, Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius, the consuls, when Quintus Cæcilius, Marcus Bæebius, and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been sent to adjust the matters in dispute between the kings, Philip and Eumenes, and the states of the Thessalians, had given an account of their embassy, introduced to the senate ambassadors from those kings and states. On this occasion, the same arguments were repeated by all parties, which had been urged before the ambassadors in Greece. The senate then decreed that a new embassy, the principal man of which was Appius Claudius, should be sent into Macedonia and Greece, to know whether the several states had been restored to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians. Instructions were given to the same, that the garrisons should be withdrawn, from Ænus and Maronea, and that all the sea-coast of Thrace should be made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians. They were ordered also to go to Peloponnesus, from which the former ambassadors had departed, leaving affairs in a more unsettled state than they would have been if they had not come thither. For besides other matters, they were even sent away without an answer by the Achæan council, nor was an audience of that body granted to them at their request. When Quintus Cæcilius made a heavy complaint on this subject, and at the same time the Lacedæmonians deplored the demolition of their walls, the carrying off their poor people into Achaia, the selling of them there, and the depriving them of the laws of Lycurgus, by which the nation had been supported unto that time, the Achaians laboured principally to excuse their having refused a meeting of the council by quoting a law which enacted, that a council should not be summoned, except on business of peace or war, or when ambassadors should come from the senate with letters or written instructions. That this kind of excuse should not be made in future, the senate observed to them, that they ought to take care that Roman ambassadors should at all times have an opportunity of applying to their council, in like manner as an audience of the senate was always given to them, at any time when they wished it.

### 34

After those embassies were dismissed, Philip, being informed that he must yield up the states, and evacuate the towns in question, was highly enraged against all, yet vented his fury on the Maronites in particular. He gave a charge to Onomastus, who had the command of the sea-coast, to put to death the leaders of the opposite party. This man, through the agency of a person called Cassander, a partisan of the king's, who had resided a long time in Maronea, having introduced Thracians by night, put the inhabitants to the sword, as if the city had been taken by storm. When the Roman ambassadors complained of his acting with such cruelty towards the innocent Maronites, and with such presumption towards the Roman people, in killing, as enemies, those very persons to whom the senate had adjudged the restoration of liberty, he denied that "any of those matters concerned him, or any one belonging to him; that they had quarrelled among themselves, and fought, because some wished to bring over their state to his side, others to that of Eumenes. That they might easily ascertain this; and they had only to ask the Maronites themselves." For he was confident, that while they were all under the impression of terror, since the late

massacre, not one of them would dare to utter a word against him. Appius said, that “a case so clear ought not to be examined into as if it were doubtful. But if he wished to remove the guilt from himself, let him send Onomastus and Cassander, the actors in that business, to Rome, that the senate might examine them.” At first, these words so entirely disconcerted the king, that neither his colour nor his looks remained unchanged; then, after some time, having collected his thoughts, he replied, that “he would send Cassander, who had been in Maronea, if it was their desire: but as to Onomastus, how could that matter affect him, who, so far from being in Maronea, was not even near it?” He was more careful of Onomastus, as a more valued friend, yet he dreaded him much more lest he might make discoveries; because he had, in person, conversed with him on the subject, and he had made him an agent and accomplice in many similar acts. Cassander is supposed to have been taken off, that the truth might not be divulged, by poison administered by persons sent to escort him through Epirus to the sea-coast.

### 35

The ambassadors departed from the conference with Philip in such a manner that they made it manifest that none of these acts pleased them; and Philip, with a full resolution to have recourse again to arms. Because his strength was as yet insufficient for that purpose, he resolved, in order to procure delay, to send his younger son Demetrius to Rome, to clear him from the above-named charges; and at the same time to deprecate the wrath of the senate. Philip had strong expectations that the young man himself, because he had, while a hostage at Rome, exhibited proofs of a princely disposition, would have a good deal of influence now. Meanwhile, under the pretence of carrying succour to the Byzantians, but in reality with design to strike terror into the chieftains of the Thracians, he marched into their country, utterly defeated them in an engagement, in which he took their commander, Amadocus, prisoner, and then returned to Macedonia, having first despatched emissaries to induce the barbarians, living near the Danube, to make an irruption into Italy. The arrival of the Roman ambassadors, who had been ordered to go from Macedonia into Achaia, was expected in Peloponnesus; and in order that the Achæans might settle their plans of conduct towards them beforehand, their prætor, Lycortas, summoned a general council. Here the affair of the Lacedæmonians was taken into consideration. It was observed that “from enemies, they were turned accusers; and there was reason to fear lest they should prove more formidable, after having been conquered, than when at war: for in it the Achæans had the Romans as allies in their cause; now the same Romans were more favourable to the Lacedæmonians than to the Achæans. Even Areus and Alcibiades, both restored from exile through the kindness of the Achæans, had undertaken an embassy to Rome, in prejudice to a nation to which they were so much obliged; and had used language so severe, that they seemed to have been banished from their country, instead of being restored to it.” A general clamour arose, requiring him to put the question on each of them by name; and as every thing was directed by passion, not by reason, they were condemned to die. In a few days after this the Roman ambassadors arrived, and a council was summoned to meet them at Clitor, in Arcadia.

### 36

Before they transacted any business, alarm was excited in the Achæans, accompanied by the reflection, how unlikely the dispute was to receive impartial judgment, when they saw in company with the ambassadors Areus and Alcibiades, whom in their last council they had condemned to death; yet none of them dared to utter a word. Appius

acquainted them that the senate was much displeased at those matters, of which the Lacedæmonians made complaint before them; "first, the massacre that took place at Compasium of those who, in obedience to the summons of Philopœmen, came to stand a trial; then after such barbarity had been exercised towards men, that their cruelty might be felt in every part, the having demolished the wall of that famous city, having abrogated its laws of the greatest antiquity, and abolished the discipline of Lycurgus, so famed throughout the world." After Appius had spoken to this effect, Lycortas, both because he was prætor and because he was of the faction of Philopœmen, the adviser of all that was done at Lacedæmon, answered him thus: "Appius Claudius, our speech before you is attended with more difficulties than we had lately before the senate at Rome; for then we had to answer the accusations of the Lacedæmonians, but now we stand accused by yourselves, before whom our cause is to be heard. But to this disadvantage of situation we submit with this hope, that you will hear us with the temper of a judge, laying aside the character of an advocate, in which you just now appeared. I at least, though the matters of which the Lacedæmonians complained formerly in this place, before Quintus Cæcilius, and afterwards at Rome, have been just recapitulated by you, yet shall consider myself as answering for them, not to you, but before you. You charge us with the murder of those men, who being called out by the prætor, Philopœmen, to trial, were put to death. This I think a charge of such a nature, that it ought not to be advanced against us, either by you, Romans, or by any in your presence. Why so? Because it was written in the treaty with you, that the Lacedæmonians should not intermeddle with the cities on the coast. At the time when they, taking up arms, seized by assault in the night those towns with which they had been forbidden to interfere; if Titus Quintius, if a Roman army had been in Peloponnesus, as formerly, the captured and oppressed inhabitants would surely have fled to them for relief. As you were at a great distance, to whom else would they fly but to us, your allies, whom they had seen at a former time bringing aid to Gythium; whom they had seen in conjunction with you, besieging Lacedæmon on their account? In your stead, therefore, we undertook a just and rightful war. And when other men approve of this step, and even the Lacedæmonians cannot censure it; the gods themselves, also, by giving us the victory, have shown their approbation of it; how then can acts done under the laws of war come under civil disquisition? Of these acts, however, the greatest part nowise affect us. The summoning to trial men, who had excited the populace to arms, who had stormed and plundered the towns on the coast, who had murdered the principal inhabitants, was our act; but the putting them to death when they were coming into the camp was yours, Areus and Alcibiades, who now, since it is the will of the gods, arraign us, and not ours. The Lacedæmonian exiles (in the number of whom, these two men then were) were then in our camp, and believing that they were the objects of attack because they had chosen the maritime towns for their residence, made an assault on those by whose means they had been banished, and who they perceived with indignation would not suffer them even to grow old in exile with safety. Lacedæmonians therefore, not Achæans, slew Lacedæmonians; nor is it of any consequence to dispute, whether they were slain justly or unjustly.

### 37

"But then, Achæans, the abolition of the laws and ancient discipline of Lycurgus, with the demolition of the walls, are unquestionably your acts: now how can both these charges be brought forward by the same persons, since the walls of Lacedæmon were built, not by Lycurgus, but a few years ago, for the purpose of subverting the discipline

of Lycurgus? The tyrants erected them lately as a fortress and defence for themselves, not for the state; and if Lycurgus should rise this day from the dead, he would rejoice at their ruins, and would say that he now acknowledged his country, and ancient Sparta. You ought not to have waited for Philopœmen, or the Achæans; you should have removed and razed, with your own hands, every vestige of tyranny; for these were the foul scars of slavery. And as during almost eight hundred years, while ye were without walls, ye were free, and for some time even chiefs of Greece; so, after being bound with walls, as with fetters, you were slaves for one hundred years. As to what concerns the abrogating their laws, I conceive that the tyrants took away the ancient laws of Lacedæmon, and that we did not deprive them of their own laws which they did not possess, but gave them ours; nor did we neglect the interests of their state, when we made it a member of our council, and incorporated it with ourselves, so that the whole Peloponnesus should form one body and one council. If we were living under laws different from what we imposed on them, in that case I think they might complain of being treated unfairly, and consequently be displeased. I know, Appius Claudius, that the kind of discourse which I have hitherto used is not proper either for allies, addressing their allies, or for an independent nation; but, in truth, for slaves pleading before their masters. For if the herald's proclamation, in which you ordered the Achæans, first of all the states of Greece, to be free, was any thing more than empty sound; if the treaty be valid, if the alliance and friendship be maintained on equal terms, why do not I inquire what you Romans did, on the taking of Capua, as well as you demand what we, the Achæans, did towards the Lacedæmonians, when we conquered them in war? Some persons were killed, suppose, by us. What! did not you behead the Campanian senators? We demolished their walls: you not only destroyed the walls, but you took the city and the lands. But you say, the treaty is on equal terms only in appearance, but, in reality, the Achæans possess a precarious state of freedom, while the Romans enjoy supreme power. I am sensible of it, Appius; and if I ought not, I do not remonstrate; but, I beseech you, let the difference between the Romans and Achæans be as great as it may, not to place people, who are foes to both, on an equal footing with us, your allies, or even on a better. For, as to setting them on an equality, that we ourselves have done, when we gave them our own laws, when we made them members of the Achæan council. Vanquished,—they are not content with what satisfies their conquerors; foes,—they demand more than allies enjoy. What we have ratified by our oaths, what we have consecrated as inviolable to eternal remembrance, by records engraved in stone, they want to abolish, and to load us with perjury. Romans, for you we have high respect; and, if such is your wish, dread also; but we more respect and dread the the immortal gods." He was heard with general approbation, and all declared that he had spoken as became the dignity of his office; so that it was easily seen, that the Romans could not support their ascendancy by acting gently. Appius then said, that "he earnestly recommended it to the Achæans to conciliate friendship, while it was in their power to act voluntarily; lest they might presently do so unwillingly and by compulsion." These words were heard by all with grief, but inspired them with fear of refusing compliance. They only requested the Romans "to make such alterations respecting the Lacedæmonians as they should judge proper, and not involve the Achæans in the guilt of annulling what they had sanctioned with their oaths." Nothing more was done, only the sentence lately passed on Areus and Alcibiades was reversed.

In the beginning of this year, when the business of assigning the provinces to the consuls and prætors was taken under consideration at Rome, Liguria was decreed to the consuls, because there was no war any where else. As to the prætors, Caius Decimius Flavus obtained, by lot, the city jurisdiction; Publius Cornelius Cethegus, that between citizens and foreigners; Caius Sempronius Blæsus, Sicily; Quintus Nævius Matho, Sardinia; he had also the charge of making inquisition concerning poisons; Aulus Terentius Varro, Hither Spain; and Publius Sempronius Longus, Farther Spain. From the two latter provinces deputies arrived about this time,—Lucius Juvencius Thalna and Titus Quintilius Varus; who, having informed the senate how formidable the war was that was finished by them in Spain, requested that, in consideration of such happy success, a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods, and permission granted to the prætors to bring home the armies. The senate decreed a thanksgiving for two days, and ordered that the question respecting the armies should lie over, and be proposed when they would be deliberating concerning the armies for the consuls and prætors. A few days after this, they voted to the consuls, for Liguria, two legions each, which Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius had commanded. With regard to the armies in Spain, there was a warm contention between the new prætors and the friends of the absent ones, Calpurnius and Quintius. On each side were plebeian tribunes, and, on each, a consul. The former threatened, if the senate voted for bringing home the armies, to protest against their decree; the latter, that, if such a protest were made, they would not suffer any other business to proceed. At last, the interest of the absent prætors was overpowered, and a decree of the senate passed, that “the prætors should enlist four thousand Roman foot, and four hundred horse; with five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, of the Latin confederates; whom they should carry with them into Spain. That, when they should have divided these between the legions, they should discharge whatever number should then be in each legion, above five thousand foot and three hundred horse, dismissing those first who had served out their number of campaigns, afterwards the others according to their bravery displayed under Calpurnius and Quintius.”

### 39

After this dispute was ended, another immediately arose, in consequence of the death of a prætor, Caius Decimius. There stood candidates for his place, Cneius Sicinius and Lucius Pupius, who had been ædiles the year before; Caius Valerius, the flamen of Jupiter, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who, though he did not appear in the white gown, because he was curule ædile elect, yet pressed his suit with more warmth than any of them. The contest lay between him and the priest of Jupiter. Fulvius at the beginning seemed to have an equal chance with the flamen, and afterwards surpassed him; on which, some of the plebeian tribunes insisted that no account should be taken of him, because one person could neither hold nor administer two offices, especially curule ones, at the same time; while others of them thought it proper that he ought to be exempted from the laws, in order that the people might have the power of electing prætor the person whom they wished. The consul, Lucius Porcius, was, from the beginning, inclined to refuse admitting him a candidate; and afterwards, wishing to have the countenance of the senate in so doing, he called the members together, and told them that “he desired their judgment in the case where a curule ædile elect, without any colour of law, and setting a precedent insufferable in a free state, stood candidate for the prætorship; for his part, unless they determined otherwise, he intended to hold the election according to law.” The senate voted, that the consul, Lucius Porcius, should

recommend to Quintus Fulvius, not to obstruct the elections for substituting a prætor in the room of Caius Decimius from proceeding according to law. When the consul, in pursuance of this decree, applied to him on the subject, he answered, that "he would do nothing unworthy of himself," by which indeterminate answer he left room for people to interpret his intention agreeably to their wish, and that he meant to submit to the direction of the senate. But, in the assembly, he urged his pretensions with more eagerness than ever: alleging as a charge, that the kindness of the Roman people was being wrested from him, and an odium excited against him on account of his suing for a second post of honour; as if it were not manifest that, when elected prætor, he must instantly abdicate the ædileship. The consul, seeing the candidate's obstinacy increase, and the public favour incline to him more and more, dissolved the assembly, and summoned a meeting of the senate; where, in a full house, they passed a vote, that "inasmuch as the directions of the senate had produced no effect on Flaccus, the affair concerning him should be laid before the people." A general assembly being summoned, when the consul made a full representation of the matter, Fulvius, not even then swerving from his determination, returned thanks to the Roman people "for the great zeal which they had shown in their desire to make him prætor, as often as opportunity had been given them of declaring their sentiments;" and assured them that "it was his resolution not to disappoint such instances of the attachment of his countrymen." This determined declaration increased the ardour of people for his cause to such a degree, that he would undoubtedly have been chosen prætor, if the consul had admitted him to stand. The tribunes maintained a violent altercation, both with their colleagues and with the consul, until, at length, the senate passed a decree, that "whereas the obstinacy of Quintus Flaccus, and the ill-judged party zeal of many among the people, had prevented the assembly for filling the place of a prætor, from being held according to law. The senate therefore gave their judgment, that the present number of prætors was sufficient, that Publius Cornelius should hold both jurisdictions in the city, and celebrate the games of Apollo."

#### 40

No sooner was this election stopped by the prudence and firmness of the senate, than another ensued, in which the contest was still greater; since it was concerning a more important subject, and between competitors more numerous and more powerful. The censorship was the object of contention of the following candidates, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Publius Scipio, Lucius Scipio, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Lucius Furius Purpureo, patricians; Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, plebeians. But Marcus Porcius far surpassed all of them, both plebeians and patricians of the highest ranks. So great powers of mind and energy of intellect were in this man, that no matter how lowly the position in which he was born, he appeared capable of attaining to the highest rank. No one qualification for the management of business, either public or private, was wanting to him. He was equally skilled in affairs relating to town and country. Some have been advanced to the highest honours by their knowledge of the law, others by their eloquence, some by military renown; but this man's genius was so versatile, and so well adapted to all things, that in whatever way engaged, it might be said, that nature formed him for that alone. In war, he was most courageous, distinguishing himself highly in many remarkable battles; and, when he arrived at the highest posts, was likewise a most consummate commander. Then, in peace, if consulted on a point of law, he was the wisest counsellor; if a cause was to be pleaded, the most eloquent advocate. Nor was he

one of those whose oratory was striking only during their own lives, without leaving after them any monument of it. On the contrary, his eloquence still lives, and will long live, consecrated to memory by writings of every kind. His orations are many, spoken for himself, for others, and against others; for he harassed his enemies, not only by supporting prosecutions against them, but by maintaining causes in opposition to them. Enmities in abundance gave him plenty of employment, and he never permitted them to lie dormant; nor was it easy to tell whether the nobility laboured harder to keep him down, or he to oppress the nobility. His temper, no doubt, was austere, his language bitter and unboundedly free, but his mind was never conquered by his passions, his integrity was inflexible, and he looked with contempt on popularity and riches. In spare diet, in enduring toil and danger, his body and mind were like iron; so that even old age, which brings all things to dissolution, did not break his vigour. In his eighty-sixth year he stood a trial, pleaded his own cause, and published his speech; and in his ninetieth year, he brought Servius Galba to trial, before the people.

#### 41

On this occasion, when he was a candidate for censorship, as in all his previous career, the nobility endeavoured to crush him. All the candidates, likewise, except Lucius Flaccus, who had been his colleague in the consulship, combined to disappoint him of the office, not merely with a view to their own success, in preference to him, or because they felt indignant at the idea of seeing a man of no family censor, but because from one who had received offence from most of them, and who wished to retaliate, they anticipated a severe censorship, that would endanger the reputations of many. For, even while soliciting, he uttered frequent menaces, and upbraided them with using their interest against him, because they dreaded an impartial and courageous execution of the duty of censor; at the same time, giving his interest to Lucius Valerius. He said, that "he was the only colleague, in conjunction with whom he could correct modern profligacy, and re-establish the ancient morals." People were so inflamed by such discourses, that, in spite of the opposition made by the nobility, they not only made Marcus Porcius censor, but gave him for his colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus. Immediately after the election of censors, the consuls and prætors went abroad to their provinces, except Quintus Nævius, who was detained from going to Sardinia, for no less than four months, by inquisitions concerning poisonings, a great part of which he held out of the city, in the corporate towns and villages; for that method was judged the more eligible. If we are to credit Valerius Antias, he condemned about two thousand men, Lucius Postumius, the prætor, to whose lot the province of Tarentum had fallen, punished numerous conspiracies of the peasants, and, with great care, finished the remainder of the inquiries concerning the Bacchanalians. Many of these, who had not appeared on being summoned, or had deserted their bail, were then lurking in that part of Italy; some of them he sentenced to punishment, and others he sent under a guard to the senate at Rome, where they were all committed to prison by Publius Cornelius.

#### 42

In Farther Spain, the Lusitanians being weakened by the late war, matters remained quiet. In Hither Spain, Aulus Terentius took the town of Corbia, in Suessetania, by engines and regular works, and sold the prisoners, after which the troops had rest in their winter quarters in that province also. The former prætors, Caius Calpurnius Piso and Lucius Quintus, came home to Rome; a triumph was voted to both by the senate with great unanimity. Caius Calpurnius triumphed first, over the Lusitanians and

Celtiberians. He carried in procession eighty-three golden crowns, and twelve thousand pounds' weight of silver. In a few days after, Lucius Quintus Crispinus triumphed over the same Lusitanians and Celtiberians, bearing in his triumph the same quantity of gold and silver. The censors, Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius, while anxious curiosity was blended with fear, made their survey of the senate; they expelled seven from the senate, one of them a man of consular rank, highly distinguished by nobility of birth and honourable employments,—Lucius Quintus Flaminius. It is mentioned, as a practice instituted in the memory of our forefathers, that the censors should annex marks of censure to the names of such as they degraded from the senate. There are severe speeches of Cato, against those whom he either expelled the senate, or degraded from the equestrian rank, but by far the most so is that against Lucius Quintus. Had he spoken, in the character of prosecutor, previous to the censure, and not in that of censor after it, not even his brother Titus, if he were his colleague, could have suffered Quintus to remain in the senate. Among other charges, he objected to him, that he had, by hopes of extraordinary presents, prevailed on Philip, a Carthaginian and a catamite, to accompany him into his province of Gaul; that this youth, in order to enhance the merit of his complaisance to the consul, used frequently, in wanton squabbling, to upbraid him for having quitted Rome just before the show of gladiators. It happened, that while they were at a feast and heated with wine, a message was brought into the place of entertainment, that a Boian, of high rank, had come as a deserter with his children, and wished to see the consul, that he might, in person, receive his assurance of protection. He was accordingly introduced into the tent, and began to address him through an interpreter: but while he was speaking, Quintus said to his catamite, "Since you left the show of gladiators, have you a mind to see this Gaul dying?" When he had assented, but scarcely in earnest, the consul, drawing a sword that hung over his head, first struck the Gaul as he was speaking, and then, when he was running out, and imploring the protection of the Roman people, and of those present, ran him through the side.

#### 43

Valerius Antias, as he was one who never read Cato's speech, and only gave credit to a tale published without authority, tells the story in another manner, but similar to this in lust and cruelty. He writes, that, at Placentia, the consul invited to an entertainment a woman of ill fame, with whom he was desperately enamoured. There, displaying his importance to this courtesan, he told her, among other matters, with what severity he had conducted the inquisitions, and how many he had then in prison under sentence of death, whom he intended to behead. Then she, being next him on the couch, said, that having never seen an executioner perform his office, she was very desirous of seeing such a thing; on which, the indulgent lover ordered one of those wretches to be dragged to the spot, and there cut off his head. The deed of death, whether committed as the censor or as Valerius reports it, was barbarous and inhuman; that in the midst of feasting and cups, when it is customary to offer libations to the gods, and to pray for happiness, a human victim should be butchered, and the table stained with his blood, and this for the entertainment of an acknowledged wanton. In the latter part of Cato's speech, he proposes to Quintus, that if he denied this fact, and the others of which he accused him, he should give security to abide a legal trial; but if he confessed them, could he suppose, he asked him, that any one would be sorry for his disgrace; the disgrace of him who, in the midst of a feast, being intoxicated with wine and lust, had sported with the blood of a human being.

#### 44

In the review of the knights, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus was degraded. In fixing the rates of taxation, also, the censor's conduct was harsh and severe to all ranks of men. People were ordered to give account upon oath, of women's dress, and ornaments, and carriages exceeding in value fifteen thousand asses;<sup>295</sup> and it was further ordered, that slaves, younger than twenty years, which, since the last survey, had been sold for ten thousand asses.<sup>296</sup> or more, should be estimated at ten times their value; and that, on all these articles, a tax should be laid of three denariuses<sup>297</sup> for each thousand asses.<sup>298</sup> The censors took away water which belonged to the public running or carried into any private building or field; and they demolished within thirty days all buildings or sheds, in possession of private persons, that projected into public ground. They then engaged contractors for executing national works, with the money decreed for that purpose,—for paving cisterns with stone, for cleansing the sewers where it was requisite, and forming new ones on the Aventine, and in other quarters where hitherto there had been none. Then, dividing their tasks, Flaccus built a mole at Nepthunia, on the coast, and made a road through the Formian mountains. Cato purchased for the use of the people two halls, the Mænian and Titian, in the Lautumia, and four shops, and built there a court of justice, which was called the Porcian. They farmed out the several branches of the revenue at the highest prices, and bargained with the contractors for the performance of the public services on the lowest terms. When the senate, overcome by the prayers and lamentations of the publicans, ordered those bargains to be revoked, and new agreements to be made; the censors, by an edict, excluded from competition the persons who had eluded the former contracts, and farmed out all the same branches at prices very little reduced. This was a remarkable censorship, and the origin of many deadly feuds: it rendered Marcus Porcius, to whom all the harshness was attributed, uneasy during the remainder of his life. This year, two colonies were established, Potentia in Picenum, and Pisaurum in the Gallic territory. Six acres were given to each settler. The same commissioners had the ordering of both colonies, and the division of the lands, Quintus Fabius Labeo, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior. The consuls of that year performed nothing memorable at home or abroad.

#### 45

They elected to serve as consuls for the ensuing year, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo. These, on the ides of March, the first day of their assuming the administration, proposed to the senate to determine their provinces, and those of the prætors. The prætors appointed were, Caius Valerius, flamen of Jupiter, who had been candidate the year before, Spurius Posthumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Sisenna, Lucius Pupius, Lucius Julius, and Cneius Sicinius. Liguria was ordered to be the province of the consuls, and the armies were assigned to them, which Publius Claudius and Marcus Porcius had commanded. The two Spains, without being put to the lot, were reserved for the prætors who held them the year before, and also their own armies. The prætors were ordered to regulate their casting lots, in such a manner, that the flamen of Jupiter should have one or other of the judicial employments at Rome. The foreign jurisdiction fell to his lot, that between citizens to Cornelius Sisenna. Sicily was assigned to Spurius Posthumius, Apulia to Lucius Pupius, Gaul to Lucius Julius, Sardinia to Cneius Sicinius. Lucius Julius was ordered to hasten to his province, because some transalpine

<sup>295</sup> 48l. 8s. 9d.

<sup>296</sup> 32l. 5s. 10d.

<sup>297</sup> 1s. 11-1/4d.

<sup>298</sup> 3l. 4s. 9d.

Gauls, as was mentioned before, having made their way through the forests into Italy, by an unknown road, were building a town in the country which now forms the district of Aquileia. Orders were given to the prætor to prevent their doing so, as far as might lie in his power without appealing to arms; and, if it should be necessary to stop them by force, to give information to the consuls, one of whom was, in that case, directed to march his legions against those Gauls. Towards the close of the preceding year, an assembly had been held for the purpose of electing an augur, in the room of Cneius Cornelius deceased, when Spurius Posthumius Albinus was chosen.

#### 46

In the beginning of this year, Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, died, in whose room was appointed Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, and Caius Servilius Geminus was raised to the place of chief pontiff. On occasion of the funeral of Publius Licinius a largess of flesh was distributed to the people, and one hundred and twenty pair of gladiators fought. The funeral games lasted three days; and, after the games, a public feast was given. During the feast, and while the couches were spread over the forum, a storm came on with violent gusts of wind, and compelled most of the people to pitch tents in that place. The same, on the weather clearing up, in a short time after, were removed. It was rumoured about, that they had fulfilled a prophecy which soothsayers had pronounced, among the decrees of the fates, that, inevitably, tents would be pitched in the forum. As soon as they were relieved from those religious fears, they were struck with new ones, by showers of blood falling for two days, in the area of Vulcan's temple, and a supplication was ordered by the decemvirs for the sake of expiating the prodigy. Before the consuls set out for their provinces, they introduced the embassies from the countries beyond the sea to an audience of the senate; and at no time was there in Rome such a number of people from those regions. For, as soon as a report spread through the nations which border on Macedon, that accusations and complaints against Philip were listened to by the Romans with some degree of attention, and that it had been of advantage to many to complain;—all these states and nations, and even individuals, on their own accounts, (for he was a troublesome neighbour to every one,) flocked to Rome, with hopes of obtaining either redress of their injuries, or, at least, the consolation of expressing their griefs. An embassy came also from king Eumenes, with his brother Athenæus, to complain of the garrisons not being withdrawn by Philip out of Thrace; and, likewise, of his sending succours into Bithynia, to Prusias, who was at war with Eumenes.

#### 47

Demetrius, who was then very young, had to answer all these representations; and it was no easy matter to retain in memory, either all the charges which were brought against his father, or what was proper to be said in reply. For the charges were not only numerous, but most of them exceedingly frivolous; of disputes about boundaries, of men forced away and cattle driven off; of justice, either capriciously administered or refused; of property adjudged either by force or influence. When the senate perceived that Demetrius could not explain any of those matters distinctly, and that they could not gain satisfactory information from him, and when, at the same time, the youth, through inexperience and bashfulness, was much embarrassed, they ordered that he should be asked whether he had received from his father any written instructions on those points; and on his answering that he had, it appeared to them better and more proper to receive the answers of the king himself, on each particular head; so they immediately

called for the scroll, but afterwards gave him leave to read it to them in person. Here were his apologies on each subject, compressed into a narrow compass; informing them that, in some cases, he had acted in conformity to the determinations of the ambassadors; in others, that the fault of not conforming to them, lay not in him, but actually in the persons themselves who accused him. He had interspersed, also, complaints concerning the injustice of the decrees, and the partiality with which the discussion was carried on in presence of Cæcilius, and of the insults that were offered him, in a most unworthy and unmerited manner by all. The senate inferred from these marks that his mind was irritated; nevertheless, on the young man apologizing for some things, and undertaking that others should be performed in the manner most agreeable to the senate, they ordered the answer to be given him, that “in no instance had his father acted with more propriety, or given more pleasure to the senate, than in his choosing, whatever the nature of those transactions might be, to send his excuses for them to the Romans, by his son Demetrius. That the senate could leave unnoticed, forget, and put up with, many past matters, and believe also that they might place confidence in Demetrius; for though they restored his person to his father, they still had his mind as a hostage, and were convinced that, as far as he could, without infringing on his duty to his father, he was a friend to the Roman people. That, to do him honour, they would send ambassadors into Macedon, in order that, if any thing which ought to have been done was left undone, it might then be effected, but still without requiring an atonement for former omissions. That they wished Philip also to be sensible, that it was owing to the kind offices of his son Demetrius, that the treaty between him and the Roman people remained inviolate.”

#### 48

These declarations, which were made with the intention of adding to the dignity of his character, proved to the young man the cause of immediate envy, and of not far distant ruin. The Lacedæmonians were next introduced, when many insignificant disputes were agitated. Those which might be deemed important were—whether the persons whom the Achæans had condemned, should be reinstated or not; whether they slew with justice or the reverse those whom they put to death; the question was debated also whether the Lacedæmonians should continue in the Achæans’ council, or, as had formerly been the case, that single state in Peloponnesus should have separate independence. It was determined that the condemned should be reinstated, and the sentences passed reversed; that Lacedæmon should continue in the Achæan council, and that this decree should be committed to writing, and signed by the Lacedæmonians and Achæans. Quintus Marcius was sent ambassador into Macedon, with orders, likewise, to take a view of the affairs of the allies in Peloponnesus; for there also disturbances still subsisted, in consequence of the old quarrels, and Messene had revolted from the Achæan confederacy. But if I were to trace out the cause and progress of this war, I should deviate from the resolution by which I determined not to treat of foreign events, further than they are connected with the affairs of Rome.

#### 49

One event deserves to be mentioned: that, notwithstanding the Achæans had a superiority in the war, Philopœmen, their prætor, was taken prisoner on his march to secure Corone, which the enemy meant to attack, being, with a small party of horse, surprised in a dangerous defile. It is said that he might have effected his own escape, by the aid of some Thracians and Cretans who were with him, but the shame of deserting

his horsemen, the most distinguished youths in the nation, selected by himself a short time before, detained him there. Whilst he is procuring for these an opportunity of getting clear of the narrow defile, by closing the rear in person, and sustaining the assaults of the enemy, his horse fell. By the shock of his fall, and the weight of the horse, which fell upon him, he was very nearly killed on the spot; for he was now seventy years old, and his strength had been greatly impaired by a tedious illness, from which he was but just recovered. Lying thus on the ground, the enemy pouring on, secured him. Out of respect to his character, however, and from regard to his merit, they raised him up, when they recognised him, with as much care as if he had been their own commander, and revived him, and carried him out of that remote valley into the road, and they scarcely believed their own senses, on account of the unexpected joy; however, some of them sent on messages to Messene, that the war was at an end, for they were bringing Philopœmen prisoner. At first it seemed so incredible, that the messenger was deemed either a liar or a madman. Afterwards, when numbers came, one after another, all asserting the same, credence was at length given to the matter; and, before they well knew whether he was come near the city, all, freemen and slaves, with even women and children, poured out to enjoy the sight; insomuch that the multitude quite closed up the gate, whilst each person seemed unlikely to consider the thing as certain unless he should obtain certain belief by his own eye-sight. Those who conducted Philopœmen, with difficulty removing those in their way, were able to enter the gate, but the dense crowd completely blocked up the street; and, as the greatest part of these were excluded from the sight, they suddenly filled a theatre which was contiguous to the street, and all with one voice insisted that he should be brought thither for the public view. The magistrates and leading men, fearing that compassion for so great a man, on seeing him, would cause some disturbance; as many would be moved by respect for his former dignity, when they compared it with his present condition, and many by the recollection of his transcendent merits, placed him where he could be seen at a distance. And quickly after hurried him away out of the sight of the people, who were told by the prætor, Dinocrates, that there were some subjects intimately connected with the decision of the war, on which the magistrates wished to interrogate him. Having carried him thence to the senate-house, and called the council together, they began a consultation on the measures to be pursued.

## 50

The evening came on while they were still at a loss, not only about other matters, but even about the place where he might be kept with proper security during the following night. They were quite confounded at the greatness of his former fortune and merit; and they neither dared to undertake the guarding of him at their houses, nor thought it safe to trust the custody of him to any individual. At last some persons reminded them of a public treasury under ground, enclosed with hewn stone; into this place he was put down, in chains, and a huge stone, with which it is generally covered, was placed over it, with the help of a machine. After having thus determined to trust to the place, rather than to any man, for his safe keeping, they waited with impatience for the dawn. On the following day, the whole populace, mindful of his former services to the state, declared their opinion, that they ought to spare him, and to seek through his means some remedies for their present misfortunes. But the authors of the revolt, in whose hands was the management of affairs, consulting in secret, unanimously resolved to put him to death; but whether they should do it speedily, or defer it, was for some time a matter of doubt. The party that were more eager for his immediate execution, at length prevailed,

and a person was sent to him with poison. They relate, that on receiving the cup, he only asked if Lycortas, the other commander of the Achæans, and the horsemen had escaped; and being told that they were safe, he said, "It is well," and then intrepidly drinking the contents of the cup, expired shortly after. The actors of this piece of cruelty, however, did not long rejoice at his death; for Messene being conquered in war, delivered up the guilty individuals to the Achæans, when they positively demanded them. The bones of Philopœmen were restored, and his funeral was attended by the whole Achæan council, every human honour being heaped on him to such a degree, that they did not withhold divine ones. So much is conceded to this man by historians, both Greek and Latin, that several of them have recorded, as a circumstance remarkably distinguishing this year, that three illustrious commanders died in it, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Publius Scipio. To such an extent have they placed him on an equal footing with the most consummate generals of the two most powerful nations.

## 51

Titus Quintius Flamininus came ambassador to king Prusias, who had incurred the jealousy of the Romans, by entertaining Hannibal after the flight of Antiochus, and by making war on Eumenes. At the court of Prusias, either because, among other discourse, he reproached him with his giving protection to a person, who, of all men living, was the most inveterate enemy to the Roman nation, who had incited, first his own country, and afterwards, when its power was reduced, king Antiochus, to make war on Rome; or because Prusias himself, with the design of gratifying Flamininus and the Roman people, conceived the design of killing Hannibal, or delivering him into their hands; immediately after the first conference with Flamininus, a party of soldiers was sent to guard Hannibal's house. The Carthaginian had always foreseen some such end of his life; for he knew the implacable hatred which the Romans bore him, and placed little confidence in the faith of kings. Besides, he had experienced the fickle temper of Prusias, and had, for some time, dreaded the arrival of Flamininus, as an event fatal to him. Encircled by enemies on every side, in order to have always some path open for flight, he had made seven passages from his house, of which some were concealed, lest they might be invested by a guard. But the imperious government of kings suffers nothing to remain secret which they choose to discover. They surrounded the circuit of the entire house with guards in such a manner, that no one could escape from it. Hannibal, on being told that some of the king's soldiers were in the porch, endeavoured to escape through a back door, which was the most private, and from which the passage was most secret; but, perceiving that to be guarded by a body of soldiers, and every avenue round to be blocked up by the guards that were posted, he called for poison, which he had long kept in readiness to meet such an event, and said, "Let us release the Romans from their long anxiety, since they think it too long to wait for the death of an old man. Flamininus will gain no very great or memorable victory over one unarmed and betrayed. What an alteration has taken place in the behaviour of the Roman people, this day affords abundant proof. Their fathers gave warning to Pyrrhus, their armed foe, then heading an army against them in Italy, to beware of poison. The present generation have sent an ambassador, of consular rank, to persuade Prusias villanously to murder his guest." Then imprecating curses on the head of Prusias, and on his kingdom, and calling on the gods who presided over hospitality, and were witnesses of his breach of faith, he drank off the contents of the cup. This was the end of the life of Hannibal.

## 52

Both Polybius and Rutilius say, that Scipio died in this year; but I do not agree either with them, or Valerius. Not with them, because I find that in the censorship of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius, the censor himself, Lucius Valerius, was chosen prince of the senate, although Africanus had occupied that place for the three preceding lustrums; and, if he were alive, unless he had been displaced from the senate, which disgrace no one has recorded, another prince would not have been chosen in his room. The authority of Antias is refuted by the plebeian tribunate of Marcus Nævius, against whom there is extant a speech signed by Publius Africanus. Now, this Marcus Nævius, in the register of the magistrates, appears to have been plebeian tribune in the consulate of Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius; but he entered on the tribuneship in the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, on the fourth day before the ides of December, from which time to the ides of March, when Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius became consuls, there are three months. Thus it appears that he was living in the tribunate of Marcus Nævius, and might have been prosecuted by him; but that he died before the censorship of Lucius Valerius and Marcus Porcius. The deaths of the three most illustrious men of their respective nations have a similarity, not only in respect to the concurrence of the times, but in this circumstance also, that no one of them met a death suitable to the splendour of his life. In the first place, neither of them died or was buried in his native soil. Hannibal and Philopœmen were taken off by poison; Hannibal breathed his last in exile, betrayed by his host; Philopœmen in captivity, in a prison, and in chains. Scipio, though neither banished nor condemned, yet under prosecution, and summoned as an absent criminal to a trial, at which he did not appear, passed sentence of voluntary exile, not only on himself while alive, but likewise on his body after death.

### 53

During these transactions in Peloponnesus, from which my narration digressed, the return of Demetrius with the ambassadors into Macedonia, affected people's minds in various manners. The generality of the Macedonians, whom the apprehension of an impending war with the Romans had struck with terror, looked with the highest esteem on Demetrius, as the promoter of peace; and, at the same time, with confident hope, destined for him the throne, after the demise of his father. They argued, that "although he was younger than Perseus, yet he was born of a wife, and the other of a concubine; that the latter, born of a mother who prostituted her person, had no likeness to any particular father, whereas the former had a striking resemblance of Philip. Besides it was probable that the Romans would place him on the throne of his father, as Perseus had no pretensions to their favour." Such was the conversation of people, in general. Fear tortured Perseus, lest his age alone might not sufficiently secure his interest, his brother having the advantage of him in every other particular; while Philip himself, believing that it would scarcely rest with his decision which of them he should leave heir to his dominions, began to think that his younger son encroached on him more than he could wish. He was sometimes displeased at the numerous attendance of the Macedonians round Demetrius, and chagrined at perceiving that there was a second court during his own life-time. The young prince no doubt came home much elevated in his own estimation, elated with the honours paid him by the senate, and their having conceded to him, what they had refused to his father; insomuch that every mention of the Romans, whatever degree of respect it procured him from the rest of the Macedonians, created an equal degree of envy, not only in the breast of his brother, but also in that of his father; especially after the Roman ambassadors arrived, and the king

was obliged to evacuate Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons, and to perform the other articles, either according to the decisions of the former ambassadors or the late regulations made by the senate. But all this he did with great reluctance, and even with anguish of mind, the more on this account, because he saw his son more frequently in company with them than with himself; nevertheless, to avoid giving any pretence for an immediate commencement of hostilities, he acted submissively towards the Romans. Thinking it necessary to turn away their thoughts from a suspicion of any such designs, he led an army into the heart of Thrace, against the Odrysians, Dantheletians, and Bessians. He took the city of Philoppopolis, after it was deserted by the inhabitants, who fled with their families to the tops of the nearest mountains; and, by wasting the country, reduced the barbarians living in the plains to submission. Then leaving a garrison in Philoppopolis, which, was soon after expelled by the Odrysians, he began to build a town in Deuriopus. This is a district of Pæonia, near the river Erigonus, which, flowing from Illyricum through Pæonia, falls into the river Axius. Not far from the old city of Stobæ he built his new one, which he ordered to be called Perseis, that this honour might be conferred on his eldest son.

#### 54

While these things passed in Macedonia, the consuls went to their provinces. Marcellus sent forward an express to Lucius Porcius, the proconsul, to lead up the legions to the new town of the Gauls; they surrendered themselves to the consul on his arrival. There were of these twelve thousand fighting men, most of whom had arms, which they had forced from the inhabitants: all which, to their great mortification, were taken from them, as was every thing else which they had either acquired by plundering in the country, or had brought along with them. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of those proceedings, who being introduced to an audience of the senate, by the prætor Caius Valerius, represented that “in consequence of a redundancy of people in Gaul they had been compelled by the want of land, and indeed of every thing, to cross the Alps in quest of a settlement: that they had settled in those lands which they found waste and uncultivated without doing injury to any. They had likewise begun to build a town, which was a proof that they did not come to ravage either city or lands. That some time ago, Marcus Claudius sent them a message, that unless they surrendered to him he would march against them, and that preferring a certain, though not very honourable peace, to the uncertainties of war, they had thrown themselves on the protection of Rome before they submitted to its power. That in a short time after, being ordered to quit the country, they had intended to remove without murmuring to whatever part of the world they were able; and that, notwithstanding, their arms, and finally all the property which they had brought with them, or driven before them, were taken from them. They therefore besought the senate and people of Rome not to treat harmless people, who had surrendered themselves, with greater severity than they would enemies.” To this discourse the senate ordered the following answer to be given: That “neither had they acted properly in coming into Italy, and attempting to build a town in the territory of others, without permission from any Roman magistrate commanding in that province; nor did the senate approve of people who had surrendered being stripped of their property. They would therefore send to the consuls ambassadors, who would order all their effects to be restored, provided they returned to the place whence they came; and who would also proceed to the other side of the Alps, and give warning to the Gallic states to keep their people at home. That the Alps, an almost impassable barrier, lay between the two countries, and whoever should pass in future, should meet

no better fate than those who first proved them to be passable." The ambassadors sent were Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius, Publius Manlius Acidinus. The Gauls, on the restoration of such property as they were in possession of, without wronging any man, withdrew out of Italy.

## 55

The transalpine states answered the Roman ambassadors in terms of kindness. Their elders even found fault with the excessive lenity of the Roman people, in "suffering men to depart with impunity, who, without an order of their nation, left their home, attempted to seize on lands belonging to the Roman empire, and to build a town in a territory which belonged to others. They ought," they said, "to have paid a heavy penalty for their inconsiderate conduct; and as to the restoration of their effects, they expressed a fear, lest, in consequence of this too great forbearance, others might be encouraged to attempts of a like nature." They not only entertained the ambassadors, but conferred considerable presents on them. The consul, Marcus Claudius, when he had sent the Gauls out of his province, began to prepare for a war with the Istrians, and wrote to the senate for permission to lead the legions into their country. That measure pleased the senate. They formed an intention of establishing a colony at Aquileia; nor were they able to decide whether it should consist of Latins or Roman citizens; at last however they passed a vote in favour of a Latin settlement. The commissioners appointed for the purpose were, Publius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. In the same year, colonies of Roman citizens were led out to Mutina and Parma. Two thousand men were settled in each colony, on lands which lately belonged to the Boians, and formerly to the Tuscans; they received at Parma eight acres, at Mutina five each. These colonists were conducted by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Titus Æbutius Carus, and Lucius Quintus Crispinus. The colony of Saturnia, also consisting of Roman citizens, was settled on the lands of Caletra, by Quintus Fabius Labeo, Caius Afranius Stellio, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. Ten acres were assigned to each man.

## 56

In the same year Aulus Terentius Varro, the proprætor, fought some successful battles with the Celtiberians, not far from the river Iberus, in the territory of Auseta, reducing several towns, which they had fortified in that quarter. The Farther Spain was quiet during the whole year, because Publius Sempronius, the proprætor, was seized with a lingering disorder, and the Lusitanians, when no one attacked them, very opportunely kept quiet. In Liguria nothing extraordinary was performed by Quintus Fabius, the consul. Marcus Marcellus being recalled out of Istria to attend the elections, disbanded his army, and came home to Rome. He elected Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus and Lucius Æmilius Paulus consuls. This latter had been curule ædile, along with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, from the time of whose consulate this was the fifth year; and this very Lepidus had been made consul after two repulses. Then Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Marcus Valerius Lævinus, Publius Manlius a second time, Marcus Ogulnius Gallus, Lucius Cæcilius Denter, and Caius Terentius Istra, were elected prætors. Towards the close of the year, a supplication was performed on occasion of prodigies, for people were persuaded that it had rained blood for two days in the court of the temple of Concord; and an account was received, that near the coast of Sicily a new island, which had never been there before, rose out of the sea. Valerius, of Antium, asserts that Hannibal died in this year, and that besides Titus Quintus Flaminius, whose name was celebrated in

this business, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, and Publius Scipio Nasica, were sent ambassadors to Prusias on that occasion.

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## Book XL

*When Philip had ordered the children of those whom he had put to death, to be sought after as hostages, Theoxena, fearing the king's passion for her own children and those of her sister, who were still quite young, brought forward swords and a cup in which there was poison, and persuaded them to escape, by putting an end to their existence, the mockery that awaited them; after administering which advice, she in company with her husband plunged headlong from the ship into the sea. The quarrels between Perseus and Demetrius, the sons of Philip, king of Macedon, are related; and how that Demetrius was first assailed by accusations invented through his brother's guile, and among the rest, an impeachment for parricide and aspiring to the throne, and at last, since he was the friend of the Roman people, cut off by poison; and the kingdom of Macedon, on the death of Philip, fell to Perseus. It contains likewise the exploits successfully achieved by very many commanders in Liguria, and against the Celtiberians in Spain. Under the Janiculum, in the field of L. Petillius, the secretary, the books of Numa Pompilius were found by the labourers of the field, enclosed in a stone chest, written in both Latin and Greek characters; in which, when the prætor, to whom they had been brought, had read very many things calculated to overthrow the present system of religion, he swore to the senate that their being read and preserved would be detrimental to the state. And by a decree of the senate they were burned in the Comitium. The colony of Aquilia was planted. Philip, worn out by the pangs of conscience, because, influenced by the false information of his other son Perseus, he had by poison removed from life's scene his son Demetrius, both resolved on the punishment of Perseus and desired to leave his friend Antigonus, rather than him, as his successor. But, whilst forming this project, he was hurried off by death. Perseus received the kingdom.*

### 1

At the commencement of the next year, the consuls and prætors determined the provinces by lot. For the consuls there was no province to be decreed, except Liguria. The city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Ogulnius Gallus; that among foreigners, to Marcus Valerius; of the Spains, the Hither, to Marcus Fulvius Flaccus; the Farther, to Publius Manlius; Sicily, to Lucius Ctecilius Denter; and Sardinia, to Caius Terentius Istra. The consuls were ordered to hold levies, for Quintus Fabius had written from Liguria, that the Apuani seemed inclined to a renewal of hostilities, and that it was to be feared that they would make an irruption into the district of Pisæ. From the Spains, also, they received intelligence that the Hither province was in arms; that the war still continued with the Celtiberians: that, in the Farther province, because the prætor had been for a long time indisposed, military discipline was relaxed by intemperance and inactivity. For these reasons it was decreed that new armies should be raised; four legions for Liguria, that each might contain five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, and to these same were added, fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse of the Latin allies. These were to complete the two consular armies. They were ordered, also, to enrol seven thousand foot and four hundred horse, of the allies and Latins, and to send them into Gaul to Marcus Marcellus, whose command was prolonged on the expiration of his consulship. There were ordered to be levied, of Roman citizens, four thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, and of the allies, seven thousand infantry with three hundred cavalry, which should be also led into both Spains. And to Quintus

Fabius Labeo, with the army which he had in Liguria, was the command prolonged for a year.

## 2

The spring of this year was remarkable for storms. On the day before the feast of Pales, a tremendous hurricane arose about mid-day, and made havoc in many places, both sacred and common. It threw down the brazen statues in the Capitol; tore away a gate from the temple of Luna, which is on the Aventine, and fastened it to the back parts of the temple of Ceres; overturned other statues in the Circus Maximus, together with the pillars on which they stood; tore off several cupolas from the roofs of temples, and scattered them in an unseemly manner. This storm was converted into a prodigy, and the aruspices ordered it to be attended to. At the same time expiation was made, because it had been reported that a three-footed mule was born at Reate, and that the temple of Apollo, at Formiæ and at Caieta, was struck with lightning. On account of these prodigies, a sacrifice of twenty larger victims was offered, and there was a supplication of one day's continuance. About the same time information was obtained from a letter of Aulus Terentius, the proprætor, that Publius Sempronius, after being sick for more than a year, had died in the Farther province: on this account the prætors were ordered to set out sooner for Spain. The foreign embassies were then brought before the senate; and first, those of the kings Eumenes and Pharnaces, and of the Rhodians, complaining of the sufferings of the inhabitants of Sinope. There came also, about the same time, the ambassadors of Philip, the Achæans, and Lacedæmonians. Answers were given to these, after Marcius, who had been sent to inspect the affairs of Greece and Macedonia, had first received an audience. To the Asiatic kings and the Rhodians, they answered, that the senate would send ambassadors to examine into those matters.

## 3

Marcius had increased their anxiety respecting Philip; for, he acknowledged that the latter had acquiesced with the will of the senate in such a manner, as to render it very evident, that he would conform to it no longer than necessity obliged him; nor was it difficult to see, that he intended to renew hostilities, and that every thing which he then said and did had a tendency that way. Now, in the first place, he removed almost the whole body of the citizens, with their families, from the maritime cities, into Emathia, which is its modern name, it was formerly called Pæonia; he gave up those cities to be inhabited by Thracians, and other barbarians, thinking that this kind of people would prove more faithful to him in case of a war with Rome. This proceeding caused great discontent over all Macedonia; and of those who, with their wives and children, left their dwellings, few concealed their grief in silence; and, their hatred overcoming their fear, imprecations against the king were heard, as they proceeded along in groups. His mind, rendered savage by these things, entertained suspicions of all men, places, and seasons; at last he began to confess openly, that he had nothing sufficiently safe without seizing and confining the sons of those whom he had destroyed, and sending them out of the world at different times.

## 4

This cruelty, horrible in itself, the calamities of one particular family rendered still more so. Philip had, many years before, put to death Herodicus, a Thessalian of distinction; and afterwards his sons-in-law. His daughters were left widows, having each a little son. The names of the women were Theoxena and Archo. Theoxena, though courted by many, rejected every offer of marriage. Archo married a certain Poris, by far the first of

the Ænean nation; and, after bearing him many children, died, leaving them all quite young. Theoxena then, in order that her sister's children might be educated under her own inspection, married Poris, and as if she herself had borne them all, treated her own and her sister's sons with the same affectionate care. When she heard of the king's order for seizing the children of the persons who had been put to death, supposing that they were destined to afford sport not only to the king's lust, but to that of his guards, she formed in her mind a horrid project, and had the hardiness to declare, that she would kill them all with her own hand, rather than they should come into the power of Philip. Poris, abhorring the mention of such a dreadful deed, told her that he would carry them away to Athens, to some faithful friends, and would himself accompany them in their flight. They all went from Thessalonica to Ænea, to a stated sacrifice, which they offer yearly, with great solemnity, in honour of Æneas, the founder of the nation. Having spent the day there, in the anniversary feast, about the third watch, when all were asleep, they embarked in a vessel ready prepared by Poris, as if intending to return to Thessalonica; but their design was to cross over to Eubœa. However, daylight surprised them at a small distance from the land, struggling in vain against a contrary wind, and the king's officers, who commanded the garrison of the port, despatched an armed bark to bring back their ship, with a strict injunction not to return without it. When they were now drawing nigh, Poris was intently occupied in animating the rowers and sailors, and, at times, raising his hands towards heaven, supplicated the gods to assist him. Meanwhile, the woman, with desperate fury recurring to the shocking design which she had long premeditated, dissolves some poison, and produces swords; then, placing the cup in their view, and unsheathing the swords, she says, "Death is our only refuge. These paths lead thither, by whichever of them each one's inclination leads them to adopt, let them escape the tyranny of the king. Come then, dear youths, let those of you who are the elder, first take the sword; or, if a slower death is your choice, drain the cup." At the same time the enemy was fast approaching, and she, who urged them to despatch themselves, was urgent; the young men, having put an end to their lives some by the one and some by the other fatal expedient, were thrown expiring into the sea. Then, embracing her husband and companion in death, she plunged into the deep. The king's officers then took possession of the ship, deserted by its owners.

## 5

The barbarity connected with this deed added fresh fuel to the flame of public resentment kindled against the king, insomuch that most people uttered imprecations on himself and his children; which curses being in a short time heard by all the gods, caused him to vent his cruelty on his own blood relations. For Perseus, when he perceived that the popularity and high reputation of his brother Demetrius among the Macedonian people, and interest among the Romans, increased more and more every day, and that no hope was left him of obtaining the crown save by the instrumentality of some wicked device, bent all his thoughts to that one object. But not thinking himself alone strong enough even for the dastardly project, which he meditated in his effeminate mind, he began to tamper with each of his father's friends by dark suggestions. At first, several of these showed an appearance of rejecting with scorn any such overtures, because they entertained higher expectations from Demetrius. Afterwards Philip's animosity to the Romans increased every day, which Perseus fomented; but Demetrius, with all his might, opposed. Foreseeing the fatal doom of the youth, who heeded not a brother's guile, and thinking that they must lend their assistance to the accomplishment of what was likely to take place, and cherish the hopes

of the more powerful, they united themselves to Perseus. They defer the execution of other measures till their proper season; for the present, it seems good that the king should by every strenuous exertion be inflamed against the Romans, and urged to form resolutions for war, to which he had already of his own accord turned his attention. At the same time, in order that Demetrius might be a greater object of suspicion every day, they used deliberately to prolong the conversations even to the use of insulting language towards the Romans; thereupon, when some depreciating their manners and institutions, some their military achievements, some the appearance of the city itself, unadorned either by public or private structures; others spoke scornfully of some particular individuals among their principal men. On these occasions, the young prince unwary, both out of affection for the Roman nation, and opposition to his brother, by maintaining their cause in all things, rendered himself an object of suspicion to his father, and a fit subject for their accusations. His father therefore kept him a stranger to all his designs respecting the Romans; he was entirely devoted to Perseus, and held with him, daily and nightly, deliberations on that subject. The envoys had returned whom he happened to have sent to the Bastarnians, to solicit aid, and brought with them from thence young men of distinction, and some of royal extraction; one of whom promised his sister in marriage to Philip's son, and the connexion with that nation raised the king's spirits. Hereupon Perseus said, "What does that avail? There is by no means as much protection afforded by foreign aid, as there is danger arising from domestic treachery. I am unwilling to call him traitor, but a spy we certainly have in our bosom, and although the Romans have restored to us his body, since he was a hostage at Rome, yet they still possess his heart. The faces of almost all the Macedonians are turned towards him, and they think they are to have no other king but him whom the Romans would give them." By such discourses the old man's mind, distempered in itself, was stimulated to passion, and these imputations he received deeper in his mind, than appeared from his countenance.

## 6

It happened to be the time of the purification of the army; which ceremony is thus performed:—The head and fore part of a dog cut through the middle is laid at the right side of the way, and the hinder part with the entrails at the left. Between the parts of the victim, thus divided, the forces are led under arms. In the front of the van, are carried the remarkable suits of armour of all the kings of Macedon, from the remotest origin; next follows the king himself, with his children; then the royal cohort and body guards, and the remaining body of the Macedonians close the rear. The two young sons of the king attend by his side; Perseus being now in his thirtieth year, Demetrius five years younger; the former in the full strength of manhood, the latter in its bloom; the mature offspring of a fortunate parent, if his mind had been influenced by reason. The custom was, that when the purificatory sacrifice was finished, the army should perform their evolutions, and the two lines divided on both sides should engage in a mock fight. The young princes were appointed commanders in this mock engagement; but it was not the mere representation of a battle, for they engaged as if they were fighting for the throne: many wounds were given with stakes, nor was any thing but the steel wanting to give it the form of a regular battle. The party which was under the command of Demetrius, was far superior. While Perseus was vexed thereat, his considerate friends rejoiced; and said, that that very circumstance would afford grounds for impeaching the youth.

## 7

Each of the princes gave an entertainment that day to his comrades, who had exercised under his command. Perseus being invited to supper by Demetrius, refused; kind hospitality and youthful merriment led both to excess in wine. Thereupon mention was made of the mock engagement, and numerous remarks were thrown out against the antagonists in such a manner as not to spare even the leaders themselves. To learn these expressions, a spy was sent from among the guests of Perseus; but not conducting himself with sufficient caution, he was detected by some young men who happened to come out of the banqueting-room, and severely beaten. Demetrius, knowing nothing of this matter, said, "Why do we not go to my brother, join with him in merriment, and by our frankness and gaiety assuage his resentment, if any, arising from the engagement, as yet remains?" All with one accord cried out that they would attend him, except those who were afraid of the immediate revenge of the spy that had been beaten by them. When Demetrius pressed these also, they concealed swords under their clothes, with which they might defend themselves if any violence should be offered. In the case of domestic discord, nothing that is concealed can remain so. Both houses were full of spies and traitors. An informer ran on before to Perseus, and told him, that four young men, armed with swords, were coming with Demetrius. Though the reason was evident, (for he had heard that his guest had been beaten by them,) yet, for the purpose of blackening the matter, he ordered his gate to be locked, and from the upper part of the house and the windows facing the street, he drives away the revellers, as if they were come to murder him, from the entrance to the gate. Demetrius flushed with wine, having for a little exclaimed loudly at his being shut out, returns home to his own feast entirely ignorant of the meaning of the whole proceeding.

## 8

Next day, Perseus, as soon as an opportunity of seeing his father was afforded him, entered the palace, and with looks expressive of disquietude stood silent in the presence of his sire but at some distance. Of whom when his father inquired "if all was well, and what was the cause of that sadness?" he answers, "Know that it is by the sufferance of another that your son survives. We are now attacked by my brother with no secret treachery; he came by night to my house, with armed men to take away my life, and it was by shut doors, and the protection afforded by the walls, that I was saved from his fury." When he had inspired into his father a horror mixed with wonder, he adds, "If you can listen to me, I shall cause you to understand the affair as an evident truth." But Philip replied that he would hear him, and ordered Demetrius to be instantly summoned. He then sent for two friends of advanced age, Lysimachus and Onomastus, (who never interfered in the juvenile disputes of the brothers, and were of late rare visitors in the palace,) that he might have their assistance in counsel. While his friends are coming he walked about by himself, secretly revolving many things in his mind; his son still standing at a distance. On being told that they had arrived, he retired with his two friends, and the same number of his life-guards, into an inner apartment; he permitted each of his sons to bring in three persons unarmed. Here, having taken his seat, he says, "I, the most unhappy of fathers, sit here as judge between my two sons, the accuser and the accused of the crime of fratricide; about to find, in my nearest of relations, the foul stain either of falsehood or a commission of crime. For a long time, indeed, I have apprehended an impending storm, after I perceived your mutual looks, which showed no sign of brotherly affection, and after I had overheard some expressions. But I sometimes cherished the hope that your passions would subside, and that your suspicions could be removed; that even enemies lay down their arms and

form a treaty, and that the private disputes of many have been ended; and I trusted that the remembrance of your fraternal relationship would at some time or other occur to you, and of the simplicity and intimacy that subsisted between you in your boyish days; and finally, of my instructions, which, I fear, I have fruitlessly poured into deaf ears. How often have I, in your hearing, mentioned, with abhorrence, examples of the disagreements of brothers, and recounted the dreadful consequences of them, by which themselves, their offspring, their houses, and their kingdoms, have been utterly ruined. I have represented, on the other hand, more laudable examples; also the social intercourse between the two kings of the Lacedæmonians, beneficial to themselves and to their country for many ages; and that this same state, after the custom of each one arbitrarily seizing on absolute power prevailed, was quite overturned. Then, that these brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, raised their dominions (from so small circumstances, that they were almost ashamed of the title of king), to an equality with mine, or with those of Antiochus, or indeed of any monarch of this age, and by nothing else than by brotherly concord. Nor did I decline showing you examples even from among the Romans that I had either seen or heard; as of Titus and Lucius Quintius, who carried on the war against me; the two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who vanquished Antiochus; and their father and uncle, the lasting harmony of whose life even death could not dissolve. But neither could the wickedness of the former, attended by an issue suitable to their crimes, deter you from your foolish quarrels; nor could the sound judgment and good fortune of the latter bend you to wisdom. While I am alive and in health, you have both in your hopes and wicked desires laid hold on my inheritance. You wish me to live just so long as that, surviving one, I should, by my death, make the other king without a competitor. You cannot endure to have either brother or father. You have no sense of affection, no religion, your insatiable passion for regal sway alone has supplied the place of all other feelings. Come, then, pollute your father's ears, contend with mutual accusations, as you soon will with the sword; speak openly either whatever truth you can, or are pleased to invent. My ears are now opened, which henceforward will be shut against all secret charges of one against the other." When with furious passion he had uttered these words, tears gushed from the whole assembly and a sorrowful silence long prevailed.

## 9

At length Perseus spoke to this effect: "I ought then, it seems, to have opened my gate in the night, and admitted those armed revellers, and held out my throat to their swords; since nothing less than the perpetration of the deed can gain belief, and since I, who have been assailed by secret treachery am accosted in the same language as a robber and an assassin might expect. It is not without reason, that those people say that you have but one son, Demetrius; and that I am supposititious, and born of a concubine; for if I held in your breast the rank of a son, or the affection due to one, you would wreak your anger not on me, who complain of discovered treachery, but on him who was the author of it; nor would my life be so worthless in your eyes, that you should neither be moved by the danger which I have already undergone, nor by that to which I must be exposed in future, if punishment be not inflicted on the assassins. If, therefore, it be our doom to die secretly let us be silent, only offering prayers to the gods that the wickedness commenced with me may terminate in me, and that you be not aimed at through my side. But if, as nature itself suggests to those encompassed with perils in a desert place, to implore assistance even from men whom they had never seen, so I, on seeing a sword drawn against me, may be allowed to raise my voice. I beseech you then,

by your own person, by the name of father, (and you long know which of us reveres that title most,) that you may hear me in the same manner as you would if, roused by cries and lamentations by night, you had come up, when I was crying for help, and in the dead of night had found Demetrius, with armed men, in the porch of my house. What I should, at that time, and in that case, have exclaimed with terror, I now, next day, lay before you in form of a complaint. Brother, it is long since you and I lived together on the terms of mutual hospitality; you certainly wish to be king; this my expectation, my age, opposes, the law of nations opposes, the ancient practice of Macedon opposes, and moreover the judgment of my father opposes. These you can surmount by no other means than by shedding my blood. You are making every scheme and every attempt. Hitherto, either my care or fortune has prevented the fratricide you intended to commit. Yesterday, on occasion of the purification, the military exercise and mock representation of a fight, you almost rendered it a bloody battle; nor was I saved from death by any other means than by suffering myself and my party to be overcome. Pretending brotherly sport, you wanted to drag me from a hostile fight to your house to supper. Father, do you think that I, to whom they came in arms, that they might drink with me, would have supped there with unarmed guests. Do you think that I would have been in no danger from their swords by night, when they almost killed me with stakes, of which you were a spectator. Why, Demetrius, did you come at that time of night; why an enemy come to a person provoked; why with young men in arms? I did not venture to trust myself with you as a guest, and shall I admit you as a reveller, coming with armed men? Father, if the gate had been open, you would be preparing my funeral at this moment, in which you are hearing my complaint. I do not, as an accuser, urge any thing for the purpose of accusation; nor by collecting doubtful circumstances, in a train of artful arguments. For what can he say? Does he deny that he came to my gate with a large party, or that there were armed men with him? Send for the persons, whom I will name; they who dared to do this, might dare to do any thing; nevertheless, they will not dare to deny it. If I brought before you any who had been caught within my doors in arms, you would consider this an evident proof; consider those who confess in the same light as if actually caught in the fact.

## 10

“Curse now thirst for dominion. Call up the furies, the avengers of the wrongs of brothers; but, father, let not your curses be indiscriminating. Separate and distinguish the assassin, and him by treachery assailed, and charge the guilty head. Let him, who intended to kill a brother, feel the wrath of the gods, of his father; and let him, who was to have perished by a brother’s wickedness, find refuge in his father’s compassion and justice. For where else shall I seek refuge, who cannot find safety in the solemn purification of your army, in the exercise of the troops, in my own house, in a feast, nor in the night, which nature’s bounty granted to mankind for a season of repose. If I go to my brother, according to his invitation, I must die. If I admit my brother to a party of pleasure within my own gates, I must die. Neither by going, nor by staying, do I escape secret treachery. Whither then shall I betake me? Father, I have courted nothing save the gods and thee. I have not the Romans, to whom I may fly. They seek my destruction, because I grieve at the injuries which they have done you; because I resent your being deprived of so many cities, so many nations, and, lately, of the coast of Thrace. They have no hope that Macedonia will ever be their property, while either you or I am safe. If a brother’s wickedness shall have carried off me, and old age thee, or if even this should not be waited for, they know that both the king and kingdom of Macedonia will become

theirs. If the Romans had left you any thing beyond the limits of Macedon, I would suppose that even that had been left me as a shelter. But I have protection enough in the Macedonians. You were an eye-witness yesterday of the attack made on me by the soldiers. What did they want, but the steel? And what they wanted, in the day, my brother's guests took to themselves in the night. Why need I mention the greater part of the nobles, who have placed all their hopes of honour and fortune in the Romans, and in him who is all-powerful with the Romans? Nor, in truth, do they prefer him merely to me, his elder brother, but, they want little of preferring him to yourself, his king and father. For, he is the person out of regard to whom the senate remitted to you the intended punishment, who now screens you from the Roman arms; who thinks it fit that your advanced age should be under obligation to, and dependent on, his youth. Him the Romans, him the cities freed from thy jurisdiction, and him the Macedonians, rejoicing at the peace with Rome, defend; but for me, father, what hope or protection have I any where except in thee?

## 11

“What do you suppose to be the intention of the letter lately sent to you by Titus Quintius, in which he not only says, that you acted wisely for your own interest in sending Demetrius to Rome, but also advises you to send him back again, with a greater number of ambassadors, and nobles of Macedonia? Titus Quintius is now his counsellor, and master, in every thing. Having renounced you his father, he has substituted him in your place. There in preference to all other places their secret plans are concocted. When he desires you to send greater numbers, and the chief men of Macedon they are seeking assistants in their schemes. For those who go from this place unchanged and uncorrupted, and impressed with the idea that they had Philip as their king, return from thence tainted—infected by Roman blandishments. Demetrius alone is every thing to them. They give him the title of king already, even in his father's life-time. If I express my indignation at these things, you must forthwith understand that the crime of thirsting for dominion has been laid to my charge; not only by others, father, but even by you. But this charge, if made against both, I do not admit; for whom do I remove from his place, that I may succeed in his room? My father alone is before me; and that he may long be so, I entreat the gods. I his survivor, (and may I be so only on these terms, if, by my desert, he shall wish me to be so,) shall receive the inheritance of his kingdom, provided my father shall bequeath it to me. He covets rule, and covets it with criminal passion, since he hastily overleaps the order of age, of nature, of the Macedonian custom, and of the laws of nations. An elder brother stands in his way, to whom by right, and by the wish of his father, the kingdom belongs. Let him be carried off: I shall not be the first that acquired a kingdom by spilling a brother's blood. My father, being old, and forlorn from being bereaved of his son, will rather fear for himself, than revenge his son's death. The Romans will rejoice, they will approve, they will defend the deed. Father, these prospects are uncertain, but they are not groundless. For the matter stands thus: you can repel from me the fatal danger, by inflicting punishment on those who have taken up arms to kill me; if success attend the daring deed, you the very same shall not be able to avenge my death.”

## 12

When Perseus concluded his speech, the eyes of all present were turned to Demetrius, as if he were going to reply immediately. Then, when it was evident to all that, bathed in tears, he was unable to speak, silence for a long time reigned: at length necessity itself,

inasmuch as they called on him to speak, overcame his grief, and he began thus: "Father, all the aids which heretofore have been the privilege of the accused, my accuser has preoccupied. By his tears, counterfeited for the purpose of working another's ruin, he has caused my unfeigned tears to be suspected by you. Although, ever since I returned from Rome, he, by holding secret consultations with his confederates, labours night and day to insnare me, yet nevertheless he represents me in the character, not only of a conspirator, but of an open assassin and murderer. He terrifies you with his danger, in order to hasten, through your means, the ruin of an innocent brother. He asserts, that he has a place of refuge no where in the world, that I may have no remaining hope even in thee. Circumvented, destitute, and helpless as I am, he loads me with odium arising from foreign favour, which proves detrimental rather than advantageous. Then how, accuser-like, has he blended that which was the crime of this night with other invectives against my conduct, that he might, by representing the tenor of the rest of my life, throw a colour of guilt both on the late transaction, the true nature of which you shall soon understand; and that he might support the other groundless insinuations respecting my views, wishes, and designs, by this latter, fictitious, fabricated story. He had, at the same time, this design, that his accusation might appear to be sudden and by no means premeditated, as if occasioned by sudden fright and disturbance of this night. But, Perseus, if I were a traitor against my father and his government; if I had formed plans with the Romans, or with other enemies of my father, the tale of last night ought not to have been waited for; I ought to have been long ago brought to answer for my treason. And if the former charge apart from the latter were unfounded, and tended to discover your hatred towards me, rather than my guilt, it ought on the present day also to be either omitted or postponed to some future period; in order that it might clearly appear, whether I plotted against you; or you, with indeed a strange and singular kind of hatred, against me. However, I will, as well as I am able in my present unforeseen perturbation of mind, distinguish those matters which you have confounded; and I will unveil the plot of the preceding evening, whether mine or yours. Perseus wishes it to be believed, that I had formed a design to take his life, with the view, forsooth, that having removed the elder brother, on whom by the law of nations, by the custom of Macedonia, and likewise by your judgment, as he says, the kingdom was to devolve, I, the younger, should succeed in the room of him whom I had slain. What, then, can be the meaning of that other part of his speech, where he says that the Romans were courted by me, and from my reliance on them that I conceived hopes of the crown? For, if I believed that the Romans possessed such influence, that they could appoint whomsoever they pleased king of Macedon, and if I had such confidence in my interest with them, what need was there of fratricide? Could it be my wish to wear a diadem stained with a brother's blood, or to become execrable and odious in the eyes of those very people, with whom whatever interest I may happen to have, has been procured by zeal, or at least affected integrity of conduct? unless you believe that Titus Quintius, by whose power and advice you allege I am at present governed, though he lives in such cordial affection with his own brother, would recommend to me to murder mine? He has united for me, not only the favour of the Romans, but the opinions of the Macedonians, and the concurring sentiments almost of all the gods and men, by reason of all which he cannot believe that he would prove equal to me in the competition. Yet the same man accuses me of having (though I was inferior to him in every mode of proceeding) had recourse to an act of wickedness as my last resource. Do you wish that the formula of the judicial inquiry should be to this effect, that whichever feared lest the other should seem more worthy of the throne, shall be deemed guilty of designing his brother's destruction?

## 13

“But let us examine the process of this accusation, in whatever manner it has been fabricated. He has arraigned me of attempting his life, by several methods; and all these modes of attack he has crowded into the space of one day. I intended to kill him by day when we engaged after the purification, and, if it seems good to the gods, even on the day of purification. I intended, when I invited him to supper, to take him off by poison of course. I intended, when some armed persons followed me to join his party in their conviviality, to kill him with the sword. You see what sort of opportunities were chosen for this murder; those of sport, feasting, and revelling. What? on what sort of a day! On the day in which the army was purified; in which, after the royal armour of all the former kings of Macedon was carried in procession between the divided victim, when we two only rode along with you, father, at your sides, and the body of the Macedonian troops followed. Now, even supposing that I had formerly been guilty of some crime requiring expiation, could I, after being purified and expiated in this sacred solemnity, at the very time especially when I was looking at the victim laid on each side of our road, revolved in my mind fratricide, poisons and swords prepared against the feast? With what other sacred rites could I afterwards atone for the guilt of a mind, contaminated with every kind of villany? But whilst his understanding, blinded by a desire for accusing, wishes to render every thing an object of suspicion, it confounds one thing with another. For if I intended to take you off by poison at supper, what could be more incongruous with my design, than to provoke you to rage by an obstinate contest and engagement, that you might have reason to refuse, as you did, my invitation to supper? But when, in your anger, you had refused, whether ought I to have taken pains to pacify you, that I might find another opportunity, since I had got the poison ready, or to pass over, as it were, from that design to another, namely, that of killing you with the sword, and on that same day, under pretence of feasting with you? If I thought that you declined supping with me, through fear for your life, how could I suppose that you would not, through the same fear, have declined drinking with me also.

## 14

“Father, I have no cause to blush, that on a festival day, among companions of my own age, I should have indulged too freely in wine; and I wish you would also inquire with what cheerfulness and mirth yesterday’s entertainment, at my house, was rendered festive, that joy also (perhaps a blamable one) increasing it, our party not having been worsted in the fight. This my present misfortune, and my fears, have effectual dissipated the fumes of the liquor; but, if these had not intervened, we, the conspirators, would have been now lying fast asleep. If, Perseus, I designed to storm your house, and after the house had been taken to kill the owner, ought I not to have refrained from wine for that one day, and to have kept my soldiers sober? And that I should not be the only one to defend my cause with excessive candour, my brother himself also, not in the least inclined to malice or suspicion, says, I know nothing more, I charge them with nothing more, than that they came in arms to drink with me. If I should ask, From what source have you become acquainted with that very circumstance? you must necessarily acknowledge, either that my house was full of your spies; or that my companions took arms so openly, as that every one could see them. Lest he should seem either on a prior occasion to have made any investigation, or now to adduce arguments for the purpose of convicting, he desired you to inquire of the persons whom he would name, whether they had swords, in order that, as it were, in a doubtful case, when you had investigated into that which they themselves confessed, they might be deemed convicted. Why do

you not rather desire inquiry to be made after this, whether they carried swords for the purpose of killing you; whether by my direction and knowledge? this you wish to be believed, and not that which they confess, and what is, indeed, notorious, they say they carried them for the purpose of defending themselves. Whether they acted right or wrong, let them account for their own conduct. My cause, which is no way affected by this act, do not blend with it. Explain whether we intended to attack you openly, or secretly. If openly, why had we not all swords? why had no one a sword except those who had beaten your spy? If privately, what was the arrangement of our plan? Were four to remain, in order to fall on you in your sleep, when the banquet broke up, and I your guest had departed? How would they have escaped detection, as being strangers, and belonging to me; and, above all, being liable to suspicion, because they had been in a quarrel a little before? But how were they to have escaped after having killed you? Could your house have been taken and stormed by two swords?

## 15

“Why not rather, having dropped that fable of last night, recur to what really grieves you, what kindles your envy? Say,—Why, Demetrius, is mention made any where of your mounting the throne? Why do you appear, to some, a more worthy successor to your father’s dignity than I? Why do you disturb with doubt and anxiety my hopes, which would be certain if you were not in being? These are the thoughts of Perseus, though he does not express them; these make that man my enemy, these create my accuser; these fill your house, these your kingdom, with accusations and suspicions. But, father, as I ought not now either to hope for the crown, or perhaps ever to contend for it, because I am the younger brother, and because you wish that I should yield to the elder; so neither ought I at any former time, or at the present, to act in such a manner as to appear undeserving of you my father, and of all. For I should attain that by my own vices, not by yielding to him on whose side is law both human and divine, not by moderation. You upbraid me with the Romans; and what ought to be deemed an honour, you convert into a crime. I did not request, that I should either be delivered a hostage to the Romans, or sent as an ambassador to Rome. Being commissioned by you, I did not refuse to go. On both occasions, I conducted myself in such a manner, as to be no disgrace to you, to your kingdom, or to the Macedonian nation. You, therefore, father, have been the cause of my friendship with the Romans. As long as peace shall subsist between you and them, so long will I also continue in friendship with them; but, if war should arise, I, the same who have been there a hostage, and no unprofitable ambassador in my father’s behalf, will be their most determined enemy. Nor do I, this day, require that the favour of the Romans should be any advantage to me; I only entreat that it be not detrimental. It neither commenced in war, nor is it reserved for war. I have been a pledge of peace; and, to procure a continuance of peace, I was sent ambassador. Let neither be esteemed an honour or a crime. Father, if I have been guilty of any undutiful behaviour towards you, or any criminal behaviour towards my brother, I beg to be freed from no punishment. If I be innocent, let me not, I beseech you, be destroyed by envy when I cannot by crime. My brother’s accusation, this day, is not the first that he has brought against me; but it is the first made openly, and owing to no offence given him by me. If my father were angry with me, it would become you, the elder brother, to intercede for the younger, you to obtain pardon for his youth, and you for his error; but in the very person from whom I ought to receive protection, in him I meet my ruin. From a feast and revelry I have been hurried, almost half asleep, to plead my cause on a charge of fratricide. Without advocates, without patrons, I am compelled

to plead my own cause. If I were to speak for another, I would have taken time to study and compose a speech; though, what else would I endanger than that of my reputation for abilities. But, before I knew why I had been summoned, I heard you, in a paroxysm of passion, ordering me to account for my conduct, and my brother accusing me. He employed against me a speech long before prepared and studied; I had only the time in which the accusations were recited, for hearing what were the impeachments. During that short space whether should I listen to my accuser, or study a defence? Thunder-struck by the sudden and unthought-of calamity, I was scarcely capable of understanding what was alleged against me, much less of being sufficiently aware what defence I should make. What hope indeed could I have, if I had not my father as judge, with whom, though I am outstripped by an elder brother in affection, yet surely, when accused, I ought not to be outstripped in his compassion. For my prayer is, that you would save me, for my sake, and for your own; he demands, that, for his security, you should put me to death. What do you think will he do, when you shall have delivered the kingdom into his hands, who even now thinks it reasonable that he should be gratified with my blood?" While he was uttering these words, tears interrupted his breath and voice at the same time. Philip, having sent them away, and conferred a short time with his friends, declared, that "he could not from a single hour's discussion give a formulary judgment on the cause between them, but by a scrutiny into the conduct and manners of both, and a close observation of their words and actions, on occasions great and small." That it appeared clearly to all, that the charge relating to the preceding night was effectually refuted; but that Demetrius' favour with the Romans had been an object of suspicion, as being too great. These, as it were, the seeds of the Macedonian war which was to be waged with Perseus, in particular, were sown, when Philip was still alive.

## 16

Both the consuls set out into Liguria, which at that time was the only consular province. A supplication for one day was decreed because prosperity had attended their affairs in that quarter. About two thousand Ligurians came to the extreme borders of the Gallic province, where Marcellus lay encamped, requesting him to receive their submission. Marcellus, having ordered the Ligurians to wait in the same place, consulted the senate through the medium of a letter. The senate ordered Marcus Ogulnius, prætor, to write back to Marcellus, that "it would have been more proper for the consuls, whose province it was, than for them, to decide what might tend to the interest of the republic; that in this case too it was their pleasure, if he should receive the surrender of the Ligurians, that their arms should not be taken from them admitted to a surrender, and that the senate thought proper that the Ligurians should be sent to the consul. The prætors arrived at the same time in Spain; Publius Manlius in the Farther province, which he had governed in his former prætorship, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus in the Hither one, and he received the command of the army from Terentius; for the Farther province, by the death of the proprætor, Publius Sempronius, had been without a governor. The Celtiberians attacked Fulvius Flaccus while besieging a town of the Spaniards, called Urbicua. Many severe actions were fought there, and many of the Roman soldiers killed and wounded. They were vanquished by Fulvius' perseverance, because he could by no force be diverted from the siege; the Celtiberians, wearied out with so many battles, retired. The city, having lost their assistance, was within a few days taken and sacked; the prætor bestowed the booty on the soldiers. Fulvius having taken this town, and Publius Manlius having only gathered together his army, which had been scattered, without having achieved any other memorable action, led their armies

into winter quarters. These were the transactions of that summer in Spain. Terentius, who had come home from that province, entered the city in ovation. He carried in the procession nine thousand three hundred and twenty pounds' weight of silver, eighty pounds' weight of gold, and two golden crowns of the weight of sixty-seven pounds.

## 17

In the same year the Romans were arbitrators on the spot in a dispute, subsisting between the people of Carthage and king Masinissa, about a tract of ground. This ground Gala, father of Masinissa, had taken from the Carthaginians. Syphax had expelled Gala, and afterwards, from respect to Hasdrubal, his father-in-law, had made a present of it to the Carthaginians. In this year, Masinissa had expelled the Carthaginians. This matter was debated before the Romans with no less mental ardour than they had contended for it with the sword, even in the field of battle. The Carthaginians claimed the ground first, as having been the property of their ancestors; and next, because it had come to them from Syphax. Masinissa urged, that "he had retaken possession of it as part of his father's kingdom, and held it under the law of nations; and that he had the advantage, both in the merits of his cause and in the present possession. That, in this discussion, he had no other fear, than lest the moderation of the Romans might operate to his loss, whilst they dreaded the appearance of any partiality to a king who was their friend and ally, in prejudice to the common enemy of him and them." The deputies did not alter the right of possession, but referred the cause entire to the senate at Rome. There was nothing done afterwards in Liguria. The inhabitants, at first, retired into pathless forests; and afterwards, disbanding their army, separated in every direction among the villages and forts. The consuls, too, wished to disband their forces, and consulted the senators on this matter. They ordered that one of them should discharge his troops, and come to Rome to elect magistrates for the year; and that the other, with his legions, should pass the winter at Pisæ. A report prevailed, that the transalpine Gauls were arming their young men, and it was not known on what quarter of Italy that multitude would pour itself. The consuls settled the matter between them,—that Cneius Bæbius should go home to the elections, because his brother, Marcus Bæbius, was a candidate for the consulship.

## 18

The assembly for the election of consuls was held, and Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus were chosen. The prætors were afterwards elected, Quintus Fabius Maximus, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Tiberius Claudius Nero, Quintus Petillius Spurius, Marcus Pinarius Posca, and Lucius Duronius. When the magistrates entered into office, the provinces fell to these by lot in the following order: to the consuls, Liguria; to the prætors, Quintus Petillius, the city, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, the foreign jurisdiction; to Quintus Fabius Buteo, Gaul; to Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sicily; to Marcus Pinarius, Sardinia; and to Lucius Duronius, Apulia, to which was annexed Istria also, because information was received at Tarentum and Brundisium, that the lands bordering on the sea were infested by robberies committed by foreign piratical ships. The Massilians made the same complaint, with regard to the ships of the Ligurians. The armies were then voted, to the consuls four Roman legions (each consisting of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse); and fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse of the allies and Latins. In the Spains, the old prætors were continued in command, with the armies which they then had; and as an augmentation, there were voted for them, three thousand Roman citizens with two hundred horse, and

six thousand foot and three hundred horse of the Latin confederates. Nor was the business of the fleet neglected. The consuls were ordered to constitute duumvirs for conducting that department; by whom, twenty ships which they had launched were to be manned with Roman citizens who had been in servitude; with this proviso only, that free-born officers should command them. The duty of guarding the coast was so arranged between the duumvirs, each of whom had the command of ten ships, that the promontory of Minerva formed the point of division between them: one was to defend the part on the right, as far as Marseilles; the other, that on the left, extending to the town of Barium.

## 19

Many horrid prodigies were seen at Rome this year, and reported from abroad. It rained blood in the courts of the temples of Vulcan and Concord, and the priests reported that spears moved, and that the image of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium shed tears. There was a pestilence in the country, in the market towns and market-places: and so violent was it in the city, that Libitina could scarcely supply the requisites for burying the dead. These prodigies, and the mortality, alarmed the senate so much, that they ordered the consuls to sacrifice to such gods as they thought proper, victims of the larger kinds, and likewise the decemvirs to consult the books. Pursuant to their direction, a supplication for one day was proclaimed, to be performed at every shrine in Rome. On the authority of these same, both the senate voted, and the consuls announced, that there should be a supplication and holidays for three days throughout the whole of Italy. The pestilence raged with so great fury, that when, in consequence of the revolt of the Corsicans, and a war raised in Sardinia by the Iliensians, it seemed good, that, from among the Latin allies, eight thousand foot and three hundred horse should be raised, whom Marcus Pinarius the prætor should convey with him into Sardinia;—the consuls returned a representation, that so great a number of men had died, and so many were sick, in every place that the number of soldiers could not be made up. The prætor was ordered to take from Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, who was in winter quarters at Pisæ, as many soldiers as would make up the deficiency, and transport them from thence to Sardinia. To Lucius Duronius the prætor, to whose lot Apulia had fallen, was given in addition the charge of making inquiry concerning the Bacchanalians; for some remaining seeds of the evils, formerly excited by those people, had shown themselves there the year before. The inquiries were rather commenced under the prætor, Lucius Pupius, than brought to any issue; the senate therefore ordered the new prætor to cut up that evil by the roots, lest it might spread again more extensively. The consuls, also, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people certain laws concerning canvassing for elections.

## 20

They next introduced the embassies to audience. And first, those of the kings, Eumenes and Ariarathes the Cappadocian; and Pharnaces of Pontus. No further answer was given to these, than that the senate would send persons to examine, and decide their disputes. Ambassadors from the Lacedæmonian exiles, and from the Achæans, were next brought in. Hopes were given to the exiles, that the senate would write to the Achæans that they should be restored. The Achæans gave an account, to the satisfaction of the senate, of the recovery of Messene, and the settlement of affairs there. From Philip, king of Macedonia, came two ambassadors also,—Philocles and Appelles; not on any business with the senate, but rather to pry into and inquire concerning the correspondence with the Romans, of which Perseus had accused Demetrius, and, particularly, into that with

Titus Quintius, concerning the kingdom, to the prejudice of his brother. The king had employed these men, believing them unbiassed and inclined in favour of neither party; but they were accomplices and agents of Perseus, in his treacherous designs against his brother. Demetrius, ignorant of all except the villanous scheme of his brother which had lately broke out, at first neither utterly despaired, nor yet entertained much hope of being reconciled with his father; but afterwards he trusted less and less every day to Philip's affection, having observed that an audience with him was prevented by his brother. Wherefore, not to increase the suspicions lie laboured under, he used extreme circumspection in all his words and actions, and carefully avoided all mention of, and communication with, the Romans; to such a degree as to wish that they should not write, as he knew that his father's mind was principally exasperated by charges of this nature.

## 21

Philip, lest his troops should be enervated by inactivity, and at the same time, to avert all suspicion of his harbouring any design of a war with Rome, ordered his army to assemble at Stobi, in Pæonia; and thence he led it on into Mædica. He had been seized with an earnest desire of ascending to the summit of Mount Hæmus, for he gave credit to a vulgar opinion, that from thence could be seen at once the Pontic and Adriatic Seas, the river Danube, and the Alps; and he thought that the having a view of all those places, would be of no small consequence towards forming his plans of a war with Rome. On inquiry, from people acquainted with the country, respecting the ascent to Mount Hæmus, when it was ascertained from them all, that there was no way by which an army could go up it, but that there was access for a small party, lightly accoutred, that he might soothe with familiar discourse his younger son, whom he had determined not to take with him, he first asked his opinion, "whether, as the difficulty of the journey was represented to be so great, he ought to persist in his design, or not?" He added, that, if he should resolve to proceed, he could not forget the caution of Antigonus, respecting undertakings of that kind; who being tossed about by a violent storm, when he had all his family in the same ship with him, was said to have advised his sons to remember, and hand down to their children, this maxim: "never to have the hardihood to rush into danger themselves, and their whole family together." He would therefore attend to this warning, and not expose his two sons at once to the chance of those perils, which were represented to lie in his way; and as he meant to take his elder son with him, he would send back the younger into Macedon, as a reserve to his hopes, and as guardian of the kingdom." It did not escape Demetrius that he was sent out of the way, that lie might not be present at their deliberations, when, in view of those places, they should consult which were the shortest roads to the Adriatic Sea and to Italy, and what was the general plan to be pursued in the war. He was obliged however not only to obey his father on the occasion, but to express his approbation of the measure, lest a reluctant obedience might beget suspicion. In order that his journey into Macedonia might be safe, Didas, one of the king's general officers and governor of Pæonia, was ordered to escort him with a small party of men. Perseus took this man, as well as most of his father's friends, into the conspiracy to ruin his brother, from the time that it became plain to every one, from the tendency of the king's feelings, to which of the two the inheritance of the throne should come; and Perseus charged him on this occasion, to insinuate himself by every kind of obsequiousness into the most familiar communication with Demetrius, so as to draw from him all his secrets, and to pry into his hidden thoughts. The prince, therefore, set out with a guard more dangerous to him than if he had gone alone.

## 22

Philip marched first into Mædica, then crossing the deserts that lie between Mædica and Hæmus, at length, at his seventh encampment, he reached the foot of the mountain. There he halted one day, to make choice of those who were to accompany him, and on the next proceeded on his journey. At first, while they ascended the lower parts of the hills, the fatigue was moderate; but as they advanced upwards, they found the ground more thickly covered with woods, and many places impassable. They then came to a part of the way so shaded by the thickness of the trees, and the branches so interwoven with each other, that the sky could scarcely be seen; but when they drew near to the top, what is rarely seen in other places, the whole tract was covered with so thick a fog, that they were impeded no less than if they were journeying by night. At last, on the third day, they arrived at the summit. On coming down they did not discountenance the vulgar opinion, more, I suppose, lest the folly of the journey should be exposed to derision, than that it was there possible to see those seas, and mountains, and rivers, so widely distant from each other. They were all greatly fatigued by the difficulty of the way; and chiefly the king himself, in proportion as he was less fitted for exertion, owing to his advanced age. After sacrificing to Jupiter and the sun, on two altars which he consecrated on the spot, he descended in two days, though the ascent had cost him three: for he was particularly afraid of the night cold, which even at the rising of the dog-star was like the cold of winter. After struggling with numerous hardships during those days, he found his camp in a condition not more pleasing, for as it lay in a country enclosed on all sides by deserts, there was extreme want. He halted therefore but one day, to refresh those whom he had taken with him, and then hastened away into the country of the Dentheletians, with a rapid march close resembling flight. These were allies, but the Macedonians, on account of their own necessities, plundered their country, as if it belonged to an enemy; for they first pillaged the country houses, and afterwards ravaged several villages, overwhelming the king with shame, when he heard the cries of his allies, calling in vain on the gods who witnessed their league, and on himself by name. Having carried off corn from hence, he marched back into Mædica, and laid siege to a town called Petra. He pitched his camp in a plain, and sent his son Perseus with a small party to attack the city from the higher ground. The townsmen, when danger pressed them on all sides, gave hostages, and for the present surrendered themselves; but as soon as the army retired, regardless of the hostages, they deserted the city, and fled into fastnesses and mountains. Philip returned to Macedon, after having exhausted his troops by every kind of fatigue, without effecting any purpose, and with his suspicions of his son augmented through the treachery of the governor Didas.

## 23

This man being sent, as before mentioned, to escort Demetrius, had, by flattering discourses, and even expressing his own indignation at the treatment shown him, imposed on the open temper of the youth, who was too much off his guard, and justly incensed against his relations; and by a voluntary offer of his assistance in all his measures, and giving a solemn assurance of fidelity, he elicited his secrets. Demetrius was meditating flight to Rome; and the governor of Pæonia appeared to him to have been sent by the kindness of the gods to aid him in his design;—through whose province he supposed he might make his escape. This scheme was immediately betrayed to his brother, and, by his direction, discovered to his father. A letter was brought the king while he was besieging Petra; and in consequence of it, Herodotus, who was the most intimate friend of Demetrius, was taken into custody, and an order

was given that Demetrius himself should be guarded, without his perceiving it. These occurrences, added to what had passed before, made the king's arrival in Macedon a sad one. The present charges had an effect on him; yet he resolved to wait the return of those whom he had sent to Rome, to procure intelligence of every particular. After he had passed several months under this uneasiness and anxiety, the ambassadors, who had preconcerted before they left Macedon, what information they should bring home from Rome, at last arrived; who, in addition to other grounds of accusation, produced to the king a forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit seal of Titus Quintius. In this letter was a kind of interceding apology, that if the young prince, misled by the ambition of reigning, had offered some propositions to him on the subject, yet he was sure that "Demetrius would never attempt any thing against his relations; and that he himself was not such an individual as to appear capable of giving an undutiful advice." This letter confirmed the charges made by Perseus: Herodotus was, therefore, immediately put to the rack, which he endured a long time, and died under the torture, without giving information of any sort.

## 24

Perseus now brought before his father a second formal accusation against Demetrius. His preparations for flight through Pæonia were alleged against him, and his having bribed certain persons to accompany him on the journey; but the forged letter of Titus Quintius pressed hardest on him. There was, however, no severe sentence pronounced openly, in order that he might be put to death in secrecy, which they considered a preferable course: nor was this done through regard for himself, but lest the inflicting punishment on him might unmask designs against the Romans. The king himself having occasion to go from Thessalonica to Demetrias, sent Demetrius, with the same attendant Didas, to Astræum in Pæonia, and Perseus to Amphipolis, to receive hostages from the Thracians, and is said, on parting with Didas, to have given him directions to put his son to death. A sacrifice was either intended or counterfeited by Didas, and Demetrius, being invited to be present at the solemnity, came from Astræum to Heraclea. It is said that poison was administered to him in that supper. The moment he had swallowed the draught, he was conscious of its deadly properties; and being quickly after seized with violent pains, left the banquet, and retired to a chamber, where he continued for some time in agony, complaining of the cruelty of his father, inveighing against the fratricide of Perseus, and the villany of Didas. Then one Thyrsis of Stubera, and one Alexander of Berœa, were sent in, who, covering his head and mouth with blankets, suffocated him. In this manner perished that innocent youth, since in his case his enemies were not even content with a common kind of murder.

## 25

While these matters were passing in Macedon, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, being, on the expiration of his consulate, continued in command, led his army at the commencement of spring into the country of the Ingaunian Ligurians. He had no sooner pitched his camp in the enemy's territory, than ambassadors came to him under pretext of suing for peace, but in reality as spies. When Paullus declared that he would enter into no treaty whatever, unless they first surrendered; to this they did not object, but said that it would require time to procure the consent of such a rude kind of people. When, for that purpose, a suspension of arms for ten days was granted, then they further requested that his men might not go beyond the mountains for wood or forage, for that was the part of their lands which they had under tillage. After they obtained this request, they

collected all their forces behind those mountains, which they had prevented the Romans from approaching; and on a sudden, with a vast multitude, assaulted every gate of his camp at once. During that whole day, they prosecuted the attack with such vigour, that Paullus had not time to march out of the camp, nor room to draw out his troops: crowding together at the gates, they defended their camp by blocking up the passage, rather than by fighting. When the enemy had retired a little before sun-set, the general despatched two horsemen to Pisæ, to Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, with a letter, requesting him to come with all speed to his relief, as he was besieged in the midst of a truce. Bæbius had given up his army to Marcus Pinarius, the prætor, who was going into Sardinia, but he informed the senate by letter that Lucius Æmilius was besieged by the Ligurians, and also wrote to Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose province lay the nearest, that, if he thought proper, he should march his army out of Gaul into Liguria, and relieve Lucius Æmilius from the blockade. These succours would have come too late. The Ligurians returned next day to the attack of the camp. Æmilius, although he was aware that they would come, and although he could have drawn out his army to meet them, yet kept his men within the lines, in order that he might protract the business until such time as Bæbius should come with his army from Pisæ.

## 26

Bæbius's letter caused a great alarm at Rome, and it was increased by this circumstance, that, in a few days after Marcellus coming to Rome, having given up the command of the army to Fabius, banished all hope of a possibility of the forces, then in Gaul, being removed into Liguria; for hostilities had commenced with the Istrians, who obstructed the settlement of the colony of Aquileia; and, as Fabius had led his army thither, he could not quit that country now that the war was begun. There was but one hope of relief, and even that too slow for the exigency of the time,—this was, that the consuls might hasten their march into that province, and the senators earnestly pressed them to do so. The consuls declared that they would not set out until the levies were completed, and that no indolence in them, but the violence of the epidemic sickness, was the cause of their being so long in finishing the levy. However, they could not withstand the united wishes of the whole senate, in urging them to depart in the military habit, and to proclaim a day to the troops which they had enlisted, on which they should assemble at Pisæ. Authority was given them to enlist hasty levies on their march, wherever they should go, and take them with them. Orders were likewise issued to the prætors, Quintus Petillius and Quintus Fabius, that Petillius should raise two tumultuary legions of Roman citizens, and compel every person under fifty years of age to enlist; and that Fabius should demand from the Latin allies, fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Two commanders were appointed to the fleet, Caius Matienus and Caius Lucretius, and ships were put in readiness for them. An order was given Matienus, whose station was at the Gallic bay, to steer his squadron, with all expedition, to the coast of Liguria, and to try if he could be of any service to Lucius Æmilius and his army.

## 27

Æmilius, when no aid appeared in any quarter, believing that his couriers had been intercepted, resolved to wait no longer, but to make a trial of fortune by himself; and for this purpose, before the coming of the enemy, who now made their attacks with less briskness and vigour, he drew up his troops at the four gates, that, on a signal being given, might sally out from all sides at once. To four independent cohorts of auxiliaries, he added two others, and gave the command to Marcus Valerius, lieutenant-general,

with orders to make his sally by the prætorian gate. At the right gate of the first cohort he formed the spearmen of the first legion, placing the first-rank men of the same legion in reserve: Marcus Servilius and Lucius Sulpicius, military tribunes, had the command of these. The third legion was drawn up opposite to the left gate of the first cohort, with this difference only, that here the first-rank men were posted in front, and the spearmen in reserve. Sextus Julius Cæsar and Lucius Aurelius Cotta, military tribunes, had the command of this legion. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with the right wing of the allies, was posted at the quæstorian gate: and two cohorts, with the veterans of the two legions, were ordered to stay within to guard the camp. The general himself went round by all the gates, haranguing the troops, and excited the wrath of the soldiers by all the incentives that he could use; at one time declaiming against the treachery of the enemy, who after suing for peace, and obtaining a truce, had come during the very time of that truce, in violation of the law of nations, to attack his camp; at another, setting before them what a shame it was that a Roman army should be besieged by Ligurians, people more properly styled robbers than a regular enemy. "With what face," continued he, "if you make your way hence by the assistance of others, and not by your own valour, will any of you meet, I do not say those soldiers that conquered Hannibal, or Philip, or Antiochus, the greatest kings and generals of the present age, but those who often drove those very Ligurians before them, flying like cattle through pathless forests, and put them to the sword? What the Spaniards, the Gauls, the Macedonians, or Carthaginians, never dared to attempt, a Ligurian enemy dares: he marches up to the trenches of a Roman camp, unexpectedly besieges and assaults it; although, formerly, we, searching carefully the recesses of the forests, were with difficulty able to find them lurking in their hiding-places." This was answered by a general clamour, "that it was no fault of the soldiers, as no one had given them the order to sally forth. Let him but give the order, and he should soon be convinced, that both the Romans and the Ligurians were the same that ever they were."

## 28

There were two camps of the Ligurians on the hither side of the mountains, from which, on the former days, they had marched forward at sun-rise, all in order and regular array. On this day they did not take arms until they had made a full meal of food and wine; and then they came out in loose order, and regardless of their ranks, as they expected with certainty, that the enemy would not venture out beyond the rampart. As they were approaching in this disorderly manner, the shout being raised by every one in the camp at once, even by the sutlers and servants, the Romans rushed out by all the gates at the same time. This event was so entirely unexpected by the Ligurians, that they were confounded no less than if they had been caught in an ambush. For a short time, some appearance of a fight was maintained, and then followed a hasty flight, and a general slaughter of the fugitives. When the signal was given to the cavalry to mount their horses, and not to suffer any to escape, they were all driven in a confused flight to their camps, and soon beaten out of them also. Above fifteen thousand of the Ligurians were killed, and two thousand five hundred taken. In three days after, the whole state of the Ingaunian Ligurians gave hostages, and surrendered. The masters and crews of the ships, which had been employed in piracies, were carefully sought for, and thrown into prison; and thirty-two ships of that description were taken by Caius Matienus, one of the two on the Ligurian coast. Lucius Aurelius Cotta, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus, were sent to Rome to announce these transactions and bring a letter to the senate, and at the same time to request that, as the business of the province was finished, Lucius Æmilius

might have permission to leave it, and to bring away his troops and disband them. Both requests were granted by the senate, and a supplication was decreed, at all the shrines, for three days; the prætors Petillius and Fabius received orders, the former to discharge the city legions, the latter to excuse the allies and Latins from the levies, and that the city prætor should write to the consuls, that the senate thought proper that the occasional soldiers, enlisted on account of the sudden alarm, should be immediately discharged.

## 29

The colony of Gravisca was established this year in a district of Etruria, formerly taken from the Tarquinians, and five acres of land were given to each settler. The commissioners who conducted it were Caius Calpurnius Piso, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Caius Terentius Istra. The year was rendered remarkable by a drought, and a scarcity of the productions of the earth. It is handed down on record, that during the space of six months no rain fell. In the same year, some workmen in the farm of Lucius Petillius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad, the covers of which were soldered with lead. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latin letters, one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo, and king of the Romans; the other, that therein were contained the books of Numa Pompilius. When the owner of the ground had, by the advice of his friends, opened these chests, the one which, according to its inscription, contained the body of the king, was found perfectly empty, without any trace of a human body or of any thing else having ever been in it; the whole being consumed by the decay of such a number of years. In the other were found two bundles, tied round with waxed cords, and each containing seven books, not only entire, but apparently quite fresh. Seven were in Latin, and related to the pontifical law; and seven in Greek, containing the doctrines of philosophy, such as might have been known in that age. Valerius Antias adds, that they contained the doctrines of Pythagoras, supporting, by this plausible fiction, the credit of the vulgar opinion, that Numa had been a disciple of Pythagoras. The books were read, first, by Petillius's friends, who were present at the discovery. Afterwards, when they became publicly spoken of in consequence of many others reading them, Quintus Petillius, the city prætor, having a desire to read those books, borrowed them from Lucius Petillius, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, in consequence of Quintus Petillius having, when quæstor, made him a notary, and chosen him as one of ten. On reading the principal heads of the contents, he perceived that most of them had a tendency to undermine the established system of religious doctrines, and, thereupon, he told Lucius Petillius, that "he was determined to throw those books into the fire; but before he did so, he gave him leave, if he thought he had any right or appeal to demand the restitution of them, to make the trial, which he might do and preserve his favour." The notary applied to the plebeian tribunes, and the tribunes referred the matter to the senate. The prætor declared, that he was ready to make oath that those books ought not to be read or preserved; and the senate decreed, that "the prætor's having offered his oath ought to be deemed sufficient evidence that those books should, without delay, be burned in the comitium, and that such a price should be paid to the owner as might be judged reasonable by the prætor, Quintus Petillius, and the majority of the plebeian tribunes." The notary did not receive the money. The books, however, were burned in the comitium, in the view of the people, the fire being made by the public servants, whose duty "it was to assist at sacrifices.

## 30

A formidable war broke out this summer in the Hither Spain, where the Celtiberians assembled such a force as they had hardly ever brought into the field before, amounting to no less than thirty-five thousand men. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was governor of this province, who, because he heard that the Celtiberians were arming their young men, drew together all the succours he could procure from the allies. But he was by no means equal to the enemy in point of numbers. Early in spring, he marched his army into Carpetania, and fixed his camp close to the town of Æbura, in which he posted a small garrison. In a few days after, the Celtiberians pitched their camp at the foot of a hill, about two miles from that place. When the Roman prætor was informed of their approach, he detached his brother, Marcus Fulvius, with two troops of the allied horse, to the enemy's post, to take a view of them; ordering him to advance as near as possible to their rampart, so as to form a judgment of the size of the camp; and not to engage in fight, but to retreat if he should see the enemy's cavalry coming out. He acted according to his instructions, and for several days there was nothing further done than these two troops showing themselves, and then retreating when the enemy's cavalry sallied from their tents. At length, the Celtiberians came out, with their entire force of horse and foot together, and drawing up in a line, posted themselves about midway between the two camps. The whole plain was level, and convenient for fighting, and here the Spaniards stood waiting for their enemy. The Roman general kept his men within the rampart during four successive days, while the others constantly drew up theirs, and formed in the same place. No motion was made by the Romans; and from that time the Celtiberians, because they had not an opportunity of engaging, remained quiet in their camp; their cavalry only advanced as out-posts, to be ready in case of any movement being made by Fulvius. Both parties went for wood and forage behind their own camps, neither interrupting the other.

### 31

When the Roman prætor thought that, by his inactivity for so many days, he had created in the Celtiberians a firm persuasion that he would not be first in any movement, he ordered Lucius Acilius, with the left wing of allies and six thousand provincial auxiliaries, to make the circuit of a mountain behind the enemy, and as soon as he should hear the shout, to pour down from them on their camp. This party, to avoid being seen, set out in the night. At the dawn of day Flaccus sent Caius Scribonius, a præfect of the allies, with the allied cavalry of the left wing, to the enemy's rampart; when the Celtiberians, observing that they approached nearer, and were also more numerous than usual, all their cavalry poured forth from the camp, and at the same time the signal is given to the infantry to sally forth. Scribonius, according to his instructions, no sooner heard the neighing of the enemy's cavalry than he wheeled about and retreated to the camp, on which they pursued with the more violence. First the cavalry, and in a short time the line of infantry, came up, confidently expecting that they should be able to assault the camp before night, and they were five hundred paces, not more, from the rampart. Flaccus, therefore, thinking that they were now drawn far enough from their camp, to hinder them from giving it any succour, as he had his troops already formed within the works, burst out from three sides at once; and at the same time raised the shout, not only to inspire ardour for the fight, but also that the party on the mountain might hear it. Nor did these make any delay, but, according to their orders, poured down on the camp, where five thousand men, not more, were left to guard it, and when the smallness of their numbers, the multitude of the assailants and the unexpectedness of the affair, had struck terror into them, the camp was taken almost without a struggle.

Acilius set fire to that part of the camp which was most exposed to the view of the combatants.

### 32

The Celtiberians in the rear of their own line first observed the flames, and the news spread quickly through the whole army, that the camp was lost, and was even then completely in a blaze, which filled them with dismay, while it gave fresh spirits to the Romans; for now the shouts of victory raised by their friends struck their ear, and the enemies' camp appeared all on fire. The Celtiberians hesitated for some time, uncertain how to act, but when they considered that, in case of a defeat, they had no place of refuge, and that their only hope now lay in their arms, they renewed the combat afresh, with greater obstinacy. Their centre was pressed hard by the fifth legion; but their men advanced with more confidence against the left wing, where they saw that the Romans had posted the provincial auxiliaries, troops of their own kind. The left wing of the Romans was now near being defeated, had not the seventh legion come to its support. At the same time, the troops left in garrison at Æbura came up during the heat of the battle, and Acilius closed on the enemy's rear. Thus surrounded, the Celtiberians were, for a long time, cut off in great numbers, and at last the survivors betook themselves to flight in every direction. The cavalry, in two divisions, were sent in pursuit, and made great havoc. There were killed, of the enemy, on that day, twenty-three thousand, and four thousand seven hundred were taken, with more than five hundred horses, and eighty-eight military ensigns. The victory was great, but not obtained without loss of blood. There fell, of the two Roman legions, a few more than two hundred men; of the Latin confederates, eight hundred and thirty; and of foreign auxiliaries, about two thousand four hundred. The prætor led back his victorious troops to their tents: Acilius was ordered to remain in the camp which he had taken. Next day the spoils of the enemy were collected, and those whose bravery had been remarkable were presented with gifts in a public assembly.

### 33

The wounded were then conveyed into the town of Æbura, and the legions marched through Carpetania, against Contrebia. The garrison there, on being invested, sent for succours to the Celtiberians; but these were long in coming, not because they were unwilling to give assistance, but that after they had begun their march the roads were rendered impassable, and the rivers swelled by continued rains, so that their countrymen, despairing of assistance, capitulated. Flaccus also, being compelled by the same severe weather, brought his whole army into the city. The Celtiberians, who were on their march, having heard nothing of the capitulation, when the rains abated at last, passed the rivers, and came to Contrebia. When they saw no camp before the town, supposing either that it was removed to the other side, or that the enemy had retired, they came up towards the walls in careless disorder. The Romans made a sally against them from two gates, and attacking them in confusion completely routed them. The same circumstance that disabled them from standing their ground and maintaining a fight,—their not having come in one body, or in a regular disposition, round their standards,—proved favourable to many in making their escape: for they scattered themselves widely over the whole plain, so that the Romans could no where enclose any considerable body of them. However, there were about twelve thousand killed, and more than five thousand taken, with four hundred horses, and sixty-two military standards. The stragglers, flying homewards, turned back another body of Celtiberians,

whom they met on the road, by informing them of the surrender of Contrebia, and their own defeat; whereupon they all immediately dispersed, and made the best of their way to their several villages and forts. Flaccus, leaving Contrebia, led his legions through Celtiberia ravaging the country; he stormed many forts until at length the greatest part of the Celtiberians surrendered.

### 34

Such were the transactions of that year in Hither Spain. In the Farther province, Manlius fought several successful battles with the Lusitanians. In the same year the Latin colony of Aquileia was established in the Gallic territory. Three thousand foot soldiers received each fifty acres, centurions a hundred, horsemen a hundred and forty. The three commissioners who conducted the settlement were Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. Two temples were dedicated this year, one to Venus Erycina, at the Colline gate; Lucius Porcius Licinius duumvir, son of Lucius, dedicated it. This temple had been vowed, during the Ligurian war, by Lucius Porcius, the consul. The other to Piety, in the herb-market. Manius Acilius Glabrio, the duumvir, dedicated this temple; he erected a gilded statue of his father Glabrio, the first of the kind that ever was seen in Italy. This was the person who vowed the temple, on the day whereon he gained the decisive victory over king Antiochus, at Thermopylæ, and who, likewise, had contracted for its being built, in pursuance of a decree of the senate. At the same time when these temples were consecrated, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the proconsul, triumphed over the Ingaunian Ligurians. He carried in the procession twenty-five golden crowns, but no other article of either gold or silver. Many Ligurian chiefs were led captives before his chariot, and he distributed to each of his soldiers three hundred *asses*.<sup>299</sup> The arrival of ambassadors from the Ligurians, begging that a perpetual peace might be established, enhanced the reputation of this triumph, and they asserted, that “the Ligurians had come to a resolution never again to take arms, on any occasion, except when commanded by the Roman people.” This answer was given to the Ligurians, by Quintus Fabius, the prætor, by order of the senate, that “such kind of language was not new with the Ligurians; but it concerned chiefly their own interest that their disposition should be new, and conformable to their language. They must go to the consuls, and perform whatever was commanded by them; for the senate would never believe, from any other than the consuls, that the Ligurians were really and sincerely disposed to peace.” Peace however was made with that people. In Corsica, a battle was fought against the inhabitants. The prætor, Marcus Pinarius, slew in the field about two thousand of them; by which loss they were compelled to give hostages, and a hundred thousand pounds of wax. The army was then carried over into Sardinia, and some successful battles were fought against the Iliensians, a nation, even at the present day, not in every particular friendly to us. In this year a hundred hostages were restored to the Carthaginians, and the Roman people enabled them to live in peace, not only among themselves, but also with Masinissa, who at that time with an armed force held possession of the land in dispute.

### 35

The consuls had nothing to do in their province. Marcus Bæbius, being summoned home to Rome to preside at the elections, created consuls Aulus Postumius Albinus Luscus and Caius Calpurnius Piso. Then Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Mammula Titus Minucius Molliculus, Aulus Hostilius

<sup>299</sup> 19s. 4d.

Mancinus, and Caius Mænius were made prætors. All these entered into office on the ides of March. In the beginning of this year in which Aulus Postumius Albinus and Caius Calpurnius Piso were consuls, Lucius Minucius, lieutenant-general, and two military tribunes, Titus Mænius and Lucius Terentius Massilicta, who had come from Hither Spain from Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, were introduced to an audience of the senate by Aulus Postumius the consul. These, after informing the senate of the two victories gained, of the submission of Celtiberia, and of the conclusion of the business of the province, and that there was no occasion either to send pay, as usual, or corn to the army for that year, requested, first, that "on account of these successes a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods; and, then, that leave should be given to Quintus Fulvius, on his quitting the province, to bring home from it the army which had served under him and many former prætors, with much bravery. They represented, that this measure, besides the propriety of it, was in some degree necessary, for the troops were so obstinately bent on it, that it did not seem possible to keep them longer in the province; but, if they were not disbanded, they would either leave it without orders, or, if any one would attempt to detain them by compulsion, would break out into a dangerous mutiny." The senate ordered, that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls. The prætors then cast lots for theirs. The city jurisdiction fell to Aulus Hostilius; the foreign, to Titus Minucius; Sicily, to Publius Cornelius; Sardinia, to Caius Mænius; Farther Spain, to Lucius Postumius; and Hither Spain, to Tiberius Sempronius. As this last was to succeed Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and wished that the province might not be stripped of the veteran troops, he spoke thus: "Quintus Minucius, I demand of you, since you assert, in your report, that your province is subdued, do you think, that the Celtiberians will always faithfully observe the treaty, so that the province may be kept in obedience without an army? If you cannot give us any assurance of, or undertake to answer for, the fidelity of the barbarians, but think that, at all events, there must be an army maintained there, I pray you, whether would you recommend to the senate to send a reinforcement into Spain, in order that those soldiers only who have served out their time may be discharged, and the recruits mixed with the veterans? or to withdraw the veteran legions, and enlist new ones, and send them in their place? and this, although the contempt entertained for such new recruits might rouse barbarians of more pacific tempers to a renewal of war? would it be a matter easier said than done, to reduce to complete subjection a province naturally fierce, and constantly renewing the war? A few states, as I am informed, who were awed, more than the rest, by the nearness of our winter quarters, have submitted to our authority and dominion, while those more remote are in arms. This being the case, conscript fathers, I now give notice beforehand, that, with the army at present there, I will undertake to execute the business of the republic; but, if Flaccus bring those legions home with him, I will choose some quiet part of the country for winter quarters, and will not expose raw soldiers to an enemy so remarkably ferocious."

### 36

To these questions, which he had been asked, the lieutenant-general answered, that "neither he nor any other could possibly divine what were the sentiments of the Celtiberians, or what they would be in future; therefore he could not deny that it would be proper to send an army among a barbarous people, who, though reduced to a state of quiet, were not yet sufficiently inured to subjection; but whether a new army or a veteran one might be requisite, rested with him to decide who could ascertain with what sincerity the Celtiberians would observe the peace; and who, at the same time, had

assurance that the troops would remain quiet, if kept longer in the province. If a conjecture were to be formed of their intentions, either from their conversations with each other, or from the expressions with which they interrupted the general's harangues, they had openly and loudly declared, that they would either keep their commander in the province, or come home with him to Italy." This discussion, between the prætor and the lieutenant-general, was suspended by the consuls introducing other matters; for they thought it right, that their own provinces might be adjusted before they deliberated concerning the army of the prætor. An army entirely new was decreed to the consuls: two Roman legions to each, with their proportion of cavalry; and of the Latin allies, the usual number of fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. With these forces, they were directed to make war on the Apuan Ligurians. Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were continued in command, and ordered to hold the government of the provinces until the consuls should arrive. They were ordered then to disband their troops, and return to Rome. Then they deliberated concerning the army under Tiberius Sempronius. The consuls were ordered to enlist for him a new legion of five thousand two hundred foot and four hundred horse; and also a thousand Roman foot and five hundred horse; and to command the allies of Latium to furnish seven thousand foot and three hundred horse. With this army it was determined that Sempronius should go into Hither Spain. Permission was granted to Quintus Fulvius, with respect to all those soldiers, whether Romans or allies, who had been transported into Spain previous to the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Marcius; and likewise to such as, after the junction of the reinforcements, should be found in the two legions, above the number of ten thousand four hundred foot and six hundred horse; and in the Latin auxiliaries above twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse, who had behaved with courage under Quintus Fulvius in the two battles with the Celtiberians,—these, if he thought proper, he might bring home. Thanksgivings were also decreed, because he had managed the republic successfully; and the rest of the prætors sent into their provinces. Quintus Fabius Buteo had his command in Gaul. It was resolved that eight legions should be employed this year, besides the veteran army then in Liguria, which expected to be speedily disbanded; and that very army was made up with difficulty, in consequence of the pestilence which continued, for the third year, to depopulate the city of Rome and all Italy.

### 37

Tiberius Minucius, the prætor, died of this malady; and soon after, Caius Calpurnius, the consul; also many illustrious men of all ranks; so that at last this calamity began to be considered as a prodigy. Caius Servilius, chief pontiff was ordered to find out proper atonements for the wrath of the gods; the decemvirs to inspect the books, and the consul to vow offerings, and to present gilded statues, to Apollo Æsculapius, and Health; which he vowed and gave. The decemvirs proclaimed, on account of the sickness, a supplication of two days in the city, and in all the market-towns and villages; all persons above the age of twelve years offered the supplication, with garlands on their heads, and holding laurels in their hands. There had, also, crept into people's minds a suspicion of human villany in regard to it whereupon Caius Claudius, the prætor, who had been substituted in the room of Tiberius Minucius, was commissioned by a decree of the senate, to make inquisition concerning acts of poisoning committed in the city, or within ten miles of it; and Caius Mænius was ordered to do the same, before he passed over to his province, Sardinia, in the market-towns and villages beyond the tenth stone. The death of the consul was most suspected. It was reported that he had been murdered by

his wife, Quarta Hostilia; and when her son, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, was proclaimed consul in the room of his stepfather, the death of Piso began to excite much more suspicion; for witnesses appeared, who testified, that, after Albinus and Piso were declared consuls, in which election Flaccus had suffered a disappointment, his mother upbraided him with being refused the consulship a third time, and then desired him to make ready to stand candidate again, saying, "she would take such measures that within two months he should be made consul." This expression verified by the event, which was but too real, joined to many other evidences of the same tendency, appeared such strong proof, that Hostilia was condemned. In the spring of this year, the levies detained the new consuls at Rome; while the death of one of them, and the holding of the assembly to substitute another in his place, occasioned still further delays. In the mean time Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius, who, in their consulate, had done nothing worth mention, led their troops into the country of the Apuan Ligurians.

### 38

The Ligurians, who did not expect an attack before the arrival of the consuls in the province, were surprised, and surrendered to the number of twelve thousand men. Cornelius and Bæbius, having consulted the senate by letter, determined to bring them down from their mountains into a plain country, so far from home, that they should have no hope of a return; for they were convinced, that before this was done no end could be put to the war in Liguria. There was a tract of land in Samnium, the public property of the Roman people, formerly occupied by the Taurasinians. When they intended to transplant the Apuan Ligurians to this country, they published an order, that this people should quit the mountains, with their wives and children, and bring all their effects along with them. The Ligurians made, by their ambassadors, many humble supplications that they might not be compelled to relinquish their native home, the soil in which they were born, and the tombs of their forefathers. They promised to give up their arms, and deliver hostages. After they failed in all their solicitations, and were destitute of strength for the maintenance of a war, they obeyed the order. Forty thousand men, of free condition, with their women and children, were transplanted at the expense of the public, and a hundred and fifty thousand sesterces<sup>300</sup> were given them, to provide necessaries for their new habitations. Cornelius and Bæbius, who removed them, were commissioned to divide and apportion the lands; but, at their own request, the senate appointed five other commissioners, by whose advice they should act. When they had finished this business, and brought home their veteran soldiers to Home, a triumph was decreed them by the senate. These were the first who ever triumphed without having fought an enemy. Hostages only were led before their chariots; for there appeared not, in their triumphs, either spoils to be carried, or prisoners to be led captives, or money to be distributed to the soldiers.

### 39

In the same year Fulvius Flaccus, the proconsul in Spain, as his successor did not come to the province at the usual time, having drawn out the troops from their winter quarters, proceeded to lay waste the farther part of Celtiberia, whose inhabitants had not come in to make submission. But by this proceeding he rather provoked than terrified the spirits of the barbarians; so that, having collected secretly a body of forces, they beset the Manlian pass, through which they knew, with certainty, that the Roman army would march. Gracchus had commissioned his colleague, Lucius Postumius

<sup>300</sup> 1210*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*

Albinus, who was going to the Farther Spain, to desire Quintus Fulvius to bring his forces to Tarraco, where he intended to discharge the veterans, to distribute the reinforcements among the respective corps, and reorganize the entire army. The day also was mentioned to Flaccus, and that not very distant, on which his successor would arrive. When tidings of this new arrangement had compelled Flaccus to drop the business which he had undertaken, and to lead away the troops in haste out of Celtiberia, the barbarians, unacquainted with the reason, and supposing that he had discovered their revolt and secret assembling of an army, and that he was retreating through fear, beset the pass with the greater determination. When the Roman army entered this defile, at the dawn of day, immediately the enemy starting up attacked it at two sides at once. And when Flaccus saw this, he put down the confusion arising among the soldiers by giving orders through the centurions that every man should keep his post, in the order of march, and make ready his arms; then collecting the baggage and beasts of burden, into one spot, partly by himself, partly by the help of the lieutenants-general, and military tribunes, he formed his troops as the time and place required, without any confusion. He put them in mind, that they were to engage with men "who had been twice reduced to submission; that guilt and perfidy, not valour or courage, were their only accessions. That these people had put it in their power to make their return to their country which otherwise would have been ignoble, glorious and splendid; for they would now carry home their swords red from the slaughter, and spoils dropping blood." The time did not allow more to be said, as the enemy were rapidly advancing upon them; the extremities of the wings were already engaged, and quickly after the entire lines.

#### 40

The battle was furious in every part, but the success various. The two legions fought with extraordinary bravery, nor were the two cohorts of the allies remiss; but the foreign auxiliaries were hard pressed, by men armed like themselves, and rather a better description of soldiers; nor were they able to maintain their ground. The Celtiberians, as soon as they perceived that, in a regular line, and in fair fighting, they were no match for the legions, made a charge against them, in the form of a wedge, in which sort of attack they excel so much, that on whatever part they direct their assault they cannot be withstood. On this occasion, too, the legions were ordered, and the line was almost broken. When Flaccus observed this disorder, he rode up to the legionary cavalry, asking them, "Have we any support in you? Is the whole army to be lost?" Whereupon they called to him from all sides, to "tell them what he wished to be done; and that it should be instantly attempted." "Cavalry of the two legions, double your troops," he replied, "and charge the wedge, which is attacking our soldiers; you will make a more violent charge, if you spur your horses without bridles against the foe. This expedient is recorded to have been often employed by the Roman cavalry with great advantage." They obeyed his orders, and taking off the bits of the bridle, they spurred in full career through that body twice, forward and backward, breaking their spears to pieces, and making great havoc of the enemy. The Celtiberians, on this dispersion of their wedge, on which had been their whole reliance, were quite dismayed, and almost giving over the fight, looked about for ways to escape. And now, when the allied horse saw this brilliant exploit of the Roman cavalry, they were so inflamed by the example of their bravery, that without waiting for orders, they made a charge on the enemy, while they were in confusion. Then truly all the Celtiberians scatter and fly, and the Roman general, when he saw their backs, vowed a temple to Equestrian Fortune, and games in

honour of Jupiter supremely good and great. The fugitives, dispersing, were pursued with much slaughter, through the whole length of the pass. Seventeen thousand of the enemy are recorded to have been killed on this occasion, and more than four thousand taken, with two hundred and seventy-seven military standards, and near one thousand one hundred horses. The victorious army pitched no camp on that day. This victory, however, was not gained without loss; four hundred and seventy-two Roman soldiers, one thousand and nineteen of the allies and Latins, and besides these three thousand of the auxiliaries perished. The victorious army, having thus reasserted their former renown, finished their march to Tarraco. The prætor, Tiberius Sempronius, who had arrived two days before, came out to meet Fulvius on the road, and congratulated him on the important services which he had rendered to the commonwealth. They then, with perfect unanimity, settled what soldiers they should discharge, and what they should retain; and Fulvius, embarking the disbanded soldiers in the fleet, set sail for Rome, while Sempronius led the legions into Celtiberia.

#### 41

Both the consuls led their armies into Liguria, but on different sides. Postumius, with the first and third legions, invested the mountains of Balista and Suismontium; and, by securing the narrow passes leading thereto with guards, cut off all supplies of provisions; and by want of every thing he reduced them to an entire obedience. Fulvius, with the second and fourth legions, marched from Pisæ against the Apuan Ligurians; and having received the submission of that part of them which inhabited the banks of the river Macra, he put them, to the number of seven thousand men, on board ships, and sent them along the Etrurian coast to Neapolis, from whence they were conducted into Samnium, and lands were assigned to them among their countrymen. The vine-yards of the Ligurians of the mountains were cut down and their corn burnt by Aulus Postumius, until, compelled by all the calamities of war, they surrendered and delivered up their arms. From thence Postumius proceeded, by sea, to visit the coast of the Ingaunian and Intemelian tribes. Before these consuls joined the army which had been ordered to meet at Pisæ, Aulus Postumius, and a brother of Quintus Fulvius, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, had the command of it. Fulvius was military tribune of the second legion. He in his months<sup>301</sup> of command disbanded the legion, after obliging the centurions to swear, that they would carry the money in their hands to the treasury, and deliver it to the quæstors. When this was announced to Aulus at Placentia, to which place he happened to have made an excursion, he set out with some light horsemen, in quest of the disbanded men; and such as he could overtake, he sharply rebuked and brought back to Pisæ, and then apprised the consul of the whole matter. When he laid the business before the senate, a decree was passed that Marcus Fulvius should be banished into that part of Spain beyond New Carthage; and a letter was given him by the consul, to be carried into Farther Spain, to Publius Manlius. The soldiers were ordered to return to their standards; and it was decreed, that, as a mark of disgrace, that legion should, for that year, receive but half a year's pay. The consul was likewise ordered to sell the person and property of every soldier who should not return to the army.

#### 42

In the same year Lucius Duronius, who had been prætor the year before, returned with ten ships from Illyricum to Brundisium, and leaving the fleet in that harbour, came to

<sup>301</sup> As there were six tribunes in each legion, they took the command of it in turn, each holding it for two months.

Rome, and in giving a recital of the services which he had performed in his province, he threw the blame of all the piracies committed by sea, on Gentius, king of Illyricum, as their undoubted cause. "From his kingdom," he said, "came all the ships that had ravaged the coast of the Hadriatic; that he had sent ambassadors on the subject, but they were not even allowed an audience of the king." Some time before this, ambassadors had come to Rome from Gentius, who said, that "when the Romans came for the purpose of holding a conference with the king, he happened to be sick in a remote part of his dominions; and that Gentius requested of the senate, not to give credit to the forged charges which his enemies had made against him." Duronius added, that injuries were offered to many Roman citizens and Latin allies, in Gentius's dominions; some of whom he held in confinement in Corcyra. It was their pleasure that all these should be brought to Rome; that the prætor, Caius Claudius, should inquire into that business; and that until this were done, no answer should be given to king Gentius, or his ambassadors. Among many others whom the pestilence of this year cut off, several priests also died. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a pontiff, died of it; and in his room was substituted Quintus Fabius Labeo. Publius Manlius, who had lately come home from the Farther Spain, and was triumvir of religious feasts, died also; Quintus Fulvius, son of Marcus, then a mere youth, succeeded him. The appointing of a king of the sacrifices in the room of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, gave rise to a dispute between Caius Servilius, chief pontiff, and Lucius Cornelius Dolabella, naval duumvir; whom the pontiff ordered to resign his office, to the end that he might inaugurate him; and on the duumvir's refusing to do this, a fine was therefore imposed on him by the pontiff; and when the latter appealed, they contended about the affair before the people. After a majority of the tribes, being called in, had ordered that the duumvir should comply with the requisition of the pontiff, and that if he would resign his commission the fine should be remitted, an unfavourable omen from the heavens intervened, which broke off the proceedings of the assembly. After this the pontiffs were prevented by religious scruples from inaugurating Dolabella. They consecrated Publius Clælius Siculus, who had been installed in the second place. Towards the end of the year, Caius Servilius Geminus, the chief pontiff, also died; the same was decemvir of religious affairs. In his room, as pontiff, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was nominated by the college; but Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, was elected chief pontiff, though many illustrious men sought that office; and Quintus Marcius Philippus was appointed to the office of the same, as decemvir of religious affairs. Spurius Postumius Albinus, an augur, died; and the augurs elected into his place Publius Scipio, son of Africanus. On the request of the people of Cumæ that year, leave was granted them to use the Latin language in their public business, and that their auctioneers should have a right to use the Latin language in selling.

### 43

To the Pisans, offering ground for the establishment of a Latin colony, thanks were returned by the senate, and triumvirs were appointed to conduct that business; these were Quintus Fabius Buteo, Marcus Pompilius Lænas, and Publius Pompilius Lænas. A letter was brought from Caius Mænius, the prætor, (to whom, after that the province of Sardinia had fallen to his lot, orders were given to make inquisition concerning sorceries, in places more than ten miles distant from the city,) the purport of which was, "that he had already passed sentence on three thousand people; and that still, in consequence of fresh discoveries, the business of the inquisition increased so much on his hands, that he must either drop the prosecution of the inquiries, or give up the

province." Quintus Fulvius Flaccus returned to Rome from Spain, with a high reputation for his military exploits; and while he waited without the city in expectation of a triumph, was elected consul with Lucius Manlius Acidinus. And after a few days, he rode through the city in triumph, accompanied by the soldiers whom he had brought with him. He carried in the procession a hundred and twenty-four golden crowns, together with thirty-one pounds' weight of gold, and of coined Oscan silver a hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred pieces.<sup>302</sup> He gave out of the booty to each of the soldiers fifty denariuses; double that sum to a centurion; triple it to a horseman; and the same sums to the Latin allies, with double pay to all. This year, for the first time, a law was proposed by Lucius Villius, plebeian tribune, ascertaining at what ages men might sue for, and hold each office in the state. Hence the surname Annalis was given to his family.

#### 44

Four prætors were elected, after a lapse of many years, by the Bæbian law, which enacted that four should be elected every alternate year; and the persons appointed were Cneius Cornelius Scipio, Caius Valerius Lævinus, Quintus Mucius Scævola, and Publius Mucius Scævola, sons of Quintus. To the consuls, Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, was decreed the same province as to the preceding ones, and the same number of forces, infantry, cavalry, citizens, and allies. In the two Spains, Tiberius Sempronius and Lucius Postumius were continued in command, with the same armies which they then had; and to recruit their numbers, the consuls were ordered to enlist, of Romans three thousand foot and three hundred horse, and of the Latin allies, five thousand foot and four hundred horse. Publius Mucius Scævola obtained by lot the city jurisdiction, and likewise the business of the inquisitions concerning sorcery, in the city, and within ten miles of it; Cneius Scipio, the foreign jurisdiction; Quintus Mucius Scævola, Sicily; and Caius Valerius Lævinus, Sardinia. The consul, Quintus Fulvius, before he meddled with any of the public business, declared that "he intended to acquit both himself and the state of the obligation of fulfilling the vows which he had made; that on the day of his last battle with the Celtiberians, he had vowed to perform games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to build a temple to Equestrian Fortune; and that by the Spaniards a contribution of money had been made for these purposes." A vote was passed that the games should be performed, and that duumvirs should be appointed to contract for the building of the temple. With regard to the expenses, a limitation was fixed, that "no greater sum should be expended on the games than that which had been voted to Fulvius Nobilior, when he exhibited games on the conclusion of the Ætolian war; and that the consul should not, on account of these games, send for, collect, or receive, or do any thing contrary to the decree of the senate passed concerning games in the consulate of Lucius Æmilius and Cneius Bæbius." The senate qualified their vote in this manner, on account of the lavish expense occasioned by the games of Tiberius Sempronius, the ædile, which had been burthensome not only to Italy and the Latin allies, but even to the provinces abroad.

#### 45

The winter of that year was rendered severe by falls of snow and storms of every kind; those kinds of trees which are susceptible of injury from cold, were all blighted; and it continued at that time somewhat longer than on other occasions. Wherefore a tempest coming on suddenly, and with intolerable violence, shortly after, interrupted the Latin

<sup>302</sup> 592*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*

festivals on the mount; and they were celebrated afterwards, pursuant to an order of the pontiffs. The same storm also threw down many statues in the Capitol, disfigured very many buildings by lightning, as the temple of Jupiter at Tarracina, the white temple at Capua, and a Roman gate; and in some places the battlements of the wall were overthrown. Among the rest of these prodigies, an account was received from Reate, that a three-footed mule had been foaled there. On account of those portents, the decemvirs, having been ordered to consult the books, declared to what gods, and with how many victims, sacrifices should be performed; and that on account of very many places being disfigured by lightning, a supplication of one day should be performed at the temple of Jupiter. Then the votive games of the consul Quintus Fulvius were exhibited with great magnificence, during ten days. Soon after was held the election of censors. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Ætolians, were chosen. Apparent hostilities existed between these men, which were frequently displayed in many violent disputes, both in the senate and in the assemblies of the people. When the election was ended, the censors, according to ancient custom, seated themselves in curule chairs in the Campus Martius, near the altar of Mars; whither in a few minutes came the principal senators, accompanied by the body of the citizens, of whom Quintus Cæcilius Metellus spoke as follows:—

#### 46

“Censors, we are not unmindful that you have been just now, by the whole body of the Roman people, set over our morals; and that we ought to be admonished and ruled by you, not you by us. Nevertheless, that should be pointed out which in you may either give offence to all good men, or at least what they would wish to be altered. When we look at you separately, Marcus Æmilius, Marcus Fulvius, we know not, in the whole state, any one person whom, if we were called back again to vote, we could wish to be preferred to you; but when we behold you both together, we cannot avoid fearing that you are but ill associated; and that the public may not reap as much advantage from your being exceedingly pleasing to every one of us, as injury, from your being displeasing one to another. You have for many years past harboured an enmity, violent in its degree, and detrimental to yourselves; and it is to be feared, that from this day forward it may prove more detrimental to us and to the state, than it has been to you. As to the reasons why we fear this, many observations which might be made occur to yourselves; had you not happened to be implacable they would have engrossed your senses. These feuds we all beseech you to terminate this day, in that sacred place, and to suffer those whom the Roman people have united by their suffrages, to be united by us, through this re-establishment of friendship also. May you, with unanimity and harmony, choose the senate, review the knights, hold the census, and close the lustrum, as truly and sincerely as you would wish that to happen which you express in the words, used in almost all your prayers, ‘that this affair may prove good and prosperous to me and my colleague:’ and cause us men also to believe that you really desire that which you entreat of the gods. Titus Tatius and Romulus, after they had engaged in battle as public enemies, in the midst of the forum of this city, reigned there with unanimity. Not only quarrels, but wars, are ended; and from deadly foes men frequently become faithful allies, nay, sometimes, even fellow-citizens. The Albans, after the demolition of Alba, were brought over to Rome: the Latins, the Sabines, were admitted into the number of citizens. It is a common saying, and, because founded in truth, has become a proverb, that ‘friendships ought to be immortal, but enmities mortal.’” A roar of approbation burst forth: and presently after, the voices of every one present, joining in the same

request, interrupted his speech. Then Æmilius, besides other complaints, represented, that through Marcus Fulvius he had been twice deprived of the consulship, which seemed sure. On the other hand, Fulvius complained that he had always been assailed by Æmilius, and that security had been given for him, which was attended with great disgrace. Nevertheless, each of them intimated that if the other would wish, he was ready to submit to the direction of such a number of the most respectable members of the state; and all present urgently repeating their request, they mutually pledged their right hands, and their honour, to dismiss in reality and forget all animosity. Then the whole assembly expressing the highest applause of their behaviour, they were escorted to the Capitol. Both the attention paid to such a matter by the persons of the first consequence, and the compliance of the censors, were most warmly approved and commended by the senate. The censors then demanded that a sum of money should be assigned to them, which they might expend in public works; and the customs of one year were accordingly decreed to them.

#### 47

In the same year the proprætors in Spain, Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Sempronius, settled between them, that Albinus should march through Lusitania, against the Vaccæans, and thence return into Celtiberia, and Gracchus penetrate into the remotest parts of that province, if the commotions there were more dangerous. First, having made an unexpected assault on the city of Munda, by night, he took it by storm; then, after having received hostages and placed a garrison, he proceeded to attack their forts and ravage the country with fire, until he arrived at another very strong city, (the Celtiberians call it Certima,) there, when he was already advancing his works, deputies came out from the town, whose speech partook of all the simplicity of the earliest times, not dissembling their wishes to continue the war, if they had strength to support it.— For they requested permission to go into the camp of the Celtiberians, and procure assistance from them; and said, that “if they did not obtain it they would then deliberate apart from them. By the permission of Gracchus they went; and in a few days after brought with them ten other ambassadors. It was mid-day. The first thing that they asked of the prætor was, that he would order some drink to be given them. After drinking off the first caps, they asked a second time, causing thereby loud laughter from those present, at minds so unpolished, and ignorant of all civilization. The eldest of them then says, “We have been sent by our nation to ask, on what do you rely that you attack us?” To this question Gracchus answered, that “he came relying on an excellent army; which if they chose to see, in order to carry back more certain information to their friends, he would give them an opportunity;” and he orders the military tribunes to draw up, in array, all the forces both horse and foot, and make them go through their exercise in arms. After this sight, the ambassadors, being dismissed, deterred their people from attempting to succour the besieged city. When the townsmen had from the towers raised fires, (which was the signal agreed upon,) to no purpose, and had been disappointed in their only hope of relief, they capitulated. A contribution of two million four hundred thousand sesterces<sup>303</sup> was imposed on them; and they were ordered to furnish forty horsemen of the highest rank among them, not under the denomination of hostages, for they were ordered to serve as soldiers, but in reality to be pledges for their fidelity.

#### 48

<sup>303</sup> 19,375l.

From thence Gracchus now marched to the city of Alce, where lay the camp of the Celtiberians, from which the ambassadors had lately come. When he had harassed them for some days with skirmishes, by sending his light troops to charge their advanced guards, he made attacks more important every day, in order to entice them all out of their intrenchments. As soon as he perceived that his object had been effected, he gives orders to the præfects of the auxiliaries, that after a short contest they should suddenly turn their backs, as if they were overpowered by numbers, and fly with all haste to the camp: in the mean time he himself drew up all his forces in order, within the rampart, at all the gates. No long time had intervened, when he saw a body of his own troops flying back, according to the preconcerted plan, and the barbarians following in a disorderly pursuit. He had his army drawn up within the trench in readiness for this very opportunity. He therefore delayed only so long as to allow his own men to retreat into the camp by a free passage; then, raising the shout, he rushed forth from all the gates at the same time. The enemy did not sustain the unexpected shock. They who came to assault his camp could not defend even their own. For they were instantly routed put to flight, driven in a panic within their trenches; and at last beaten out of them. On that day nine thousand of the enemy were killed, and three hundred and twenty taken, with a hundred and twelve horses and thirty-seven military ensigns. Of the Roman army there fell a hundred and nine.

#### 49

After this battle, Gracchus led the legions to ravage Celtiberia. And when he was carrying and driving off all things from every quarter, some states voluntarily, others through fear, submitted to his yoke; within a few days he received the submission of a hundred and three towns; he got immense booty. He then marched back to Alce, whence he came, and set about besieging that city. The townsmen withstood the first assault of the enemy; as soon as they found themselves attacked, not only by arms but by works also, having despaired of any protection in the city, they all retired to the citadel. And then at last they sent envoys, and surrendered themselves, and every thing belonging to them, to the Romans. Great plunder was obtained from this. Many prisoners of distinction fell into his power, among whom were two sons and a daughter of Thurrus. This chieftain, who governed those tribes, was by far the most powerful of all the Spaniards. On hearing the disasters of his countrymen he sent persons to request protection for himself when coming to the camp to Gracchus, and he came. And he first asked him, "Whether the lives of himself and his subjects would be spared?" When the prætor answered that they would; he asked again, "Whether it would be allowed him to bear arms on the side of the Romans?" To this too Gracchus assenting, he said, "I will follow you then against my old allies, since they have not thought proper to pay any regard to me. From that time he united himself to the Romans, and by his brave and faithful exertions he in many places advanced the Roman interest.

#### 50

After this, Ergavia, a celebrated and powerful city, terrified by the disasters of the surrounding states, opened its gates to the Romans. There are some writers who say, that this submission of the towns was not made with sincerity; that, from whatever district he might have led the legions, hostilities were there renewed forthwith; and that he afterwards fought, near Mount Caunus, a pitched battle with the Celtiberians, from break of day to the sixth hour; that many fell on both sides, and that the Romans did not perform any feat from which you might believe that they were not vanquished,

excepting that, next day, they offered battle to the enemy remaining in their intrenchments: that they employed that whole day in collecting the spoils, on the third day they fought again a more desperate battle, then there was no doubt that the Celtiberians were at last completely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered. Twenty-two thousand of the enemy were killed on that day, more than three hundred taken, and almost an equal number of horses, and seventy-two military standards. This put an end to the war: the Celtiberians concluded a sincere peace, and did not waver in their allegiance as before. They say also, that during the same summer Lucius Postumius fought twice with success in the Farther Spain against the Vaccæans, killed thirty-five thousand of the enemy, and took their camp. It is however more probable, that he came into the province too late to succeed well in that summer.

## 51

The censors inspected the senate with sincere unanimity. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the censor, who was likewise chief pontiff, was chosen head of the senate; three were expelled from that body. Lepidus restored some who were rejected by his colleague. They completed these works with the money which had been assigned, and divided between them:—Lepidus built a mole at Tarracina, an unpopular work, because he had estates there, and brought into the account of the public expenditure what ought to have been done at his own expense. He contracted for the building of a theatre and stage near the temple of Apollo, the whitening of the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, and the columns around it; he also removed from those columns the statues that stood unseemingly before them, and took down from them the shields and military ensigns of all sorts hung thereon. Marcus Fulvius made contracts for works more numerous and of more use; a haven on the Tiber, and piers for a bridge across it; on which piers Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius, who were the censors, many years after, bargained for the erection of arches; a court of justice behind the new bankers' houses, and a fish-market surrounded with shops, which he sold to private persons; also a forum and portico, on the outside of the gate Trigemina; another portico behind the dock-yard, and one at the temple of Hercules; also a temple of Apollo Medicus, behind that of Hope, on the bank of the Tiber. They had besides, some of the money undivided, and out of this they jointly agreed to pay for water being brought, and arches being made; but Marcus Licinius Crassus hindered this work, for he would not suffer it to be brought through his grounds. They also established many port duties and customs, and took care that very many public chapels, which had been occupied by private individuals, should be public and consecrated, and open to the people. They likewise made an alteration in the mode of voting; for, through all the regions, they divided the tribes.<sup>304</sup> according to the different ranks, conditions, and callings of men.

## 52

One of the censors, Marcus Æmilius, petitioned the senate, that a sum of money should be voted for the celebration of games, in honour of the dedication of the temples of Imperial Juno and Diana, which he had vowed eight years before, when employed in the Ligurian war. They accordingly voted twenty thousand *asses*.<sup>305</sup> He dedicated those temples each in the Flaminian circus; and celebrated theatrical games for three days after the dedication of the temple of Juno, and for two after that of Diana, and each day

<sup>304</sup> In consequence of which regulation, all those of each tribe, who were of the same rank and occupation, voted together.

<sup>305</sup> 64l. 11s. 4d.

in the circus. He also dedicated a temple to the deities of the sea<sup>306</sup> in the field of Mars, which Lucius Æmilius Regillus had vowed eleven years before this, in a naval engagement against the commanders of king Antiochus. Over the gate of the temple was hung up a tablet with this inscription: "This temple was vowed by Lucius Æmilius, the son of Marcus Æmilius, on coming forth from a battle which he fought for the purpose of establishing peace, in which he concluded a mighty war and subdued kings,—because under his auspices, command, and successful generalship, the fleet of king Antiochus, under the very eyes of Antiochus himself and his entire army, cavalry and elephants, was conquered, thrown into confusion, shattered, and put to flight, on the eleventh day before the calends of January; and there on that day thirteen ships of war with all their crews taken. When that battle was fought, king Antiochus and his dominions \* \* \* \* \*

\*. <sup>307</sup> On this account he vowed a temple to the titular gods of the sea." In the same manner a tablet was placed over the gate of the temple of Jupiter, on the Capitol.

### 53

Two days after the censors had inspected the senate, the consul Quintus Fulvius marched against the Ligurians; and having with his army crossed over pathless mountains and woody valleys, he fought a pitched battle with the enemy, and not only defeated them in the field, but took their camp the same day. Three thousand two hundred of the enemy, and all that tract of Liguria, surrendered. The consul brought down all those who surrendered into the low-lands, and posted guards on the mountains. His letters from that province quickly reached Rome, and thanksgivings for three days were voted on account of his successes. The prætors, during these thanksgivings, celebrated divine worship by sacrificing forty victims of the larger kind. By the other consul, Lucius Manlius, nothing worth recording was done in Liguria. Transalpine Gauls, to the number of three thousand, coming over into Italy, without offering to commit hostilities on any one, petitioned the consul and senate for some land, that they might live as peaceable subjects, under the government of the Roman people. But the senate ordered them to quit Italy, and enjoined the consul Quintus Fulvius to search after and punish those who had been the first to advise them to cross the Alps.

### 54

This year died Philip, king of the Macedonians, being worn out with old age, and grief occasioned by his son's death. He spent the winter at Demetrias, in great anguish of mind, occasioned both by regret for his son and contrition for his own cruelty. His other son also disquieted his mind, who, both in his own opinion and that of others, was undoubtedly king. The eyes of all were turned to him, and his own old age was desolate. Some only waiting for his death, while others did not even wait for that event. By which circumstance he was still more distressed, and with him Antigonus, son of Echebrates, named after his uncle Antigonus, who had been guardian to Philip, a man of royal dignity, and famed also for a remarkable battle which he fought against Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian. The Greeks called him the Guardian, to distinguish him from the other princes of that surname.<sup>308</sup> His nephew Antigonus, of all the friends whom Philip had honoured with his favours, alone remained uncorrupted; and this faithful attachment to

<sup>306</sup> Neptune, Thetis, and Glaucus.

<sup>307</sup> Here are given, in the original, some lines, as the inscription; but so corrupted and so defective, as to be utterly unintelligible. Gronovius endeavours in vain, to explain them; Crevier gives the matter up.

<sup>308</sup> They called him also Euergetes, and Soter.

him had made Perseus, who had been in no wise his friend, become now his most inveterate enemy. He, foreseeing in his mind with what danger to himself the inheritance of the kingdom would fall to Demetrius, as soon as he perceived the king's mind to waver, and that he sometimes sighed with regret for the loss of his son; at one time by listening, and at another by making mention of the deed, as being rashly done, he himself was at hand, adding his complaint to the frequent lamentations of the king;— and, as the truth usually affords many traces of itself, he assisted with the most zealous diligence, in order that the whole might be brought to light as speedily as possible. Of the agents employed in that business, those who were most generally supposed guilty, were Apelles and Philocles, who had gone ambassadors to Rome, and had brought the letter under the name of Flamininus, which had proved so ruinous to Demetrius. They generally murmured in the palace, that it was a forgery, falsified by the secretary, and that the seal was counterfeited.

## 55

But while this thing was rather a matter of suspicion than of certainty, Antigonus accidentally met Xychus, whom he seized and brought to the palace; then leaving him in custody of guards, Antigonus went on to the apartment of Philip, to whom he said, "I think I understood from many conversations, that you would value it highly, if you could ascertain the whole truth respecting your sons, which of the two was assailed by the other's deceit and secret machinations. Xychus, the only man in the world who can unravel this mystery, is now in your power. I met him by accident, and I have brought him to the palace; order him to be called into your presence." On being brought in, he at first denied; but with such irresolution, as showed that by a slight application to his fears he would become a ready informer. He did not withstand the sight of the executioner and the instruments of torture, but disclosed the whole process of the villany of the ambassadors, and his own services therein. Persons were instantly despatched to seize the ambassadors, and they apprehended by surprise Philocles, who was present, but Apelles, who had been sent in pursuit of a person called Chærea, having heard of the information given by Xychus, went over into Italy. With respect to Philocles, no certain account has been published: some say, that for a time he boldly denied all knowledge of the matter; but that when Xychus was confronted with him, he persisted no longer; others, that he even suffered the rack without confessing. Philip's grief was renewed and doubled; and he felt his unhappiness, with regard to his children, press the heavier on him, because one of them was not.

## 56

When Perseus was told that all was discovered, he was too powerful to think that flight was necessary. He only took care to keep out of the way, intending to guard himself, in the mean time, during the remainder of Philip's life, from the flame, as it were, of his burning resentment; who, having lost hopes of subjecting the person of Perseus to punishment, meditated on this, as the last resource, that he would not, besides impunity, enjoy the reward of his wickedness also. Therefore he addresses himself to Antigonus, to whom he was obliged for the discovery of the fratricide; and whom he supposed the Macedonians, considering the fresh renown of his uncle Antigonus, would neither be ashamed nor displeased at having for their king. "Antigonus," says he, "since I have been brought into such a situation that the being childless, a state which other parents reckon a curse, ought to be wished for by me, I am resolved to transfer to you the kingdom which I received from your uncle, and which his faithful and resolute

guardianship not only preserved for me, but even enlarged. You are the only friend I have, whom I can judge worthy of the throne; and, if I had not one such, I should wish it to perish and become extinct, rather than be a prize to the treacherous villany of Perseus. I shall think Demetrius recalled from the dead, and restored to me, if I can leave you substituted in his room, who alone have wept for his innocent death, and for my unhappy error." After this discourse he did not fail to advance him by conferring on him honours of every kind; and, as Perseus was absent in Thrace, he went round the cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to the chief men; and, had his life been prolonged, there is no doubt but that he would have left him in possession of the throne. After leaving Demetrius, he staid a very long time at Thessalonica; and when he had gone thence to Amphipolis, he was there seized with a severe sickness. Yet it was evident that it was a disorder of the mind rather than of the body, and that, owing to his anxieties and want of sleep, for apparitions and phantoms of his innocent murdered son ever and anon disquieted him, he breathed his last uttering awful imprecations on the other. Nevertheless Antigonus might have been first acquainted with the death of the king, had it not been immediately divulged. Calligenes, the physician, who had the charge of his treatment, not expecting the king's death, sent to Perseus, on the first appearance of desperate symptoms, messengers who had been previously stationed at different places; and till his arrival he concealed the death of the king from all but those who were in the palace.

## 57

Perseus therefore surprised them all, when not expecting, and totally ignorant of, his arrival, and seized on the throne, which was obtained by wickedness. The demise of Philip happened very seasonably for the purpose of gaining time and collecting strength for the support of a war: for, in a few days after, the nation of the Bastarnians, in consequence of long solicitation, set out from their own abodes, with a large force of infantry and cavalry, and crossed the Danube. Antigonus and Cotto (the latter was a Bastarnian of distinction, and Antigonus had been sent, much against his will, with this same Cotto, as ambassador, to persuade his countrymen to take arms) went forward, to carry intelligence of this to the king; but at a small distance from Amphipolis a rumour, and then authentic information, acquainted them with the king's death; which event disconcerted the whole arrangement of their plan. It had been arranged in this manner;—Philip was to procure for the Bastarnians a safe passage through Thrace, and supplies of provisions. In order to be able to effect this, he had courted the chieftains in that country by presents, having pledged his faith that the Bastarnians should march through it in a peaceable body. It was proposed to exterminate the nation of the Dardanians, and to establish settlements for the Bastarnians in their country: from which measure a double advantage would accrue, if both the Dardanians, a nation ever hostile to Macedonia, and anxiously looking to the unfortunate periods of its kings, would be removed out of the way; and the Bastarnians, having left their wives and children in Dardania, might be sent to ravage Italy. That the road to the Adriatic Sea and Italy was through the country of the Scordiscians, and that the army could not be led by any other way; that the Scordiscians would readily grant a passage to the Bastarnians, for they would have no dislike to people resembling themselves in language and manners and would probably join them in an expedition, when they saw that they were on their way to the plunder of a most opulent nation. The remaining plans were accommodated to every kind of event that might take place; for if the Bastarnians would be cut off by the Romans, still the removal of the Dardanians, and the booty to be gained

from the remains of the former, and the full possession of Dardania, would prove a consolation; or if they should be successful, then, while the Romans would be employed in the Bastarnian war, he might recover what he had lost in Greece. Such had been the designs of Philip.

## 58

The Bastarnians commenced their march in a peaceable array, relying on the word of Cotto and Antigonus. But, not long after the report of Philip's death, neither the Thracians were easily dealt with, nor would the Bastarnians be content with what they could purchase; nor could they be kept in a body, so as not to go out of the road. In consequence, injuries were committed on both sides; and, from the daily multiplication of these, war at last burst forth. When at last the Thracians were unable to withstand the great strength and numbers of the enemy, having deserted their towns in the plains, they betook themselves to a high mountain (they call it Donuca). When the Bastarnians wished to come up, such a tempest there discomfited them, when in vain approaching the summit of the mountain, as, we are told, destroyed the Gauls, when plundering Delphi. They were not only overwhelmed with a deluge of rain, followed by prodigious thick showers of hail, accompanied by tremendous noises in the sky, thunder, and lightning which dazzled their sight; but the thunderbolts, also, fell so frequently on all sides, that their bodies seemed to be aimed at: and not only the soldiers, but their officers also, being struck by them, fell. When therefore, in hasty flight, they, rushing on blindly, were scattered, and tumbling over very high rocks, and the Thracians also attacked them when already in dismay, they themselves then said, that the gods were the cause of the flight, and that the sky was falling on them. When, being dispersed by the storm, as by a shipwreck, they had returned (most of them half armed) to the camp whence they had set out, they then began to consider what they should do; on which a disagreement ensued, some advising to return home, and others to advance to Dardania. About thirty thousand men, under the command of Clondicus, arrived at that place; the rest marched back, by the same road through which they came, to the country beyond the Danube. Perseus, having got possession of the kingdom, ordered Antigonus to be put to death; and, until he could settle his affairs on a firm foundation, sent ambassadors to Rome, to renew the treaty concluded by his father, and to request the senate to give him the title of king. These were the transactions of that year in Macedon.

## 59

One of the consuls, Quintus Fulvius, triumphed over the Ligurians; which triumph, it was agreed, was granted rather to the greatness of his influence, than to that of his exploits. He carried in the procession a vast quantity of arms, taken from the enemy, but no money; yet he distributed to each soldier three hundred *asses*, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman. There was nothing in this triumph more remarkable, than that it happened to be celebrated on the same day of the year on which he had triumphed, after his prætorship, the year before. After the triumph he proclaimed the assembly of election, in which were chosen consuls, Marcus Junius Brutus, and Aulus Manlius Vulso. Afterwards, a storm interrupted the election of prætors, though three had been already elected; but on the following day, the fourth before the ides of March,<sup>309</sup> the other three were elected, Marcus Titinius Curvus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and Titus Fonteius Capito. The Roman games were renewed by the curule ædiles, Cneius Servilius Cæpio, and Appius Claudius Centho, on account of the prodigies which

<sup>309</sup> The eleventh of March.

had occurred. In the public forum, where a lectisternium was being celebrated, there was an earthquake, and the heads of the gods who were on the couches turned away their faces, and the cloak and robes placed on Jupiter fell off. It was also construed as a prodigy, that the mice gnawed the olives on the table. For the expiation of these, nothing more was done than repeating the celebration of the games.

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# Book XLI

*The sacred fire was extinguished in the temple of Vesta. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus conquered the Celtiberians and received their submission, and built the town Gracchuris in Spain, as a memorial of his exploits. The Vaccæans and Lusitanians also were subdued by the proconsul Postumius Albinus. Both generals triumphed. Antiochus, the son of Antiochus, having been delivered to the Romans by his father, as a hostage, on the death of his brother Seleucus, who had succeeded his father on his demise, being sent from Rome to the sovereignty of Syria, acted the part of a very worthless king, with the exception of his attention to religion, owing to which he erected many magnificent temples in various places; at Athens to Olympian, and at Antioch to Capitoline Jupiter. The lustrum was closed by the censors. Two hundred and sixty-three thousand two hundred and ninety-four citizens are said to have been rated. Quintus Voconius Saxa, tribune of the people, proposed a law, that no one should make a woman his heir. Marcus Cato advocated the law: his speech is extant. This book contains besides the successes against the Ligurians, Istrians, Sardinians, and Celtiberians, and the commencement of the Macedonian war, which Perseus, the son of Philip, was planning; for he had sent an embassy to the Carthaginians, which had been heard by them at night; and besides he was tampering with different states of Greece.<sup>310</sup>*

## 1

*The Roman people had now carried their victorious arms over all parts of the world, and far and wide had penetrated countries at a vast distance, and separated by several seas. Nevertheless, in such a tide of success flowing according to their wishes, having obtained a high character for moderation, they were more powerful by their influence than by their military sway; and they boasted frequently that they carried more measures with foreign nations by policy, than by violence and terror. Never insulting conquered nations and kings, generous to their allies, seeking for themselves the honour of victory only, to kings they had preserved their rank, to nations their laws, rights, and liberty, whether in a treaty formed with an equal or with an inferior; and although they had so encompassed, by their arms, both coasts of the Mediterranean, from Cadiz even as far as Syria, and had gained respect for the Roman name through immense tracts of territory, yet the only subjects they had, were the nations of Sicily and the islands on the coast of Italy, and the tribes of the greater part of Spain, which had not yet learned to bear their yoke with resignation. It was the ill-timed treachery of their enemies and rivals, rather than their own ambition, that afforded them cause and material for the increase of their sway. As a special instance: the cruelty of Perseus, who obtained the kingdom of Macedon by treachery and crime, displayed towards his subjects, detested by all, his frantic avarice in the midst of boundless wealth, his inconsiderate levity in the adoption and prosecution of his plans, both destroyed him, and whatever could remain independent, as long as he existed, the principal restraint on the Roman power; for his fall recoiled upon others, and brought with it not only the downfall of his neighbours, but also that of those who were far removed from him. The fall of Carthage and of the Achæans followed the ruin of the Macedonians:*

<sup>310</sup> This book is very imperfect; a great part of the beginning of it is lost; and there are, besides, considerable chasms in other parts of it. The supplemental passages which the translator has introduced, to complete the connexion, are taken from Crevier. They are printed in a different character.

*and when the state of all was convulsed by their disasters, the rest of the empires, already tottering for some time, were overthrown shortly after, and all fell beneath the Roman sway. It was my intention to lay here before the reader at a glance these events, so intimately connected in interest, though occurring at different times and places, whilst he contemplated the war impending over the Romans from Perseus, from which especially the Roman power drew the sources of its growth. Perseus was then concocting that war in secret; the Ligurians and Gauls provoked rather than employed the Roman arms.*

## 2

*Gaul and the Ligurians were the provinces assigned to the consuls, Marcus Junius Brutus, Aulus Manlius Vulso: Gaul was assigned to Manlius, Liguria to Junius. As to the prætors, the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Titinius Curvus; the foreign, to Tiberius Claudius Nero; Sicily, to Publius Ælius Ligus; Sardinia, to Titus Æbutius; Hither Spain, to the other Marcus Titinius, for there were two of that name prætors in that year; and the Farther Spain, to Titus Fonteius Capito. A fire broke out in the forum, by which very many buildings were burnt to the ground, and the temple of Venus was entirely consumed. The sacred fire of Vesta was extinguished: the virgin who had the care of it was punished with stripes, by order of Marcus Æmilius, the chief pontiff, and supplication was performed, as usual in such cases. In this year the lustrum was closed by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, censors, in which were rated two hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred and forty-four citizens. The ambassadors of Perseus arrived, requiring that he should be saluted by the senate as king, ally, and friend, and that the treaty should be renewed with him which had existed with his father Philip. Perseus was an object of hatred and suspicion to the Romans, and most of them had no doubt, that as soon as an opportunity was presented, and his strength appeared to him adequate to the struggle, he would wage against the Romans the war, prepared in secret by Philip, for so many years. However, that they might not appear to have provoked him when quiet and desirous of peace, and to have themselves furnished him with a cause for war, they conceded to him his demands. Perseus, when this answer was received, supposing that the kingdom was secured to him, began to acquire influence among the Greeks. Being desirous therefore of procuring their friendship, he recalled into Macedon all, without exception, who had gone into exile, when condemned for debt or by any judicial proceeding, and those who had left Macedon for high treason, by edicts, openly announced in the island of Delos, and at Delphi, and at the temple of Minerva at Itone, in which he granted to those returning not only pardon, but also restoration of all their property, with the income, from that period in which each became an exile. He also remitted to those who were living in Macedon whatever was due to the royal exchequer; and released all those imprisoned for high treason. When by these acts he had encouraged the minds of many, he turned the attention of all Greece towards himself, and filled it with great hope. And besides, in the entire deportment of the rest of his life, he preserved the dignity of a king; for his mien was noble, and his person well fitted to discharge all the duties of war and peace; and his age, now matured, possessed a graceful majesty, beaming from brow and forehead. He had none of his father's wantonness, and licentious passions for women and wine. By these praiseworthy acts Perseus rendered the beginning of his reign agreeable, although it was destined to have a termination very different from its commencement.*

## 3

*Before those prætors who had obtained by lot the Spains could come to their provinces, great exploits were there performed by Postumius and Gracchus. But the praise of*

*Gracchus was extraordinary, for he being in the prime of life, since he far surpassed all his coevals in courage and prudence, even then was lauded greatly by fame, and raised greater hope of himself with regard to the future. Twenty thousand Celtiberians were besieging Carabi, a city in alliance with the Romans. Gracchus hastened to bear aid to his allies. That anxiety tortured him, how he could signify his intention to the besieged, while the enemy pressed the city with so close a blockade, that it scarcely appeared possible that an enemy could reach it. The daring of Cominius executed the difficult task. He being præfect of a troop of horse, having previously weighed over the matter with himself, and having informed Gracchus of what he was preparing, dressed himself in a Spanish military cloak, and mixed with the enemy's foragers. Having entered the camp with them he galloped from it to the city, and announced the approach of Tiberius. The townsmen, being aroused by this intelligence from the depth of despair to cheerfulness and daring, and having determined to fight bravely to the last, were relieved from blockade on the third day, in consequence of the enemy having departed on the arrival of Gracchus. He himself having been afterwards attacked by a stratagem of the barbarians, by the union of skill and strength, so repelled the danger, that the artifice recoiled on its originators. There was a town, Complega by name, that had been built several years before, but strengthened by fortifications and increased by speedy additions, into which many of the Spaniards had flocked, who previously straggled here and there in need of territory. About twenty thousand men coming forth from that city in the garb of suppliants, and holding forth branches of olive, stood in view of the camp as if entreating peace. Immediately, having cast away the emblems of suppliants, and having suddenly attacked the Romans, they fill every place with alarm and consternation. Gracchus, by a prudent counsel, deserted the camp under the pretence of flight: and whilst they were plundering it with the usual greediness of barbarians, and were encumbering themselves with the spoil, he suddenly returned, and attacking them when in no apprehensions of such an evil, slew the most of them, and even made himself master of their town. There are some who tell the story differently: that Gracchus, when he had discovered that the enemy were distressed from want of food, abandoned his camp, which was very well furnished with all articles of food; that the enemy, having taken possession of it, and having intemperately filled themselves with what they had found, and gorged themselves to repletion, were suddenly cut off by the return of the Roman army.*

#### 4

*But whether this is a different way of telling the same exploit, or quite a different affair and different victory, it is certain that Gracchus completely conquered several tribes, and moreover the entire nation of the Celtiberians. I would not however have the hardihood to assert that he took and destroyed three hundred of their cities, although Polybius, a writer of the highest authority, makes mention of it; unless that under the name of cities we include towers and castles: by which description of falsehood both the generals in wars and the writers of histories take delight in setting off exploits. For Spain, with its dry and uncultivated soil, could not support a large number of cities. The wild and uncivilized manners of the Spaniards, with the exception of those that dwell on our sea, are also at variance with the assertion, since the dispositions of men are accustomed to become more mild by the meeting with fellow-citizens which occurs in towns. But whatever we may determine concerning the number or description of the cities taken by Sempronius, (for writers vary also in the number, and some have related that one hundred and fifty towns were taken by him, others that one hundred and three was the number,) he certainly performed noble achievements; nor was he distinguished by the praises he received in war*

*only; but he also proved himself unparalleled in arranging and arbitrating peace and laws for the conquered nations. For he distributed lands among the poor and assigned them habitations, and by giving and receiving an oath, secured to all the tribes inhabiting that country, laws clearly defined, according to which they were to live in friendship and alliance with the Roman people. And posterity often appealed to the authority of this treaty in the wars which afterwards broke out. Gracchus appointed that the town which was hitherto called Illurcis, should be distinguished by his own name, and called Gracchuris, as a monument of his merit and actions. The report of the acts of Postumius is more involved in obscurity. However the Vaccæans and Lusitanians were conquered by him, and forty thousand of these nations were slain. These affairs being transacted, they both, when they had delivered up the armies and provinces to their successors on their arrival, went home to triumph. In Gaul, Manlius the consul, to whom that province had fallen, when material for a triumph was wanting, eagerly seized an opportunity presented by fortune, of waging war against the Istrians. They had aided the Ætolians on a former occasion when making war against the Romans, and lately too had given trouble. At that time Æpulo, a king of a violent disposition, ruled them, who was said to have armed the nation trained to peace by his father, and therefore was much endeared to the youth desirous of plundering.*

## 1

When the consul held a council on the subject of a war with Istria, some were of opinion that it ought to be begun immediately, before the enemy could collect forces; others, that the senate ought first to be consulted; the opinion was adopted which opposed delay. Accordingly the consul, marching from Aquileia, pitched his camp at the lake Timavus, which lies very near the sea. Thither came Caius Furius, one of the naval commanders, with ten ships; for two naval commanders had been appointed against the fleet of the Illyrians, and these commanders, with twenty ships for the protection of the coast of the Hadriatic, were to make Ancona, as it were, the pivot of their position; so that Lucius Cornelius had to guard the coasts on the right, extending from the latter place to Tarentum; and Caius Furius those on the left, as far as Aquileia. This squadron was sent to the nearest port in the Istrian territory, with a number of transports and a large store of provisions; while the consul, following with the legions, encamped at the distance of about five miles from the coast. A plentiful market was soon established at the port, and every thing conveyed thence to the camp. That this might be done with greater safety, out-posts were fixed around the camp; a newly-levied cohort of Placentines was posted between the camp and the sea, as a picket in the direction of Istria; and that the watering-parties might likewise have protection at the river, orders were given to Marcus Æbutius, military tribune, to take thither two companies of the second legion. Titus and Caius Ælius, military tribunes, led out the third legion on the road towards Aquileia, in support of those that went for food and forage. In the same quarter, nearly a mile distant, was the camp of the Gauls: Catmelus acted as their chieftain, and they were not more than three thousand armed men.

## 2

When the Roman army first reached the lake Timavus, the Istrians took post behind a hill, where they could not be seen; and on its march thence followed it through by-ways, watching attentively for some opportunity that might give them an advantage; nor did any thing that was done, either on land or sea, escape their observation. When they saw that the advanced guards of the Romans were weak, and that the market-place was

filled with an unarmed crowd of persons trafficking between the camp and the sea, and that they had not fortified themselves either by works on land, or by the help of ships, they made an assault on two of their posts at once, that of the Placentine cohort, and that of the two companies of the second legion. A morning fog concealed their design; and when this began to disperse as the sun grew warm, the light piercing through it in some degree, yet still being far from clear, and, as usual in such cases, magnifying the appearance of every thing, deceived the Romans, and made the army of the enemy appear much greater to them than it really was. And when the troops in both the posts, terrified, had fled in the utmost confusion to the camp, there they caused much greater alarm than that which they were under themselves: for they could neither tell what made them fly nor answer any question that was asked. Then a shouting was heard at all the gates, since there were no guards at them which could withstand an attack: and the crowding together of the soldiers, who fell one against the other in the dark, raised a doubt as to whether the enemy was within the rampart. One only cry was heard, that of those urging to the sea. This cry uttered by one, and without an objected by chance, resounded every where throughout the entire camp. At first, therefore, a few with their arms and a greater part without them, as if they had received orders so to do, ran off to the sea shore; then followed more, and at length almost the whole of the army, and the consul himself, when, having attempted in vain to call back the fugitives, he had effected nothing by commands, advice, and, at last, by entreaties. Marcus Licinius Strabo, a military tribune of the third legion, with three companies alone, remained, being left behind by his legion. The Istrians having made an attack on the empty camp, after that no other had met them in arms came upon him while he was drawing up and encouraging his men at the general's quarters; the fight was maintained with more resolution than might be anticipated, from the small number of the defenders; nor did it cease until the tribune, and those who stood round him, were all slain. The enemy then, tearing down the general's tent, and seizing on all they could find, went on to the quæstor's quarters, and the adjoining forum, called Quintana. Thereupon, when they found all kinds of food dressed and laid out in the quæstor's tent, and the couches placed in order, their chieftain lay down and began to feast. Presently all the rest, thinking no more of fighting or of the enemy, did the same; and being unaccustomed to any sort of rich food, they greedily gorged themselves with meat and wine.

### 3

The appearance of affairs among the Romans was by no means the same. There was confusion both on land and sea; the mariners struck their tents, and hastily conveyed on board the provisions which had been sent on shore; the soldiers in a panic rushed into the boats, and even into the water. Some of the seamen, in fear lest their vessels should be overcrowded, opposed the entrance of the multitude, while others pushed off from the shore into the deep. Hence arose a dispute, and in a short time a fight, accompanied by wounds and loss of lives, both of soldiers and seamen; until by order of the consul, the fleet was removed to a distance from the shore. He next set about separating the armed from the unarmed; out of so large a number, there were scarcely found twelve hundred who had preserved their arms; very few horsemen who had brought their horses with them; while the rest were an ill-looking throng, like servants and sutlers, and would certainly have fallen a prey, if the enemy had not neglected the war. At length an express was despatched to call in the third legion and the out-post of the Gauls; and at the same time the troops began to march back from all parts in order to retake the camp, and wipe off their disgrace. The military tribunes of the third legion ordered their

men to throw away the forage and wood, and commanded the centurions to mount two elderly soldiers on horses from which the loads were thrown down, and each of the cavalry to take a young foot soldier with him on his horse. He told them, "it would be a great honour to their legion, if they should recover, by bravery, the camp which had been lost by the cowardice of the second; and that this might be easily effected, if the barbarians were surprised while busied in plundering. In like manner as they had taken it, so might it be retaken." His exhortation was received by the army with the utmost alacrity; they eagerly bear on the standards, nor do the soldiers delay the standard-bearers. However the consul, and the troops which were led back from the shore, reached the rampart first. Lucius Atius, first tribune of the second legion, not only urged on his men, but informed them also, that "if the Istrians meant to retain the camp, which they had taken, by the same arms by which they took it, they would, in the first place, have pursued their enemy driven from his camp to the sea; and, in the next place, they would certainly have stationed guards outside the rampart; and that it was very likely that they were lying in sleep, or drowned in wine."

## 4

Immediately after this, he ordered his own standard-bearer, Aulus Bæculonius, a man of known bravery, to bear in the standard; who replied, that if the men were willing to follow him, he would cause it to be done more quickly. Then, exerting all his strength, after throwing the standard across the intrenchment, he was the first that entered the gate. And on the other side, Titus Ælius and Caius Ælius, military tribunes of the third legion, with their cavalry arrived; and, quickly after them, the soldiers whom they had mounted in pairs on the beasts of burden; also the consul with the main body. Only a few of the Istrians, who had drunk in moderation, betook themselves to flight: death succeeded as the continuation of the sleep of the others; and the Romans recovered all their effects unimpaired, except the victuals and wine which had been consumed. The soldiers, too, who had been left sick in the camp, when they saw their countrymen within the trenches, snatched up arms, and committed great slaughter. The bravery of Caius Popilius, a horseman, was pre-eminent above that of all. His surname was Labellus. He had been left behind in the camp, on account of a wound in his foot, notwithstanding which he slew by far the greatest number of the enemy. About eight thousand Istrians were killed, but not one prisoner taken; for rage and indignation had made the Romans regardless of booty. The king of the Istrians, though drunk after his banquet, was hastily mounted on a horse by his people, and effected his escape. Of the conquerors there were lost two hundred and thirty-seven men; more of whom fell in the fight in the morning, than in the retaking of the camp.

## 5

It happened that Cneius and Lucius Cavillius, new citizens of Aquileia, coming with a convoy of provisions, and not knowing what had passed, were very near going into the camp after it was taken by the Istrians. These men, when, leaving their baggage, they had fled back to Aquileia, filled all things with consternation and alarm, not only there, but, in a few days after, at Rome also; to which intelligence was brought, not only that the camp was taken, and that the troops ran away, as was really the case, but that every thing was lost and that the whole army was entirely cut off. Wherefore, as is usual in a dangerous emergency, extraordinary levies were ordered by proclamation, both in the city and throughout all Italy. Two legions of Roman citizens were raised, and ten thousand foot and five hundred horse were demanded from the allies of the Latin

nation. The consul Marcus Junius was ordered to pass on into Gaul, and demand from the several states of that province, whatever number of troops each was able to supply. At the same time it was decreed that Tiberius Claudius, the prætor, should issue orders for the fourth legion, and five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, of the Latins, to assemble at Pisæ; and that he should guard that province during the consul's absence; and that Marcus Titinius, the prætor, should order the first legion, and an equal number of allied foot and horse, to meet at Ariminum. Nero, habited in general's robes, set out for Pisæ, which was in his province. Titinius, after sending Caius Cassius, military tribune, to Ariminum, to take the command of the legion there, held a levy at Rome. The consul, Marcus Junius, passed over from Liguria into the province of Gaul, and having immediately ordered a levy of auxiliaries through the states of Gaul, and having ordered the colonies to send soldiers, came to Aquileia. There he learned that the army was safe; wherefore, after despatching a letter to Rome, that they might be no longer alarmed, he sent home the auxiliaries, which he had ordered the Gauls to furnish, and proceeded himself to join his colleague. There was great joy at Rome after the unexpected news; the levies were stopped, the soldiers who had taken the military oath were discharged, and the troops at Ariminum, who were afflicted with a pestilential sickness, were remanded home. The Istrians, when they with a numerous force were encamped at no great distance from the consul, after they heard that the other consul was arrived with a new army, dispersed, and returned to their several states. The consuls led back their legions into winter quarters at Aquileia.

## 6

The alarm caused by the affairs of Istria being at length composed, a decree of the senate was passed, that the consuls should settle between themselves which of them should come to Rome, to preside at the elections. When two plebeian tribunes, Aulus Licinius Narva and Caius Papirius Turdus, in their harangues to the people, uttered severe reflections on Manlius, then abroad; and proposed the passing of an order, that although the government of their provinces had already been continued to the consuls for a year, yet Manlius should not hold command beyond the ides of March; in order that he might immediately, after going out of office, be brought to trial. Against this proposition, Quintus Ælius, another tribune, protested; and, after violent struggles, prevailed so far, as to prevent its being passed. About this time, when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Lucius Postumius Albinus came home from Spain, an audience of the senate is granted to them, by Marcus Titinius the prætor, to speak of the services which they had rendered, and demand the honours they had merited, and also that thanksgiving should be offered to the immortal gods. At the same time also it was known by the letters of Titus Æbutius the prætor, which his son brought to the senate, that there was great commotion in Sardinia. The Iliensians, having added to their forces Balearian auxiliaries, had invaded the province though at peace with them; nor could resistance be offered to them by a weak army, which had besides lost great numbers by a pestilence. Ambassadors from the Sardinians made the same representations, entreating the senate to send relief to their cities; for as to the country, it was already entirely ruined. This embassy, and every thing which referred to Sardinia, was referred to the new magistrates. There was an embassy from the Lycians, no less entitled to commiseration, who complained of the cruel treatment which they suffered from the Rhodians, to whose government they had been annexed by Lucius Cornelius Scipio. "They had formerly," they said, "been under the dominion of Antiochus, and their bondage under that king, compared to their present condition, appeared an honourable

state of liberty; that they were not only oppressed by acts of government, but individually underwent real slavery. That they themselves, their wives, and children, were abused alike by them; that cruelties were practised on their persons, and their character blotted and dishonoured, a circumstance which would excite the indignation of every one. They were openly treated with contemptuous insults, merely for the purpose of exercising an usurped prerogative, that they might not doubt that there was no difference between them and purchased slaves." The senate was highly displeased at such proceedings, and gave the Lycians a letter to the Rhodians, acquainting them, that "it was the will of the senate, that neither the Lycians should be subjected to the Rhodians as slaves, nor should any other men who were born free become the slaves of any one; but that the Lycians should be under the government, and, at the same time, the protection of the Rhodians, in like manner as the allied states were subjected to the Roman people."

## 7

Two triumphs for conquests in Spain were then successively celebrated. First, Sempronius Gracchus triumphed over the Celtiberians and their allies; next day, Lucius Postumius triumphed over the Lusitanians, and the other Spaniards in that quarter. Tiberius Gracchus carried in the procession forty thousand pounds' weight of silver, Albinus twenty thousand. They distributed to each of their soldiers twenty-five denariuses,<sup>311</sup> double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman; the same sums to the allied troops as to the Roman. The consul, Marcus Junius, happened to arrive at Rome at this time from Istria, in order to hold the elections. The plebeian tribunes, Papirius and Licinius, after harassing him in the senate, with questions relative to what had passed in Istria, brought him into the assembly of the people. To which inquiries the consul answered, that "he had been not more than eleven days in that province; and that as to what had happened when he was not present, he, like themselves, gained his information from report." But they still proceeded to ask, "why, then, did not Manlius rather come to Rome, that he might account to the Roman people for his having quitted Gaul, the province allotted to him, and gone into Istria? When had the senate decreed a war with that nation? When had the people ordered it? But he will say, 'Though the war was indeed undertaken by private authority, yet it was conducted with prudence and courage.' On the contrary, it is impossible to say, whether it was undertaken with greater injustice than the rashness with which it was conducted. Two advanced guards were surprised by the Istrians; a Roman camp was taken, with whatever infantry and cavalry were in it; the rest in disorder, without arms, and among the foremost the consul himself, fled to the shore and the ships. But he should answer for all these matters when he became a private citizen, since he had been unwilling to do so while consul."

## 8

The elections were then held, in which Caius Claudius Pulcher and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus were chosen consuls. Next day the following persons were elected præters, Publius Ælius Tubero, a second time, Caius Quintus Flaminius, Caius Numisius, Lucius Mummius, Cneius Cornelius Scipio, and Publius Valerius Lævinus. The city jurisdiction fell, by lot, to Tubero; the foreign, to Quintus; Sicily, to Numisius; and Sardinia, to Mummius; but this last, on account of the importance of the war there, was made a consular province. Gracchus obtains it by lot; Claudius, Istria; Scipio and Lævinus

<sup>311</sup> 15s. 7-1/2d.

received Gaul, which was divided into two provinces. On the ides of March, the day when Sempronius and Claudius assumed the administration, a cursory mention only was of the provinces of Sardinia and of Istria, and of those who had commenced hostilities there; but on the day following, the ambassadors of the Sardinians, who had been referred to the new magistrates, were introduced, and Lucius Minucius Thermus, lieutenant-general under the consul Manlius in Istria, attended; and by them the senate was accurately informed how far these provinces were involved in war. Ambassadors from the confederate states of Latium, who, after having ineffectually applied to the former consuls and censors, were at last introduced to an audience, made a powerful impression on the senate. The amount of their complaints was that "their citizens, having been rated in the general survey at Rome, had most of them removed thither; and that if this practice were allowed, it would come to pass, in the course of a very few lustrums, that their deserted towns and country would be unable to furnish any soldiers." The Samnites and the Pelignians also represented, that four thousand families had emigrated to Fregellæ; and that neither of these places furnished less soldiers on that account. That there had been practised two species of fraud in individuals changing their citizenship: there was a law, which granted liberty to any of the allies or Latins, who should not leave his offspring at home, to be enrolled a citizen of Rome; yet, by an abuse of this law, some did injury to the allies, others to the Roman people. For, at first, to evade the leaving offspring at home, they made over their children as slaves to some Roman, under an agreement that they should be again set free, and thus become citizens by emancipation; and then those men, who had now no children to leave, became Roman citizens. Afterwards, they neglected even these appearances of law; and, without any regard either to the ordinances or to progeny, passed indiscriminately into the Roman state by migration, and getting themselves included in the survey. To prevent such proceedings in future, the ambassadors requested the senate to order the allies to return to their respective states, and to provide by a law that no one should make any man his property, or alienate such property for the purpose of a change of citizenship; and that if any person should by such means be made a citizen of Rome, he should not enjoy the rights of a citizen."

## 9

The senate granted their petitions; and then Sardinia and Istria, the provinces which were in arms, were disposed of. Two legions were ordered to be enrolled for Sardinia, each containing five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse; and of allies and Latins, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse; and it was decided that the consul should have ten ships, of five banks of oars, if he should think it requisite to take them from the docks. The same numbers of infantry and cavalry were decreed for Istria as for Sardinia. The consuls were ordered to send into Spain to Marcus Titinius, one legion, with three hundred horse and five thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse of the allies. Before the consuls cast lots for their provinces, several prodigies were reported: that in the Crustumine territory, a stone fell from the sky into the grove of Mars; that in the Roman territory, a boy was born defective in his limbs; that a serpent with four feet had been seen; that at Capua, many buildings in the forum were struck by lightning; and, that at Puteoli, two ships were burned by lightning. Amidst these prodigies which were reported from abroad, a wolf also, after entering Rome by the Colline gate, was chased during the day, and, to the great consternation of its pursuers, escaped through the Esquiline gate. On account of these prodigies, the consuls sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, and there was a supplication, for one day, at all the

shrines. When the sacrifices were duly performed, they cast lots for their provinces; Istria fell to Claudius, Sardinia to Sempronius. Then Caius Claudius, by direction of the senate, proposed a law and issued a proclamation, that "any of the allies and Latin confederates, who themselves, or whose ancestors, had been surveyed among the associated states of Latium in the censorship of Marcus Claudius and Titus Quintius, or at any time since, should all return, each to his respective state, before the calends of November." Inquiry concerning such as did not obey, was intrusted to Lucius Mummius the prætor. To the law and the proclamation of the consul, was added a decree of the senate, that "the dictator, consul, interrex, censor, or prætor, who then should be in office, before whom any slave should be brought, to receive manumission, should cause the said slave who was about to be made free, to make oath, that the person giving him liberty did not do it for the purpose of his changing his citizenship;" they ordered that he, whoever would not swear this oath, should not be manumitted. The cognizance and jurisdiction in this business was, for the future, assigned to Caius Claudius the consul.

## 10

While these matters passed at Rome, Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, the consuls of the preceding year, after remaining during the winter at Aquileia, led their army early in the spring into the Istrian territories; where when they spread their depredations through a great part of the country, grief and indignation, rather than any well-grounded hope of being able to make head against these joint forces, roused the Istrians, on perceiving the plunder of their property. A hasty levy of their young men being made from all their cantons this raw and tumultuary army made its first onset with more vigour than perseverance. About four thousand of them were slain in the field; and the rest, giving over the war, fled in different directions to their respective states. Soon after, they sent ambassadors to the Roman camp to sue for peace, and then delivered up the hostages required of them. When these transactions were made known at Rome, by letters from the proconsul, Caius Claudius, the consul, fearing that this proceeding might, perhaps, take the province and the army out of his hands, without offering vows, without assuming the military habit, and unaccompanied by his lictors, having acquainted his colleague alone with his intention, set out in the night, and with the utmost speed hastened to the province, where he conducted himself even with less prudence than he had shown in coming. For, in an assembly which he called, after making severe remarks on Manlius's running away from the camp, which were very offensive to the ears of the soldiers, as they themselves had begun the flight, and after railing at Marcus Junius, as having made himself a sharer in the disgrace of his colleague, he at last ordered both of them to quit the province. And when they replied, that when the consul should come, in the regular manner, agreeably to ancient practice; when he should set out from the city, after offering vows in the Capitol, attended by his lictors and dressed in the military habit, then they would obey his orders. Maddened by anger, he summoned the person who acted as quæstor to Manlius, and ordered him to bring fetters, threatening to send Junius and Manlius to Rome in chains. The consul's command was slighted by this man too; and the surrounding crowd of soldiers, who favoured the cause of their commanders, and were incensed against the consul, supplied him with resolution to refuse obedience. At last the consul, overpowered by the reproaches of individuals and the scoffs of the multitude, for they even turned him into ridicule, went back to Aquileia in the same ship in which he had come. Thence he wrote to his colleague, desiring him to give notice to that part of the new-raised troops who were enlisted for Istria, to assemble at Aquileia, in order that he should have no

delay at Rome, but set out, in the military habit, as soon as the ceremony of offering vows was finished. These directions his colleague punctually executed, and an early day was appointed for the assembling of the troops. Claudius almost overtook his own letter. On his arrival he called an assembly, that he might represent the conduct of Manlius and Junius; and, staying only three days in Rome, he offered his vows in the Capitol, put on the military habit, and, attended by his lictors, set out to his province with the same rapid speed which he had used in the former journey.

## 11

A few days before his arrival, Junius and Manlius had laid vigorous siege to the town of Nesatium, in which the principal Istrians, and Epulo their king, had shut themselves up. Claudius, bringing thither the two new legions, dismissed the old army, with its commanders; invested the town himself; and prosecuted the siege with regular works. He by the labour of many days changed the course of, and carried away in a new channel, a river which flowed on the outside of the wall, and greatly impeded the proceedings of the besiegers, while it supplied the Istrians with water. This event, of the water being cut off, terrified the barbarians, as if effected by some supernatural power; yet still they entertained no thoughts of peace, but set about killing their wives and children; exhibiting a spectacle shocking even to their enemies; and, after putting them to death in open view on the walls, tumbled them down. Amid the simultaneous shrieking of women and children, and this horrid carnage, the soldiers, scaling the walls, effected an entrance into the town. As soon as the king heard the uproar of the captured city, from the cries of terror uttered by the flying inhabitants, he plunged his sword into his breast, that he might not be taken alive; the rest were either killed or taken prisoners. After this, two other towns, Mutila and Faveria, were stormed and destroyed. The booty, which exceeded expectation, considering the poverty of the nation, was all given up to the soldiers. Five thousand six hundred and thirty-two persons were sold by auction, and the fomenters of the war were beaten with rods and beheaded. By the destruction of these three towns, and the death of the king, the whole country of Istria was brought to terms of peace; every one of its states, giving hostages, submitted to the dominion of the Romans.

## 12

For some time before, the conclusion of the war with Istria, consultations were held among the Ligurians about the renewal of hostilities. Tiberius Claudius, proconsul, who had been consul the year before, with a garrison of one legion, held the command of Pisæ. And when the senate was informed by his letter of their proceedings, they vote that "the same letter should be carried to Caius Claudius," for the other consul had already crossed over into Sardinia; and they added a decree, that, since the province of Istria was subdued, he might, if he thought proper, lead his army into Liguria. At the same time, a supplication for two days was decreed, in consequence of the letter which he wrote concerning his actions in Istria. The other consul, Sempronius, likewise was successful in his operations in Sardinia. He carried his army into the territory of the Ilian tribe of Sardinians. Powerful reinforcements from the Balarians had come to the Ilians. He fought a pitched battle against the combined forces of the two states. The enemy were routed and put to flight, and driven from their camp; twelve thousand armed men were slain. Next day, the consul ordered their arms to be gathered into a heap and burned, as an offering to Vulcan. He then led back his victorious troops into winter quarters in the allied cities. Caius Claudius, on receipt of the letter of Tiberius

Claudius and the decree of the senate, marched his legions out of Istria into Liguria. The enemy, having advanced into the plains, were encamped on the river Scultenna: here a pitched battle was fought, in which fifteen thousand of the enemy were killed, and about seven hundred captured in the fight, and in the camp, for that too was stormed; and also fifty-one military standards were taken. The Ligurians who survived the slaughter, fled back in every direction into the mountains. No appearance of arms any where met the consul while ravaging the low country. Claudius, having thus in one year subdued two nations, and, what has rarely been achieved in a single consulate, completed the reduction of two provinces, came home to Rome.

### 13

Several prodigies were reported this year: that at Crustumium a bird, which they call the ospray, cut a sacred stone with its beak; that a cow spoke in Campania; that at Syracuse a brazen statue of a cow was mounted by a farmer's bull which had strayed from the herd. A supplication of one day was performed in Crustumium, on the spot; the cow at Campania was ordered to be maintained at the public expense, and the prodigy at Syracuse was expiated, the deities to whom supplications should be offered, being declared by the aruspices. This year died, in the office of pontiff, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who had been consul and censor; and his son, Marcus Marcellus, was chosen into the vacant place. The same year a colony of two thousand Roman citizens was settled at Luca. The triumvirs, Publius Ælius, Lucius Egilius, and Cneius Sicinius, planted it. Fifty-one acres and a half of land were given to each. This land had been taken from the Ligurians, and had been the property of the Etrurians, before it fell into their possession. Caius Claudius, the consul, arrived at the city, and after laying before the senate a detail of his successful services in Istria and Liguria, a triumph was decreed to him on demanding it. He triumphed, in office, over the two nations at once. In this procession he carried three hundred and seven thousand denariuses,<sup>312</sup> and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and two quinariuses.<sup>313</sup> To each soldier fifteen denariuses<sup>314</sup> were given, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman. The allied soldiers received less, by half, than the native troops, for which reason they followed his chariot in silence to show their disgust.

### 14

While this triumph over the Ligurians was celebrated, that people, perceiving that not only the consular army returned to Rome, but also that the legion at Pisæ had been disbanded by Tiberius Claudius, shaking off their fears, and collecting an army secretly, crossed the mountains by winding paths, and came down into the plains, and after ravaging the lands of Mutina, by a sudden assault they gained possession of the colony itself. When this account was brought to Rome, the senate ordered Caius Claudius, the consul, to hold the elections as soon as possible, and (after appointing magistrates for the ensuing year) to go back to his province, and rescue the colony out of the hands of the enemy. The elections were held as the senate had directed; and Cneius Cornelius Scipio Hispalus, with Quintus Petillius Spurius, were chosen consuls. Then Marcus Popillius Lænas, Publius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Cornelius Scipio, Lucius Papirius Maso, Marcus Aburius, and Lucius Aquilius Gallus, were elected prætors. To Caius Claudius, the consul, his command was prolonged for a year, and likewise the

<sup>312</sup> 9593l. 15s.

<sup>313</sup> 1339l. 1s. 10-1/2d.

<sup>314</sup> 9s. 4-1/2d.

administration of the province of Gaul; and he was ordered, lest the Istrians should follow the example of the Ligurians, to send into Istria the allied Latin troops, which he had brought home to attend his triumph. When the consuls, Cneius Cornelius and Quintus Petillius, on the day of entering into office, according to custom, sacrificed each an ox to Jupiter, the head of the liver was not found in the victim sacrificed by Petillius; which being reported to the senate, he was ordered to sacrifice oxen until the omens should be favourable. The senate being then consulted concerning the provinces, decreed Pisæ and Liguria to be the provinces of the consuls. They ordered that he to whose lot Pisæ fell, should, at the time of the elections, come home to preside at them; and that they should severally enlist two new legions and three hundred horse; and should order the allies, and Latin confederates, to furnish ten thousand foot and six hundred horse to each. The command was prolonged to Tiberius Claudius, until such time as the consul should arrive in the province.

## 15

While the senate was employed in these affairs, Caius Cornelius, being called by a beadle, went out of the senate-house; and, after a short time, returned with a troubled countenance, and told the conscript fathers that the liver of a fat ox, which he had sacrificed, had melted away; that, when this was told him by the person who dressed the victims, he did not believe it, and he himself ordered the water to be poured out of the vessel in which the entrails were boiled; and he saw all entire but the liver, which had been unaccountably consumed. While the fathers were under much terror on account of this prodigy, their alarm was augmented by the other consul, who informed them that, on account of the first victim having wanted the head of the liver, he had sacrificed three oxen, and had not yet found favourable omens. The senate ordered him to continue sacrificing the larger victims until he should find favourable omens. They say that the victims offered to the other deities at length presented good omens; but that in those offered to Health, Petillius could find none such. Then the consuls and prætors cast lots for their provinces, when Pisæ fell to Cneius Cornelius; Liguria, to Petillius. Of the prætors, Lucius Papius Maso obtained the city jurisdiction; Marcus Abutius, the foreign; Marcus Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis, the Farther Spain; Lucius Aquilius Gallus, Sicily. Two of them petitioned to be excused from going into their provinces. First, Marcus Popillius requested that he might not be obliged to go to Sardinia, alleging that "Gracchus was bringing that province into a state of tranquillity; that Titus Æbutius the præter had been given to him by the senate as his assistant; and that it was by no means expedient to interrupt the train of business, for the completion of which there was no method so efficacious as the continuing the management in the same hands; that, amid the transfer of command and initiation of the successors, who must be impressed with a knowledge of circumstances before they can proceed to action, opportunities of successfully transacting matters were frequently lost." The excuse of Popillius was admitted. Then Publius Licinius Crassus alleged that he was prevented from going into his province by solemn sacrifices. That which had fallen to his lot was Hither Spain. But he was ordered either to proceed thither, or to swear in the public assembly that he was hindered by the performance of solemn anniversary sacrifices. When this determination was made in the case of Publius Licinius, Marcus Cornelius demanded that his oath, of the like import, might be admitted as an excuse for his not going into the Farther Spain. Both the prætors accordingly took an oath in the same words. Marcus Titinius and Titus Fonteius, proconsuls, were ordered to remain in Spain, with authority as before; and it was decreed that a reinforcement should be sent

to them of three thousand Roman foot, with two hundred horse; and five hundred Latin foot, with three hundred horse.

## 16

The Latin festival was celebrated on the third day before the nones of May;<sup>315</sup> and because, on the offering of one of the victims, the magistrate of Lanuvium had not prayed for the Roman people, the Quirites, religious scruples were felt. When the matter was laid before the senate, and they referred it to the college of pontiffs, the latter determined that the Latin festival had not been duly performed, and must be repeated; and that the Lanuvians, on whose account they were repeated, should furnish the victims. Besides the concern excited by matters of a religious nature, another incident caused no small degree of uneasiness. The consul Cneius Cornelius, as he was returning from the Alban mount, fell down. And being paralysed in part of his limbs, set out for the waters of Cumæ, where, his disorder still increasing, he died. His body was conveyed to Rome to be buried, and the funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence: he was likewise a pontiff. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, was ordered to hold an assembly, as soon as the auspices could be taken, for the election of a consul in the room of his late colleague, and to proclaim the Latin festival. Accordingly, by proclamation, he fixed the election for the third day before the nones of August,<sup>316</sup> and the Latin festival for the third before the ides of the same month.<sup>317</sup> While the minds of the people were full of religious fears, to add thereto, several prodigies were reported to have happened; that a blazing torch was seen in the sky at Tusculum; that the temple of Apollo, and many private buildings at Gabii, and a wall and gate at Gravisçæ, were struck by lightning. The senate ordered these to be expiated as the pontiffs should direct. While the consuls were detained, at first by religious ceremonies, and afterwards, one of them, by the death of the other, and then by the election and the repetition of the Latin festival, in the mean time Caius Claudius marched the army to Mutina, which the Ligurians had taken the year before. Before three days had elapsed from the commencement of the siege he retook it, and delivered it back to the colonists; on this occasion eight thousand Ligurians were killed within the walls. He immediately despatched a letter to Rome, in which he not only represented this success, but likewise boasted that through his good conduct and good fortune there was not one enemy of the Roman people left on this side the Alps; and that a large tract of land had been taken, which might be distributed among many thousand men, giving each a share.

## 17

During the same period, Tiberius Sempronius, after gaining many victories, totally subdued the people of Sardinia. Fifteen thousand of the enemy were slain. All the tribes of the Sardinians, who had revolted, were brought under the dominion of Rome. On those which had formerly been tributary, double taxes were, imposed and levied; the rest paid a contribution in corn. When he had thus restored peace in the province, and received hostages from all parts of the island, to the number of two hundred and thirty, deputies are sent by him to Rome, to give information of these transactions, and to request of the senate, that in consideration of those services, performed under the conduct and auspices of Tiberius Sempronius, a thanksgiving might be offered to the immortal gods, and permission granted him to quit the province and bring home the

<sup>315</sup> 5th May.

<sup>316</sup> 3rd August.

<sup>317</sup> 11th August.

army with him. The senate, having given audience to the deputies in the temple of Apollo, ordered a thanksgiving for two days, and that the consuls should sacrifice forty victims of the larger kinds; but commanded the proconsul, Tiberius Sempronius, and his army, to continue in the province for the year. Then the election for filling the vacant place of a consul, which had been fixed by proclamation for the third day before the nones of August, was finished in one day, and the consul Quintus Petillius declared Caius Valerius Lævinus duly elected his colleague, who was to assume immediately the administration of his office. This man, having been long ambitious of the government of a province, when, very seasonably for the gratification of his wishes, a letter now arrived with intelligence that the Ligurians were again in arms, on the nones of August<sup>318</sup> assumed the military habit; and ordered that, on account of this alarm, the third legion should march into Gaul, and join Caius Claudius, proconsul, and that the commanders of the fleet should sail with their ships to Pisæ, and coast along the Ligurian shore, to terrify that people by the sight of a naval power also. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, had appointed a day for his troops to assemble in the same place. Besides, Caius Claudius, proconsul, on hearing of the rebellion in Liguria, having hastily collected some soldiers, in addition to those whom he had with him at Parma, brought this army to the frontiers of Liguria.

## 18

On the approach of Caius Claudius, the enemy, reflecting that this was the same commander who had defeated them at the river Scultenna, resolving to rely on situation, rather than arms, for their defence against a force with which they had so unsuccessfully struggled, took post in two mountains, called Letum and Balista; and, for greater security, surrounded their encampment with a wall. Some, who were too slow in removing from the low grounds, were surprised and put to the sword,—one thousand five hundred in number. The others kept themselves close on the mountains; and retaining, in the midst of their fears, their native savage disposition, vented their fury on the prey taken at Mutina. They put their prisoners to death after shocking mutilation: the cattle they butchered in the temples, rather than decently sacrificed: and then (satiated with the destruction of living creatures) they turned their fury against things inanimate, dashing against the walls even vessels made for use rather than for show. Quintus Petillius, the consul, fearing that the war might be brought to a conclusion before he arrived in the province, wrote to Caius Claudius to bring the army into Gaul, saying, that he would wait for him at the Long Plains. Claudius, immediately on receipt of the letter, marched out of Liguria, and gave up the command of the army to the consul at the Long Plains. To the same place came, in a few days after, the other consul, Caius Valerius. There having divided their forces before they separated, they both together performed a purification of the troops. They then cast lots for their respective routes, it having been resolved that they should not assail the enemy on the same side. It was certain that Valerius cast his lot auspiciously, because he was in the consecrated ground; the augurs afterwards announced that there was this defect in the case of Petillius, that he himself when outside the consecrated ground cast his lot into the urn, which was subsequently brought into the sacred place. They then began their march in different directions; Petillius pitched his camp against the ridge of Balista and Letum, which joined the two together with one continued range. They report, that while he was here encouraging his soldiers, whom he had assembled for the purpose, without

<sup>318</sup> 5th August.

reflecting on the ambiguity of the word, he uttered this ominous expression: "This day I will have Letum."<sup>319</sup> He made his troops march up the mountain in two places at the same time. The division in which he was advanced briskly: the other was repulsed by the enemy; and the consul riding up thither, to remedy the disorder, rallied his troops; but whilst he moves about too carelessly in the front, he was pierced through with a javelin, and fell. The commanders of the enemy did not know that he was killed; and the few of his own party who saw the disaster, carefully covered the body from view, knowing that the victory rested on this. The rest of the troops, horse and foot, though deprived of their leader, dislodged the enemy, and took possession of the mountains. Five thousand of the Ligurians were slain and of the Roman army only fifty-two were lost. Besides this evident completion of the unhappy omen, the keeper of the chickens was heard to say, that there had been a defect in the auspices, and that the consul was not ignorant of it. Caius Valerius, when he was informed of the death of Quintus Petillius, made the army, thus bereft of its commander, join his own; then, attacking the enemy again, in their blood he offered a noble sacrifice to the shade of his departed colleague. He had the honour of a triumph over the Ligurians. The legion, at whose head the consul was killed, was severely punished by the senate. They determined that the campaign of this year should not be counted to the entire legion, and that their pay should be stopped, for not exposing themselves to the enemy's weapons in defence of their commander. About this time ambassadors came to Rome from the Dardanians, who were greatly distressed by the numerous army of Bastarnians, under Clondicus, mentioned above. These ambassadors, after describing the vast multitude of the Bastarnians, their tall and huge bodies, and their daring intrepidity in facing danger, added, that there was an alliance between them and Perseus, and that the Dardanians were really more afraid of him than even of the Bastarnians; and therefore begged of the senate that assistance should be sent them. The senate thereupon agreed, that ambassadors should be sent to examine into the affairs of Macedonia; and immediately a commission was given to Aulus Postumius to go thither. They gave to him as colleagues some young men, that he might have the principal direction and management of the embassy. The senate then took into consideration the election of magistrates for the ensuing year, on which subject there was a long debate: for people skilled in the rules of religion and politics affirmed, that, as the regular consuls of the year had died, one by the sword, the other by sickness, the substituted consuls could not with propriety hold the elections. An interregnum, therefore, took place, and the interrex elected consuls Publius Mucius Scævola, and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, a second time. Then Caius Popillius Lænas, Titus Annius Luscus, Caius Memmius Gallus, Caius Cluvius Saxula, Servius Cornelius Sulla, and Appius Claudius Centho, were chosen prætors. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. Of the prætors, Cornelius Sulla obtained Sardinia, Claudius Centho gained Hither Spain. There is no record of those to whom the other prætorian provinces fell. This year was notorious for an epidemic, which however attacked cattle only. The Ligurians, a nation ever vanquished, yet ever rebelling, ravaged the lands of Luna and Pisæ; and at the same time there were alarming rumours of disturbances in Gaul. Lepidus having easily quelled the commotions among the Gauls, then marched into Liguria. Several states of this country submitted themselves to his disposal; and he, supposing that they were rendered savage by the rugged mountain tops which they inhabited, as the dispositions of the inhabitants of a country generally resemble its natural features, by the precedent

<sup>319</sup> Letum, the name of the place, in the Latin language, signifies death.

of some former consuls, brought them down to the plains. Of these the Garulians, Lapicinians, and Hercatians had lived on the other side of the Apennine, and the Briniatians on the farther side.

## 19

On the hither side of the river Audena, Quintus Mucius made war on those who had wasted the lands of Luna and Pisæ: and having reduced them all to subjection, he took away their arms from them. On account of these services, performed under the conduct and auspices of the two consuls, the senate voted a thanksgiving for three days, and sacrifices of forty victims. The commotions which broke out in Gaul and Liguria, at the beginning of this year, were thus speedily suppressed, without any great difficulty; but the apprehensions of the public, respecting a war with Macedon, still continued. For Perseus laboured to embroil the Bastarnians with the Dardanians; and the ambassadors, sent to examine into the state of affairs in Macedon, returned to Rome, and brought certain information that hostilities had commenced in Dardania. At the same time came envoys from king Perseus, to plead in excuse that neither had the Bastarnians been invited by him, nor had they done any thing at his instigation. The senate neither acquitted the king of the imputation, nor urged it against him; they only ordered him to be warned to be very careful to show, that he considered the treaty between him and the Romans as inviolable. The Dardanians, perceiving that the Bastarnians, so far from quitting their country, as they had hoped, became daily more troublesome, as they were supported by the neighbouring Thracians and Scordiscians, thinking it necessary to make some effort against them, though without any reasonable prospect of success, assembled together in arms from all quarters, at the town that was nearest to the camp of the Bastarnians. It was now winter, and they chose that season of the year, as supposing that the Thracians and Scordiscians would return to their own countries. As soon as they heard that these were gone, and the Bastarnians left by themselves, they divided their forces into two parts, that one might march openly along the straight road to attack the enemy; and that the other, going round through a wood, which lay out of sight, might assault them on the rear. But, before these could arrive at the enemy's post, the fight commenced, and the Dardanians were beaten, and pursued to the town, which was about twelve miles from the Bastarnian camp. The victors immediately invested the city, not doubting that, on the day following, either the enemy would surrender it from fear, or they might take it by storm. Meanwhile the other body of Dardanians, which had gone round, not having heard of the defeat of their countrymen, *easily* possessed themselves of the camp of the Bastarnians, which had been left without a guard. The Bastarnians, thus deprived of all their provisions and warlike stores, which were in their camp, and having no means of replacing them in a hostile country, and at that unfavourable season, resolved to return to their native home. Having therefore retreated to the Danube, they found it, to their great joy, covered with ice, so thick as to seem capable of sustaining any weight. But when the entire body of men and cattle, hastening on, and crowding together, pressed on it at the same time, the ice, splitting under the immense weight, suddenly parted, and being overcome and broken up, left in the middle of the water the entire army which it had supported so long. Most of them were immediately swallowed in the eddies of the river. The fragments of the broken ice passed over many of them in their attempt to swim and drowned them. A few out of the entire nation with difficulty escaped to either bank, with their persons severely crushed. About this time, Antiochus, son to Antiochus the Great, who had been for a long time a hostage at Rome, came into possession of the

kingdom of Syria, on the death of his brother Seleucus. For Seleucus, whom the Greeks call Philopator, after having received the kingdom of Syria, which had been greatly debilitated by the misfortunes of his father, during an idle reign of twelve years never distinguished by any memorable enterprise at all, called home from Rome this his younger brother, sending, in his stead, his own son Demetrius, according to the terms of the treaty, which allowed the changing of the hostages from time to time. Antiochus had but just reached Athens on his way, when Seleucus was murdered, in consequence of a conspiracy formed by Heliodorus, one of the nobles. Eumenes and Attalus expelled him aiming at the crown, and put Antiochus in possession of it, and valued it highly that they had bound him to them by this so important a favour. They now began to harbour some jealousy of the Romans, on account of several trifling causes of disgust. Antiochus, having gained the kingdom by their aid, was received by the people with such transports of joy, that they gave him the surname of Epiphanes, or Rising Star, because when aliens to the royal blood were about to seize the throne, he appeared like a propitious star, to assert his hereditary right. He was not deficient in capacity or vigour of mind to make a figure in war; but he was so perverse and indiscreet in the whole tenor of his conduct and behaviour, that they soon changed the surname which they had given him, and instead of Epiphanes, called him Epimanes or Madman. For often having gone forth from the palace without the knowledge of his servants, with one or two attendants, crowned with roses, and dressed in robes embroidered with gold, he used to go through the city, sometimes striking those that he met with stones that he carried under his arms; sometimes, on the other hand, throwing money among the mob, and shouting out, "Let him take to whom fortune shall give." But at another time he used to go through the workshops of the goldsmiths, and engravers and other artisans, arguing vainly concerning the art of each; at another time he engaged in conversation in public with any of the plebeian he met; again, wandering around the common taverns, he indulged in potations with foreigners and strangers of the lowest grade. If by chance he had learned that any young men were celebrating an untimely banquet, he himself at once came upon them suddenly, with a glass and a concert, revelling and wantoning, so that most of them, struck with terror at the strangeness of the matter, fled away, and the remainder were silent in fear. It is ascertained also that, in the public baths, he used to bathe with the mob. As however there he was in the habit of using the most precious unguents, they report that a plebeian one day said to him. "You are happy, O king: you savour of perfumes of the highest value." To whom Antiochus, delighted at his words, said, "I will immediately make you so happy, that you will confess that you are sated:" and immediately ordered a large pot of most valuable unguent to be poured on his head, so that, the floor being drenched with it, both the others began to fall on the slippery surface, and the king himself, laughing heartily, came to the ground.

## 20

Lastly, having assumed the Roman gown instead of his royal robes, he used to go about the market-place, as he had seen done by the candidates for office at Rome, saluting and embracing each of the plebeians; soliciting at one time for the ædileship, at another for the plebeian tribuneship, until at last he obtained the office by the suffrages of the people, and then, according to the Roman custom, he took his seat in an ivory chair, where he heard causes, and listened to debates on the most trivial matters. So far was his mind from adhering to any routine, for it wandered through every sort of life, that it was not ascertained either by himself or any one else what was his real character. He was accustomed not to speak to his friends, nor scarcely afford a smile, to his

acquaintance. By an inconsistent kind of liberality, he made himself and others subjects of ridicule; for to some in the most elevated stations, and who thought highly of themselves, he would give childish presents of sweetmeats, cakes, or toys; others expecting nothing he enriched. Wherefore to many he appeared not to know what he was doing; some said that he acted from a silly, sportive temper; others, that he was evidently mad. In two great and honourable instances, however, he showed a spirit truly royal,—in the presents which he made to several cities, and the honour he paid to the gods. To the inhabitants of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, he made a promise to build a wall round their city, and he gave them the greater part of the money requisite for the purpose. At Tegea he began to erect a magnificent theatre of marble. At Cyzicum, he presented a set of golden utensils for the service of one table in the Prytaneum, the state-room of the city; where such as are entitled to that honour dine together. To the Rhodians he gave presents of every kind that their convenience required, but none very remarkable. Of the magnificence of his notions, in every thing respecting the gods, the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens can be a sufficient testimony: being the only one in the world, the plan of which was suitable to the greatness of the deity. He likewise ornamented Delos with altars of extraordinary beauty, and abundance of statues. A magnificent temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he promised to build at Antioch, of which not only the ceilings, but all the walls, were to be covered with plates of gold, and many other edifices which he intended in various places, he did not finish, as his reign was very short. He surpassed his predecessors, too, in the magnificence of the public games of every description; of which all the games but one were after their own custom, and celebrated by an immense number of Grecian actors. He gave a show of gladiators in the Roman manner, which at first, among & people unaccustomed to such sights, caused more terror than pleasure; but by frequently repeating them, and sometimes permitting the combatants to go no further than wounds, at other times to fight until one was killed, he rendered such kind of shows not only familiar to people's eyes, but even agreeable, and kindled in most of the young men a passion for arms; so much so that, although, at the beginning, he was obliged to entice gladiators from Rome, by high rewards, he soon found a sufficient number in his own dominions willing to perform for a moderate hire. But he displayed the same worthlessness and levity in exhibiting the games, as in the rest of his life, so that nothing could be seen more magnificent than the preparation for the games, nothing more vile or contemptible than the king himself. And when this appeared often on other occasions, it was then most conspicuous in those games, which, in emulation of the magnificence of those which were given by Paulus in Macedon, after the conquest of Perseus, he exhibited at immense expense, and with corresponding dishonour. To return, however, to the Roman affairs, from which the mention of this king has caused us to digress too far. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, after holding the government of Sardinia two years, resigned it to Servius Cornelius Sulla, the prætor, and, coming home to Rome, triumphed over the Sardinians. We are told that he brought such a multitude of captives from, that island, that from the long continuance of the sale, "Sardinians for sale" became a vulgar proverb, to denote things of little price. Both the consuls (Scævola and Lepidus) triumphed over the Ligurians; Lepidus over the Gauls also. Then were held the elections of magistrates for the ensuing year. Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Mucius Scævola were chosen consuls. In the election of prætors, fortune involved Lucius or Cneius Cornelius Scipio, son of Publius Africanus, one of the candidates, in a very invidious struggle with Caius Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary. For, after five prætors had been declared, namely, Caius Cassius Longinus, Publius Furius Philus, Lucius Claudius Asellus, Marcus

Atilius Serranus, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio; although Scipio struggled hard to be admitted even in the last place, yet he was thought to have degenerated so far from the virtues of his father, that Cicereius would have been preferred by the votes of all the centuries, had not the latter, with singular modesty, corrected what might be considered either the fault of fortune or error of the elections. He could not reconcile it to himself, that, in a struggle in the elections, he should gain the victory over the son of his patron; but immediately throwing off the white gown, he became, from a competitor sure of success, the grateful friend and supporter of the interest of his rival. Thus, by the help of Cicereius Scipio obtained an honour which he did not seem likely to gain from the people, and which reflected greater glory on Cicereius than on himself.

## 21

The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. On the prætors casting lots, the city jurisdiction fell to Caius Cassius Longinus, and the foreign, to Lucius Cornelius Scipio. The province of Sardinia fell to Marcus Atilius, who was ordered to sail over to Corsica with a new legion, raised by the consuls, and consisting of five thousand foot and three hundred horse; and while he was engaged in carrying on the war there, Cornelius was continued in command, that he might hold the government of Sardinia. To Cneius Servilius Cæpio, for the service of Farther Spain, and to Publius Furius Philus for that of Hither Spain, the following troops were assigned—to each, three thousand Roman foot with one hundred and fifty horse, and five thousand Latin foot with three hundred horse. Sicily was decreed to Lucius Claudius, without any reinforcement. The consuls were ordered to levy two more legions, of the regular numbers of foot and horse, and to demand from the allies ten thousand foot and six hundred horse: but they met great difficulty in making the levies; for the pestilence, which the year before had fallen on the cattle, in the present year attacked the human species. Such as were seized by it, seldom survived the seventh day; those who did survive, lingered under a tedious disorder, which generally turned to a quartan ague. The slaves especially perished, of whom heaps lay unburied on all the roads. The necessary requisites could not be procured for the funerals of those of free condition. The bodies were consumed by putrefaction, without being touched by the dogs or vultures; and it was universally observed, that during that and the preceding year, while the mortality of cattle and men was so great, no vultures were any where seen. Of the public priests, there died by this contagion, Cneius Servilius Cæpio, father of the prætor, a pontiff; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, decemvir of religious rites; Publius Ælius Pætus, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, augurs; Caius Mamilius Vitulus, chief curio; and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, a pontiff. In the vacant places of pontiffs<sup>320</sup> were chosen \* \* \* \* and Caius Sulpicius Galba, in the room of Tuditanus. The augurs substituted were, Titus Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus, in place of Gracchus; and Quintus Ælius Pætus, in place of Publius Ælius. Caius Sempronius Longus was made decemvir of religious rites, and Caius Scribonius Curio, chief curio. When the termination of the plague was not visible, the senate voted that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline books; and, by their directions, a supplication of one day was performed; and the people assembled in the forum made a vow, whilst Quintus Marcius Philippus dictated the words, that “if the sickness and pestilence should be removed out of the Roman territory, they would solemnize a festival and thanksgiving of two days’ continuance.” In the district of Veii, a boy was born with two heads; at Sinuessa, one with a single hand; and at Oximum, a girl

<sup>320</sup> So in the original; the name of the person who was chosen in the room of Cæpio being lost.

with teeth; in the middle of the day, the sky being perfectly clear, a rainbow was seen, stretching over the temple of Saturn, in the Roman forum, and three suns shone at once; and the following night many lights were seen gliding through the air, about Lanuvium. The people of Cære affirmed that there had appeared in their town a snake with a mane, having its body marked with spots like gold; and it was fully proved that an ox had spoken in Campania.

## 22

On the nones of June,<sup>321</sup> the ambassadors returned from Africa, who having first had an interview with king Masinissa, proceeded to Carthage; but they received much more certain information respecting what had taken place in Carthage from the king than from the Carthaginians themselves. They said they had sufficient proof that ambassadors had come from king Perseus, and that an audience of the senate was given to them by night, in the temple of Æsculapius; and the king asserted, that the Carthaginians had sent ambassadors to Macedon, which they themselves did not positively deny. The senate, hereupon, resolved to send an embassy to Macedonia. They made choice of Caius Lælius, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Sextus Digritus, who accordingly proceeded thither. About this time, Perseus, because some of the Dolopians were refractory, and in the matters in dispute were for referring the decision from the king to the Romans, marched an army into their country, and reduced the whole nation under his jurisdiction and dominion. Thence he passed through the mountains of Cæta, and on account of some religious scruples affecting his mind, went up to Delphi, to apply to the oracle. His sudden appearance in the middle of Greece caused a great alarm, not only in the neighbouring states, but also caused alarming intelligence to be brought into Asia to king Eumenes. He staid only three days at Delphi, and then returned to his own dominions, through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without doing the least injury or damage to those countries. He did not think it sufficient to conciliate the esteem of the several states through which his road lay; but despatched either ambassadors or letters to every one of the Grecian powers, requesting that they would “think no more of the animosities which had subsisted between them and his father; that the disputes had not been so violent that they might not, and ought not, to cease with regard to himself. On his part, there was no kind of obstacle to the forming of a cordial friendship.” Above all, he wished particularly to find some way of ingratiating himself with the Achæan nation.

## 23

This nation, and the state of Athens, solitary exceptions to the whole of Greece, had carried their resentment to such a length, as to prohibit the Macedonians entering their territories. In consequence of this, Macedonia became a place of refuge for slaves running away out of Achaia; for, as the Achæans had forbidden the inhabitants of Macedon to set foot in their territories, they could not presume to pass the boundaries of that kingdom. When Perseus observed this, he seized all the fugitives, and wrote a letter \* \* \* \* \* “but that they ought to consider of the proper means of preventing such elopements for the future.” When this letter was read by the prætor Xenarchus, who was seeking a path to private influence with the king, the greater part who were present, but especially those who, contrary to their expectations, were about to receive the slaves they had lost, commended the moderation and kindness with which it was written; but Callierates, one who thought that the safety of the nation depended on the treaty with Rome being preserved inviolate, delivered his sentiments to this effect;—

<sup>321</sup> 7th of June.

“To some of you, Achæans, the matter under consideration appears trifling and unimportant. I think that a very great and important subject is not only under consideration, but to a certain extent decided. For we, who prohibited the kings of Macedonia, and all their subjects, from entering our territories, and made a perpetual decree, not to receive from those sovereigns either ambassadors or messengers, by whom the minds of any of us might be tampered with; we, I say, listen to the king speaking in a manner, though absent, and what is more, approve of his discourse. Although wild beasts generally reject and shun the food laid in their way for their destruction; yet we, blinded by the specious offer of an insignificant favour, swallow the bait, and would, for the sake of recovering a parcel of wretched slaves, of no value worth mentioning, suffer our independence to be undermined and subverted. For who does not see that a way is being paved to an alliance with the king, by which the treaty with Rome in which all our interests are involved would be violated? That there must be a war between Perseus and the Romans, is not, I believe, a matter of doubt to any one, and the struggle which was expected during the life of Philip, and interrupted by his death, will, now that he is dead, most certainly ensue. Philip, you all know, had two sons, Demetrius and Perseus. Demetrius was much superior in birth, on the mother’s side, in merit, capacity, and in the esteem of the Macedonian nation. But Philip, having set up the crown as the prize of hatred towards the Romans, put Demetrius to death, for no other crime than having contracted a friendship with that people; and made Perseus king, because he knew him to be an enemy to the Roman people almost before he determined on making him king. Accordingly, what else has the present king done since his father’s death, than prepare for the war? In the first place, to the terror of all the surrounding nations, he brought the Bastarnians into Dardania; where if they had made a lasting settlement, Greece would have found them more troublesome neighbours than Asia found the Gauls. Disappointed in that hope, he did not drop his design of a war; nay, if we choose to speak the truth, he has already commenced hostilities. He subdued Dolopia by force of arms; and would not listen when they wished to appeal concerning their disputes to the arbitration of the Romans. Then, crossing Cæta, that he might show himself in the very centre of Greece, he went up to Delphi. To what, think you did his taking a journey so uncommon tend? He next traversed Thessaly; and as to his refraining on his route from doing injury to the people whom he hated, I dread his machinations the more on that very account. He then sent a letter to us, with the hollow show of an act of kindness, and bade us to consider measures by which we may not require this gift for the future; that is, to repeal the decree by which the Macedonians are excluded from Peloponnesus; to receive again ambassadors from him their king; to renew intimacies contracted with his principal subjects; and, in a short time, we should see Macedonian armies, with himself at their head, crossing over the narrow strait from Delphi into Peloponnesus, and thus we should be blended with the Macedonians, while they are arming themselves against the Romans. My opinion is, that we ought not to resolve on any new proceeding, but to keep every thing in its present state, until the question shall be reduced to a certainty, whether these our fears be well or ill grounded. If the peace between the Romans and Macedonians shall continue inviolate, then may we also have a friendship and intercourse with Perseus; but to think of such a measure now, appears to me both premature and dangerous.”

## 24

After him, Arco, brother to the prætor Xenarchus, said:—“Callicrates hath made the delivery of our sentiments difficult both to me and to every one who differs in opinion

from him; for after his pleading in favour of the Roman alliance, alleging that it was undermined and attacked, (although no one either undermines or attacks it,) he has caused that whoever dissents from him must seem to argue against the cause of the Romans. In the first place, as if he had not been here with us, but had just left the senate-house of the Roman people, or had been admitted into the privy councils of kings, he knows and tells us every transaction that passes in secret. Nay more, he divines what would have happened if Philip had lived, why Perseus became heir of the kingdom: in such a manner, what are the intentions of the Macedonians, and what the thoughts of the Romans. But we, who neither know for what cause, nor in what manner, Demetrius perished, nor what Philip would have done, if he had lived, ought to accommodate our resolutions to the transactions that have passed in open view. We know that Perseus, on his coming to the throne, sent ambassadors to Rome, and received the title of king from the Roman people, and we hear that ambassadors came from Rome to the king, and were graciously received by him. I consider that all these circumstances are signs of peace, not of war; and that the Romans cannot be offended, if as we imitated their conduct in war, so we follow now their example in peace. For my part, I cannot see why we alone, of all mankind, wage implacable war against the kingdom of the Macedonians. Are we exposed to insult by a close neighbourhood to Macedon? or are we like the Dolopians, whom Perseus subdued lately, the weakest of all states? No; on the contrary, by the bounty of the gods, we are sufficiently secured, as well by our own strength, as by the remoteness of our situation. But we have as much reason to apprehend ill treatment, as the Thessalians and Ætolians; have we no more credit or influence with the Romans, though we were always their friends and allies, than the Ætolians, who but lately were their enemies? Whatever reciprocal rights the Ætolians, the Thessalians, the Epirots, in short, every state in Greece, allow to subsist between them and the Macedonians, let us allow the same. Why have we alone what may be termed a cursed neglect of the ties of humanity? Philip may have done some act on account of which we should pass this decree against him when in arms and waging war against us: What has Perseus deserved, a king just seated on the throne, guiltless of all injury against us, and effacing by his own kindness his father's feuds? Why should we be his only enemies? Although I might make this assertion, that so great have been our obligations to the former kings of Macedon, that the ill usage, suffered from a single prince of their line, if any has really been suffered from Philip, \* \* \* especially after his death. When a Roman fleet was lying at Cencreæ, and the consul, with his army, was at Elatia, we were three days in council, deliberating whether we should follow the Romans or Philip. Now, granting that the fear of immediate danger from the Romans had no influence on our judgments, yet there was, certainly, something that made our deliberation last so long; and that was, the connexion which had long subsisted between us and the Macedonians; the distinguished favours in ancient times received from their kings. Let the same considerations prevail at present,—not to make us his singular friends, but to hinder us from becoming his singular enemies. Let us not, Callicrates, pretend what is not even thought of. No one advises us to form a new alliance, or sign a new treaty, by which we might inconsiderately compromise ourselves, but merely that we may have the intercourse of affording and demanding justice, and that we may not by excluding his subjects from our territories, exclude ourselves from his dominions, and that our slaves may not have any refuge to fly to. How does this operate against the Roman treaty? Why do we give an air of importance and suspicion to a matter which is trifling and open to the world? Why do we raise groundless alarms? Why, for the sake of ingratiating ourselves still more particularly with the Romans, render others odious and

suspected? If war shall take place even Perseus himself does not doubt our taking part with the Romans. While peace continues, let animosities if they are not terminated, be at least suspended." When those who approved of the king's letter expressed their approbation of this speech, the decree was postponed, owing to the indignation of the chief men that Perseus should obtain by a letter of a few lines a matter which he did not even deign worthy of an embassy. Ambassadors were afterwards sent by the king, when a council was held at Megalopolis; but exertions were made by those, who dreaded a rupture with Rome, that they should not be admitted to an audience.

## 25

During this period the fury of the Ætolians, being turned against themselves, seemed likely to cause the total extinction of that nation by the massacres of the contending parties. Then both parties, being wearied, sent ambassadors to Rome, and also opened a negotiation between themselves for the restoration of concord: but this was broken off by an act of barbarity, which revived their old quarrels. When a return to their country had been promised to the exiles from Hypata, who were of the faction of Proxenus, and the public faith had been pledged to them by Eupolemus, the chief man of the state; eighty persons of distinction, whom even Eupolemus, among the rest of the multitude, had gone forth to meet on their return, though they were received with kind salutation, and right hands were pledged to them, were butchered on entering the gate, though they implored in vain the honour that had been pledged, and the gods the witnesses of the transaction. On this the war blazed out anew, with greater fury than ever. Caius Valerius Lævinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Caius Memmius, Marcus Popilius, and Lucius Canuleius, being sent as ambassadors by the senate, arrived in that country. When the deputies from both parties pleaded their respective causes with great energy, Proxenus appeared to have greatly the advantage as well in the justice of his cause as in eloquence; a few days after, he was poisoned by his wife Orthobula, who being convicted of the crime, went into banishment. The same madness was wasting the Cretans also; but, on the arrival of Quintus Minucius, lieutenant-general, who was sent with ten ships to quiet their contentions, the inhabitants had some prospect of peace; however, they only concluded a suspension of arms for six months, after which the war was again renewed with much greater violence. About this time, the Lycians, too, were harassed in war by the Rhodians. But the wars of foreign nations among themselves, or the several methods in which they were conducted, it is not my business to detail; since I have a task of more than sufficient weight in writing the deeds performed by the Roman people.

## 26

In Spain, the Celtiberians, (who, since their reduction by Tiberius Gracchus, and their consequent surrender to him, had remained quiet; when Marcus Titinius, the prætor, held the government of that province,) on the arrival of Appius Claudius, resumed their arms, and commenced hostilities by a sudden attack on the Roman camp. It was nearly the first dawn when the sentinels on the rampart, and the men on guard before the gates, descriing the enemy approaching at a distance, shouted "to arms." Appius Claudius instantly displayed the signal of battle; and, after exhorting the troops, in few words, ordered them to rush out by three gates at once. But they were opposed by the Celtiberians in the very passage; and in consequence, the fight was for some time equal on both sides, as, on account of the narrowness, the Romans could not all come into action in the entrance; then pressing forward on one another, whenever it was possible,

they made their way beyond the trenches, so that they were able to extend their line, and form a front equal to the wings of the enemy, by which they were surrounded; and now they made their onset with such sudden impetuosity, that the Celtiberians could not support the assault. Before the second hour, they were driven from the field; about fifteen thousand were either killed or made prisoners, and thirty-two standards were taken. Their camp, also, was stormed the same day, and a conclusion put to the war; for those who survived the battle fled by different ways, to their several towns, and thenceforth submitted quietly to the Roman government.

## 27

Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius, being created censors, reviewed the senate this year. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, was chosen chief of the senate. Nine senators were expelled. The remarkable censures pronounced were on Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, who had been prætor in Spain two years before; on Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who was then prætor and exercised the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners; and on Cneius Fulvius, brother to the censor, and, as Valerius Antias says, partner in property. The consuls, after offering vows in the Capitol, set out for their provinces. Marcus Æmilius was commissioned by the senate to suppress an insurrection of the Patavians in Venetia; for their own ambassadors had given information that by the violent contests of opposing factions they had broken out into civil war. The ambassadors who had gone into Ætolia, to suppress commotions of a similar kind, reported on their return, that the outrageous temper of that nation could not be restrained. The consul's arrival among the Patavians saved them from ruin; and having no other business in the province, he returned to Rome. The present censors were the first who contracted for paving the streets of Rome with flint stones, for laying with gravel the foundation of roads outside the city, and for forming raised foot-ways on the sides; for building bridges in several places; and affording seats in the theatre to the prætors and ædiles; they fixed up goals in the circus, with balls on the goals for marking the number of courses of the chariots; and erected iron grates, through which wild beasts might be let in. They caused the Capitoline hill to be paved with flint, and erected a piazza from the temple of Saturn, in the Capitol, to the council-chamber, and over that a public hall. On the outside of the gate Trigemina, they also paved a market-place with stones, and enclosed it with a paling; they repaired the Æmilian portico, and formed an ascent, by stairs, from the Tiber to the market-place. They paved, with flint, the portico, from the same gate to the Aventine, and built a court-house: contracted for walls to be built at Galatia and Oximum, and, after selling lots of ground there, which belonged to the public, employed the money arising from the sale in building shops round the forums of both places. Fulvius Flaccus (for Postumius *declared*, that, without a decree of the senate, or order of the people, he would not expend any money belonging to them) agreed for building a temple of Jupiter at Pisaurum; and another at Fundi; for bringing water to Pollentia; for paving the street of Pisaurum, and for many various works at Sinuessa; among which were, the structure of a sewer to fall into the river, the enclosure of the forum with porticoes and shops, and erection of three statues of Janus. These works were all contracted for by one of the censors, and gained him a high degree of favour with those colonists. Their censorship was also very active and strict in the superintendence of the morals of the people. Many knights were deprived of their horses.

## 28

At the close of the year, there was a thanksgiving, for one day, on account of the advantages obtained in Spain under the conduct and auspices of Appius Claudius, the proconsul; and they sacrificed twenty victims, of the larger kinds. There was also a supplication, for another day, at the temples of Ceres, Liber, and Liberia, because a violent earthquake with the destruction of many houses was announced from the Sabines. When Appius Claudius came home from Spain, the senate voted that he should enter the city in ovation. The election of consuls now came on: when they were held, after a violent struggle in consequence of the great number of candidates, Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas were elected consuls. Then Numerius Fabius Buteo, Marcus Matienus, Caius Cicereius, Marcus Furius Crassipes, a second time, Marcus Atilius Serranus, a second time, and Caius Cluvius Saxula, a second time, were chosen prætors. After the elections were finished, Appius Claudius Centho, entering the city in ovation over the Celtiberians, conveyed to the treasury ten thousand pounds' weight of silver, and five thousand of gold. Cneius Cornelius was inaugurated flamen of Jupiter. In the same year a tablet was hung up in the temple of mother Matuta, with this inscription:—under the command and auspices of tiberius sempronius gracchus, consul, a legion and army of the roman people subdued sardinia; in which province above eighty thousand of the enemy were killed or taken. having executed the business of the public with the happiest success; having recovered the revenues, and restored them *to the commonwealth*,—he brought home the army safe, uninjured, and enriched with spoil, and, a second time, entered the city of rome in triumph. in commemoration of which event he presented this tablet as an offering to jupiter. A map of the island of Sardinia was engraved on the tablet, and pictures of the battles fought there were delineated on it. Several small exhibitions of gladiators were given to the public this year; the only one particularly remarkable, was that of Titus Flaminus, which he gave on occasion of his father's death, and it was accompanied with a donation of meat, a feast, and stage-plays, and lasted four days. Yet, in the whole of this great exhibition, only seventy-four men fought in three days. The close of this year was rendered memorable by the proposal of a new and important rule, which occupied the state, since it was debated with great emotion. Hitherto, as the law stood, women were as equally capable of receiving inheritances as men. From which it happened that the wealth of the most illustrious houses was frequently transferred into other families, to the great detriment, as it was generally supposed, of the state; to which it was no small advantage that there should be a sufficiency of wealth to the descendants of distinguished ancestors, by which they might support and do honour to their nobility of birth, which otherwise would form a burden rather than honour to them. Besides, since with the now growing power of the empire, the riches of private persons also were increasing, fear was felt, lest the minds of women, being rather inclined by nature to luxury, and the pursuit of a more elegant routine of life, and deriving from unbounded wealth incentives to desire, should fall into immoderate expenses and luxury, and should subsequently chance to depart from the ancient sanctity of manners, so that there would be a change of morals no less than of the manner of living. To obviate these evils, Quintus Voconius Saxa, plebeian tribune, proposed to the people, that “no person who should be rated after the censorship of Aulus Postumius and Quintius Fulvius should make any woman, whether married or unmarried his heir; also, that no woman, whether married or unmarried, should be capable of receiving, by inheritance, goods exceeding the value of one hundred thousand sesterces.”<sup>322</sup> Voconius, also, thought it

<sup>322</sup> 885l. 8s. 4d.

proper to provide that estates should not be exhausted by the number of legacies, which sometimes happened. Accordingly he added a clause to his law, that no person should bequeath to any person or persons property exceeding in value what was to go to the immediate heirs." This latter clause readily met the general approbation; it appeared reasonable, and calculated to press severely on nobody. Concerning the former clause, by which women were utterly disqualified from receiving inheritances, there were many doubts. Marcus Cato put an end to all hesitation, having been already, on a former occasion, a most determined adversary and reprover of women, in the defence of the Oppian law, who, although sixty-five years of age, with loud voice and good lungs advocated this law of still greater importance, against them, inveighing, with his usual asperity, against the tyranny of women, and their unsufferable insolence token opulent: on the present occasion, too, he declaimed against the pride and arrogance of the rich matrons, "because they oftentimes, after bringing a great dowry to their husband, kept back and retained for themselves a great sum of money, and lent that money on such terms afterwards to their husbands, on their asking it, that as often as they were angry they immediately pressed importunately on their husbands, as if they were strange debtors, by a reserved slave who followed them and daily importuned payment." Moved by indignation at this, they voted for passing the law as Voconius proposed it.

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## Book XLII

*Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the censor, spoiled the temple of Juno at Lacinium of the marble tiles, to roof a temple which he was dedicating. The tiles were returned by a decree of the senate. Eumenes, the king of Asia, complained before the senate of Perseus, the king of Macedon; the outrages of the latter are laid before the Roman people. And when a war was proclaimed against him on account of these, Publius Licinius Crassus, the consul to whom it was intrusted, passed over into Macedon, and in trifling expeditions and cavalry actions, fought with Perseus in Thessaly, by no means successfully. An arbiter was appointed by the senate to decide concerning land disputed between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. Ambassadors were sent to request of the allied states and kings, that they would abide by their agreements, as the Rhodians wavered. The lustrum was closed by the censors. Two hundred and fifty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-one citizens were rated. It includes besides, the successes gained over the Corsicans and Ligurians.*

### 1

When Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas brought before the senate first of all the distribution of the provinces, Liguria was assigned the joint province of both, with directions that they should enlist new legions, by which they would hold that province (two were decreed to each); and also ten thousand foot and six hundred horse of the Latin confederates; and as a supplement to the army in Spain, three thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse. One thousand five hundred Roman foot and one hundred horse were ordered to be raised; with which the prætor, to whose lot Sardinia might fall, should cross over to Corsica, and carry on the war there; and it was further ordered, that in the mean time the former prætor, Marcus Atilius, should obtain the province of Sardinia. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces. Aulus Atilius Serranus obtained the city jurisdiction; Caius Cluvius Saxula, that between natives and foreigners; Numerius Fabius Buteo, Hither Spain; Marcus Matienus, Farther Spain; Marcus Furius Crassipes, Sicily; and Caius Cicereius, Sardinia. The senate resolved that, before the magistrates went abroad, Lucius Postumius should go into Campania, to fix the bounds between the lands which were private property and those which belonged to the public; for it was understood that individuals, by gradually extending their bounds, had taken possession of a very considerable share of the common lands. He, being enraged with the people of Præneste because, when he had gone thither as private individual to offer sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, no honour had been paid him, either in public or private, by the people of Præneste, before he set out from Rome, sent a letter to Præneste, ordering the chief magistrate to meet him, and to provide him lodging at the public expense; and that, at his departure, cattle should be ready to carry his baggage. No consul before him ever put the allies to any trouble or expense whatever. Magistrates were furnished with mules, tents, and every other requisite for a campaign, in order that they might not make any such demands. They had private lodgings, in which they behaved with courtesy and kindness, and their houses at Rome were always open to their hosts with whom they used to lodge. Ambassadors indeed sent to any place, on a sudden emergency, demanded each a single horse in the several towns through which their journey lay; but the allies never contributed any other portion of the expense of the Roman magistrates. The resentment of the consul, which, even if well founded, ought not to have been exerted during his office, and the too

modest or too timid acquiescence of the Prænestines, gave to the magistrates, as if by an approved precedent, the privilege of imposing orders of this sort, which grew more burdensome daily.

## 2

In the beginning of this year the ambassadors, who had been sent to Ætolia and Macedon, returned, and reported that “they had not been able to obtain an interview with Perseus, as some of his court said that he was abroad, others that he was sick; both of which were false pretences. Nevertheless, that it was quite evident that war was in preparation, and that he would no longer put off the appeal to arms. That in Ætolia, likewise, the dissensions grew daily more violent; and the leaders of the contending parties were not to be restrained by their authority.” As a war with Macedon was daily expected, the senate resolved, that before it broke out all prodigies should be expiated, and the favour of such gods, as should be found expressed in the books of the Fates, invoked by supplications. It was said that at Lanuvium the appearance of large fleets was seen in the air; that at Privernum black wool grew out of the ground; that in the territory of Veii, at Remens, a shower of stones fell; and that the whole Pomptine district was covered with clouds of locusts; also that in the Gallic province, where a plough was at work, fishes sprung up from under the earth as it was turned. On account of these prodigies the books of the Fates were accordingly consulted, and the decemvirs directed both to what gods and with what victims, sacrifices should be offered; likewise that a supplication should be performed, in expiation of the prodigies; and also that another, which had been vowed in the preceding year for the health of the people, should be celebrated, and likewise a solemn festival. Accordingly, sacrifices were offered in accordance with the written directions of the decemvirs.

## 3

In the same year, the temple of Juno Lacinia was uncovered. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the censor, was erecting a temple to Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed when prætor during the Celtiberian war, with anxious desire that it should not be surpassed by any other at Rome, either in size or magnificence. Thinking that he would add a very great ornament to this temple if the tiles were marble, he went to Bruttium, and stripped, off about the half of those belonging to the temple of the Lacinian Juno; for he computed that so many would be sufficient to cover the one he was building. Ships were in readiness to take on board the materials, while the allies were deterred by the authority of the censor from preventing the sacrilege. When the censor returned, the marble was landed and carried to the temple; but though he made no mention of the place from which it was brought, yet such an affair could not be concealed. Accordingly, considerable murmuring arose in the senate; from all sides of the house a demand was made that the consuls should lay that matter before the senate. When the censor, on being summoned, appeared in the senate-house, they all, both separately and in a body, inveighed against him with great asperity. They cried out that “he was not content with violating the most venerable temple in all that part of the world, a temple which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated; but he had stripped it shamefully, and almost demolished it. Though created censor for the purpose of regulating men’s manners, and bound in duty, according to long-established rules, to enforce the repairing of edifices for public worship, and the keeping them in due order, he had nevertheless gone about through the cities of the allies, stripping the roofs of their sacred buildings, and even demolishing them. In a word, what might be deemed

scandalous if practised on private houses, he committed against the temples of the immortal gods; and that he involved the Roman people in the guilt of impiety, building temples with the ruins of temples; as if the deities were not the same in all places, but that some should be decorated with the spoils of others." When it was evident what were the sentiments of the senators, before their opinion was asked; when the question was put, they unanimously concurred in voting, that a contract should be entered into for carrying the tiles back to the temple, and that atonements should be offered to Juno. What regarded the atonements was carefully executed; the contractors made a report that they were obliged to leave the marble in the court of the temple, because no workman could be found who knew how to replace the same.

## 4

Of the prætors who set out for the provinces, Numerius Fabius, on his way to Hither Spain, died at Marseilles. Therefore when this was announced by envoys from Marseilles, the senate resolved that Publius Furius and Cneius Servilius, to whom successors had been sent, should cast lots to determine which of them should hold the government of Hither Spain, with a continuation of authority; and the lot determined, very fortunately, that Publius Furius, whose province it had formerly been, should continue. During the same year, on its appearing that large tracts of land in Gaul and Liguria, which had been taken in war, lay unoccupied, the senate passed a decree, that those lands should be distributed in single shares; and Aulus Titilius, city prætor, in pursuance of the said decree, appointed ten commissioners for that Purpose, namely, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Caius Cassius, Titus Æbutius Carus, Caius Tremellius, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus and Lucius Appuleius, Marcus Cæcilius, Caius Salonius, and Caius Munatius. They apportioned ten acres to each Roman, and three to each Latin colonist. During the same time in which these transactions took place, ambassadors came to Rome from Ætolia with representations of the quarrels and dissensions subsisting in that country; likewise Thessalian ambassadors, announcing the transactions in Macedon.

## 5

Perseus, revolving in his mind the war, which had been resolved on during the life-time of his father, endeavoured, by sending embassies, and by promising a great deal more than he performed, to attach to himself not only the commonwealth of Greece, but also each particular state. However the feelings of the majority were inclined in his favour, and much better disposed towards him than Eumenes, although all the states of Greece, and most of the leading men, were under obligations to the latter for benefits and gifts; and although he so conducted himself in his sovereignty, that the cities which were under his dominion would not exchange their condition for that of any free state. On the contrary, there was a general report that Perseus, after his father's death, had killed his wife with his own hand; that Apelles, formerly the agent of his treachery in the destruction of his brother, and on that account sought anxiously by Philip, for punishment, being in exile, was invited by him, after the death of his father, by great promises, to receive a guerdon for rendering so important services, and was secretly put to death. Although he had rendered himself infamous by many other murders, both of his own relations and of others, and possessed not one good quality to recommend him, yet the Grecian states in general gave him the preference to Eumenes who was so affectionate towards his relations, so just toward his subjects, and so liberal towards all mankind; either because they were so prejudiced by the fame and dignity of the

Macedonian kings, as to despise a kingdom lately formed, or were led by a wish for a change in affairs, and wished him to be exposed to the arms of the Romans. The Ætolians were not the only people in a state of distraction, on account of the intolerable burden of their debts: the Thessalians were in the same situation; and the evil, acting by contagion like a pestilence, had spread into Perrhæbia also. As soon as it was known that the Thessalians were in arms, the senate sent Appius Claudius, as ambassador, to examine and adjust their affairs. He severely reprimanded the leaders of both parties; and after cancelling so much of the debts as had been accumulated by iniquitous usury, which he did with the consent of the greater part of the creditors themselves, he ordered the remaining just debts to be discharged by annual payments. Affairs in Perrhæbia were arranged in the same manner by the same Appius. In the mean time, Marcellus, at Delphi, gave a hearing to the disputes of the Ætolians, which they maintained with no less hostile acrimony than they had shown against each other in the heat of their civil war. Perceiving that they vied with each other in inconsiderate violence, he did not choose to make any determination, to lighten or aggravate the grievances of either party, but required of both alike to cease from hostilities, and, forgetting what was past, to put an end to their quarrels. The good faith of the mutual reconciliation was confirmed by a reciprocal exchange of hostages.

## 6

Corinth was agreed upon as the place where the hostages should be lodged. Marcellus crossed over from Delphi, and the Ætolian council, into Peloponnesus, where he had summoned a diet of the Achæans. There, by the praises which he bestowed on that nation, for having resolutely maintained their old decree, which prohibited the admission of the Macedonian kings within the limits of their territories, he manifested the inveterate hatred of the Romans towards Perseus; and this hatred broke out into effect the sooner, in consequence of king Eumenes coming to Rome, and bringing with him a written statement of the preparations made for war, which he had drawn up, after a full inquiry into every particular. Five ambassadors were now sent to the king, in order to take a view of affairs in Macedon. The same were ordered to proceed to Alexandria to Ptolemy, to renew the treaty of friendship. These were Caius Valerius, Cneius Lutatius Cerco, Quintus Bæbius Sulca, Marcus Cornelius Mammula, and Marcus Cæcilius Denter. About the same time, came ambassadors from king Antiochus; and the principal of them, called Apollonius, being admitted to an audience of the senate, presented, on behalf of his king, many and reasonable apologies for paying the tribute later than the day appointed. "He now brought," he said, "the whole of it, that the king might require no favour except the delay of time. He brought besides a present of gold vases, in weight five hundred pounds. Antiochus requested, that the treaty of alliance and amity, which had been made with his father, might be renewed with him; and that the Roman people might demand from him every service which might be required from a king who was a good and faithful ally: that he would never be remiss in the performance of any duty. Such had been the kindness of the senate towards him when he was at Rome, such the courtesy of the young men, that, among all ranks of men, he was treated as a sovereign, not as a hostage." A gracious answer was returned to the ambassadors, and Aulus Atilius, city prætor, was ordered to renew with Antiochus the alliance formerly made with his father. The city quæstors received the tribute, and the censors the golden vases; and the business of placing them in whatever temples they

should judge proper, was assigned to them. "One hundred thousand *asses*<sup>323</sup> were presented to the ambassador, and a house at the public cost was given him for his accommodation, and it was ordered that his expenses should be paid as long as he would remain in Italy. The ambassadors, who had been in Syria, represented him as standing in the highest degree of favour with the king, and a very warm friend to the Roman people.

## 7

The following were the events in the provinces during this year. Caius Cicereius, prætor in Corsica, fought the enemy in a pitched battle, in which seven thousand of the Corsicans were slain, and more than one thousand seven hundred taken. During the engagement the prætor vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. Peace was then granted to the Corsicans, on their petitioning for it, and a contribution was imposed, of two hundred thousand pounds' weight of wax. Cicereius crossed over from Corsica, which he had reduced to subjection, to Sardinia. In Liguria, also, a battle was fought in the territory of Satiella, at the town of Carystas. A large army of Ligurians had assembled there, who, for some time after Marcus Popilius' arrival, kept themselves within the walls; but afterwards, when they perceived that the Roman general would lay siege to the town, they marched out beyond the gates, and drew up in order of battle. The consul did not decline an engagement, as that was the object which he endeavoured to gain by threatening a siege. The fight was maintained for more than three hours, in such a manner, that the hope of victory leaned to neither side; but when the consul perceived that the Ligurian battalions nowhere gave ground, he ordered the cavalry to mount their horses, and charge in three places at once, with all possible violence. A great part of the horse broke through the middle of the enemy's line, and made their way to the rear of the troops engaged, owing to which manœuvre, terror was struck into the Ligurians. They fled in different directions on all sides. Very few ran back into the town, because in that quarter, chiefly, the cavalry had thrown themselves in their way. So obstinate a contest swept off great numbers of the Ligurians, and many perished in the flight; ten thousand of them are said to have been killed, and more, than seven hundred taken, in various places; besides which, the victors brought off eighty-two of their military standards. Nor was the victory gained without loss of blood; above three thousand of the conquerors fell in the conflict; for as neither party gave way, the foremost on both sides were cut off.

## 8

When the Ligurians re-assembled in one body, after their scattered flight, they found that a much greater number of their countrymen were lost than left alive (for there were not above ten thousand men surviving); on which they surrendered. They did not stipulate for any terms, yet entertained hopes that the consul would not treat them with greater severity than former commanders. But he immediately took their arms from them, razed their town, and sold themselves and their effects; and he then sent a letter to the senate, relating the services which he had performed. When Aulus Atilius, the prætor, read this letter in the council, (for the other consul, Postumius, was absent, being employed in surveying the lands in Campania,) the proceeding appeared to the senate in a heinous light; "that the people of Satiella, who alone, of all the Ligurian nation, had not borne arms against the Romans, should be attacked, when not offering hostilities, and even after surrendering themselves in dependence on the protection of

<sup>323</sup> 322l. 18s. 4d.

the Roman people, should be butchered and exterminated, that so many thousands of innocent persons suffering, who had implored the protection of the Roman people, established the worst possible precedent, calculated to deter any one from ever venturing to surrender to them; dragged as they were away into various parts of the country, and made slaves to those who were formerly the avowed enemies of Rome, though now reduced to quiet. That for these reasons the senate ordered, that the consul, Marcus Popilius, should reinstate the Ligurians in their liberty, repaying the purchase-money to the buyers, and should likewise use his best endeavours to recover and restore their effects. That arms should be made for them, as soon as possible; and that the consul should not depart from his province before he restored to their country the Ligurians that had surrendered. That victory derived its lustre from conquering the enemy in arms, not from cruelty to the vanquished."

## 9

The consul exerted the same ferocious spirit in disobeying the senate, which he displayed towards the Ligurians. He immediately sent the legions into winter quarters at Pisæ, and, full of resentment against the senators and the prætor, went home to Rome; where, instantly assembling the senate in the temple of Bellona, he used many invectives against the prætor, who, "when he ought to have proposed to the senate that thanksgiving should be offered to the immortal gods, on account of the happy successes obtained by the Roman arms, had procured a decree of the senate against him, in favour of the enemy, by which he might transfer his victory to the Ligurians; and, though only a prætor, he had ordered the consul, in a manner, to be surrendered to them: he therefore gave notice, that he would sue to have him fined. From the senate he demanded, that they should order the decree of the senate passed against him to be cancelled; and that the thanksgiving, which they, though they were far from him, ought to have voted on the authority of his letter, sent from abroad, with an account of the success of the arms of the commonwealth, should, now when he was present, be voted; first, in consideration of the honour due to the immortal gods, and next, out of some kind of regard to himself." Being censured to his face no less severely than in his absence, in the speeches of several of the senators, and having obtained neither request, he returned to his province. The other consul, Postumius, after spending the whole summer in surveying the lands, without even seeing his province, came home to Rome to hold the elections. He appointed Caius Popillius Lænas and Publius Ælius Ligus, consuls. Then Caius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Junius Pennus, Spurius Lucretius, Spurius Cluvius, Cneius Sicinius, and Caius Memmius, a second time, were elected prætors.

## 10

The lustrum was closed this year. The censors were Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Postumius Albinus, the latter of whom performed the ceremony. In this survey were rated two hundred and sixty-nine thousand and fifteen Roman citizens. The number was considerably less, because the consul Lucius Postumius, gave public orders, in assembly, that none of the Latin allies (who, according to the edict of the consul, Caius Claudius, ought to have gone home) should be surveyed at Rome, but all of them in their respective countries. Their censorship was conducted with perfect harmony and zeal for the public good. They disfranchised and degraded from their tribes every one whom they expelled the senate, or from whom they took away his horse; nor did either approve a person censured by the other. Fulvius, at this time, dedicated the temple of Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed six years before, and when proconsul in Spain,

during the battle with the Celtiberians; he also exhibited stage-plays, which lasted four days, in one of which the performance was in the circus. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir in religious matters, died this year, and Aulus Postumius Albinus was substituted in his room. Such great crowds of locusts were suddenly brought by the wind over the sea into Apulia, that they covered the country far and wide with their swarms. In order to remove this pest, so destructive to the fruits of the earth, Caius Sicinius, prætor elect, was sent in command, with a vast multitude of people assembled, to gather them up, and spent a considerable time in that business. The beginning of the year in which Caius Popillius and Publius Ælius were consuls, was employed in the disputes which had arisen in the last. The senators were desirous that the business respecting the Ligurians should be re-considered, and the decree renewed. Ælius, the consul, was willing to propose it, but Popillius warmly interceded for his brother, both with his colleague and the senate; and by giving notice, that if they would pass any vote on the subject he would enter his protest, he deterred him from proceeding in the matter. The senate being hereby equally incensed against them, persisted the more obstinately in their intention; and when they took into consideration the distribution of the provinces, although Macedon was earnestly sought by the consuls, because a war with Perseus was daily expected, yet the Ligurians were assigned as the province of both. They declare that they would not vote Macedonia to them, unless the question were put on the affair of Marcus Popilius. The consuls afterwards demanded that they might be authorized to raise either new armies, or recruits to fill up the old; both demands were refused. To the prætors also, when seeking a reinforcement for Spain, a refusal is given: to Marcus Junius for Hither Spain, and to Spurius Lucretius for the Farther. Caius Licinius Crassus obtained by lot the city jurisdiction; Cneius Sicinius, the foreign; Caius Memmius, Sicily; and Spurius Cluvius, Sardinia. The consuls, enraged against the senate on account of this conduct, having proclaimed an early day for the Latin festival, declared openly that they would go away to their province, and would not transact any kind of business, except what belonged to their own government.

## 11

Valerius Antias writes, that, in this consulate, Attalus, brother to king Eumenes, came to Rome as ambassador, to lay heavy charges against Perseus, and give an account of his preparations for war. But the greater number of historians, and those deemed most worthy of credit, assert, that Eumenes came in person. Eumenes then, on his arrival, being received with every degree of respect which the Roman people judged suitable, not merely to his deserts, but also to their own former favours, bestowed on him in great abundance, was introduced to the senate. He said, that "The cause of his coming to Rome, besides his wish to visit those gods and men who had placed him in a situation beyond which he could not presume to form a wish, was, that he might in person forewarn the senate to counteract the designs of Perseus." Then, beginning with the projects of Philip, he mentioned his murder of Demetrius, because that prince was averse to a war with Rome; that the Bastarnian nation was summoned from their homes, that, relying on their aid, he might pass over into Italy. While his thoughts were busied in plans of this sort, he was surprised by the approach of death, and left his kingdom to the person whom he knew to be, of all men, the bitterest foe to the Romans. "Perseus therefore," said he, "having received this scheme of a war, as a legacy bequeathed by his father, and descending to him along with the crown, advances and improves it, as his primary object, by every means that he can devise. He is powerful, in respect of the number of his young men, since a long peace has produced a plentiful

progeny; he is powerful in respect to the resources of his kingdom, and powerful, likewise, in respect to his age. And as, at his time of life, he possesses vigour of body, so his mind has been thoroughly trained, both in the theory and practice of war; for even from his childhood he became inured to it, in his father's tent, not only in the wars against the neighbouring states, but also against the Romans, being employed by him in many and various expeditions. Already, since he has received the government, he has, by a wonderful train of prosperous events, accomplished many things which Philip, after using his best efforts, could never effect, either by force or artifice.

## 12

“There is added to his strength such a degree of influence as is usually acquired, in a great length of time, by many and important kindnesses. For, in the several states throughout Greece and Asia, all men revere the dignity of his character; nor do I perceive for what deserts, for what generosity, such uncommon respect is paid him; neither can I with certainty say whether it occurs through some good fortune attending him, or whether, what I mention with reluctance a general dislike to the Romans attaches men to his interest. Even among sovereign princes he is great by his influence. He married the daughter of Seleucus, a match which he did not solicit, but to which he was solicited by her friends; and he gave his sister in marriage to Prusias, in compliance with his earnest prayers and entreaties. Both these marriages were solemnized amidst congratulations and presents from innumerable embassies, and were escorted by the most renowned nations, acting as bridal attendants. The Bœotians could never be brought, by all the intrigues of Philip, to sign a treaty of friendship with him; but now, a treaty with Perseus is engraved at three different places, at Thebes, in Delos, in the most venerable and celebrated temple, and at Delphi. Then, in the diet of Achaia, (only that the proceeding was quashed by a few persons, threatening them with the displeasure of the Roman government,) the business was nearly effected of allowing him admission into Achaia. But, as to the honours formerly paid to myself, (whose kindness to that nation have been such, that it is hard to say whether my public or private benefactions were the greater,) they have been lost, partly through neglect, and partly by hostile means. Who does not know that the Ætolians, lately, on occasion of their intestine broils, sought protection, not from the Romans, but from Perseus? For, while he is upheld by these alliances and friendships, he has at home such preparations of every requisite for war, that he wants nothing from abroad. He has thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and is laying up a store of corn for ten years, so that he can be independent of his own territory or that of his enemies with respect to provisions. He has amassed money to such an amount, as to have in readiness the pay of ten thousand mercenary soldiers, besides the Macedonian troops, for the same number of years, as well as the annual revenue accruing from the royal mines. He has stored up arms for three times that number of men; and has Thrace under subjection, from which, as a never-failing spring, he can draw supplies of young men if ever Macedon should become exhausted.”

## 13

The rest of his discourse contained exhortations to timely exertions: “Conscript fathers,” said he, “I make these representations to you, and they are not founded on uncertain rumours, and too readily believed by me, because I wished such charges against my enemy to be true; but on a clear discovery of the facts, as if I had been sent by you to reconnoitre, and I were now relating what took place before my eyes. Nor would I have left my kingdom, which you have rendered ample and highly respectable, and crossed

such a tract of sea, to injure my own credit by offering you unauthenticated reports. I saw the most remarkable states of Asia and Greece, every day, gradually unfolding their sentiments, and ready to proceed, shortly, to such lengths as would not leave them room for repentance. I saw Perseus, not confining himself within the limits of Macedonia, but seizing some places by force of arms, and seducing, by favour and kindness, those which could not be subdued by force. I perceived the unfair footing on which matters stood, while he was preparing war against you, and you bestowing on him the security of peace; although, to my judgment, he did not appear to be preparing, but rather waging war. He dethroned Abrupolis, your ally and friend. He put to death Artetarus, the Illyrian, another ally and friend of yours, because he heard that some information had been written to you by him. He managed that Eversa and Callicrates, the Thebans, who were leading men in their state, should be taken off, because, in the council of the Bœotians, they had spoken with more than ordinary freedom against him and declared that they would inform you of what was going on. He carried succour to the Byzantians, contrary to the treaty. He made war on Dolopia. He overran Thessaly and Doris with an army, in order to take advantage of the civil war then raging, and by the help of the party which had the worst cause to crush the other which had more justice on its side. He raised universal confusion and disorder in Thessaly and Perrhæbia, by holding out a prospect of an abolition of debts, that, by the means of the multitude of debtors thereby attached to his interest, he might overpower the nobles. Since he has performed all these acts with your acquiescence and silent endurance, and has seen Greece yielded up to him by you, he firmly believes that he will not meet with one opponent in arms, until he arrives in Italy. How safe or how honourable this might be for you, you yourselves may consider; for my part, I thought it would certainly reflect dishonour on me, if Perseus should come into Italy to make war, before I, your ally, came to warn you to be on your guard. Having discharged this duty, necessarily incumbent on me, and, in some measure, freed and exonerated my faith; what can I do further, but beseech the gods and goddesses that you may adopt such measures as will prove salutary to yourselves, to your commonwealth, and to us your allies and friends who depend upon you?"

#### 14

His discourse made a deep impression on the senate. However, for the present, no one, without doors, could know any thing more than that the king had been in the senate-house, in such secrecy were the deliberations of the senate involved; and it was not until after the conclusion of the war, that the purport of king Eumenes' speech, and the answer to it, transpired. In a few days after, the senate gave audience to the ambassadors of Perseus. But their feelings as well as their ears were so prepossessed by king Eumenes, that every plea offered in his justification by the ambassadors, and every argument to alleviate the charges against him, were disregarded. They were still further exasperated by the immoderate presumption of Harpalus, chief of the embassy, who said, that "the king was indeed desirous and even anxious that credit should be given to him when pleading in his excuse that he had neither said nor done any thing hostile; but that if he saw them obstinately bent on finding out a pretence for war, he would defend himself with determined courage. The fortune of war was open to all and the issue uncertain." All the states of Greece and Asia were full of curiosity to learn what the ambassadors of Perseus, and what Eumenes, had effected with the senate; and most of them, on hearing of the latter's journey to Rome, which they supposed might produce material consequences, had sent ambassadors thither who pretended other business.

Among the rest came an embassy from Rhodes, at the head of which was a person named Satyrus, who had no kind of doubt but that Eumenes had included his state in the accusations brought against Perseus. He therefore endeavoured, by every means, through his patrons and friends, to get an opportunity of debating the matter with Eumenes in presence of the senate. When he obtained this, he inveighed against that king with intemperate vehemence, as having instigated the people of Lycia to an attack on the Rhodians, and as being more oppressive to Asia than Antiochus had been. He delivered a discourse flattering indeed, and acceptable to the states of Asia, (for the popularity of Perseus had spread even to them,) but very displeasing to the senate, and disadvantageous to himself and his nation. This apparent conspiracy against Eumenes, increased, indeed, the favour of the Romans towards him; so that every kind of honour was paid, and the most magnificent presents were made him; among which were a curule chair and an ivory sceptre.

## 15

After the embassies were dismissed, when Harpalus went back into Macedon with all the haste he could, and told the king that he had left the Romans, not indeed making immediate preparations for war, but in such an angry temper, that it was very evident they would not defer it long; Perseus himself, who all along believed that this would be the case, now even wished for it, as he thought himself at the highest pitch of power that he could ever expect to attain. He was more violently incensed against Eumenes than against any other; and being desirous of commencing the war with his bloodshed, he suborned Evander, a Cretan, commander of the auxiliaries, and three Macedonians, who were accustomed to the perpetration of such deeds, to murder that king; and gives them a letter to a woman called Praxo, an acquaintance of his, the wealthiest and most powerful person at Delphi. It was generally known that Eumenes intended going up to Delphi to sacrifice to Apollo. The assassins having reconnoitred the ground with Evander, sought for nothing else than a fit place to execute their design. On the road from Cirrha to the temple, before you come to the places thickly inhabited, there was a wall on the left side of a narrow path projecting a little from the foundation, by which single persons could pass; the part on the right formed a precipice of considerable depth by the sinking of the ground. Behind this wall they concealed themselves, and raised up steps to it, that from thence, as from a fortress, they might discharge their weapons on the king, as he passed by. At first, as he came up from the sea, he was surrounded by a multitude of his friends and attendants; afterwards the increasing narrowness of the road made the train thinner about him. When they arrived at the spot where each was to pass singly, the first who advanced on the path was Pantaleon, an Ætolian of distinction, who was at the time in conversation with the king. The assassins now, starting up, rolled down two huge stones, by one of which the head of the king was struck, and by the other the shoulder; and being stunned by the blow, many stones having been cast on him after falling, he tumbled from the sloping path down the precipice. The rest of his friends and attendants, on seeing him fall, fled different ways; but Pantaleon, with great intrepidity and resolution, kept his ground, in order to protect the king.

## 16

The assassins might, by making a short circuit of the wall, have run down and completed their business; yet they fled off towards the top of Parnassus with such precipitation, that as one of them, by being unable to keep up with the rest through the

pathless and steep grounds, retarded their flight, they killed him lest he should be taken, and a discovery ensue. The friends, and then the guards and servants of the king, ran together and raised him up, while stunned by the wound, and quite insensible. However, they perceived, from the warmth of his body, and the breath remaining in his lungs, that he was still alive, but had little or no hopes that he would ever recover. Some of his guards having pursued the tracks of the assassins, when they had reached even as far as the summit of Parnassus, and had fatigued themselves in vain, returned without being able to overtake them. As the Macedonians set about the deed injudiciously so, after making the attempt with boldness, they abandoned it in a manner both foolish and cowardly. His friends on the next day bore to his ship the king, now in possession of his faculties, and then, having drawn their vessel, across the neck of the isthmus, they cross over to Ægina. Here his cure was conducted with such secrecy, his attendants admitting no one, that a report of his death was carried into Asia. Attalus also gave more ready credence to it than was worthy the harmony of brothers; for he talked, both to Eumenes' consort, and to the governor of the citadel, as if he had actually succeeded to the crown. This, afterwards, came to the knowledge of the king; who, though he had determined to dissemble, and to pass it over in silence, yet could not refrain, at their first meeting, from rallying Attalus, on his premature haste to get his wife. The report of Eumenes' death spread even to Rome.

## 17

About the same time, Caius Valerius, who had been sent ambassador to examine the state of Greece, and to observe the movements of king Perseus, returned from that country, and made a report of all things, which agreed with the accusations urged by Eumenes. He brought with him from Delphi, Praxo, the woman whose house had served as a receptacle for the assassins; and Lucius Rammius, a Brundusian, who was the bearer of the following information. Rammius was a person of the first distinction at Brundisium, accustomed to entertain in his house the Roman commanders, and such ambassadors as came that way from foreign powers, especially those of the kings. By these means he had formed an acquaintance with Perseus, although he was distant from him; and in consequence of a letter from him, which gave hopes of a more intimate friendship, and of great advantages to accrue to him, he went on a visit to the king, and, in a short time, found himself treated with particular familiarity, and drawn, oftener than he wished, into private conversations. Perseus, after promises of the highest rewards, pressed him, with the most earnest solicitations, "as all the commanders and ambassadors of the Romans used to lodge at his house, to procure poison to be given to such of them as he should point out by letter;" and told him, that, "as he knew the preparation of poison to be attended with the greatest difficulty and danger, and that ordinarily it could not be administered without the privity of several; besides, the issue was uncertain, whether doses sufficiently powerful to produce the desired effect or calculated to escape detection, might be given;—he would, therefore, give him some which neither in administering nor when administered could be discovered by any means." Rammius dreading, lest, in case of refusal, he should himself be the first on whom the poison would be tried, promised compliance, and departed; but did not wish to return to Brundisium, without first holding a conference with Caius Valerius, the ambassador, who was said to be at that time in the neighbourhood of Chalcis. Having first laid his information before him, by his order he accompanied him to Rome, where, being brought before the senate, he gave them an account of what had passed.

## 18

These discoveries were added to the information which had been given by Eumenes, and effected, that Perseus should the sooner be judged an enemy; as the senate perceived that he did not content himself with preparing, with the spirit of a king, for a fair and open war, but pushed his designs by all the base clandestine means of assassination and poison. The conduct of the war is conferred on the new consuls; but, in the mean time, an order was given, that Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, whose province was the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, should raise soldiers who should be led with all expedition to Brundisium, and thence carried over into Apollonia in Epirus, in order to secure the cities on the sea-coasts; in order that the consul, who should have Macedon as his province, might put in his fleet with safety, and land his troops with convenience. Eumenes was detained a long time at Ægina, by a dangerous and difficult cure; but, as soon as could remove with safety, he went home to Pergamus, and set on foot the most vigorous preparations for war, since the late atrocious villany of Perseus now stimulated him, in addition to the ancient enmity which subsisted between them. Am-bassadors soon came from Rome, with congratulations on his escape from so great a danger. When the war with Macedon was deferred to the next year, (the other prætors having gone away to their provinces,) Marcus Junius and Spurius Lucretius, to whom the Spanish affairs had fallen, by importuning the senate with frequent repetitions of the same request obtained at last that a reinforcement for their army should be given them, viz. three thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse, for the Roman legions; they are ordered to levy, from the allies, for the confederate troops, five thousand foot and three hundred horse: these forces were carried by the new prætors into Spain.

## 19

In the same year, because, in consequence of the inquiries made by the consul Postumius, a large portion of the lands of Campania, which had been usurped by private persons indiscriminately, in various parts, had been recovered to the public, Marcus Lucretius, plebeian tribune, published a proposal for an order of the people, that the censors should let the Campanian land to farm; a measure which had been omitted during so many years, since the taking of Capua, that the greediness of individuals might have clear room to work in. After war, though not yet proclaimed, had been resolved on, while the senate was anxious to know which of the several kings would espouse their cause, and which that of Perseus, ambassadors came to Rome from Ariarathes, bringing with them his younger son. The purport of their message was, that "the king had sent his son to be educated at Rome, in order that he might even from childhood be acquainted with the manners and the persons of the Romans; and he requested, that they would allow him to be not only under the protection of his particular friends, but likewise the care, and in some measure the guardianship, of the public." This embassy was highly pleasing to the senate; and they ordered, that Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, should hire a furnished house for the accommodation of the young prince and his attendants. Then that which they sought was given to ambassadors of the Thracians, who were disputing among themselves, and requesting the friendship and alliance of the Roman people, and presents of the amount of two thousand *asses*.<sup>324</sup> were sent to each, for the Romans were rejoiced that these states were gained as allies the more so, as they lay at the back of Macedon. But, in order to acquire a clear knowledge of every thing in Asia and in the islands, they sent ambassadors, Tiberius Claudius Nero and

<sup>324</sup> 6l. 9s. 2d.

Marcus Decimus, with orders to go to Crete and Rhodes, to renew the treaties of friendship, and at the same time to observe whether the affections of the allies had been tampered with by Perseus.

## 20

While the minds of the public were in a state of extreme anxiety and suspense with respect to the impending war, in consequence of a storm happening in the night the pillar in the Capitol, ornamented with beaks of ships, *which had been erected* in the first Punic war by the consul *Marcus Æmilius*, whose colleague was *Servius Fulvius*, was shattered to pieces, even to the very foundation, by lightning. This event, being deemed a prodigy, was reported to the senate, who ordered, that it should be laid before the aruspices, and that the decemvirs should consult the books. The decemvirs, in answer, directed that the city should be purified; that a supplication, and prayers, for the averting of misfortunes should be offered, and victims of the larger kinds sacrificed both in the Capitol at Rome, and at the promontory of Minerva in Campania; and that games should be celebrated as soon as possible in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, during ten days. All these directions were carefully executed. The aruspices answered, that the prodigy would prove happy in the issue; that it portended extension of territory and destruction of enemies; for those beaks of ships which the storm had scattered were spoils. There were other occurrences which occasioned religious apprehensions: it was said, that at the town of Saturnia showers of blood fell during three successive days; that an ass with three feet was foaled at Calatia; that a bull, with five cows, were killed by one stroke of lightning; and that a shower of earth had fallen at Auximum. On account of these prodigies, also, public worship was performed, and a supplication and festival observed for one day.

## 21

The consuls had not yet gone to their provinces; for they would not comply with the senate, in proposing the business respecting Marcus Popilius; and, on the other hand, the senate was determined to proceed on no other until that was done. The general resentment against Popilius was aggravated by a letter received from him, in which he mentioned that he had, as proconsul, fought a second battle with the Ligurians of Statiella, six thousand of whom he had killed. On account of the injustice of this attack, the rest of the states of the Ligurians took up arms. Then not only was Popilius, in his absence, severely censured in the senate, for having, contrary to all laws, human and divine, made war on a people who had submitted to terms, and stirred up to rebellion states that were disposed to live in peace, but also the consuls for not having proceeded to that province. Encouraged by the unanimous opinion of the senators, two plebian tribunes, Marcus Marcius Sermo and Quintus Marcius Sylla, declared publicly that they would institute a suit for a fine to be laid on the consuls, if they did not repair to their destination. They likewise read before the senate a proposal for an order of the people respecting the Ligurians, which they intended to publish. By it a regulation was made, "that in case any of the surrendered Statiellans should not be restored to liberty before the calends of August, then next ensuing, the senate, on oath, should appoint a magistrate to inquire into the business, and to punish the person through whose wicked practices he had been brought into slavery;" and accordingly, by direction of the senate, they proclaimed the same in public. Before the departure of the consuls, the senate gave audience, in the temple of Bellona, to Caius Cicereius, prætor of the former year. After recounting what he had performed in Corsica, he demanded a triumph; but this being

refused, he rode in state on the Alban mount; a mode of celebration for victory without public authority, which had now become usual. The people, with universal approbation, passed and ratified the order proposed by Marcius, respecting the Ligurians; and in pursuance of this resolution of the people, Caius Licinius, prætor, desired the senate to appoint a person to conduct the inquiry, according to the order; whereupon the senate directed that he himself should conduct it.

## 22

The consuls repaired, at last, to their province, and received the command of the army from Marcus Popilius. But the latter did not dare to go home to Rome, lest he might plead his cause while the senate were so highly displeased with him, the people still more exasperated, and before a prætor likewise who had taken the opinion of the senate on an inquiry pointed against him. The tribunes of the people met his evasion by the menace of another order,—that if he did not come into the city of Rome before the ides of November, Caius Licinius should judge and determine respecting him, though absent. When he, dragged by this fetter, had returned, his presence in the senate called forth general hatred. There, when he was censured by the severe reproaches of many, a decree was passed, that the prætors, Caius Licinius and Cneius Sicinius, should take care that such of the Ligurians as had not been in open arms since the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, should all be restored to liberty; and that the consul, Caius Popilius, should assign them lands on the farther side of the Po. By this decree many thousands were restored in this manner, led beyond the Po, and received portions of land accordingly. Marcus Popilius, being tried by the Marcian law, twice pleaded his cause before Caius Licinius; but at a third hearing, the prætor, overcome by his regard for the absent consul, and the prayers of the Popilian family, ordered the defendant to appear on the ides of March, on which day the new magistrates were to enter into office; so that he, being then in a private capacity, could not preside at the trial. Thus was the order of the people, respecting the Ligurians, eluded by artifice.

## 23

There were at this time in Rome ambassadors from Carthage, and also Gulussa, son of Masinissa, between whom very warm words passed, in presence of the senate. The Carthaginians complained that, “besides the district, about which ambassadors were formerly sent from Rome, to determine the matter on the spot, Masinissa had, within the last two years, by force of arms, possessed himself of more than seventy towns and forts in the Carthaginian territories. This was easy for him, who cared for nothing. But the Carthaginians, being tied down by treaty, were silent; for they were prohibited from carrying arms beyond their own frontiers; and although they knew that if they forced the Numidians thence, they would wage the war within their own territory, yet they were deterred by another clause in the treaty, too clear to be mistaken, in which they were expressly forbidden to wage war against the allies of the Roman people. But the Carthaginians could not longer endure his pride, his cruelty, and his avarice. “They were sent,” they said, “to beseech the senate to grant them one of these three things: either that they should fairly decide what belonged to each, as became an ally of both; or give permission to the Carthaginians to defend themselves in a just war against unjust attacks; or finally, if favour swayed more with them than the truth, to fix at once how much of the property of others they wished should be bestowed on Masinissa. That the senate would certainly be more moderate in their grants, and they themselves would know the extent of them; whereas, he would set no limits but the arbitrary dictates of

his own ambition. If they could obtain none of these, and if they had, since the peace granted by Publius Scipio, been guilty of any transgression, they begged that the Romans themselves would rather inflict the punishment. They preferred a secure bondage under Roman masters, to a state of freedom exposed to the injustice of Masinissa. It was better for them to perish at once, than to continue to breathe under the will of "an executioner." After these words, they burst into tears, prostrated themselves on the ground, and, in this posture, excited both compassion for themselves, and *no less displeasure* against the king.

## 24

It was then voted, that Gulussa should be asked what answer he had to make to these charges; or that, if it were more agreeable to him, he should first tell on what business he had come to Rome. Gulussa said, that "it was not easy for him to speak on subjects concerning which he had no instructions from his father; and that it would have been hard for his father to have given him instructions, when the Carthaginians neither disclosed the business which they intended to bring forward, nor even their design of going to Rome. That they had, for several nights, held private consultations, composed of nobles, in the temple of Æsculapius, from whence ambassadors were despatched with secret information to Rome. This was his father's reason for sending him into Italy, that he might entreat the senate not to give credit to the common enemy accusing him, whom they hated for no other cause than his inviolable fidelity to the Roman people." After hearing both parties, the senate, on the question being put respecting the demands of the Carthaginians, ordered this answer to be given, that "it was their will that Gulussa should, without delay, return to Numidia, and desire his father to send ambassadors immediately to the senate, to answer the complaints of the Carthaginians, and to give notice to that people to come and support their allegation. They had hitherto paid to Masinissa, and would continue to pay him, all the honour in their power; that they could not sacrifice justice to favour. Their wish was, that the lands should every where be possessed by the real owners; nor did they intend to establish new boundaries, but that the old ones should be observed. When they vanquished the Carthaginians, they left them in possession of cities and lands, not with the purpose of stripping them by acts of injustice in time of peace of what they had not taken from them by the right of war." With this answer the Carthaginians, and the prince, were dismissed. The customary presents were sent to both parties, and the other attentions which hospitality inquired were performed with all courtesy.

## 25

About this time Cneius Servilius Cæpio, Appius Claudius Centho, and Titus Annius Luscus, who had been sent ambassadors to Macedonia, to demand restitution and renounce the king's friendship, returned, and inflamed to a still greater degree the senate, already predisposed to hostilities against Perseus, by relating, in order, what they had seen and heard. They said, that "through all the cities of Macedonia they saw preparations for war, carried on with the utmost diligence. When they arrived at the residence of the king, they were refused admission to him for many days; at last, when, despairing of a conference, they were just setting out, then at length they were called back from their journey and brought before him. That the leading subjects in their discourse were, the treaty concluded with Philip, and, after his father's death, renewed with himself; in which he was expressly prohibited from carrying his arms beyond his own dominions, and, likewise, from making war on the allies of the Roman people. They

then laid before him, in order, the true and well-authenticated accounts which they themselves had lately heard from Eumenes, in the senate. They took notice, besides, of his having held a secret consultation, in Samothracia, with ambassadors from the states of Asia; and told him, that the senate thought proper that satisfaction should be given for these injuries, as well as restitution, to them and their allies, of their property, which he held contrary to the tenor of the treaty. On this the king, being inflamed, spoke at first harshly, frequently upbraiding the Romans with pride and avarice, and with ambassadors coming one after another to pry into his words and actions; and with thinking proper that he should speak and do all things in compliance with their nod and order. After speaking a long time with great loudness and violence, he ordered them to return the next day, for he intended to give his answer in writing. Then the written answer was given to them; of which the purport was, that the treaty concluded with his father in no respect concerned him; that he had suffered it to be renewed, not because he approved of it, but because, being so lately come to the throne, he had to endure every thing. If they chose to form a new engagement with him, they ought first to agree on the terms; if they could bring themselves to make a treaty on an equal footing, he would consider what was to be done on his part, and he was convinced that they would provide for the interests of their own state. After this, he hastily turned away, and they were desired to quit the palace. They then declared, that they renounced his friendship and alliance; at which he was highly exasperated, stopped, and with a loud voice charged them to quit his dominions within three days. They departed accordingly; and neither on their coming, nor while they staid, was any kind of attention or hospitality shown them." The Thessalian and Ætolian ambassadors were then admitted to audience. It pleased the senate, that a letter should be sent to the consuls, directing, that whichever of them was most able should come to Rome to elect magistrates, in order that they might know what commanders the state was about to employ.

## 26

The consuls, during that year, performed no business of the republic that deserved much notice. It appeared more advantageous to the republic, that the Ligurians, who had been highly exasperated, should be pacified and appeased. While a Macedonian war was expected, ambassadors from Issa gave them reason to suspect the inclinations of Gentius, king of Illyria; for they complained that "he had, a second time, ravaged their country;" affirming likewise, that "the kings of Macedon and Illyria lived on terms of the closest intimacy; that both were preparing, in concert, for war against the Romans, and that there were then in Rome Illyrian spies, under the appearance of ambassadors, and who were sent thither by the advice of Perseus, to ascertain what was going on." The Illyrians, being called before the senate, said, that they were sent by their king, to justify his conduct, if the Issans should make any complaint against him. They were then asked why they had not applied to some magistrate, that they might, according to the regular practice, be furnished with lodging and entertainment, that their arrival might be known, and the business on which they came; when they hesitated in their reply, they were ordered to retire out of the senate-house. It was not thought proper to give them any answer, as delegates, because they had not applied for an audience of the senate; they resolved, "that ambassadors should be sent to the king, to announce to him the complaints made by the allies of his having ravaged their country; and that he acted unjustly, since he did not refrain from offering injury to their allies." On this embassy Aulus Terentius Varro, Caius Plætorius, and Caius Cicereius, were sent. The ambassadors, who had been sent to the several kings in alliance with the state, came

home from Asia, and reported that “they had conferred in it with Eumenes; in Syria, with Antiochus; and at Alexandria, with Ptolemy; all of whom, though strongly solicited by embassies from Perseus, remained perfectly faithful to their engagements, and gave assurances of their readiness to execute every order of the Roman people. That they had also visited the allied states; that all were firm in their attachment, except the Rhodians, who seemed to be wavering, and infected by the counsels of Perseus.” Ambassadors had come from the Rhodians, to exculpate them from the imputations which, they knew, were openly urged against them; but a resolution was made, that “an audience of the senate should be given, when the new magistrates came into office.”

## 27

The senate were of opinion, that the preparations for war should be deferred no longer. The duty is assigned to Caius Licinius, that out of the old galleys laid up in the docks at Rome, which might be rendered serviceable, he should refit and get ready for sea fifty ships. If any were wanting to make up that number, that he should write to his colleague, Caius Memmius, in Sicily, directing him to repair and fit out such vessels as were in that province, so that they might be sent, with all expedition, to Brundisium. Caius Licinius, the prætor, was ordered to enlist Roman citizens of the rank of freedmen’s sons, to man twenty-five ships; Cneius Sicinius, to levy, from the allies, an equal number for the other twenty-five, and likewise to require from the Latin confederates eight thousand foot and four hundred horse. Aulus Atilius Serranus, who had been prætor the year before, was commissioned to receive these troops at Brundisium, and transport them to Macedon; and Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, to keep them in readiness for embarkation. By direction of the senate, Caius Licinius, the prætor, wrote to the consul, Caius Popilius, to order the second legion, which was the oldest then in Liguria, together with four thousand foot and two hundred horse, of the Latin nation, to be in Brundisium on the ides of February, With this fleet, and this army, Cneius Sicinius, being continued a year in command for the purpose, was ordered to take care of the province of Macedon until a new governor should arrive. All these measures, which the senate voted, were vigorously executed; thirty-eight quinqueremes were drawn out of the docks; Lucius Porcius Licinus was appointed to the command, with directions to conduct them to Brundisium, and twelve were sent from Sicily; three commissaries were despatched into Apulia and Calabria, to buy up corn for the fleet and army; these were Sextus Digitius, Titus Juventius, and Marcus Cæcilius. When all things were in readiness, the prætor, Cneius Sicinius, in his military robes, set out from the city and went to Brundisium.

## 28

The consul, Caius Popilius, came home to Rome when the year had almost expired, much later than had been directed by the vote of the senate; to whom it had seemed advantageous to the republic, that magistrates should be elected as soon as possible, when so important a war was impending. Therefore the consul did not receive a favourable hearing from the senate, when he spoke in the temple of Bellona of his acts among the Ligurians. There were frequent interruptions and questions, why he had not restored to liberty the Ligurians, who had been oppressed by his brother? The election was held on the day appointed by proclamation, the twelfth before the calends of March. The consuls chosen were, Publius Licinius Crassus and Caius Cassius Longinus. Next day were elected prætors, Caius Sulpicius Galba, Lucius Furius Philus, Lucius Canuleius Dives, Caius Lucretius Gallus, Caius Caninius Rebilus, and Lucius Villius Annalis. The

provinces decreed to these prætors were, the two civil jurisdictions in Rome, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and one of them was kept disengaged, that he might be employed wherever the senate should direct. The senate ordered the consuls elect, that, on whatever day they would enter on their office, having sacrificed victims of the larger kind, they should pray to the gods that the war, which the Roman people intended to engage in, might prove fortunate in the issue. On the same day the senate passed an order, that the consul, Caius Popilius, should vow games, of ten days' continuance, to Jupiter supremely good and great, with offerings in all the temples, if the commonwealth should remain for ten years in its present state. Pursuant to this vote, the consul made a vow in the Capitol, that the games should be celebrated, and the offerings made, at such expense as the senate should direct, when not less than a hundred and fifty persons were present. That vow was expressed in terms dictated by Lepidus, the chief pontiff. There died this year, of the public priests, Lucius Æmilius Papus, decemvir of religious rites, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, a pontiff who had been censor the year before. The latter died in a shocking manner: he had received an account, that, of his two sons who were in the army in Illyria, one was dead, and the other labouring under a heavy and dangerous malady: his grief and fears, together, overwhelmed his reason, and his servants, on going into his chamber in the morning, found him hanging by a rope. There was a general opinion, that, since his censorship, his understanding had not been sound; and the report was popular, that the resentment of Juno Lacinia, for the spoil committed on her temple, had caused the derangement of his intellects. Marcus Valerius Messala was substituted decemvir in the place of Æmilius; and Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, though a mere youth, was chosen into the priesthood as pontiff in the room of Fulvius.

## 29

In this consulate of Publius Licinius and Caius Cassius, not only the city of Rome, but the whole of Italy, with all the kings and states both in Europe and in Asia, had their attention fixed on the approaching war between Rome and Macedon. Not only old hatred, but also recent anger, because by the villany of Perseus he had been almost slaughtered like a victim at Delphi, urged Eumenes against him. Prusias, king of Bithynia, resolved to keep clear of hostilities, and to wait the event; for as he did not think it proper to carry arms on the side of the Romans against his wife's brother, so he trusted that, in case of Perseus proving victorious, his favour might be secured through the means of his sister. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having, in his own name, promised aid to the Romans, had, ever since he was allied by affinity to Eumenes, united with him in all his plans, whether of war or peace. Antiochus indeed entertained designs on the kingdom of Egypt, since he despised the unripe age of Ptolemy, and the inactive disposition of his guardians, and thought that he might, by raising a dispute about Cœlesyria, find sufficient pretext for proceeding to extremities, and carry on a war there without any impediment, while the Roman arms were employed against Macedon: yet, by his ambassadors to the senate, and to their ambassadors sent to him, he made the fairest promises. Ptolemy, on account of his age, was then influenced by the will of others; and his guardians, at the same time while they were preparing for war with Antiochus, to secure possession of Cœlesyria, promised the Romans every support in the war against Macedon. Masinissa both assisted the Romans with supplies of corn, and prepared to send into the field, to their assistance, a body of troops and a number of elephants, with his son Misagenes. He so arranged his plans as to answer every event that might take place; for if success should attend the Romans, he judged that his own

affairs would rest in their present state, and that he ought to seek for nothing further, as the Romans would not suffer violence to be offered to the Carthaginians; and if the power of the Romans, which at that time protected the Carthaginians, should be reduced, then all Africa would be his own. Gentius, king of Illyria, had indeed given cause of suspicion to the Romans; but he had not yet determined which party to espouse, and it was believed that he would join either one or the other through some sudden impulse of passion, rather than from any rational motive. Cotys, the Thracian king of the Odrysians, was openly in favour of the Macedonians.

### 30

Such were the inclinations of the several kings, while the free nations and states the plebeians, favouring as usual the weaker cause, were almost universally inclined to the Macedonians and their king; but among the nobles might be observed different views. One party was so warmly devoted to the Romans, that, by the excess of their zeal, they diminished their own influence. Of these a few were actuated by their admiration of the justice of the Roman government; but by far the greater number supposed that they would become powerful in their state, if they displayed remarkable exertions. A second party wished to court the king's favour, as debt, and despair of their affairs, while the same constitution remained, urged them hastily to complete revolution; and others, through a fickleness of temper, followed Perseus as the more popular character. A third party, the wisest and the best, wished, in case of being allowed the choice of a master, to live under the Romans rather than under the king. Yet, could they have had the free disposal of events, they wished that neither party should become more powerful by the destruction of the other, but rather that, the strength of both being uninjured, peace should continue on that account; for thus the condition of their states would be the happiest, as one party would always protect a weak state from any ill treatment intended by the other. Judging thus, they viewed in silence from their safe position the contest between the partisans of the two contending powers. The consuls, having on the day of their entering on office, in compliance with the order of the senate, sacrificed victims of the larger kinds in all the temples where the lectisternium was usually celebrated for the greater part of the year, and having from them collected omens that their prayers were accepted by the immortal gods, reported to the senate that the sacrifices had been duly performed, and prayers offered respecting the war. The aruspices declared, that "if any new undertaking was intended, it ought to be proceeded in without delay; that victory, triumphs, and extension of empire were portended." The senate then resolved, that "the consuls should, on the first proper day, propose to the people assembled by centuries,—that whereas Perseus, son of Philip, and king of Macedon, contrary to the league struck with his father, and after Philip's death renewed with himself, had committed hostilities on the allies of Rome, had wasted their lands, and seized their towns, and also had formed a design of making war on the Roman people, and had for that purpose prepared arms, troops, and a fleet; unless he gave satisfaction concerning those matters, that war should be proclaimed against him." The question was carried among the commons. Then a decree of the senate was passed, that "the consuls should settle between themselves, or cast lots, for the provinces of Italy and Macedon; that the one to whose lot Macedon fell should seek redress by force of arms from king Perseus, and all who concurred in his designs, unless they made amends to the Roman people."

### 31

It was ordered that four new legions should be raised, two for each consul. This in particular was assigned to the province of Macedon, that although five thousand foot and two hundred horse were assigned to the other consul's legions, according to the ancient practice, six thousand foot and three hundred horse were ordered to be enlisted for each of the legions that were to serve in Macedonia. Of the allied troops also, the number was augmented in the army ordered into Macedon,—namely, sixteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse, besides the six hundred horsemen carried thither by Cneius Sicinius. For Italy, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies were deemed sufficient. The following remarkable concession was made to the service in Macedon; the consul was authorized to enlist at his option veteran centurions and soldiers, as old as fifty years. An unusual mode of proceeding with regard to the military tribunes was also introduced on the same occasion: for the consuls, by direction of the senate, recommended to the people, that, for that year, the military tribunes should not be created by their suffrages; but that the consuls and prætors should exercise their judgment and discrimination in their selection. Their respective commands were assigned to the prætors in the following manner: he to whose lot it fell to be employed wherever the senate should direct, had orders to go to Brundisium, to the fleet, that he might then review the crews, and, dismissing such men as appeared unfit for the service, enlist in their places sons of freed-men, taking care that two-thirds should be Roman citizens, and the remainder allies. For supplying provisions to the ships and legions, from Sicily and Sardinia, it was resolved, that the prætors who obtained the government of those provinces should be enjoined to levy a second tenth on the Sicilians and Sardinians, and that this corn should be conveyed into Macedon, to the army. The lots gave Sicily to Caius Caninius Rebilus; Sardinia, to Lucius Furius Philus; Spain, to Lucius Canuleius; the city jurisdiction, to Caius Sulpicius Galba; and the foreign, to Lucius Villius Annalis. The lot of Caius Lucretius Gallus was to be employed wherever the senate should direct.

### 32

The consuls had a slight dispute, rather than a great contest, about their province. Cassius said, that “he would select Macedon without casting lots, nor could his colleague, without perjury, abide their determination. When he was prætor, to avoid going to his province, he made oath in the public assembly, that he had sacrifices to perform on stated days, in a stated place, and that they could not be duly performed in his absence; and surely they could no more be performed duly in his absence when he was consul, than when he was prætor. If the senate thought proper to pay more regard to what Publius Licinius wished, in his consulship, than to what he had sworn in his prætorship, he himself, for his part, would at all events be ruled by that body.” When the question was put, the senators thought it would be a degree of arrogance in them to refuse a province to him, since the Roman people had not denied him the consulship. They, however, ordered the consuls to cast lots. Macedonia fell to Publius Licinius, Italy to Caius Cassius. They then cast lots for the legions: when it fell to the lot of the first and third to go over into Macedonia; and of the second and fourth, to remain in Italy. The consuls held the levy with much greater care than usual. Licinius enlisted even veteran centurions and soldiers; and many of them volunteered, as they saw that those men who had served in the former Macedonian war, or in Asia, had become rich. When the military tribunes cited the centurions, and especially those of the highest rank, twenty-three of them, who had held the first posts, appealed to the tribunes of the people. Two of that body, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, wished to refer

the matter to the consuls; “the cognizance of it ought to rest with those to whom the levy and the war were intrusted:” but the rest declared, that since the appeal had been made to them, they would examine into the affair; and, if there were any injustice in the case, would support their fellow-citizens.

### 33

The business, therefore, came into the court of the tribunes. Thither Marcus Popilius, a man of consular dignity, the centurions, and the consul came. The consul then required that the matter might be discussed in a general assembly; and, accordingly, the people were summoned. On the side of the centurions, Marcus Popilius, who had been consul two years before, argued thus: that “as military men they had served out their regular time, and that they possessed bodies worn out through age and continual hardships. Nevertheless, they did not refuse to give the public the benefit of their services, they only entreated that they might be favoured so far, that posts inferior to those which they had formerly held in the army should not be assigned to them.” The consul, Publius Licinius, first ordered the decree of the senate to be read, in which war was determined against Perseus; and then the other, which directed that as many veteran centurions as could be procured should be enlisted for that war; and that no exemption from the service should be allowed to any who was not upwards of fifty years of age. He then entreated that, “at a time when a new war was breaking out so near to Italy, and with a most powerful king, they would not either obstruct the military tribunes in making the levies, or prevent the consul from assigning to each person such a post as best suited the convenience of the public; and that, if any doubt should arise in the proceedings, they might refer it to the decision of the senate.”

### 34

When the consul had said all that he thought proper, Spurius Ligustinus, one of those who had appealed to the plebeian tribunes, requested permission from the consul and tribunes to speak a few words to the people. By the permission of them all he spoke, we are told, to this effect: “Romans, I am Spurius Ligustinus, of the Crustumian tribe, and I sprung from the Sabines. My father left me one acre of land, and a small cottage, in which I was born and educated, and I dwell there to-day. As soon as I came to man’s estate, my father married me to his brother’s daughter, who brought nothing with her but independence and modesty; except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; the latter are both married; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood, the other two are as yet boys. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedon I served as a common soldier, against Philip, for two years; and in the third year, Titus Quintius Flamininus, in reward of my good conduct, gave me the command of the tenth company of spearmen. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went as a volunteer, with the consul Marcus Porcius into Spain. Those who have had experience of him, and of other generals in a long course of service, know that no single commander living was a more accurate observer and judge of merit. This commander judged me deserving of being set at the head of the first company of spearmen. A third time I entered as a volunteer in the army which was sent against the *Ætolians* and king Antiochus; and Manius Acilius gave me the command of the first company of first-rank men. After Antiochus was driven out of the country, and the *Ætolians* were reduced, we were brought home to Italy, where I served the two

succeeding years in legions that were raised annually. I afterwards made two campaigns in Spain; one under Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the other under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, prætors. I was brought by Flaccus among others whom he brought home from the province to attend his triumph, out of regard to their good services. At the request of Tiberius Gracchus, I went with him to his province. Four times within a few years was I first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times I was honoured by my commanders with presents for bravery. I have received six civic crowns, I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and I am upwards of fifty years of age. But, if I had neither served out all my campaigns, nor was entitled to exemption on account of my age, yet Publius Licinius, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, it were reasonable that I should be discharged. But I wish you to consider these words merely as a state of my case; as to offering any thing as an excuse from service, that is what I will never do, so long as any officer, enlisting troops, shall believe me fit for it. What rank the military tribunes may think I deserve, rests with their power. That no one in the army may surpass me in a zealous discharge of duty, I shall use my best endeavours; and that I have always acted on that principle, my commanders and my comrades can testify. And now, fellow-soldiers, you who assert your privilege of appeal, as you have never, in your youthful days, done any act contrary to the directions of the magistrates and the senate, now too you ought to be amenable to the authority of the senate and consuls, and to think every post honourable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth."

### 35

Having finished his speech, he was highly commended by the consul, who led him from the assembly into the senate-house, where, by order of the senate, he again received public thanks; and the military tribunes, in consideration of his meritorious behaviour, made him first centurion in the first legion. The rest of the centurions, dropping the appeal, submissively answered to their names in the levy. That the magistrates might the sooner go into their provinces, the Latin festival was celebrated on the calends of June; and as soon as that solemnity was ended, Caius Lucretius, the prætor, after sending forward every thing requisite for the fleet, went to Brundisium. Besides the armies which the consuls were forming, Caius Sulpicius Galba, the prætor, was commissioned to raise four city legions, with the regular number of foot and horse, and to choose out of the senate four military tribunes to command them; likewise, to require from the Latin allies fifteen thousand foot, with twelve hundred horse; that this army should be prepared to act wherever the senate should order. At the desire of the consul, Publius Licinius, the following auxiliaries were ordered to join the army of citizens and allies under his command: two thousand Ligurians; a body of Cretan archers (whose number was not specified, the order only mentioning whatever succours the Cretans, on being applied to, should send); likewise the Numidian cavalry and elephants. To settle concerning these last, ambassadors were sent to Masinissa and the Carthaginians,— Lucius Postumius Albinus, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Caius Aburius: also, to Crete,— Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Decimius, and Aulus Licinius Nerva.

### 36

At this time arrived ambassadors from Perseus. It was the pleasure of the fathers that they should not be permitted to come into the city; as the senate had already decreed; and the people had ordered, a declaration of war against their king and the Macedonians. Being introduced before the senate in the temple of Bellona, they spoke in

the following manner: that “king Perseus wondered what could be their motive for transporting troops into Macedon; and that if the senate could be prevailed on to recall them, the king would, at their arbitration, satisfactorily account for any injuries of which their allies might complain.” Spurius Carvilius had been sent home from Greece, by Cneius Sicinius, for the purpose of attending this business, and was present in the senate. He charged the king with taking military occupation of Perrhæbia, storming several cities of Thessaly, and other enterprises, in which he was either actually employed or preparing to engage; and the ambassadors were called on to answer to those points. After they declined to do so, declaring that they had no further instructions, they were ordered to tell their king, that “the consul Publius Licinius would soon be in Macedon at the head of an army. To him he might send ambassadors, if he were disposed to give satisfaction, but there was no use in his sending any more to Rome; for none of them would be permitted to pass through Italy.” After they were thus dismissed, a charge was given to Publius Sicinius, to insist on their quitting Italy within eleven days, and to send Spurius Carvilius to guard them, until they embarked. Such were the transactions at Rome, before the departure of the consuls for their provinces. Cneius Sicinius, who, before the expiration of his office, had been sent to Brundisium to the fleet and army, had by this time transported into Epirus five thousand foot and three hundred horse, and was encamped at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia. From which place he sent tribunes, with two thousand men, to take possession of the forts of the Dassaretians and Illyrians; as those people themselves solicited garrisons, to secure them from the inroads of the Macedonians in their neighbourhood.

### 37

A few days after, Quintus Marcius, Aulus Atilius, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Lucius Decimius, who were sent ambassadors to Greece, carried with them one thousand soldiers to Corcyra; where they divided the troops among them, and settled what districts they were to visit. Decimius was sent to Gentius, king of Illyria, with instructions to sound him, as to whether he retained any regard for former friendship; and even to prevail on him to take part in the war. The two Lentuluses were sent to Cephallenia that they might cross over from it into Peloponnesus; and, before the winter, make a circuit round the western coast. The circuit of Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly is intrusted to Marcius and Atilius; they were directed to take a view afterwards of Bœotia and Eubœa, and then to pass over to Peloponnesus, where, by appointment, they were to meet the Lentuluses. Before they set out on their several routes from Corcyra, a letter was brought from Perseus, in which he inquired the reason of the Romans sending troops into Greece, and taking possession of the cities. They did not think proper to give him any answer in writing; but they told his messenger, who brought the letter, “for the sake of guarding the cities themselves.” The Lentuluses, going round the cities of Peloponnesus, after exhorting all the states, without distinction, as they had assisted the Romans with fidelity and spirit, first in the war with Philip, and then in that with Antiochus, to assist them now, in like manner, against Perseus, heard some murmuring in the assemblies; for the Achæans were highly offended that they, who, from the very first rise of the war with Macedon, had given every instance of friendship to the Romans, and had been open enemies to the Macedonians in the war with Philip, should be treated on the same footing with the Messenians and Elians, who had borne arms on the side of Antiochus against the Roman people, and who, being lately incorporated in the Achæan union, made heavy complaints, as if they were made over to the victorious Achæans as a prize.

## 38

When Marcius and Atilius went up to Gitanæ, a town of Epirus, about ten miles from the sea, a council of Epirotes being held there, they were listened to with universal approbation; and they sent thence four hundred young men of that country to Orestæ, to protect those whom they had freed from the dominion of the Macedonians. From this place they proceeded into Ætolia; where, having waited a few days, until a prætor was chosen, in the room of one who had died, and the election having fallen on Lyciscus, who was well known to be a friend to the interest of the Romans, they passed over into Thessaly. The envoys of the Acarnanians and the exiles of the Bœotians came thither. The Acarnanians had orders to represent that "whatever offences they had been guilty of towards the Romans, first in the war with Philip, and afterwards in that with Antiochus, in consequence of being misled by the professions of those kings, they had found an opportunity to expiate. Since in spite of their demerits they had experienced the clemency of the Roman people, so they would now, by their endeavours to merit favour, make trial of its generosity." The Bœotians were upbraided with having united themselves in alliance with Perseus; but they threw the blame on Ismenias, the leader of a party, and alleged, that "several states were drawn into that measure, contrary to their own judgment:" to which Marcius replied, that "this would appear, as they intended to give to every one of the states the power of judging for itself." The council of the Thessalians was held at Larissa. There too the Thessalians had a wide field for giving thanks to the Romans for the blessing of liberty conferred on them; and the ambassadors, because they had been vigorously assisted by the Thessalians in the wars with Philip and Antiochus. The feelings of the assembly were acted on by this mutual acknowledgment of favours to such a degree that they voted every measure which the Romans wished. Soon after this meeting, ambassadors arrived from king Perseus, chiefly through reliance on a connexion of hospitality subsisting between him and Marcius, which had existed between their fathers. The ambassadors began by reminding him of this bond of amity, and then requested him to give the king an opportunity of conferring with him. Marcius answered, that "he had received from his father the same account of the friendship and hospitable connexion between him and Philip; and the consideration of that connexion induced him to undertake the present embassy. That he would not have so long delayed giving the king a meeting, could it have been done without inconvenience; and that now he and his colleague would, as soon as it should be in their power, come to the river Peneus, where the passage was from Omolium to Dium; messengers being previously sent to announce it to the king."

## 39

Perseus, on this, withdrew from Dium into the heart of the kingdom, having conceived a slight inspiration of hope from the expression of Marcius, that he had undertaken the embassy out of regard to him. After a few days they all met at the appointed place. The king's suite was a large one, since a crowd of friends attended him, as well as his body-guards. The ambassadors came with a train not inferior in numbers, as many accompanied them from Larissa, and also the delegates of many states, who had met them there, wishing to carry home information on the positive testimony of what they themselves should hear. All men felt a strong curiosity to behold a meeting between so powerful a king, and the ambassadors of the first people in the world. After they came within sight, on the opposite sides of the river, some time was spent in sending messengers from one to the other, to settle which of the two should cross it; for one party thought the compliment due to royal majesty, the other to the fame of the Roman

people, especially as Perseus had requested the conference. Marcius by a jest roused them from their delay:—"Let the younger," said he, "cross over to the elder; the son to the father:" for his own surname was Philip. The king was easily persuaded to comply; but then another perplexity arose, about the number he should bring over with him. He thought it would be proper to be attended by his whole retinue; but the ambassadors required that he should either come with three attendants only, or if he brought so great a band, that he should give hostages that no treachery should be used during the conference. He accordingly sent as hostages Hippias and Pantaucus, two of his particular friends, and whom he had sent as ambassadors. The hostages were demanded not so much to get a pledge of good faith, as to make it apparent to the allies, that the king did not meet the ambassadors on a footing of equal dignity. Their salutations were not like those between enemies, but kind and friendly; and seats being placed for them, they sat down together.

#### 40

After a short silence, Marcius began thus:—"I suppose you expect us to give an answer to your letter sent to Corcyra, in which you ask the reason, why we ambassadors come attended by soldiers, and why we send garrisons into the cities? To this your question I dread either to refuse an answer, lest it should appear haughty in me, or to give a true one, lest, to your ears, it might seem too harsh. But since the person who infringes a treaty must be reprov'd, either with words or with arms, as I could wish that the war against you had been intrusted to any other rather than to myself, so I will undergo the task, however disagreeable, of uttering rough language against my friend, as physicians, when they, for the recovery of health, sometimes apply painful remedies. The senate is of opinion that, since you came to the throne, you have acted but in one particular as you ought to have done, and that is, in sending ambassadors to Rome to renew *the treaty made with your father*,—and yet it would have been better never to have renewed it, (they think,) than afterwards to violate it. You expelled from his throne Abrupolis, an ally and friend of the Roman people. You gave refuge to the murderers of Artetarus, that it might appear that you were pleas'd at his assassination, to say nothing worse; though they put to death a prince, who, of all the Illyrians, was the most faithful to the Roman nation. You march'd with an army through Thessaly and the Italian territory to Delphi, contrary to the treaty. You likewise, in violation of it, sent succours to the Byzantians. You concluded by an oath a separate alliance with the Bœotians our confederates, which you had no right to do. As to Eversa and Callicritus, the Theban ambassadors, who were slain in returning from Rome, I wish rather to inquire who were their murderers, than to charge any one of the crime. To whom else than your agents can the civil war in Ætolia, and the deaths of the principal inhabitants, be imputed? The country of the Dolopians was ravag'd by you in person. King Eumenes, when he was returning from Rome to his own dominions, was almost butchered, as a victim, at the altars in consecrated ground, at Delphi, and it grieves me to know the person whom he accuses. With regard to the secret crimes which the host at Brundisium states in his communication, I take it for certain, that all the particulars were written you from Rome, and that your ambassadors reported them to you. There was one way by which you might have avoid'd my speaking of these matters, which was, by not inquiring why we brought troops into Macedonia, or sent garrisons into the cities of our allies. When you had ask'd the question, it would have been more haughty to keep silence, than to answer according to truth. Out of regard to the friendship deriv'd to us from our

fathers, I am really disposed to listen favourably to whatever you may say, and wish that you may afford me some grounds of pleading your cause before the senate."

#### 41

To this the king answered,—“A cause which would approve itself good if tried before impartial judges, I must plead before judges who are at the same time my accusers. Of the circumstances laid to my charge, some are of such a nature that I know not whether I ought not to glory in them; others there are which I would not blush to confess; and others, which as they are backed by bare assertions, it will be sufficient to deny. Supposing that I were this day to stand a trial, according to your laws, what does either the Brundusian informer, or Eumenes, allege against me that would be deemed a well-founded accusation, and not rather a malicious aspersion? Had Eumenes (although both in his public and private capacity he has done many grievous injuries to so many people) no other enemy than me? Could I not find a better agent for the perpetration of wickedness than Rammius, whom I had never seen before, nor had any probability of ever seeing again? Then, I must give an account of the Thebans, who, it is well known, perished by shipwreck; and of the death of Artetarus, with regard to whom nothing more is alleged against me, than that his murderers lived in exile in my dominions. I will not object to the injustice of this assumption, provided you will admit it on your side; and will acknowledge that, whatever exiles have taken refuge in Rome or in Italy, you are yourselves abettors of the crimes for which they have been condemned. If you admit not this principle, as other nations will not, neither will I. In truth, what advantage were it to any one that exile lay within his grasp, if no where was there room for an exile? As soon however as I understood from your representations, that those men were in Macedon, I ordered that search should be made for them, and that they should quit the kingdom; and I prohibited them for ever from setting foot on my dominions. These accusations are brought against me as if I were a criminal pleading my cause; the others affect me as a king, and must derive their decision from the treaty which exists between you and me. For if it is thus expressed in that treaty, that even if any one would wage war against me, I am not permitted to protect my kingdom; I must then confess I have infringed it, by defending myself with arms against Abrupolis, an ally of the Roman people. But, on the other hand, if it is both allowed by the treaty, and is an axiom established by the law of nations, that arms may be repelled by arms; how, I pray you, ought I to have acted when Abrupolis had spread devastation over the frontiers of my kingdom as far as Amphipolis, carried off great numbers of free persons a vast multitude of slaves, and many thousands of cattle? Ought I to have lain quiet, and let him proceed until he came in arms to Pella, into my very palace? But, allowing that I avenged my wrongs in a just war, yet he ought not to have been subdued, and made to suffer the evils which occur to the vanquished. Nay, but when I, who was the person attacked, underwent the hazard of all these, how can he, who was the cause of the war, complain if they happened to fall upon himself? As to my having punished the Dolopians by force of arms, I mean not, Romans, to defend myself in the same manner; because, whether they deserved that treatment or not, I acted in right of my own sovereign authority: for they were under my sovereign power and dominion, annexed to my father's territories by your decree. Nor, even if I were to give an account of my conduct, I do not say to you, nor my other confederates, but even to such as disapprove of a severe and unjust exercise of authority, even over slaves, would I appear to have carried my severity against them beyond the limits of justice and equity; for they slew Euphranor, the

governor whom I had set over them, in such a manner, that death was the slightest of his sufferings.

#### 42

“But, when I proceeded to visit Larissa, Antron, and Pteleos, (that I might be within a convenient distance to pay vows, due long before,) I went up to Delphi, in order to offer sacrifice; and here, with the purpose of aggravating the imputed guilt, it is subjoined, that I went with an army, with intent to do what I now complain of your doing,—to seize the towns, and put garrisons in the citadels. Now, call together, in assembly, the states of Greece, through which I marched; and if any one person complain of ill treatment, offered by a soldier of mine, I will not deny that I may appear, under a pretence of sacrificing, to have had a different object. We sent aid to the Ætolians and Byzantians, and made a treaty of friendship with the Bœotians. These proceedings, of whatever nature they may be, have been repeatedly avowed by my ambassadors; and, what is more, excused before your senate, where I had several of my judges not so favourable as you, Quintus Marcius, my paternal friend and guest. But at that time, my accuser, Eumenes, had not come to Rome; one who, by misrepresenting and distorting every occurrence, rendered it suspicious and odious, and endeavoured to persuade you that Greece could not be in a state of freedom, nor enjoy your kindness, while the kingdom of Macedon subsisted. The wheel will come round; people will soon be found who will insist, that Antiochus was in vain removed beyond the mountains of Taurus; that Eumenes is more burdensome to Asia than Antiochus was; and that your allies can never enjoy peace so long as there is a palace at Pergamus: for this was raised as a citadel over the heads of the neighbouring states. Quintus Marcius and Aulus Atilius, I am aware that the charges which were made by you, and my reply to them, will have just so much weight as the ears and the tempers of the hearers are disposed to allow them to have; and that the question what I have done, or with what intention, is not of so much importance, as what construction you may put on what has been done. I am conscious to myself that I have not, knowingly, done wrong; and that, if I have done any wrong, erring through imprudence, I am capable of receiving correction and reformation from these reproofs. I have certainly committed no fault that is incurable, or deserving punishment by war and plunder: for surely the fame of your clemency and consistency of conduct, spread over the world, is ill-founded, if, on such causes as are scarcely deserving of complaint or expostulation, you take up arms against kings in alliance with you.”

#### 43

As he uttered these words with the apparent approbation of the ambassadors, Marcius advised him to send ambassadors to Rome, as he thought it best to try every expedient to the last, and to omit nothing that might afford any prospect of peace. The consideration still remained, how the ambassadors might travel with safety; and although, to this end, it was necessary that the king should ask a truce, which Marcius wished for, and in fact had no other view in consenting to the conference, yet he granted it with apparent reluctance, and as a great favour to the persons requesting it. At that juncture the Romans had not made sufficient preparations for war; they had no army, no general: whereas Perseus had every thing prepared and ready; and if a delusive hope of peace had not blinded his judgment, he might have commenced hostilities at a time most advantageous to himself and distressing to his enemies. At the breaking up of this conference, (the truce being ratified by both parties,) the Roman ambassadors bent

their route towards Bœotia, where great commotions were now beginning; for several of the states withdrew themselves from the union of the general confederacy of the Bœotians, from the time that the answer of the ambassadors was announced, that "it would appear what particular states were displeased at the formation of the alliance with the king." First deputies from Chæronea, then others from Thebes, met the Romans on the road, and assured them, that they were not present in the council wherein that alliance was resolved on. The ambassadors, giving them no answer at the time, ordered that they should go with them to Chalcis. At Thebes a violent dissension arose out of another contest. The party defeated in the election of prætors of Bœotia, resolving to revenge the affront, collected the multitude, and passed a decree at Thebes, that the new Bœotarchs should not be admitted into the cities. All the persons thus exiled betook themselves to Thespiæ; being recalled from it (for they were received there without hesitation) to Thebes, owing to a change in the minds of the people, they passed a decree that the twelve persons who, without being invested with public authority, had held an assembly and council, should be punished by banishment: and afterwards the new prætor, (he was Ismenias, a man of distinction and power,) by another decree, condemns them, although absent, to capital punishment. They had fled to Chalcis; and thence they proceeded to Larissa, to the Romans, and threw on Ismenias alone the blame of the alliance concluded with Perseus, asserting that the contest originated in a party dispute; yet ambassadors from both sides waited on the Romans, as did the exiles, accusers of Ismenias, and Ismenias himself.

#### 44

When they were all arrived at Chalcis, the chiefs of the other states, each by a particular decree of their own, renounced the alliance of Perseus, and joined themselves to the Romans, a circumstance which gave very great pleasure to the latter. Ismenias recommended, that the Bœotian nation should be placed under the orders of Rome; on which so violent a dispute arose, that, if he had not fled for shelter to the tribunal of the ambassadors, he would not have been far from losing his life by the hands of the exiles and their abettors. Thebes itself, the capital of Bœotia, was in a violent ferment, one party struggling hard to bring the state over to the king, the other to the Romans; and multitudes had come together, from Coronæ and Haliartus, to support the decree in favour of Perseus. But by the firmness of the chiefs, (who desired them to judge, from the defeats of Philip and Antiochus, how great must be the power and fortune of the Roman empire,) the same multitude was overcome, and not only resolved that the alliance with the king should be cancelled, but also, to gratify the ambassadors, sent the promoters of that alliance to Chalcis; and ordered, that the state should be recommended to the protection of the Romans. Marcius and Atilius heard the Thebans with joy, and advised both them and each state separately to send ambassadors to Rome to renew the treaty. They required, above all things, that the exiles should be restored; and condemned by their own decree the advisers of the treaty with the king. Having thus disunited the members of the Bœotian council, which was their grand object, they proceeded to Peloponnesus, after summoning Servius Cornelius to Chalcis. An assembly was summoned to meet them at Argos, where they demanded nothing more from the Achæans, than the furnishing of one thousand soldiers, which were sent as a garrison to defend Chalcis until a Roman army should come into Greece.

#### 45

Marcus and Atilius having finished the business that was to be done in Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of winter. An embassy had been despatched thence, about the same time, into Asia, to the several islands. The ambassadors were three; Tiberius Claudius, Publius Postumius, and Marcus Junius. These, making a circuit among the allies, exhorted them to undertake the war against Perseus, in conjunction with the Romans; and the more powerful any state was, the more earnestly they requested them, judging that the smaller states would follow the lead of the greater. The Rhodians were esteemed of the utmost consequence on every account; because they could not only countenance the war, but also assist in it by their own strength, having, pursuant to the advice of Hegesilochus, forty ships ready for sea. This man being chief magistrate, whom they call Prytanis, had, by many arguments, prevailed on the Rhodians to banish the hope of courting the favour of kings, which they had, in repeated instances, found fallacious; and to maintain firmly the alliance with Rome (which was the only one in the earth that could be relied on for strength or honour). He told them, that "a war was upon the point of breaking out with Perseus: that the Romans would expect the same naval armament which they had seen lately in that with Antiochus, and formerly in that with Philip: that they would be hurried, in the hasty equipment of a fleet, when it ought to be sent at once, unless they immediately set about the repairing and manning of their ships: and that they ought to do this with the greatest diligence, in order to refute, by the evidence of facts, the imputations thrown on them by Eumenes." Roused by these arguments, they showed to the Roman ambassadors, on their arrival, a fleet of forty ships rigged and fitted out, so that it might appear that they did not require to be urged. This embassy had great effect in conciliating the affections of the states in Asia. Decimus alone returned to Rome without effecting any thing, and disgraced by the suspicion of having received money from the Illyrian kings.

#### 46

When Perseus, after the conference with the Romans, had retired into Macedon, he sent ambassadors to Rome to carry on the negotiation for peace commenced with Marcus, giving them letters, to be delivered at Byzantium and Rhodes. The purport of the letters to all was the same, viz. that he had conferred with the Roman ambassadors. What he had heard from them, and what he had said, was, however, represented in such a manner that he might seem to have had the advantage in the debate. In presence of the Rhodians, the ambassadors added, that "they were confident of a continuation of peace, for it was by the advice of Marcus and Atilius that they were sent to Rome. But if the Romans should commence their hostilities, contrary to treaty, it would then be the business of the Rhodians to labour, with all their power and all their interest, for the re-establishment of peace; and that, if they should effect nothing by their mediation, they ought then to take such measures as would prevent the dominion of the whole world from coming into the hands of one nation only. That, as this was a matter of general concern, so it was peculiarly interesting to the Rhodians, as they surpassed the other states in dignity and power, which must be held on terms of servility and dependence, if there were no other resource for redress than the Romans." Both the letter and the discourse of the ambassadors were received by the Rhodians with every appearance of kindness, but by no means exerted any influence in working a change in their minds, for by this time the best-judging party had the superior influence. By a public order this answer was given:—that "the Rhodians wished for peace; but, if war should take place, they hoped that the king would not expect or require from them any thing that might break off their ancient friendship with the Romans, the fruit of many and great services

performed on their part both in war and peace." The Macedonians, on their way home from Rhodes, visited also the states of Bœotia. Thebes, Coronæa, and Haliartus; for it was thought that the measure of abandoning the alliance with the king, and joining the Romans, was extorted from them against their will. The Thebans were not influenced by his representations, though they were somewhat displeased with the Romans, on account of the sentence passed on their nobles, and the restoration of the exiles; but the Coronæans and Haliartians, out of a kind of natural attachment to kings, sent ambassadors to Macedon, requesting the aid of a body of troops to defend them against the insolent tyranny of the Thebans. To this application the king answered, that, "on account of the truce concluded with the Romans, it was not in his power to send troops; but he recommended to them, to guard themselves against ill-treatment from the Thebans, as far as they were able, without affording the Romans a pretext for venting their resentment on him."

#### 47

When Marcius and Atilius returned to Rome, they reported in the Capitol the result of their embassy, in such a manner that they assumed no greater merit for any one matter, than for having overreached the king by the suspension of arms, and the hope of peace given him; for "he was so fully provided," they said, "with every requisite for the immediate commencement of war, while on their side no one thing was in readiness, that all the convenient posts might have been preoccupied by him before an army could be transported into Greece; but, by gaining so much time by the truce, the Romans would begin the war better provided with every thing; whereas he would come into the field in no respect better prepared." They mentioned, also, that "they had so effectually disunited by stratagem the members of the Bœotian council, that they could never again, with any degree of unanimity, connect themselves with the Macedonians." A great part of the senate approved of these proceedings, as conducted with consummate wisdom; but the older members, and those who retained the ancient simplicity of manners, declared, that "in the conduct of that embassy, they could discover nothing of the Roman genius. Their ancestors waged war not by stratagems and attacks in the night, nor by counterfeiting flight and returning unexpectedly on an unguarded foe, nor in such a manner as to glory in cunning more than in real valour. That they were accustomed to proclaim war before they waged it, that they sometimes appointed the day of battle and marked out the ground on which they were to fight. That with the same honourable feeling information was given to king Pyrrhus of his physician plotting against his life; and, from the same motive, they delivered bound, to the Faliscians, the betrayer of their children. These were the acts of the Roman law, not resulting from the craft of Carthaginians or the subtlety of Greeks, among whom it is reckoned more glorious to deceive an enemy than to overcome him by force. Sometimes greater present advantages may be acquired by artifice than by bravery. But an adversary's spirit is finally subdued for ever, when the confession has been extorted from him, that he was vanquished, not by artifice, nor by chance, but in a just and open war, in a fair trial of strength hand to hand." Such were the sentiments of the elder members, to whom this modern kind of wisdom was displeasing. But that part of the senate who paid more regard to utility than to honour, prevailed, and passed a vote approving of Marcius' conduct in his former embassy; at the same time ordering that he should be sent again into Greece with some ships, and with authority to act in other matters as he should judge most conducive to the public good. They also sent Aulus Atilius to keep possession of Larissa in Thessaly; fearing lest, on the expiration of the armistice,

Perseus might send troops and secure to himself that metropolis. For the execution of this, Atilius was ordered to receive from Cneius Sicinius two thousand infantry. And three hundred soldiers of the Italian race were given to Publius Lentulus, who had returned from Achaia, that he should fix his quarters at Thebes, in order that Bœotia might be kept in obedience.

#### 48

After these preparations were made, the senate, notwithstanding their determination for war was fixed, yet judged it proper to give audience to the king's ambassadors. Their discourse was, principally, a repetition of what had been urged by Perseus in the conference. The accusation of laying the ambush against Eumenes was defended with the greatest care, and yet with the least success, for the thing was manifest. The rest consisted of apologies: but their hearers were not in a temper to be either convinced or persuaded. Orders were given them to quit the city of Rome instantly, and Italy within thirty days. Then orders were given to Publius Licinius, the consul, to whose lot the province of Macedon had fallen, to appoint as early as possible the day for assembling the army. Caius Lucretius, the prætor, whose province was the fleet, sailed from the city with forty quinqueremes; for it was judged proper that some of the vessels that were repaired should be kept at Rome for other exigencies. The prætor sent forward his brother, Marcus Lucretius, with one quinquereme; ordering him to collect from the allies the ships due by treaty, and to join the fleet at Cephalaria. He received from the Rhegians one trireme, from the Locrians two, and from the Urites four; and then, coasting along the shore of Italy, until he passed the farthest promontory of Calabria, in the Ionian Sea, he shaped his course over to Dyrrachium. Finding there ten barks belonging to the Dyrrachians, twelve belonging to the Issæans, and fifty-four to king Gentius, affecting to understand that they had been brought thither for the use of the Romans, he carried them all off, and sailed in three days to Corcyra, and thence directly to Cephalaria. The prætor Caius Lucretius set sail from Naples, and, passing the strait, arrived on the fifth day at Cephalaria. There the fleet halted, waiting until the land forces should be carried over, and until the transport vessels, which had been separated from the fleet and scattered over the sea, might rejoin it.

#### 49

About this time the consul Publius Licinius, after offering vows in the Capitol, marched out of the city in his military robes. This ceremony is always conducted with great dignity and solemnity; on this occasion particularly, it engaged people's eyes and thoughts in an unusual degree,—and this, by reason that they escorted the consul against an enemy formidable and conspicuous both for abilities and resources. For not only their desire to pay him the customary respect, but an earnest wish to behold the show, and see the commander, to whose wisdom and conduct they intrusted the maintenance of the public safety, brought them together. Then such reflections as these entered their minds: "How various were the chances of war; how uncertain the issue of the contest; how variable the success of arms; how frequent the vicissitudes of losses and successes; what disasters often happened through the unskilfulness and rashness of commanders; and on the contrary, what advantages their judgment and valour conferred. What human being could yet know either the capacity or the fortune of the consul whom they were sending against the enemy; whether they were shortly to see him at the head of a victorious army ascending the Capitol in triumph, to revisit the same gods from whom he now took his departure, or whether they were to give a like

cause of exultation to their enemies." Then king Perseus, against whom he was going, had a high reputation, derived from the great martial character of the Macedonian nation, and from his father Philip, who, besides many prosperous achievements, had gained a large share of renown even in his war with the Romans. Besides too, the name of Perseus himself, which had never ceased, since his accession to the throne, to be the subject of conversation, owing to the expectation of the war. Two military tribunes, of consular rank, Caius Claudius and Quintus Mucius, were sent with him; and three illustrious young men, Publius Lentulus, and two of the name of Manlius Acidinus, one the son of Marcus Manlius, the other of Lucius. With these he went to Brundisium to the army; and sailing over thence with all his forces, pitched his camp at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia.

## 50

A few days before this, Perseus, after the ambassadors returned from Rome, and cut off every hope of peace, held a council, in which a contest was carried on for some time between different opinions. Some were of opinion that he ought to pay a tribute, or even to cede a part of his dominions, if they should deprive him of that; in short, that he ought not to refuse, for the sake of peace, whatever must be submitted to, nor act in such a manner as would expose himself and his kingdom to such a perilous hazard. For, "if he retained undisputed possession of the throne, time and the revolution of affairs might produce many conjunctures, which would enable him not only to recover his losses, but to become formidable to those whom he now had reason to dread." A considerable majority, however, expressed sentiments of a bolder nature. They insisted that "the cession of any part would be followed by that of the whole kingdom. The Romans were in want of neither money nor territory: but they considered that all human affairs, even kingdoms and empires are subject to many casualties. They had themselves broken the power of the Carthaginians, and settled in the neighbourhood a very powerful king, as a yoke on their necks, and had removed Antiochus and his future successors beyond the mountains of Taurus. There now remained only the kingdom of Macedonia near in situation, and such as might, if any where the fortune of Rome should waver, inspire its kings with the spirit of their forefathers. Perseus therefore ought, while his affairs were yet in a state of safety, to consider well in his own mind, whether he should prefer to give up one part of his dominions after another, until at length, stripped of all power and exiled from his kingdom, he should be reduced to beg from the Romans either Samothracia or some other island, where he might grow old in poverty and contempt; or, on the other hand, armed in vindication of his fortune and his honour, as is the part of a brave man, either should endure with patience whatever misfortune the chance of war might bring upon him, or by victory deliver the world from the tyranny of Rome. There would be nothing more wonderful in the Romans being driven out of Greece, than in Hannibal's being driven out of Italy; nor, in truth, did they see how it could consist with the character of the prince, to resist with the utmost vigour his brother, who unjustly aspired to the crown, and, after he had fairly obtained it himself, surrender it up to foreigners. Lastly, that war had its vindication as well as peace, so that nothing was accounted more shameful than to yield up a dominion without a struggle, and nothing more glorious than for a prince to have experienced every kind of fortune in the defence of his crown and dignity."

## 51

The council was held at Pella, in the old palace of the Macedonian kings. "Let us then," Perseus said, "with the help of the gods, wage war, since that is your opinion;" and, despatching letters to all the commanders of the troops, he concentrated his entire force at Cytium, a town of Macedon. He himself, after making a royal offering of one hundred victims, which he sacrificed to Minerva, called Alcidemos, set out for Cytium, attended by a band of nobles and guards. All the forces, both of the Macedonians and foreign auxiliaries, had already assembled in that place. He encamped them before the city, and drew them all up, under arms, in order of battle, in a plain. The amount of the whole was forty-three thousand armed men; of whom about one half composed the phalanx, and were commanded by Hippias of Berœa; there were then two thousand selected for their superior strength, and the vigour of their age, out of the whole number of their shield-bearers: this legion they called, in their own language, Agema, and the command of them was given to Leonatus and Thrasippus of Eulyea. Antiphilus of Edessa commanded the rest of the shield-bearers, about three thousand men. Pæonians, and men from Parorea and Parstrymonia, (places subject to Thrace,) with Agrians, and a mixture of some native Thracians, made up the number of about three thousand men. Didas, the Pæonian, the murderer of young Demetrius, had armed and embodied these. There were two thousand Gallic soldiers, under the command of Asclepiodotus; three thousand independent Thracians, from Heraclea, in the country of the Sintians, had a general of their own. An equal number nearly of Cretans followed their own general, Susus of Phalasarua, and Syllus of Gnosus. Leonidas, a Lacedæmonian, commanded a body of five hundred Greeks, of various descriptions: this man was said to be of the royal blood, and had been condemned to exile in a full council of the Achæans on account of a letter to Perseus, which was intercepted. Lycho, an Achæan, was the commander of the Ætolians and Bœotians, who did not make up more than the number of five hundred men. These auxiliaries, composed of so many states and so many nations, made up about twelve thousand fighting men. Of cavalry, he had collected from all parts of Macedon, three thousand: and Cotys, son of Seutha, king of the Odrysian nation, was arrived with one thousand chosen horsemen, and nearly the same number of foot. The total number was thirty-nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Most certainly, since the army which Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had ever been at the head of so powerful a force.

## 52

It was now twenty-six years since peace had been granted to the suit of Philip; and Macedon, having through all that period enjoyed quiet, was become exceedingly populous, and very many were now grown up, and become qualified for the duties of the field; and owing to the unimportant wars with the neighbouring states of Thrace, which had given them exercise rather than fatigue, were in continual practice of military service. Besides, a war with Rome having been long meditated by, first, Philip, and afterwards by Perseus, had effected that all things should be arranged and prepared. The troops performed some few movements, but not the regular course of exercise, only that they might not seem to have stood motionless under arms. He then called them, armed as they were, to an assembly. He himself stood on his tribunal, with his two sons, one on each side of him; the elder of whom, Philip, was by birth his brother, his son by adoption; the younger, named Alexander, was his son by birth. The king exhorted his troops to a vigorous prosecution of the war. He enumerated the injuries offered by the Romans to Philip and himself; told them, that "his father, having been compelled, by every kind of indignity, to resolve on a renewal of hostilities, was, in the midst of his

preparations for war, arrested by fate: that ambassadors were sent by himself at the same time that soldiers were sent to seize the cities of Greece: that then, under the pretext of re-establishing peace, they spun out the winter, by means of a fallacious conference, in order to gain time to make their preparations; that their consul was now coming, with two Roman legions, containing each six thousand foot and three hundred horse, and nearly the same number of auxiliaries; and that, should they even be joined by the troops of Eumenes and Masinissa, yet these could not amount to more than seven thousand foot and two thousand horse." He desired them, "after hearing the number of the enemy's forces, to reflect on their own army, how far it excelled both in number and in the qualifications of the men, a body of raw recruits, enlisted hastily for the present occasion; whereas they themselves had from childhood been instructed in the military art, and had been disciplined and inured to toil in a course of many wars. The auxiliaries of the Romans were Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians; while his were Thracians and Gauls, the bravest nations in the world. Their troops had such arms as each needy soldier procured for himself; but those of the Macedonians were furnished out of the royal stores, and had been made with much care at the expense of his father, in a course of many years. They must bring their provisions not only from a great distance, but expose them to all the hazards of the sea; while he, besides his revenue from the mines, had laid up a store, both of money and food, sufficient for the consumption of ten years. The Macedonians possessed in abundance every advantage, in point of preparation, that depended on the kindness of the gods, or the care of their sovereign: they ought therefore to have the same daring spirit which their fathers had before them; who, after subduing all Europe, passed over into Asia, and opened by their arms a world unknown to fame, and never ceased to conquer until they were stopped by the Red Sea, and when nothing remained for them to subdue. But in truth fortune has determined the present struggle to be carried on, not for the far remote regions of India, but for the possession of Macedon itself. When the Romans made war on his father, they held out the specious pretence of liberating Greece; now, they avowedly aimed at reducing Macedon to slavery, that there might be no king in the neighbourhood of the Roman empire, and that no nation, renowned in war, should have the possession of arms; for these must be delivered up to their imperious masters, together with the king and kingdom, if they chose to decline a war, and obey their orders."

### 53

Notwithstanding that, during the course of his speech, he was frequently interrupted by the exclamations of the multitude; then truly such shouts arose from the army, expressing indignation and menaces against the foe, and urging him to act with spirit, that he put an end to his discourse. He only ordered them to be ready to march; because it was reported that the Romans were quitting their camp at Nymphæum; and then, dismissing the assembly, he went to give audience to deputies from the several states of Macedon, who were come to offer money and corn, in proportion to the abilities of each. He gave thanks to all, but declined their proffers; telling them that the royal stores were sufficient to answer every purpose. Carriages only were demanded for the conveyance of the engines, and the vast quantity of missile weapons that was prepared, with other military implements. He then put his army in motion, directing his route to Eordea; and after encamping at the lake Begorites, advanced, next day, into Elimea, to the river Haliacmon. Then passing the mountains through a narrow defile called Cambunii, he marched against the inhabitants of the district called Tripolis, consisting of Azoras, Pythios, and Doliche. These three towns hesitated, for a little time, because they had

given hostages to the Larissæans; however being overcome by the fear of immediate danger, they capitulated. He received them with expressions of favour, not doubting that the Perrhæbians would be induced to follow their example; and accordingly, on his first arrival he got possession of their city, without any reluctance being shown on the part of the inhabitants. He was obliged to use force against Cyretiaë, and was even repulsed the first day by bodies of armed men, who defended the gates with great bravery; but on the day following, having assaulted the place with all his forces, he received their surrender before night.

#### 54

Mylas, the next town, was so strongly fortified, that the inhabitants, from the hopes of their works being impregnable, had conceived too great a degree of confidence. Not content with shutting their gates against the king, they cast insulting reproaches on himself and on the Macedonians, which behaviour, while it provoked the enemy to attack them with greater rancour, kindled a greater ardour in themselves to make a vigorous defence, as they had now no hopes of pardon. During three days, therefore, the town was attacked and defended with great spirit. The great number of Macedonians made it easy for them to relieve each other, and to support the fight by turns; not only wounds, but want of sleep and continual labour, were wearing out the besieged, who guarded the walls by day and night. On the fourth day, when the scaling-ladders were raised on all sides, and one of the gates was attacked with unusual force, the townsmen, who were beaten off the walls, ran together to secure the gate, and made a sudden sally. Since this was the effect rather of inconsiderate rage than of a well-grounded confidence in their strength, they being few in number, and worn down with fatigue, were routed by men who were fresh; and having turned their backs, and fled through the open gate, they allowed the enemy to enter through it. The city was thus taken, and plundered, and even the persons of free condition who survived the carnage were sold. The king, after dismantling and reducing to ashes the greater part of the town, removed, and encamped at Phalanna; and next day arrived at Gyrtion; but understanding that Titus Minucius Rufus, and Hippias, the prætor of the Thessalians, had gone into the town with a body of troops, he passed by, without even attempting a siege, and received the submission of Elatia and Gonni, whose inhabitants were dismayed by his unexpected arrival. Both these towns, particularly Gonni, stand at the entrance of the pass which leads to Tempe; he therefore left the latter under a strong guard of horse and foot, and fortified it, besides, with a triple trench and rampart. Advancing to Sycurium, he determined to wait there the approach of the Romans; at the same time he ordered his troops to collect corn from all parts of the country subject to the enemy: for Sycurium stands at the foot of Mount Ossa, the southern side of which overlooks the plains of Thessaly, and the opposite side Macedonia and Magnesia. Besides these advantages of situation, the place enjoys a most healthful air, and a never-failing supply of water, from the numerous springs which lay around.

#### 55

About the same time the Roman consul, marching towards Thessaly, at first found the roads of Epirus clear and open; but afterwards, when he proceeded into Athamania, where the country is rugged, and almost impassable, with great labour and by short marches he with difficulty reached Gomphi. If, while he was leading his raw troops through such a territory, and while both his men and horses were debilitated by constant toil, the king had attacked him with his army in proper order, and at an

advantageous place and time, the Romans themselves do not deny that they must have suffered very great loss in an engagement. When they arrived at Gomphi, without opposition, great contempt of the enemy was added to their joy at having effected their passage through such a dangerous road, since they showed such utter ignorance of their own advantages. The consul, after duly offering sacrifice, and distributing corn to the troops, halted a few days, to give rest to the men and horses; and then, hearing that the Macedonians were overrunning Thessaly, and wasting the country of the allies, he led on to Larissa his troops, now sufficiently refreshed. Proceeding thence, when he came within about three miles of Tripolis, (they call the place Scæa,) he encamped on the river Peneus. In the mean time, Eumenes arrived by sea at Chalcis, accompanied by his brothers Attalus and Athenæus, (bringing with him two thousand foot, the command of whom he gave to the latter,) having left his other brother, Philetærus, at Pergamus to manage the business of his kingdom. From thence, with Attalus and four thousand foot and one thousand horse, he came and joined the consul: two thousand foot were left at Chalcis, of which Athenæus had the command: whither also arrived parties of auxiliaries from every one of the states of Greece; but most of them so small that their numbers have not been transmitted to us. The Apollonians sent three hundred horse and one hundred foot. Of the Ætolians came a number equal to one cohort, being the entire cavalry of the nation; and of the Thessalians (all their cavalry acted separately) not more than three hundred horsemen were in the Roman camp. The Achæans furnished one thousand young men, armed mostly in the Cretan manner.

## 56

In the mean time, Caius Lucretius, the prætor and naval commander at Cephallenia, having ordered his brother, Marcus Lucretius, to conduct the fleet along the coast of Malea to Chalcis, went himself on board a trireme, and sailed to the Corinthian gulf, that he might as early as possible put the affairs of Bœotia on a proper footing; but the voyage proved tedious to him, particularly from the weak state of his health. Marcus Lucretius, on his arrival at Chalcis, when he heard that Haliartus was besieged by Publius Lentulus, sent a messenger to him, with an order, in the prætor's name, to retire from the place. The lieutenant-general, who had undertaken this enterprise with Bœotian troops, raised out of the party that sided with the Romans, retired from the walls. But the raising of this siege only made room for a new one: for Marcus Lucretius immediately invested Haliartus with troops from on board the fleet, amounting to ten thousand effective men, and who were joined by two thousand of the forces of king Eumenes, who were under Athenæus. Just when they were preparing for an assault, the prætor came up from Creusa. At the same time, ships sent by the allies arrived at Chalcis: two Carthaginian quinqueremes, two triremes from Heraclea in Pontus, four from Chalcedon, a like number from Samos, and also five quinqueremes from Rhodes. The prætor sent back these to the allies, because there was no where a naval war. Quintus Marcius also came to Chalcis with his ships, having taken Alope, and laid siege to Larissa, called likewise Cremaste. While such was the state of affairs in Bœotia, Perseus, when, as has been mentioned, he lay encamped at Sycurium, after collecting the corn from all the adjacent parts, sent a detachment to ravage the lands of the Pheræans; hoping that the Romans might be drawn away from their camp to succour the cities of their allies, and then be caught at a disadvantage. And when he saw that they were not put in motion by this disorderly expedition, he distributed all the booty, consisting mostly of cattle of all kinds, among the soldiers, that they might feast themselves with plenty. The prisoners he kept.

## 57

Both the consul and the king held councils nearly at the same time, to determine in what manner they should begin their operations. The king assumed fresh confidence, from the enemy having allowed him, without interruption, to ravage the country of the Pheræans: and in consequence, resolved to advance directly to their camp, and give them no further time for delay. On the other side, the Romans were convinced that their inactivity had created a mean opinion of them in the minds of their allies, who were exceedingly offended that aid was not borne to the Pheræans. While they were deliberating how they should act, (Eumenes and Attalus were present in the council,) a messenger in a violent hurry acquainted them that the enemy were approaching in a great body. On this the council was dismissed, and an order to take arms instantly issued. It was also resolved, that in the mean time a party of Eumenes' troops, consisting of one hundred horse, and an equal number of javelin-bearers on foot, should go out to observe the enemy. Perseus, about the fourth hour of the day, being nearly one thousand paces from the Roman camp, ordered the body of his infantry to halt and advanced himself in front, with the cavalry and light infantry, accompanied by Cotys and the other generals of the auxiliaries. They were less than five hundred paces distant, when they descried the Roman horse, which consisted of two cohorts, mostly Gauls, commanded by Cassignatus, and attended by about one hundred and fifty light infantry, Mysians and Cretans. The king halted, as he knew not the force of the enemy. He then sent forward two troops of Thracians, and two of Macedonians, with two cohorts of Cretans and Thracians. The fight, as the parties were equal in number, and no reinforcements were sent upon either side, ended without any decided advantage. About thirty of Eumenes' men were killed, among whom fell Cassignatus, general of the Gauls. Perseus then led back his forces to Sycurium, and the next day, about the same hour, brought up his army to the same ground, and a number of waggons carrying water followed him; for the road for twelve miles had no water, and was very full of dust: and it was apparent that if they came to an engagement on the first view of the enemy, they would be greatly distressed in the fight by thirst. When the Romans remained quiet, and even called in the advanced guards within the rampart; the king's troops returned to their camp. In this manner they acted for several days, still hoping that the Roman cavalry might attack their rear on their retreat, which would bring on a battle; considering, likewise, that when they had once enticed the Romans to some distance from their camp, they could, being superior in both cavalry and light infantry, easily, and in any spot, face about upon them.

## 58

After this design did not succeed, the king moved his camp nearer the enemy, and fortified it at the distance of five miles from the Romans. From it at the dawn of the next day, having drawn up his line of infantry on the same ground as before, he led up the whole cavalry and light infantry to the enemy's camp. The sight of the dust rising in great abundance and nearer than usual, caused a great alarm in the Roman camp; and at first they scarcely believed the person announcing the circumstance, because during all the preceding days the Macedonians had never appeared before the fourth hour, and it was now only sun-rise. Afterwards, when their doubts were removed, by the shouting of great numbers, and the men running off from the gates, great confusion ensued. The tribunes, præfects, and centurions hastened to the general's quarters, and their soldiers to their several tents. Perseus formed his troops within less than five hundred paces of the rampart, round a hill, called Callinicus. King Cotys, at the head of his countrymen,

had the command of the left wing, the light infantry were placed between the ranks of the cavalry and separated them. On the right wing were the Macedonian horse, with whose troops the Cretans were intermixed. Milo, of Berœa, had the command of these last; Meno, of Antigone, that of the cavalry, and the chief direction of the whole division. Next to the wings were posted the royal horsemen, and a mixed kind of troops selected out of the auxiliary corps of many nations; the commanders here were Patrocles of Antigone, and Didas the governor of Pæonia. In the centre was the king; and on each side of him the band called Agema, with the consecrated squadrons of horse; in his front the slingers and javelin-bearers, each body amounting to four hundred. The command of these he gave to Ion of Thessalonice, and Timanor, a Dolopian. The king's troops were posted in this manner. On the other side, the consul, drawing up his infantry in a line within the trenches, sent out likewise all his cavalry and light infantry, which were marshalled on the outside of the rampart. Caius Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother, had the command of the right wing, which consisted of all the Italian cavalry, with light infantry intermixed. On the left wing, Marcus Valerius Lævinus commanded the cavalry of the allies, being sent by the states of Greece, and the light infantry of the same nation; Quintus Mucius, with a chosen body of cavalry, levied on the emergency, led the centre. In the front of this body were placed two hundred Gallic horsemen; and of the auxiliaries of Eumenes, three hundred Cyrtians. Four hundred Thessalian horse were posted at a little distance, beyond the left wing. King Eumenes and Attalus, with their whole division, stood on the rear, between the rear rank and the rampart.

## 59

Formed in this manner, and nearly equal in numbers of cavalry and light infantry, the two armies encountered; the fight being begun by the slingers and javelin-bearers, who preceded the lines. First of all the Thracians, just like wild beasts which had been long pent up, rushing on with a hideous yell, fell upon the Italian cavalry in the right wing with such fury, that even those men who were fortified against fear, both by experience in war and by their natural courage, were thrown into disorder. The footmen struck their spears with their swords; sometimes cut the hams of their horse, and sometimes stabbed them in the flanks. Perseus, making a charge on the centre, at the first onset routed the Greeks. When the enemy pressed hard on their rear, the Thessalian cavalry, who had been posted in reserve at a little distance from the left wing, clear of the shock, at first mere spectators of the fight, afterwards, when affairs took this unfortunate turn, were of the utmost service to the Greeks. For they retreating leisurely, and keeping their ranks, after they joined the auxiliary troops under Eumenes, in concert with him afforded a safe retreat between their ranks to the confederates, who fled in disorder, and as the enemy did not follow in close bodies, they even had the courage to advance, and by that means saved many of the flying soldiers who made towards them. Nor did the king's troops, who in the ardour of the pursuit had fallen into confusion, dare to encounter men regularly formed, and marching with a steady pace. When the king, victorious in the cavalry action, shouted out "that the war was finished, if they would aid him by even slight exertions," the phalanx came up seasonably while he was encouraging his troops; for Hippias and Leonatus, as soon as they heard of the victory gained by the horse, without waiting for orders, advanced with all haste, that they might be at hand to second any spirited design. While the king, struck with the great importance of the attempt, hesitated between hope and fear, Evander, the Cretan, who had been employed by him to waylay king Eumenes at Delphi, after he saw the body of infantry advancing round their standards, ran up, and warmly recommended, to

him, "not to suffer himself to be so far elated by success, as rashly to risk his all on a precarious chance, when there was no necessity for it. If he would content himself with the advantage already obtained, and proceed no farther that day, he would have it in his power to make an honourable peace; or if he chose to continue the war, he would be joined by abundance of allies, who would readily follow fortune." The king's own judgment rather inclined to this plan; wherefore, after commending Evander, he ordered the standards to be borne back, and the infantry to return to their camp, and the trumpeters to sound the signal for retreat to the cavalry. On the side of the Romans there were slain that day two hundred horsemen, and not less than two thousand footmen; about two hundred horsemen were made prisoners: but of the king's, only twenty horsemen and forty footmen were killed.

## 60

When the victors returned to their camp, all were full of joy, but the insolent transports of the Thracians were particularly remarkable; for on their way back they chanted songs, and carried the heads of the enemy fixed on spears. Among the Romans there was not only grief arising from their ill success, but dread lest the enemy should immediately attack their camp. Eumenes advised the consul to take post on the other side of the Peneus, that he might have the river as a defence, until the dismayed troops should recover their spirits. The consul was deeply struck with the shame of an acknowledgment of fear; yet he yielded to reason, and leading over his troops in the dead of the night, fortified a camp on the farther bank. Next day the king advanced with the intention of provoking the enemy to battle; and on seeing their camp pitched in safety on the other side of the river, admitted that he had been guilty of error in not pushing the victory the day before, and of a still greater fault, in lying idle during the night; for by sending his light-armed troops, without calling out any of his other soldiers, the army of the enemy might in a great measure be destroyed, during their confusion in the passage of the river. The Romans were delivered, indeed, from any immediate fears, as they had their camp in a place of safety; but, among many other afflicting circumstances, their loss of reputation affected them most. In a council held in presence of the consul, every one concurred in throwing the blame on the Ætolians, insisting that the panic and flight took place first among them; and that then the other allied troops of the Grecian states followed their cowardly example. Five chiefs of the Ætolians, who were said to be the first persons that turned their backs, were sent to Rome.

## 61

The Thessalians were publicly commended in a general assembly, and their commanders even received presents for their good behaviour. The spoils of the enemies who fell in the engagement were brought to the king, out of which he made presents,—to some, of remarkable armour, to some, of horses, and to others he gave prisoners. There were above one thousand five hundred shields; the coats of mail and breastplates amounted to more than one thousand, and the number of helmets, swords, and missile weapons of all sorts was much greater. These spoils, ample in themselves, were much magnified in a speech which the king made to an assembly of the troops: he said, "You have given the prestige of victory to the issue of the war: you have routed the best part of the enemy's force, the Roman cavalry, which they used to boast of as invincible. For, with them, the cavalry is the flower of their youth; the cavalry is the nursery of their senate; out of them they choose the members of that body, who afterwards are made

their consuls; out of them they elect their commanders. The spoils of these we have just now divided among you. Nor have you a less evident victory over their legions of infantry, who, stealing away in the night through fear of you, filled the river with all the disorderly confusion of people shipwrecked, swimming here and there. But it will be easier for us to pass the Peneus in pursuit of the vanquished, than it was for them in the hurry of their flight; and, immediately on our passing, we will assault their camp, which we should have taken this morning if they had not run away. Or if they should choose to meet us in the field, anticipate the same result in an infantry action, as took place yesterday when the cavalry were engaged." Those troops who had gained the victory, while they bore on their shoulders the spoils of the enemies whom they had killed, were highly animated at hearing their own exploits, and, from what had passed, conceived sanguine hopes of the future; while the infantry, especially those of the Macedonian phalanx, were inflamed with emulation of the glory acquired by the others, wishing impatiently for an opportunity to display their exertions in the king's service, and to acquire equal glory from the defeat of the enemy. The king then dismissed the assembly; and next day, marching thence, pitched his camp at Mopsius, a hill situate half way between Tempe and Larissa.

## 62

The Romans, without quitting the bank of the Peneus, removed their camp to a place of greater safety. Thither came Misagenes, the Numidian, with one thousand horse, and a like number of foot, besides twenty-two elephants. The king soon after held a council on the general plan to be pursued; and as the presumption inspired by the late success had by this time subsided, some of his friends ventured to advise him to employ his good fortune as the means of obtaining an honourable peace, rather than to let himself be so far transported with vain hopes, as to expose himself to the hazard of an irretrievable misfortune. They observed, that "to use moderation in prosperity, and not to confide too much in the calm of present circumstances, was the part of a man of prudence, who deserved success; and they recommended it to him to send to the consul, to renew the treaty, on the same terms which his father had received from Titus Quintius, his conqueror; for the war could never be terminated in a more glorious manner than by such a memorable battle, nor could a surer hope of a lasting peace ever occur, than that afforded by existing circumstances, as they were likely to make the Romans, dispirited by their defeat, more willing to come to terms. But should they, with their native obstinacy, spurn reasonable conditions, then gods and men would bear witness both to the moderation of Perseus, and to the stubborn pride of the others." The king's inclination was never averse to such measures; therefore this opinion received the approbation of the majority. The ambassadors sent to the consul had audience in a full council, summoned for the purpose. They requested that "a peace might be concluded; promising that Perseus should pay the Romans the same tribute which Philip had engaged to pay, and should evacuate the same cities, lands, and places, which Philip had evacuated." Such were the proposals of the ambassadors. When they withdrew, and the council deliberated concerning them, the Roman firmness prevailed in their determination. So completely was it the practice of that time, to assume in adversity the countenance of prosperity, and in prosperity to moderate the temper. They resolved to give this answer: "That peace should be granted on this condition only; that the king should give to the senate an entirely unconditional right, of deciding concerning him and all Macedon." When the ambassadors brought back this answer, such as were unacquainted with their usual mode of acting, were astonished at the obstinate

perseverance of the Romans, and most people advised the king to make no further mention of peace, for "the enemy would soon come to solicit that which they now disdained when offered." Perseus feared this haughtiness, since it proceeded from a confidence in their strength, and increasing the sum of money, with the hope of purchasing peace by treasure, did not cease to solicit the mind of the consul. After the consul made no change in the answer which he had first given, Perseus, having despaired of peace, returned to Sycurium, from which he had set out with the intention of trying again the fortune of war.

### 63

The news of this cavalry action spread through Greece, produced a discovery of the wishes of the people. For not only those who professed an attachment to the Macedonians, but the generality, who were bound to the Romans under the weightiest obligations, and some who had even felt the power and haughty behaviour of the Macedonians, received the account with joy; and that for no other cause, than out of an evil passion which the mob displays, even in contests of sports, of favouring the worse and weaker party. Meanwhile, in Bœotia, the prætor, Lucretius, pushed the siege of Haliartus with all imaginable vigour. And although the besieged had no foreign aid, except some young Coronæans, who had come into the town at the beginning of the siege, and were without hope of relief, yet they maintained the defence with courage beyond their strength. For they made frequent irruptions against the works; and when the ram was applied, they crushed it to the ground, by dropping on it a mass of lead; and whenever those who worked the engine avoided the blow by changing its position, the besieged by working in masses, and collecting stones out of the rubbish, quickly erected a new wall in the room of that which had been demolished. The prætor, when the progress by machines was too slow, ordered scaling-ladders to be distributed among the companies, resolving to make a general assault on the walls. He thought the number of his men sufficient for this, and the more so because on one side of the city, which is bounded by a morass, it would neither be useful nor practicable to form an attack. Lucretius himself led two thousand chosen men to a place where two towers, and the wall between them, had been thrown down; hoping that, while he endeavoured to climb over the ruins, and the townsmen crowded thither to oppose him, the walls, being left defenceless, in some part or other might be taken by escalade. The besieged were not remiss in preparing to repel his assault; for, on the ground, overspread with the rubbish, they placed faggots of dry bushes, and standing with burning torches in their hands, they often threatened to set them on fire, in order that, being covered from the enemy by the smoke and flames, they might have time to throw up a wall in the inside. But a casualty prevented this plan from succeeding; for there fell suddenly such a quantity of rain, as hindered the faggots from being kindled; thus a passage was laid open by drawing the smoking faggots aside; and while all were attending to the defence of one particular spot, the walls were mounted by escalade in many places at once. In the first tumult of storming the town the old men and children, whom chance threw in the way, were put to the sword indiscriminately, while the men who carried arms fled into the citadel. Next day, these, having no remaining hope, surrendered, and were sold by public auction. Their number was about two thousand five hundred. The ornaments of the city, consisting of statues and pictures, with all the valuable booty, were carried off to the ships, and the city was razed to the ground. The prætor then led his army into Thebes, which fell into his hands without a dispute; when he gave the city in possession to the exiles, and the party that sided with the Romans; and sold, as slaves, the families

of those who were of the opposite faction, and favoured the king and the Macedonians. After performing these acts in Bœotia, he returned to the sea-coast to his fleet.

#### 64

Whilst these events were taking place in Bœotia, Perseus lay a considerable time encamped at Sycurium. Having learned there that the Romans were busily employed in collecting corn from all the adjacent grounds, and that when it was brought in, they cut off the ears with sickles, each before his own tent, in order that he might thresh it the cleaner, and had by this means formed large heaps of straw in all quarters of the camp: he, supposing that he might set it on fire, ordered torches, faggots, and bundles of tow, dipped in pitch, to be got ready; and thus prepared, he began his march at midnight, that he might make the attack at the first dawn, and without discovery. But his stratagem was frustrated: the advanced guards, who were surprised, alarmed the rest of the troops by the tumult and terror among them: orders were given to take arms with all speed, and the soldiers were instantly drawn up on the rampart and at the gates in readiness to defend the camp. Perseus immediately ordered his army to face about; the baggage to go foremost, and the battalions of foot to follow, while himself, with the cavalry and light infantry, kept behind, in order to cover the rear; for he expected, what indeed happened, that the enemy would pursue and harass his rear. There was a short scuffle between the light infantry, mostly in skirmishing parties. The infantry and cavalry returned to their camp, without any disturbance. After reaping all the corn in that quarter, the Romans removed into the territory of Cranno, which was yet untouched. While they were encamped there, deeming themselves secure on account of the distance between the camps, and the difficulty of the march, through a country as destitute of water as was that between Sycurium and Cranno, the king's cavalry and light infantry appeared suddenly, at the dawn of day, on the nearest hills, and caused a violent alarm. They had marched from Sycurium at noon the preceding day, and had left their infantry at the dawn in the next plain. Perseus stood a short time on the hills, in expectation that the Romans might be induced to come to a cavalry action; but after they did not move, he sent a horseman to order the infantry to return to Sycurium, and he himself soon followed. The Roman horse pursued at a small distance, in expectation of being able to attack such as might disperse and separate; but seeing them retreat in close order, and attentive to their standards and ranks, they desisted, and returned to their camp.

#### 65

The king, disliking the length of the march, removed his camp from Sycurium to Mopsilum; and the Romans, having cut down all the corn about Cranno, marched into the lands of Phalanna. When Perseus learnt from a deserter that they carried on their reaping there, without any armed guard, straggling at random through the fields, he set out with one thousand horsemen and two thousand Thracians and Cretans, and after marching with all the speed that he possibly could, unexpectedly fell on the Romans. Nearly a thousand carts, with horses harnessed to them, most of them loaded, were seized, and about six hundred men were taken. The charge of guarding this booty, and conducting it to the camp, he gave to a party of three hundred Cretans, and calling in the rest of his infantry and the cavalry who were spread about, killing the enemy, he led them against the nearest station, thinking that it might be overpowered without much difficulty. Lucius Pompeius, a military tribune, was in command; who led his men, who were dismayed by the sudden approach of the enemy, to a hill at a little distance, hoping

to defend himself by means of the advantage of the ground, as he was inferior in number and strength. There he collected his men in a circular body, that, by closing their shields, they might guard themselves from arrows and javelins; on which Perseus, surrounding the hill with armed men, ordered a party to strive to climb it on all sides, and come to close fighting, and the rest to throw missile weapons against them from a distance. The Romans were environed with dangers, in whatever manner they acted; for they could not fight in a body, on account of the enemy who endeavoured to mount the hill; and, if they broke their ranks in order to skirmish with these, they were exposed to the arrows and javelins. They were galled most severely by the Cestrospondana. A dart, two palms in length, was fixed to a shaft, half a cubit long, and of the thickness of a man's finger; round this, which was made of pine, three feathers were tied, as is commonly done with arrows. To throw this they used a sling, which had two beds, unequal in size and in the length of the strings. When the weapon was balanced in these, and the slinger whirled it round by the longer string and discharged it, it flew with the rapid force of a leaden bullet. When one half of the soldiers had been wounded by these and other weapons of all kinds, and the rest were so fatigued that they could hardly bear the weight of their arms, the king pressed them to surrender, assured them of safety, and sometimes promised them rewards; but not one could be prevailed on to yield; and hope now dawned on them determined to die. For when some of the foragers, fleeing back to the camp, had announced to the consul that the party was surrounded; alarmed for the safety of such a number of his countrymen, (for they were near eight hundred, and all Romans,) he set out with the cavalry and light infantry, joined by the newly arrived Numidian auxiliaries, horse, foot, and elephants, and ordered the military tribunes, that the battalions of the legions should follow. He himself, having strengthened the light-armed auxiliaries with his own light infantry, hastened forward at their head to the hill. He was accompanied by Eumenes, Attalus, and the Numidian prince, Misagenes.

## 66

When the standards of the Romans first came in sight of the surrounded troops, their spirits were raised from the depth of despair. Perseus's best plan would have been to have contented himself with his accidental good fortune, in having killed and taken so many of the foragers, and not to have wasted time in attacking this detachment of the enemy; or, after he had engaged in the attempt, as he was sensible that he had not a proper force with him, to have gone off, while he might, with safety; instead of which, intoxicated with success, he waited for the arrival of the enemy, and sent messengers in haste to bring up the phalanx, which would have been too late for the emergency. The men must have engaged in all the disorder of a hurried march, against troops duly formed and prepared. The consul, arriving first, proceeded instantly to action. The Macedonians, for some time made resistance; afterwards, when they were equal to their enemies in no respect, having lost three hundred foot, and twenty-four of the best of their horse, of what they call the Sacred Cohort, (among whom fell Antimachus, who commanded that body,) they endeavoured to retreat: but this march back was more disorderly and confused than the battle itself. When the phalanx, being summoned by a hasty order, was marching at full speed, it met first, in a narrow pass, the carts laden with corn, with the mass of prisoners. These they put to the sword, and both parties suffered great annoyance; but none waited till the troops might pass in some sort of order, but the soldiers tumbled the loads down a precipice, which was the only possible way to clear the road, and the horses, when they were goaded, pushed furiously through

the crowd. Scarcely had they disentangled themselves from the disorderly throng of the prisoners, when they met the king's party and the discomfited horsemen. And now the shouts of the men, calling to their comrades to go back, raised a consternation not unlike a total rout; insomuch, that if the enemy had ventured to enter the defile, and carry the pursuit a little farther, they might have done them very great damage. But the consul, when he had relieved his party from the hill, content with that moderate share of success, led back his troops to the camp. There are writers who state that a general engagement took place that day, in which eight thousand of the enemy were killed, among whom were Sopater and Antipater, two of the king's generals, and about two thousand eight hundred taken, with twenty-seven military standards; and that it was not a bloodless victory, for that above four thousand three hundred fell, and five standards of the left wing of the allies were lost.

## 67

This day revived the spirits of the Romans, and struck Perseus with dismay: to such a degree that, after staying at Mopsilum a few days, chiefly out of anxiety to bury his dead, he left a very strong garrison at Gonnus, and led back his army into Macedon. He left Timotheus, one of his generals, with a small party at Phila, ordering him to endeavour to gain the affection of the Magnesians, by his proximity to them. On his arrival at Pella, he sent his troops to their winter quarters, and proceeded with Cotys to Thessalonica. There an account was received that Atlesbis, a petty prince of Thrace, and Corragus, an officer belonging to Eumenes, had made an inroad into the dominions of Cotys, and seized on the district called Marene. Supposing, therefore, that he must send Cotys home to defend his own territories, he honoured him at his departure with very magnificent presents, and paid to his cavalry two hundred talents,<sup>325</sup> which was but half a year's pay, though he had agreed to give them the pay of a whole year. The consul, hearing that Perseus had left the country, marched his army to Gonnus, in hopes of being able to take that town: which standing directly opposite to the pass of Tempe, at its entrance, serves as the safest barrier to Macedon, and renders a descent into Thessaly easy. But the city, from the nature of its situation and the strength of the garrison, was impregnable; he therefore gave up the design, and turning his route to Perrhæbia, having taken Mallæa at the first assault, he demolished it; and after reducing Tripolis, and the rest of Perrhæbia, returned to Larissa. From that place he sent home Eumenes and Attalus, and quartered Misagenes and his Numidians, for the winter, in the nearest towns of Thessaly. One half of his army he distributed through Thessaly, in such a manner that all had commodious winter quarters, and served at the same time as a defence to the cities. He sent Quintus Mucius, lieutenant-general, with two thousand men, to secure Ambracia, and dismissed all the allied troops belonging to the Grecian states, except the Achæans. With the other half of his army he marched into the Achæan Phthiotis; where, finding Pteleum deserted by the inhabitants, he levelled it to the ground. He received the voluntary surrender of Antron, and he then marched against Larissa: this city was likewise deserted, the whole multitude taking refuge in the citadel, to which he laid siege. First the Macedonians, who constituted the king's garrison, withdrew through fear; and then the townsmen, on being abandoned by them, surrendered immediately. He then hesitated whether he should first attack Demetrias, or take a view of affairs in Bœotia. The Thebans, being harassed by the Coronæans, pressed him to go into Bœotia; wherefore, in compliance with their entreaties, and

<sup>325</sup> 38,750*l.*

because that country was better adapted for winter quarters than Magnesia, he led his army thither.

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## Book XLIII

*Several prætors were condemned because they had conducted themselves with avarice and cruelty in the administration of their provinces. Publius Licinius Crassus, the proconsul, took by storm several cities in Greece, and plundered them with great cruelty. For this reason the captives, who were sold by him, were subsequently, by a decree of the senate, restored to their respective states. Many tyrannical acts were done to the allies by the admirals of the Roman fleets also. This book contains likewise the successful operations of king Perseus in Thrace, with the conquest of Dardania and Illyricum; Gentius was the king of the latter country. The commotions which arose in Spain through the agency of Olonicus, were quelled by his death. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was chosen by the censors prince of the senate.*

### 1

In the same summer in which the Romans were conquerors in the cavalry action in Thessaly, the lieutenant-general, sent by the consul to Illyricum, compelled, by force of arms, two opulent cities to surrender, and gave the inhabitants all their effects, in hopes, by the reputation of his clemency, to allure to submission the inhabitants of Carnus, a city strongly fortified. But after he could neither induce them to surrender, nor take their city by a siege; that his soldiers might not be fatigued by the two sieges without reaping any advantage, he sacked those cities which he had spared before. The other consul, Caius Cassius, performed nothing memorable in Gaul, the province that fell to his lot; but made an ill-judged attempt to lead his army through Illyricum to Macedon. The senate learned his having undertaken that march from deputies from Aquileia, who complained that their colony, which was new, weak, and but indifferently fortified, lay in the midst of hostile states, Istrians and Illyrians; and begged the senate to take into consideration some method of strengthening it. These, being asked whether they wished that matter to be given in charge to the consul Caius Cassius, replied, that Cassius, after assembling his forces at Aquileia, had set out on a march through Illyricum into Macedon. The fact was at first deemed incredible, and each individual was under the impression that he had gone on an expedition against the Carnians, or perhaps the Istrians. The Aquileians then said, that all that they knew, or could take upon them to affirm, was that corn for thirty days had been given to the soldiers, and that guides, who knew the roads from Italy to Macedon, had been sought for and carried with him. The senate were highly displeased that the consul should presume to act so improperly as to leave his own province, and remove into that of another; and lead his army by a new and dangerous route through foreign states, and thereby open for so many nations a passage into Italy. Assembled in great numbers, they decreed that the prætor, Caius Sulpicius, should nominate out of the senate three deputies, who should set out from the city on that very day, make all possible haste to overtake the consul, Cassius, wherever he might be, and tell him not to engage in a war with any nation, unless that against which the senate voted that such war should be waged. These deputies left the city; Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Marcus Fulvius, and Publius Marcus Rex. The fears entertained for the consul and his army caused the business of fortifying Aquileia to be postponed for that time.

### 2

Then were introduced to the senate ambassadors from the several states of both the Spains; these, after complaining of the avarice and pride of the Roman magistrates, fell on their knees, and implored the senate not to suffer them, who were their allies, to be more cruelly plundered and ill-treated than their enemies. When they complained of other unworthy treatment, and it was also evident that money had been extorted from them; a charge was then given to Lucius Canuleius, the prætor, to whom Spain was allotted, to appoint out of the senatorian order five judges delegate, to try each person from whom the Spaniards might demand back their money; and that they should give the latter power to choose whomsoever they pleased as patrons. The ambassadors being called into the senate-house, the decree of the senate was read aloud, and they were ordered to name their protectors. They named four,—Marcus Porcius Cato, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, son of Lucius, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus. The judges entered on the business with the case of Marcus Titinius first, who had been prætor in Hither Spain, in the consulate of Aulus Manlius and Marcus Junius. The cause was twice adjourned, and on the third hearing the accused was acquitted. A dispute took place between the ambassadors of the two provinces; and the states of Hither Spain chose for their patrons Marcus Cato and Scipio; those of Farther Spain, Lucius Paullus and Sulpicius Gallus. Publius Furius Philus and Marcus Matienus were brought before the judges, the former by the states of the Hither province, and the latter by those of the Farther; the former of whom had been prætor, three years before, in the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Mucius; and the latter, two years before, when Lucius Postumius and Marcus Popilius were consuls. Both, being accused of most heinous crimes, were remanded; but when the cause was about to be pleaded anew, it was represented on their behalf that they had quitted the country as voluntary exiles. Furius had gone to Præneste, Matienus to Tibur, to live in exile. There was a report that the plaintiffs were not suffered, by their patrons, to bring charges against people of high birth and power; and Canuleius the prætor increased this suspicion, for having neglected that business, he applied himself to the enlisting of soldiers. Then he suddenly went off to his province, lest more might be accused by the Spaniards. Although past transactions were thus consigned to silence, yet the senate deliberated for the interest of the Spaniards in future, for they passed an order that the Roman magistrates should not have the valuation of the corn; nor should they compel the Spaniards to compound for their twentieths at such prices as they pleased; and that officers should not be placed in command of their towns for the purpose of exacting money.

### 3

There came also from Spain another embassy, from a new race of men. They, representing that they were the offspring of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, to whom the Romans had not been united in wedlock, and that their number amounted to more than four thousand, petitioned for a grant of some town to be given them in which they might reside. The senate decreed, that “they should put their names on a list before Lucius Canuleius; and that, if he should judge any of them deserving of freedom, it was their pleasure that they should be settled as a colony at Carteia, on the ocean. That such of the present inhabitants of Carteia as wished to remain there, should have the privilege of being considered as colonists, and should have lands assigned them. That this should be deemed a Latin settlement, and be called a colony of freed-men.” At this time Prince Gulussa, son of king Masinissa, arrived from Africa as ambassador from his father. Carthaginian ambassadors also came. Gulussa, being first introduced to the

senate, gave a detail of the succours sent by his father to the maintenance of the war in Macedon, and promised, that if they wished to order any thing besides, he would execute it in return for the meritorious deeds of the Roman people; and he warned the conscript fathers to be on their guard against the treachery of the Carthaginians. That they "had formed the design of fitting out a powerful fleet, in favour, as they pretended, of the Romans, and against the Macedonians; but when it should be equipped and ready for action, they would have it in their power to make their own option which party they would treat as a friend, and which as a foe." Then he pleaded Masinissa's cause concerning the land and towns, which, according to the complaint of the Carthaginians, were wrested from them, by him; and the question was debated with great warmth between the prince and the Carthaginian ambassadors. We have not ascertained what were the arguments brought forward by both parties, or what was the reply given by the senate. However this contest ceased, and seemed to slumber for several years; it was subsequently renewed, and burst forth into the flames of that war which was undertaken by the Carthaginians against Masinissa, necessarily waged against Rome, and terminated only by the downfall of Carthage. We find, in the annals of this year, that a son was born of a virgin, while she was under the strict guardianship of her parents, and by the order of the soothsayers was conveyed to a desert island. The elections were held by Caius Cassius the consul, in which Aulus Hostilius Mancinus and Aulus Atilius Serranus were appointed consuls. Then Marcus Ræcius, Quintus Mænius, Lucius Flatensius, Quintus Ælius Pætus, Titus Manlius Torquatus, and Caius Hostilius, were elected prætors. Italy and Macedon are declared the consular provinces. Italy fell to Atilius, and Macedon to Hostilius. With regard to the prætors, Ræcius obtained by lot the city jurisdiction, Mænius the foreign. The fleet, together with the sea-coast of Greece, fell to Hortensius. The rest of the prætorian provinces were, without doubt, those of the former year, viz. Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. But what prætors obtained the command in each cannot be ascertained, in consequence of the silence of the ancient records. In the mean time Publius Licinius, as if he were sent to wage war not against Perseus, but the Greeks, turned the rage of war, so ineffectual against the real enemy, towards wretches who were unable to cope with him, and took by storm and plundered in a most merciless manner several cities in Bœotia, in which he was passing the winter. When the Coroneans, who were the most ill-used, threw themselves on the protection of the senate, that august body decreed that the captives who had been sold should be restored to freedom. Lucretius the prætor, who had the command of the fleet, imitated, or rather surpassed, the cruelty and avarice of the consul; he was oppressive to the allies, despicable in the sight of the enemy. Since Perseus, by a sudden attack on the fleet stationed at Oreum, took twenty transports laden with corn, sunk the rest of them, and even made himself master of four galleys of five banks of oars. Matters were successfully managed by Perseus in Thrace also where he made a diversion in that country in favour of Cotys against the forces of Atlesbis and Corragus. Nor truly was Cotys false to his own interests, as he was a man indefatigable in war, and pre-eminent in council, a Thracian by birth alone, not by his habits; for he was singularly sober and temperate, and, besides, quite amiable, owing to his mercy and moderation. The tide of war flowed on in favour of Perseus, for at this time the nation of the Epirotes also passed over to his party, by the advice of Cephalus, who however was induced to revolt more by necessity, than his own free will. He was a man of remarkable prudence and firmness, and even then influenced by the best of feelings. For he had prayed to the immortal gods that war might never break out between the Romans and Perseus, and that they might never come to a decisive struggle. For he had determined, when the war

broke out, to aid the Romans according to the written articles of the treaty, but to do nothing further than the conditions of that treaty demanded, and not to be complaisant in a servile or disgraceful manner. These plans were confounded by one Charopus, the grandson of that Charopus who opened the pass at the river Arus to Titus Quinctius, in the war against Philip; this Charopus was a worthless flatterer of those in power, and a strange adept at forging calumnies against men of the best character. He was educated at Rome, having been sent there by his grandfather, in order that he might learn thoroughly the Roman language and literature. Owing to this he became acquainted with, and dear to, very many of the Romans; and yet, after his return home, as he was naturally of a fickle and depraved disposition, and besides inspired with confidence, owing to his intimacy with the Roman nobles, he was constantly sneering at the leading men of the state. At first he was despised by all, nor was any regard paid to his allegations. But after the war with Perseus broke out, and suspicions were rife throughout Greece, as many openly professed their zeal for Perseus, and still more felt it in secret, Charopus never ceased accusing before the Romans those who were invested with authority among the Epirotes. The intimate connexion that Cephalus, and the others who adopted that line of politics, had formerly with the kings of Macedon, gave a specious appearance and false colouring to his calumnies. Already, in truth, by malignantly prying into all their acts and words, and putting the worst construction on them, and by falsifying the truth by adding and subtracting whatever he chose, he was succeeding in having his accusations believed. Nor however were Cephalus, and, those who had been the associates of his designs in the management of the republic, moved by these allegations, since they relied on the full consciousness of unsullied fidelity towards the Romans. But when they perceived that the Romans lent an ear to these calumnies, and that some of the Ætolian nobles, whom the calumnies of slanderers had rendered objects of suspicion as well as themselves, were taken away to Rome, then at length they believed it necessary to provide for the safety of themselves and their property. And they, when no other resource than the king's friendship suggested itself to them, were compelled to form an alliance with Perseus, and give their nation into his hands. Aulus Hostilius and Aulus Atilius, the consuls, having entered on their office at Rome, and having performed such religious and political acts as are usually executed by the consuls in and around the city, set out for their provinces. Hostilius, to whose lot Macedon had fallen, when he was hastening into Thessaly, to join the army there, entered Epirus, which had not yet openly revolted, and was very near falling into the hands of Perseus. For one Theodotus and Philostratus, under the impression that, if they would deliver him up to the king, they would receive great favour from Perseus; and, besides, would strike a very severe blow against the Romans at the time, sent letters to the king, desiring him to come up with all the speed he could. And were it not that Perseus was retained by delay, thrown in his way by the Molossians, at the passage of the river Lous, and that the consul, being informed of his danger, had changed his intended route, there was not a possibility of his escaping. Therefore, having left Epirus, he sailed to Anticyra, and from the latter place proceeded to Thessaly. Having received the command of the army there, he marched at once against the enemy. But he was not a whit more successful in the operations of the war than his predecessor. For having engaged in battle with the king, he was beaten, and when at first he attempted to force his way through Elimea, and afterwards to march secretly through Thessaly, he was compelled to desist from his useless attempts, as Perseus anticipated all his manœuvres. Nor did Hortensius the prætor, to whom the fleet had fallen, carry on any of his operations with sufficient skill or success, for none of his acts deserves better to be

remembered than his cruel and perfidious plundering of the city of the Abdertes, when they endeavoured to avert, by entreaty, the intolerable burdens imposed on them. Perseus, therefore, now despising the Romans, as if he were completely at leisure and disengaged, made an incursion, for the purpose of gaining a fresh wreath of laurel, against the Dardanians, and having slain ten thousand of the barbarians, bore away great booty.

#### 4

In this year the Celtiberians made some warlike motions in Spain, at the instigation of a strange leader named Olonicus, some give him the name of Salindicus. He was a man of great cunning and boldness, and brandishing a silver spear, which he pretended was sent to him from heaven, with the agitation of a person inspired, he attracted universal attention. But when he, with corresponding rashness, had approached the camp of the Roman prætor, in the dusk of the evening, with the intention of slaying him, bringing with him an associate in his mad enterprise, he was killed, near the very tent, by a sentinel with a javelin: his companion paid the same penalty for his foolish undertaking. The prætor immediately ordered both their heads to be cut off and fixed on spears, and then given to some of the prisoners to bear to their countrymen. These entering the camp and showing the heads caused such panic, that if the Romans had instantly advanced to the camp they might have taken it. As it was, a general flight took place; and some were of opinion that ambassadors should be sent to supplicate for peace; while a great number of states, on hearing this intelligence, surrendered: and when the prætor had given pardon to them while endeavouring to excuse themselves, and laying all the blame on the madness of the two individuals who had voluntarily offered themselves for punishment, he proceeded immediately to the other states, every one of which acknowledged his authority, and he passed with his army in peace, without doing any injury, through the tract of country where before the flames of war raged with the utmost fury. This mercy shown by the prætor, by which he overcame without bloodshed a very savage people, was the more pleasing to the senate and people, as the war had been conducted in Greece both by the consul Licinius and the prætor Lucretius with uncommon avarice and cruelty. The plebeian tribunes, daily in their speeches to the people, censured Lucretius for being absent, though it was alleged in his favour that he was abroad on the business of the public. But so little was then known of what passed, even in the vicinity of Rome, that he was, at that very time, at his own estate near Antium; and with money amassed in his expedition, was bringing water thither from the river Loracina; he is said to have contracted for the execution of this work at the expense of one hundred and thirty thousand *asses*.<sup>326</sup> He also decorated the temple of Æsculapius with pictures taken from among the spoils. But ambassadors from Abdera diverted the public displeasure, and the consequent disgrace, from Lucretius to his successor. These stood weeping at the door of the senate-house, and complained, that "their town had been stormed and plundered by Hortensius. His only reason," they said, "for destroying their city was, that, on his demanding from them one hundred thousand denariuses,<sup>327</sup> and fifty thousand measures of wheat, they had requested time until they could send ambassadors on the subject, both to the consul Hostilius, and to Rome; and that they had scarcely reached the consul, when they heard that the town was stormed, their nobles beheaded, and the rest sold for slaves." This act appeared to the senate deserving their indignation, and they passed the same decree respecting the people of

<sup>326</sup> 419l. 15s. 10d.

<sup>327</sup> 3,229l. 3s. 4d.

Abdera as they had passed concerning the Coronæans. They also ordered Quintus Mænius, the prætor, to publish the notice in a general assembly, as had been done the year before. Two ambassadors, Caius Sempronius Blæsus and Sextus Julius Cæsar, were sent to restore the Abderites to liberty; and were likewise commissioned to deliver a message from the senate to the consul Hostilius, and to the prætor Hortensius, that the senate judged the war made on the Abderites to be unjust, and had directed that all those who were in servitude should be sought out and restored to liberty.

## 5

At the same time, complaints were laid before the senate against Caius Cassius, who had been consul the year before, and was then a military tribune in Macedon, under Aulus Hostilius, and ambassadors came from Cincibilus, a king of the Gauls. His brother made a speech to the senate, complaining that Caius Cassius had entirely wasted the country of the Alpine Gauls, their allies, and carried off into slavery many thousands of their people. Ambassadors came at the same time from the Carnians, Istrians, and Iapidans, who represented, that "at first guides had been demanded from them by the consul, Cassius, to point out the road to him, leading his army into Macedon: that he had parted from them in a peaceable manner, as if to carry war elsewhere; but afterwards, when he had proceeded half way, he returned, and overran their country in a hostile manner, spreading depredations and fires through every quarter; nor had they as yet been able to discover for what reason they were treated as enemies by the consul." The following answer was returned to the absent prince of the Gauls, and the states present, that "the senate had no previous knowledge of those acts of which they complained; nor did they approve of them if they did take place. But that it would still be unjust to condemn, unheard and absent, a man of consular rank, especially as he was employed abroad in the business of the public. That, when Caius Cassius should come home from Macedonia, if they chose then to prosecute their complaints against him, in his presence, the senate, after examining the matter, would endeavour to give them satisfaction." It was further resolved, that not only a verbal answer should be given, but that ambassadors should be also sent to those nations, (two to the transalpine chieftain, and three to the other states,) to notify to them the determinations of the senate. They voted, that presents, to the amount of two thousand *asses*,<sup>328</sup> should be sent to the ambassadors; and to the prince, and his brother, some of extraordinary value: two chains made of gold, and weighing five pounds; five silver vases, amounting to twenty pounds' weight; two horses, fully caparisoned, with grooms to attend them, and horsemen's armour and cloaks, besides suits of apparel to their attendants, both freemen and slaves. These were presented to them; and, on their request, permission was given to each of them to purchase ten horses, and convey them out of Italy. Caius Lælius and Marcus Æmilius were sent ambassadors with the Gauls, to the regions on the northern side of the Alps; and Caius Cicinius, Publius Cornelius Blasio, and Titus Memmius, to the other states.

## 6

Embassies from many states of Greece and Asia arrived at Rome at the same time. The first that had audience of the senate were the Athenians, who represented, that "they had sent what ships and soldiers they had to the consul Publius Licinius, and the prætor Caius Lucretius, who did not think proper to employ their forces, but ordered the state to furnish one hundred thousand measures of corn; and, notwithstanding that they were the cultivators of a sterile soil, and that they fed even the husbandmen with

<sup>328</sup> 6l. 9s. 2d.

imported grain, yet that they might not appear deficient in their duty, they had made up that quantity, and were ready to perform any other service that might be required of them." The Milesians making no mention of their past services, promised to readily afford any assistance in the war which the senate should think proper to demand. The Alabandians said, that they had erected a temple to the city of Rome, and instituted anniversary games to her divinity; that they had brought a golden crown, of fifty pounds' weight, to be deposited in the Capitol, as an offering to Jupiter supremely good and great; also three hundred horsemen's bucklers, which they were ready to deliver to any person appointed to receive them; and they requested permission to lodge the said offering as intended, and to perform sacrifice. Ambassadors from Lampsacus, who brought a crown of eighty pounds' weight, made the same request, and represented to the senate that "they had renounced the party of Perseus as soon as the Roman army arrived in Macedon, though they had been under the dominion of that monarch, and formerly of Philip. In return for which, and for their having contributed every assistance in their power to the Roman commanders, they only requested to be admitted into the friendship of the Roman people; and that, if peace should be made with Perseus, they should be exempted from falling again into his power." A gracious answer was given to the rest of the ambassadors, and the prætor, Quintus Mænius, was ordered to enrol the people of Lampsacus as allies. Presents were made to all, and two thousand asses were given to each. The Alabandians were desired to carry back the bucklers into Macedon, to the consul Aulus Hostilius. At the same time ambassadors came from Africa; those of the Carthaginians acquainted the senate that they had brought down to the sea-coast a million of measures of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, "to be transported to whatever place the senate should order. They were sensible," they said, "that this offer, and act of duty, were very inferior the deserts of the Roman people, and to their own inclinations; but that on many other occasions, when both nations were in favourable circumstances, they had performed the duties of faithful and grateful allies." In like manner, ambassadors from Masinissa offered the same quantity of wheat, one thousand two hundred horsemen, and twelve elephants; desiring, that if he could be of service in any other particular, the senate would lay their commands on him, and he would execute them with as much zeal as if he had proposed them himself. Thanks were returned both to the Carthaginians and to the king; and they were requested to send the supplies, which they had promised, into Macedon, to the consul Hostilius. A present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the ambassadors.

## 7

When the ambassadors of the Cretans mentioned that they had sent into Macedon the number of archers which had been demanded by the consul, Publius Licinius, on being interrogated, they did not deny that a greater number of their archers were serving in the army of Perseus than in that of the Romans: on which they received this answer; that "if the Cretans were candidly and sincerely resolved to prefer the friendship of the Roman people to that of king Perseus, the Roman senate, on their part, would answer them as allies who could be relied on. In the mean time, that they should announce to their countrymen, that the senate required that the Cretans should endeavour to call home, as soon as possible, all the soldiers who were in the service of king Perseus." The Cretans being dismissed, the ambassadors from Chalcis were called, whose embassy seemed to be a matter of extreme necessity, from the very circumstance of their entering the senate-house at all, since Miction, their chief, having lost the use of his limbs, was introduced on a litter: and either the plea of bad health had not appeared to

himself an adequate motive for seeking exemption from duty, though he was in such a distressing state, or exemption had not been given him at his request. After premising that no other part was alive but his tongue, which served him to deplore the calamities of his country, he represented, first, the friendly assistance given by his state to the Roman commanders and armies, both on former occasions and in the war with Perseus; and then, the instances of pride, avarice, and cruelty, which his countrymen had suffered from the Roman prætor, Caius Lucretius, and were at that very time suffering from Lucius Hortensius; notwithstanding which, they were resolved to endure all hardships, should they be even more grievous than they underwent at present, rather than swerve from their allegiance. "With regard to Lucretius and Hortensius, they knew that it would have been safer to have shut their gates against them, than to receive them into the city. For those cities which had so done, remained in safety, as Emathæa, Amphipolis Maronea, and Ænus; whereas, in Chalcis, the temples were robbed of all their ornaments. Caius Lucretius had carried off in ships, to Antium, the plunder amassed by such sacrilege and had dragged persons of free condition into slavery; the property of the allies of the Roman people was subjected to rapine and plunder every day. For Hortensius, pursuing the practice of Caius Lucretius, kept the crews of his ships in lodgings both in summer and winter alike; so that their houses were filled with a crowd of seamen, and those men who showed no regard to propriety, either in their words or actions, lived among the inhabitants, their wives, and children."

## 8

The senate resolved to call Lucretius before them, that he might argue the matter in person, and exculpate himself. But when he appeared, he heard many more crimes alleged against him than had been mentioned in his absence; and two more weighty and powerful accusers stood forth in support of the charges, Manius Juventius Thalna and Cneius Aufidius, plebeian tribunes. These not only arraigned him bitterly in the senate, but dragged him out into the assembly of the people, and there, after reproaching him with many heinous crimes, they instituted a legal prosecution against him. By order of the senate, the prætor, Quintus Mænius, gave this answer to the ambassadors of Chalcis: that "the senate acknowledged their account of the good offices done by them to the Roman people, both on former occasions and during the present war, to be true; and that their conduct met with gratitude, as it ought: that as to the ill treatment, which they complained of having received formerly from Caius Lucretius, and now from Lucius Hortensius, Roman prætors, who could suppose that such things were done with the approbation of the senate, who would consider that the Roman people had made war on Perseus, and, before that, on his father Philip, for the express purpose of asserting the liberties of Greece, and not that their friends and allies should receive such treatment from their magistrates: that they would give them a letter to the prætor, Lucius Hortensius, informing him that the proceedings, of which the people of Chalcis complained, were highly displeasing to the senate; charging him to take care that all free persons, who had been reduced to slavery, should be sought out as soon as possible, and restored to liberty; and commanding that no seamen, except the masters of vessels, should be permitted to lodge on shore." Pursuant to the senate's order, a letter to this purport was written to Hortensius. A present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the ambassadors, and carriages were hired for Miction, at the public expense, to carry him commodiously to Brundisium. When the day of Caius Lucretius's trial came, the tribunes pleaded against him before the people, and demanded that he should be fined

in the sum of one million of *asses*;<sup>329</sup> and an assembly of the people being held, every one of the thirty-five pronounced him guilty.

## 9

In Liguria, nothing worthy of record occurred in that year; for the enemy made no hostile attempt, nor did the consul march his legions into their country; on the contrary, having made himself sure that there would be peace that year, he discharged the soldiers of the two Roman legions within sixty days after his arrival in the province, sent the troops of the Latin confederates early into winter quarters at Luna and Pisæ, and himself, with the cavalry, visited most of the towns in the Gallic province. Although there was no open war any where but in Macedon, yet the Romans suspected Gentius, king of Illyria. The senate, therefore, voted that eight ships, fully equipped, should be sent from Brundisium to Issa, to Caius Furius, lieutenant-general, who, with only two vessels belonging to the inhabitants, held the government of that island. In this squadron were embarked two thousand soldiers, whom the prætor, Quintus Mænius, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, had raised in the quarter of Italy opposite Illyria; and the consul Hostilius sent Appius Claudius, with four thousand foot, into Illyria, to protect the states that bordered on it. But Appius Claudius, not content with the force which he brought with him, collected aid from the allies, until he armed as many as eight thousand men of different nations; and after overrunning all that country, took post at Lychnidus, in the territory of the Dassaretians.

## 10

Not far from this place was Uscana, a town generally deemed part of the dominions of Perseus. It contained ten thousand inhabitants, and a small party of Cretans, who served as a garrison. From this place messengers came secretly, to Claudius, telling him that "if he brought his army nearer, there would be people ready to put the town into his hands; and that it would be well worth his while; for he would satiate with plunder not only his friends, but also his soldiers." The hopes presented to his avarice "blinded his understanding to that degree, that he neither detained any of those who came, nor required hostages as a pledge for his security, in a business which was to be transacted clandestinely and treacherously; neither did he send scouts to examine matters, nor require an oath from the messengers; but, on the day appointed, he left Lychnidus, and pitched his camp twelve miles from the city, which was the object of his design. At the fourth watch he set out, leaving about one thousand men to guard the camp. His forces, in disorder, extending themselves in a long irregular train, and few in number, as they were separated by a mistake in the night, arrived in this state at the city. Their carelessness increased when they saw not a soldier on the walls. But as soon as they approached within a weapon's cast, a sally was made from two gates at once. Besides the shout raised by the sallying party, a tremendous noise was heard on the walls, composed of the yells of women and the sound of brazen instruments, while the rabble of the place, mixed with a multitude of slaves, made the air resound with various cries. Such a number of terrific circumstances, presented to them on all sides, had such an effect, that the Romans were unable to support the first onset of the sallying party; so that a greater number of them were killed in the flight than in the battle, and scarcely two thousand, with the lieutenant-general himself, effected their escape. The enemy had the greater opportunity of overtaking the weary Romans, in proportion to their distance from the camp. Appius, without even halting in the camp to collect his scattered troops,

<sup>329</sup> 3029l. 1s. 4d.

which would have been the means of saving many stragglers, led back, directly, to Lychnidus, the remains of his unfortunate army.

## 11

These and other unfavourable occurrences in Macedon were learned from Sextus Digitius, a military tribune, who came to Rome to perform a sacrifice. The senate being apprehensive on account of these advices of some greater disgrace ensuing, deputed Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Marcus Caninius Rebilus to go to Macedon, and bring certain information of what was going on there; at the same time ordering that the consul, Aulus Hostilius, should summon the assembly for the election of consuls, and arrange that it might be held in the month of January, and should come home to the city as soon as possible. In the mean time instructions were given to the prætor, Marcus Recius, to call home to Rome, by proclamation, all the senators from every part of Italy, except such as were absent on public business; and it was resolved that none of those who were in Rome should go further than one mile from the city. All this was done pursuant to the votes of the senate. The election of consuls was held on the fifth day before the calends of February. Quintus Marcius Philippus a second time, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio, were elected consuls. Three days after, Caius Decimius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, Caius Marcius Figulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Fonteius Capito, were chosen prætors. Four other provinces in addition to the two in the city were assigned to the prætors elect; these provinces were Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and the fleet. Towards the end of February the deputies returned from Macedon, and gave an account of the successful enterprises of Perseus during the preceding summer, and of the great fears which had taken possession of the allies of the Roman people, on account of so many cities being reduced under the king's power. They reported, that "the consul's troops were very thin, in consequence of leave of absence being granted to great numbers, with the view of gaining popularity; the blame of which the consul laid upon the military tribunes, and they, on the other hand, on the consul." The senate understood them to make little of the disgrace sustained through the rashness of Claudius, since they represented "that very few soldiers of Italian extraction were lost, the greatest part being the soldiers raised in that country by an irregular levy." The consuls elect received orders, immediately on entering into office, to propose the affairs of Macedon to the consideration of the senate; and Italy and Macedon were appointed their provinces. An intercalation was made in the calendar of this year, intercalary calends being reckoned on the third day after the feast of Terminus. There died of the priests during this year, Lucius Flaminius, *augur*, and two pontiffs, Lucius Furius Philus, and Caius Livius Salinator. In the room of Furius, the pontiffs chose Titus Manlius Torquatus, and in that of Livius, Marcus Servilius.

## 12

In the beginning of the ensuing year, when the new consuls, Quintus Marcius and Cneius Servilius, had proposed the distribution of the provinces for consideration, the senate voted that they should, without delay, either settle between themselves about Macedon and Italy, or cast lots for them; and that, before the lot should decide this matter, and while the destination of each was uncertain, lest interest might have any influence, the supplies of men, which the exigency required for each province, should be ordered. Six thousand Roman foot and six thousand of the Latin allies, two hundred and fifty Roman horse and three hundred of the allies, were voted for Macedon. The old soldiers were to be discharged, so that there should be in each Roman legion no more than six thousand

foot and three hundred horse. The number of Roman citizens, which the other consul was to enlist for a reinforcement, was not precisely determined; there was only this limitation mentioned, that he should raise two legions, each of them to contain five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse. A larger number of Latin infantry was decreed to him than to his colleague; no less than ten thousand foot, with six hundred horse. An order was given for raising four other legions, to serve wherever occasion might require. The consuls were not allowed the appointment of the military tribunes; the people elected them. The confederates of the Latin nation were ordered to furnish sixteen thousand foot and one thousand horse. This force was intended only to be kept in readiness, to march out should any exigency demand it. Macedon gave the senate most anxiety; they ordered, that one thousand Roman citizens, of the rank of freed-men, should be enlisted in Italy, as seamen, to man the fleet, and the same number in Sicily; and instructions were given the prætor, to whose lot the government of the latter province fell, to the effect that he should take care to carry these over to Macedon, to whatever place the fleet should be stationed at. Three thousand Roman foot and three hundred horse were voted to recruit the army in Spain. Then also the number of men in each legion was limited to five thousand foot and three hundred and thirty horse. Besides these, the prætor, to whose lot Spain should fall, was ordered to levy from the allies four thousand foot and three hundred horse.

### 13

I am well aware, that, through the same disregard of religion, owing to which the men of the present day generally believe that the gods never give portents of any future events, no prodigies are now either reported to government, or recorded in histories. But for my part, while I am writing the transactions of ancient times, my sentiments, I know not how, become antique; and a kind of religious awe prevents me from considering events, which the men of those days, renowned for wisdom, judged deserving of the attention of the state and of public expiation, unworthy of being recorded in my history. From Anagnia two prodigies were reported this year: that a blazing torch was seen in the air; and that a cow spoke, and was maintained at the public expense. About the same time, at Minturnæ, the sky appeared as in a blaze of fire. At Reate, a shower of stones fell. At Cumæ, the image of Apollo, in the citadel, shed tears during three days and three nights. In the city of Rome, two of the keepers of the temples made strange announcements, one that in the temple of Fortune, a snake, with a mane like that of a horse, had been seen by many; the other, that, in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the hill, a palm sprung up in the court, and that a shower of blood fell in the middle of the day. Two prodigies were not attended to: one, because it happened in a place belonging to a private person; Titus Marcius Figulus having reported, that a palm sprung up in the inner court of his house; the other, because it occurred in a foreign place, Fregellæ,—where, in the house of Lucius Arreus, a spear which he had bought for his son, who was a soldier, burned, as was said, for more than two hours, and notwithstanding the fire consumed none of it. The Sibylline books were consulted by the decemvirs on account of the public prodigies. They directed that the consuls should sacrifice forty of the larger victims to the deities, whom they pointed out; that a supplication should be performed; and that all the magistrates should sacrifice victims of the larger kinds in all the temples, and the people wear garlands. All these acts were performed according to the injunctions of the decemvirs.

### 14

Then the elections were held for the creation of censors. Several of the first men in the state, including Caius Valerius Lævinus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Mucius Scævola, Marcus Junius Brutus, Caius Claudius Pulcher, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, were candidates for this office. The Roman people appointed the two last censors. As, on account of the Macedonian war, greater attention was paid to holding the levy than usual, the consuls made a complaint to the senate against the plebeians, that even the younger men did not obey their summons. But, in opposition to them, Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius, tribunes of the people, pleaded in favour of the plebeians; asserting, that "the levying of soldiers was a difficult task, not to the consuls in general, but to such consuls as affected popularity; that no man was made a soldier by them against his inclination; and that the conscript fathers might be convinced of the truth of this, the prætors, who in their office had less power and authority, would, if it seemed good to the senate, complete the levy." That business was accordingly committed to the care of the prætors by an unanimous vote of the senate, not without great murmuring on the part of the consuls. The censors, in order to forward it, published, in a general assembly, the following notice: that "they would make it a rule in conducting the survey, that, besides the common oath taken by all citizens, the younger part should swear in this manner, when challenged,—You are younger than forty-six years, and you shall attend at the levy, pursuant to the edict of Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius, censors; and you shall attend at the levy, as often as there shall be a levy held by any magistrate during the aforesaid censors' continuance in office, if you shall not have been already enlisted." Also as there was a report, that many men belonging to the legions in Macedon were absent from the army on furloughs, which did not limit the time, and were granted by the commanders to ingratiate themselves with the soldiers, they issued a proclamation concerning all who had been draughted for Macedon in the consulate of Publius Ælius and Caius Popilius, or since that period; that "such as were in Italy should, after being first registered by them in the survey, repair within thirty days to the province in which they served; and that, if any were under the power of a father or grandfather, the names of such should be notified to them. That they would also make inquiry into the cases of the soldiers who had been discharged; and that they would order those, whose discharge should appear to have been obtained through favour, before the regular number of campaigns were served, to be enlisted again." In consequence of this proclamation, and letters from the censors being dispersed through the market-towns and villages, such multitudes of young men flocked to Rome, that the extraordinary crowd was even inconvenient to the city. Besides enrolling those whom it was necessary to send as a reinforcement for the armies, four legions were raised by the prætor, Caius Sulpicius, and the levies were completed within eleven days.

## 15

The consuls then cast lots for their provinces; the prætors, on account of the civil jurisdiction, had determined theirs earlier in the season. The civil jurisdiction had fallen to Caius Sulpicius; the foreign, to Caius Decimius; Marcus Claudius Marcellus had obtained by lot Spain; Servius Cornelius Lentulus, Sicily; Publius Fonteius Capito, Sardinia; and Caius Marcius Figulus had received the command of the fleet. In the arrangement of the consular provinces, Italy fell to Cneius Servilius, and Macedon to Quintus Marcius; and the latter set out as soon as the Latin festival could be celebrated. Cæpio then desired the senate to direct which two of the new legions he should take with him into Gaul; when they ordered, that the prætors Caius Sulpicius and Marcus

Claudius should give the consul such of the legions, which they had raised, as they should think fit. The latter, highly offended at a consul being subjected to the will of prætors, adjourned the senate; and standing at the tribunal of the prætors, demanded, that pursuant to the decree, they should assign him two legions; but the prætors left the consul to his own discretion in selecting them. The censors then called over the list of the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was now, by the third censors, chosen prince of the senate. Seven were expelled that body. In making the survey of the people, they discovered from the rolls how many of the soldiers belonging to the army in Macedonia were absent, and obliged them all to return to that province. They inquired into the cases of the men who had been discharged; and, when any of their discharges appeared irregular in respect of time, they put the following oath to them: "Do you truly swear, that you will, without deceit or evasion, return into the province of Macedon, according to the edict of the censors, Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius?"

## 16

In the review of the knights their censorship was very severe and harsh: they deprived many of their horses; and after giving offence to the equestrian order in this matter, they inflamed the general displeasure to a higher degree by an edict, in which they ordered, that "no person who had farmed the public revenues or taxes from the censors Quintus Fulvius and Aulus Postumius, should attend their sale, or have any partnership or connexion in the contracts then to be made." When the former tax-contractors could not prevail on the senate, by their frequent complaints, to check the power of the censors, at length they found a patron of their cause in Publius Rutilius, a plebeian tribune, who was incensed against the censors in consequence of a dispute about a private concern. They had ordered a client of his, a freed-man, to throw down a wall, which stood opposite to a public building in the Sacred Street, because it was built on ground belonging to the public. The tribunes were appealed to by the citizen. When none of them would interfere, except Rutilius, the censors were sent to seize the property of the citizen, and imposed a fine on him in a public assembly. When the present dispute broke out, and the old revenue-farmers had recourse to the tribunes, a bill was suddenly promulgated under the name of one of the tribunes, that "with regard to the public revenues and taxes, which Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius should have hired out, all contracts made by them should be null and void: that they should all be let anew, and that every person, without distinction, should be at liberty to bid for and take them." The tribune appointed the day for an assembly to vote on this bill. When the day came, and the censors stood forth to argue against the order, there was deep silence while Gracchus addressed them: when the voice of Claudius was drowned in the murmurs, he directed the crier to cause silence, that he might be heard. When this was done, the tribune, complaining that the assembly which he had summoned was taken out of his rule, and that he was reduced to a private capacity, retired from the Capitol, where the assembly met. Next day he raised a violent commotion. In the first place, he declared the property of Tiberius Gracchus forfeited to the gods, because he, by fining and seizing the goods of a person who had appealed to a tribune, and by refusing to admit the tribune's right of protesting, had reduced him to a private capacity. He instituted a criminal process against Caius Claudius because he had summoned the assembly away from him, and declared his intention of prosecuting both the censors for treason; and he demanded of Caius Sulpicius, the city prætor, that he would fix a day for an assembly to try them. As the censors offered no objection to the people passing their sentence on them as soon as they pleased, their trial for treason

was fixed to come the eighth and seventh days before the calends of October. The censors went up immediately to the temple of Liberty, where they sealed the books of the public accounts, shut up the office, and dismissed the clerks; affirming, that they would do no kind of public business until the sentence of the people was passed on them. Claudius was first brought to trial; and after eight out of the eighteen centuries of knights, and many others of the first class, had given sentence against him, the principal men in the state, immediately taking off their gold rings, in the sight of the people, put on mourning, in order that they might suppliantly solicit the commons in his favour. Yet, it is said, that Gracchus was the chief means of making a change in their sentiments; for when shouts arose from the commons on all sides that Gracchus was in no danger, he took a formal oath, that if his colleague were condemned, he would be his companion in exile, without waiting for their judgment concerning himself. After all, the case of the accused was so near being desperate, that the votes of eight centuries only were wanting to condemn him. When Claudius was acquitted, the tribune said, that he would not delay Gracchus.

## 17

This year, when the ambassadors of the Aquileians demanded that the number of the colonists should be increased, one thousand five hundred families were enrolled by a decree of the senate; and Titus Annius Luscus, Publius Decius Subulo, and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, were appointed commissioners to conduct them. During the same year, Caius Popilius and Cneius Octavius, who had been sent ambassadors into Greece, read, first at Thebes, and afterwards carried about to all the other states of Peloponnesus, a decree, ordering, that "no person should furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing for the use of the war, except what the senate should determine." This afforded the allies a pleasing confidence, with regard to the future also, that they would be relieved from the heavy burdens and expenses, by which they were exhausted, in consequence of the various demands of those magistrates. In the council of Achaia, held at Ægium, the ambassadors spoke, and were heard with sentiments of mutual esteem and affection; and then, leaving that faithful nation in confident assurance of lasting prosperity, they crossed over to Ætolia. No civil war had yet broke out in that country; but all places were full of suspicion and mutual recrimination. The ambassadors having demanded hostages on account of these disputes, set out from this place to Acarnania, without putting an end to the evil. The Acarnanians gave to the ambassadors an audience of their general council at Thyrium. Here, too, there was a struggle between opposite factions; some of the nobles required that garrisons might be placed in their cities, to protect them against the madness of those who were endeavouring to bring the nation over to the Macedonians; and others objected to the measure, lest peaceful and allied cities should receive such an insult, as was usually offered only to towns taken in war, or engaged in hostilities. Their objection was reckoned reasonable. The ambassadors returned to Larissa, to Hostilius, for by him they had been sent. He kept Octavius with him, and sent Popilius, with about a thousand soldiers, into winter quarters at Ambracia.

## 18

Perseus did not venture, at the commencement of winter, to go out of the limits of Macedon, lest the Romans might make an irruption into the kingdom by some unguarded quarter; but on the approach of the winter solstice, when the depth of the snow renders the mountains between it and Thessaly impassable, he thought the season

favourable for crushing the hopes and spirits of his neighbours, lest any danger should be lurking there, while his attention was turned to the Romans; since Cotys afforded him security in the direction of Thrace, and Cephalus, by his sudden revolt from the Romans, freed him from uneasiness on the side of Epirus, and his late expedition had subdued the Dardanians, he considered that Macedon was only exposed on the side next to Illyria, the Illyrians themselves being in motion, and having offered a free passage to the Romans: hoping, however, that if he reduced the nearest tribes of Illyrians, Gentius himself, who had long been wavering, might be brought into alliance with him, he set out at the head of ten thousand foot, the greater part of whom were soldiers of the phalanx, two thousand light infantry, and five hundred horse, and proceeded to Stubera. Having there supplied himself with corn sufficient for many days, and ordered every requisite for besieging towns to be sent after him, he encamped on the third day before Uscana, the largest city in the Penestian country. Before he employed force, he sent emissaries to sound the dispositions, sometimes of the commanders of the garrison, sometimes of the inhabitants; for, besides some troops of Illyrians, there was a Roman garrison in the place. When his emissaries brought back no friendly message, he resolved to attack the town, and made an attempt to take it by a line of circumvallation formed of troops; but though his men, relieving one another, continued without intermission, either by day or night, some to apply ladders to the walls, others to attempt to set fire to the gates, yet the defenders of the city sustained that shock, for they had hopes that the Macedonians would not be able to endure any longer the severity of the winter in the open field; and besides, that the king would not have so long a respite from the war with Rome, that he would be able to stay there. But, when they saw the machines in motion, and towers erected, their resolution was overcome; for, besides that they were unequal to a contest with his force, they had not a sufficient store of corn, or any other necessary, as they had not expected a siege. Therefore when they had no hopes of being able to hold out, Caius Carvilius Spoletinus and Caius Afranius were sent by the Roman garrison to request from Perseus, first, to allow the troops to march out with their arms, and to carry their effects with them; and then, if they could not obtain that, to receive his promise of their lives and liberty. The king promised more generously than he performed; for, after desiring them to march out with their effects, the first thing he did was to take away their arms. As soon as they left the city, both the cohort of Illyrians, five hundred in number, and the inhabitants of Uscana, immediately surrendered themselves and the city.

## 19

Perseus, placing a garrison in Uscana, carried away to Stubera the whole multitude of prisoners, almost equal to his army in number. He then distributed the Romans, who amounted to four thousand, besides officers, among several cities, to be kept in custody; and, having sold the Uschanians and Illyrians, led back his army to Penestia, to reduce the city of Oæneus: the town is advantageously situated in other respects, and besides, in that direction there is a passage into the country of the Labeatians, where Gentius was king. As he passed by a fort, named Draudacum, which was full of men, one of the persons, well acquainted with the country, told him that "there was no use in taking Oæneus unless he had Draudacum in his power; for the latter was situated more advantageously in every respect." When his army was brought against it, the garrison surrendered unanimously and at once. Encouraged by the surrender of this place, which was earlier than he hoped, and perceiving what terrors his march diffused, by taking advantage of the like fears, he reduced eleven other forts to submission. Against a very

few he had occasion to use force; the rest submitted voluntarily; among whom one thousand five hundred Roman soldiers were taken, who had been divided among the Roman garrisons. Carvilius Spoletinus was very serviceable to him in his conferences with the garrison, by declaring that no severity had been shown to his own party. At length he arrived at Oæneus, which could not be taken without a regular siege. The town possessed a much greater number of young men than the others, and was strong in its fortifications. It was enclosed on one side by a river called Artatus, and on another by a very high mountain of difficult access; these circumstances gave the inhabitants courage to make resistance. Perseus, having drawn lines of circumvallation, began, on the higher ground, to raise a mound, which he intended should exceed the wall in height. By the time that this work was completed, the besieged, in their many actions, when sallying out to defend their works, or to obstruct those of the enemy, had lost great numbers by various chances; while the survivors were rendered useless by wounds, and by continual labour both in the day and night. As soon as the mound was brought close to the wall, the royal cohort (the men of which are called Nicators) rushed from it into the town, while an assault was made by scalade in many places at once. All the males, who had reached the age of puberty, were put to the sword, their wives and children were thrown into confinement, and every thing else was given as booty to the soldiers. Returning thence victorious to Stubera, he sent, as ambassadors to Gentius,—Pleuratus, an Illyrian, who lived in exile at his court, and Adæus, a Macedonian, from Berœa. He gave them instructions to represent his exploits against the Romans and Dardanians during the preceding summer and winter, and to add the recent operations of his winter campaign in Illyria, and to exhort Gentius to unite with him and the Macedonians in a treaty of friendship.

## 20

They crossed over the top of Mount Scordus, and through desert tracts of Illyria, which the Macedonians had laid waste, for the purpose of preventing the Dardanians from passing easily into Illyria or Macedon; and, at length, after undergoing prodigious fatigue, arrived at Scodra. King Gentius was at Lissus; to which place the ambassadors were invited, and received a favourable audience while stating their instructions, but obtained an indecisive answer: that “he wanted not inclination to go to war with the Romans, but was in extreme want of money to enable him to enter on such an undertaking, though he wished to do so.” This answer they brought to the king at Stubera, whilst he was engaged in selling the Illyrian prisoners. The same ambassadors were immediately sent back, with an accession to their numbers in Glaucias, one of his body guards, but without any mention of money; the only thing by which the needy barbarian could be induced to take a part in the war. Then Perseus, after ravaging Ancyra, led back his army once more into Penestia; and having strengthened the garrison of Uscana, and the surrounding fortresses which he had taken, he retired into Macedon.

## 21

Lucius Cælius, a Roman lieutenant-general, commanded at that time in Illyria. While the king was in that country he did not venture to stir; but, on his departure, he made an attempt to recover Uscana, in Penestia; in which being repulsed, with great loss, by the Macedonian garrison, he led back his forces to Lychnidus. In a short time after he sent Marcus Trebellius Fregellanus, with a very strong force, into Penestia, to receive hostages from the cities which had faithfully remained in friendship. He ordered him,

also, to march on to the Parthinians, who had likewise covenanted to give hostages, which were received from both nations without any trouble: those of the Penestians were sent to Apollonia; those of the Parthinians, to Dyrrachium, then more generally called by the Greeks Epidamnus. Appius Claudius, wishing to repair the disgrace which he had suffered in Illyria, made an attack on Phanote, a fortress of Epirus; bringing with him, besides the Roman troops, Athamanian and Thesprotian auxiliaries, to the amount of six thousand men; nor did he gain any advantage to recompense his exertion, for Clevas, who had been left there with a strong garrison, effectually defended the place. Perseus marched to Elimeia, and, after reviewing his army in the vicinity of that town, led it to Stratus, in compliance with an invitation of the Epirotes. Stratus was then the strongest city in Ætolia. It stands on the Ambracian Gulf, near the river Inachus. Thither he marched with ten thousand foot and three hundred horse; for, on account of the narrowness and ruggedness of the roads, he led a smaller army than he would otherwise have done. On the third day he came to Mount Citium, which he could scarcely climb over, by reason of the depth of the snow, and with difficulty found even a place for his camp. Leaving that spot, rather because he could not conveniently stay, than that either the road or the weather was tolerable, the army, after suffering severe hardships, which fell heaviest on the beasts of burden, encamped on the second day at the temple of Jupiter, called Nicæus. After a very long march thence, he halted at the river Aractus, being detained there by the depth of the water, during the time in which a bridge was being constructed; he then led over his army, and, having proceeded one day's march, met Archidamus, an Ætolian of distinction, who proposed delivering Stratus into his hands.

## 22

On that day Perseus encamped at the borders of the Ætolian territory; and, on the next, arrived before Stratus, where, pitching his camp near the river Achelous, he expected that the Ætolians would come in crowds to put themselves under his protection; but on the contrary, he found the gates shut, and discovered that the very night on which he arrived, a Roman garrison, under Caius Popilius, lieutenant-general, had been received into the town. The nobles, who, induced by the authority of Archidamus, while he was present, had invited the king, as soon as he went out to meet Perseus had become less zealous, and had given an opportunity to the opposite faction to call in Popilius, with one thousand foot, from Ambracia. At the same juncture came also Dinarchus, general of the Ætolian cavalry, with six hundred foot and one hundred horse. It was well known that he came to Stratus intending to act with Perseus; but that, with the change of fortune, he had changed his mind, and joined the Romans, against whom he had come. Nor was Popilius less on his guard than he ought to be among people of such fickle tempers. He immediately took into his own keeping the keys of the gates, with the direction of the guard of the walls, and removed Dinarchus and the Ætolians, together with the young men of Stratus, into the citadel, under pretence of garrisoning it. Perseus sounded the garrison, by addressing them from the eminences that hung over the upper part of the city, and finding that they were obstinate, and even kept him at a distance with weapons, removed his camp to the other side of the river Petitarus, about five miles from the town: there he held a council, wherein Archidamus and the refugees from Epirus were for detaining him there; but the Macedonian nobles were of opinion that he ought not to fight against the severity of the season without having magazines of provisions; in which case the besiegers would feel a scarcity sooner than the besieged, especially as the winter quarters of the enemy were at no great distance: being deterred

by these considerations, he removed his camp into Aperantia. The Aperantians, in consequence of the great interest and influence which Archidamus possessed among them, submitted to Perseus with universal consent; and Archidamus himself was appointed their governor, with a body of eight hundred soldiers.

## 23

The king then returned into Macedon with his men and horses, not less harassed than they had been in their advance to Stratus. However, the report of Perseus's march to that place obliged Appius to raise the siege of Phanote. Clevas, with a body of active young men, pursued him to the foot of some mountains, which formed a defile almost impassable, killed one thousand men of his disordered troops, and took two hundred prisoners. Appius, when he got clear of the defile, encamped for a few days in a plain named Meleon. Meanwhile Clevas, being joined by Philostratus, who was invested with the chief power among the nation of the Epirotes, proceeded over the mountains into the lands of Antigonea. The Macedonians setting out to plunder, Philostratus, with his division, posted himself in ambush, in a place where he could not be seen. When the troops at Antigonea sallied out against the straggling plunderers, they pursued them in their flight with too great eagerness, until they precipitated themselves into the valley which was beset by the enemy, who killed one thousand, and made about one hundred prisoners. Being thus successful every where, they encamped near the post of Appius, in order to prevent the Roman army from offering any violence to their allies. Appius, as he was wasting time there to no purpose, dismissed the Chaonian and other Epirotes, and with his Italian soldiers marched back to Illyria; then sending the troops to their several winter quarters, in the confederate cities of the Parthinians, he went home to Rome on account of a sacrifice. Perseus recalled from the nation of the Penestians one thousand foot and two hundred horse, and sent them to garrison Cassandria. His ambassadors returned from Gentius with the same answer as before. Still he did not cease from soliciting him, but sent embassy after embassy; yet, notwithstanding that he was sensible of the powerful support he would find in Gentius, the Macedonian could not prevail on himself to expend money on the business, although it was to him a question of vital importance.

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## Book XLIV

*Quintus Marcius Philippus, the consul, penetrates into Macedonia through the rugged passes, and takes several cities. The Rhodians send an embassy to Rome, threatening to aid Perseus, unless the Romans made peace with him. This act was received with general indignation. Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the consul, sent against Perseus, defeats him, and reduces all Macedonia to subjection. Before the engagement, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune, foretells an eclipse of the moon, and warns the soldiers not to be alarmed at that phenomenon. Gentius, king of Illyria, vanquished by Anicius the prætor, and sent prisoner, together with his wife and children, to Rome. Ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, complain of Antiochus making war upon them. Perseus, not paying Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and Gentius, king of Illyria, the money he had promised them for their assistance, is deserted by them.*

### 1

Early in the spring which succeeded the winter in which these transactions took place, the consul, Quintus Marcius Philippus, set out from Rome, with five thousand men, whom he was to carry over to reinforce his legions, and arrived at Brundisium. Marcus Popilius, of consular rank, and other young men of equal dignity, accompanied him, in the capacity of military tribunes for the legions in Macedonia. Nearly at the same time, Caius Marcius Figulus, the prætor, whose province was the fleet, came to Brundisium; and, both sailing from Italy, made Corcyra on the second day, and Actium, a port of Acarnania, on the third. The consul, then, disembarking at Ambracia, proceeded towards Thessaly by land. The prætor, doubling Cape Leucate, sailed into the gulf of Corinth; then, leaving his ships at Creusa, he went by land also through the middle of Bœotia, and, by a quick journey of one day, came to the fleet at Chalcis. Aulus Hostilius at that time lay encamped in Thessaly, near Palæpharsalus; and though he had performed no warlike act of any consequence, yet he had reformed his troops from a state of dissolute licentiousness, and brought them to exact military discipline; had faithfully consulted the interest of the allies, and defended them from every kind of injury. On hearing of his successor's approach, he carefully inspected the arms, men, and horses; and then, with the army in complete order, he marched out to meet the consul. Their first meeting was such as became their own dignity and the Roman character; and in transacting business afterwards, *they preserved the greatest harmony and propriety.*<sup>330</sup> The proconsul, addressing himself to the troops, *exhorted them to behave with courage, and with due respect to the orders of their commander. He then recommended them, in warm terms, to the consul, and, as soon as he had despatched the necessary affairs, set off for Rome.*<sup>331</sup> A few days after, the consul made a speech to his soldiers, which began with the unnatural murder which Perseus had perpetrated on his brother, and meditated against his father; he then mentioned "his acquisition of the kingdom by nefarious practices; his poisonings and murders; his abominable attempt to assassinate Eumenes; the injuries he had committed against the Roman people; and his plundering the cities of their allies, in violation of the treaty." "How detestable such proceedings were in the sight of the gods, Perseus would feel," he said, "in the issue of his affairs; for the gods always

<sup>330</sup> The words in Italics are introduced conjecturally, to supply chasms in the original.

<sup>331</sup> The words in Italics are introduced conjecturally, to supply chasms in the original.

favoured righteous and honourable dealings; by means of which the Roman people had risen to so great an exaltation." He next compared the strength of the Roman people, which now embraced the whole world, with that of Macedonia, and the armies of the one with those of the other; and then added, "How much more powerful armies of Philip and Antiochus had been conquered by forces not more numerous than the present!"

## 2

Having animated the minds of his soldiers by such exhortations, he began to consult on a general plan of operations for the campaign; being joined by the prætor, Caius Marcius, who, after receiving the command of the fleet, came thither from Chalcis. It was resolved not to waste time by delaying longer in Thessaly; but to decamp immediately, and advance thence into Macedonia; and that the prætor should exert himself to the utmost, that the fleet might appear, at the same time, on the enemy's coasts. The prætor then having been sent away, the consul, having ordered the soldiers to carry with them a month's provisions, struck his tents, on the tenth day after he received the command of the army, and proceeded one day's march. He then called together his guides, and ordered them to explain, in the presence of the council, by what road each of them proposed to lead him; then, having dismissed them, he asked the opinion of the council, as to what route he should prefer. Some advised the road through Pythium; others, that over the Cambunian mountains, by which the consul Hostilius had marched the year before; while others, again, preferred that which passed by the side of the Lake Ascuris. There was yet before him a considerable length of road common to each of these routes; the further consideration of this matter was therefore postponed until they should encamp near the place where the roads diverged. He then marched into Perrhæbia, and posted himself between Azorus and Doliche, in order to consider again which was the preferable road. In the mean time, Perseus, understanding that the enemy was marching towards him, but unable to guess what route he might take, resolved to secure all the passes by guards. To the top of the Cambunian mountains, called by the natives Volustana, he sent ten thousand light infantry, under the command of Asclepiodotus; ordering Hippias, with a detachment of twelve thousand Macedonians, to guard the pass called Lapathus, near a fort which stood over the Lake Ascuris. He himself, with the rest of his forces, lay for some time in camp at Dium; but afterwards, as if he had lost the use of his judgment, and was incapable of forming any plan, he used to gallop along the coast, with a party of light horse, sometimes to Heracleum, sometimes to Phila, and then return with the same speed to Dium.

## 3

By this time the consul had determined to march through the pass near Octolophus, where, as we have mentioned, the camp of the king formerly stood. But he deemed it prudent to despatch before him four thousand men, to secure such places as might be useful: the command of this party was given to Marcus Claudius, and Quintus Marcius the consul's son. The main body followed close after; but the road was so steep, rough, and craggy, that the advanced party of light troops, with great difficulty, effected in two days a march of fifteen miles; and then encamped. They call the place which they took, the tower of Eudicru. Next day they advanced seven miles; and, having seized on a hill at a small distance from the enemy's camp, sent back a message to the consul, that "they had come up with the enemy; and had taken post in a place which was safe and convenient in every respect; urging him to join them with all possible speed." This message came to the consul at the Lake Ascuris, at a time when he was full of anxiety, on

account of the badness of the road on which he had entered, and for the fate of the small force he had sent forward into the midst of the posts of the enemy. His spirits were therefore greatly revived; and, soon effecting a junction of all his forces, he pitched his camp on the side of the hill that had been seized, where the ground was the most commodious. This hill was so high as to afford a wide-extended prospect presenting to their eyes, at one view, not only the enemy's camp, which was little more than a mile distant, but the whole extent of territory to Dium and Phila, together with a large tract of the sea-coast; circumstances which greatly enlivened the courage of the soldiers, giving them so near a view of the grand theatre of the war, of all the king's forces, and of the country of the enemy. So eager were they, that they pressed the consul to lead them on directly to the enemy's camp; but, after the fatigue that they had suffered on the road, one day was set apart for repose. On the third day, the consul, leaving one half of his troops to guard the camp, drew out his forces against the enemy.

## 4

Hippias had been sent by the king, a short time before, to maintain that pass; and having employed himself, since he first saw the Roman camp on the hill, in preparing his men's minds for a battle, he now went forth to meet the consul's army as it advanced. The Romans came out to battle with light armour, as did the enemy; light troops being the fittest to commence the engagement. As soon as they met, therefore, they instantly discharged their javelins, and many wounds were given and received on both sides in a disorderly kind of conflict; but few of either party were killed. This only roused their courage for the following day, when they would have engaged with more numerous forces, and with greater animosity, had there been room to form a line; but the summit of the mountain was contracted into a ridge so narrow, as scarcely to allow space for three files in front; so that, while but few were fighting, the greater part, especially such as carried heavy arms, stood mere spectators of the fight. The light troops even ran through the hollows of the hill, and attacked the flanks of the light-armed troops of the enemy; and alike through even and uneven places, sought to come to action. That day, greater numbers were wounded than killed, and night put a stop to the dispute. The Roman general was greatly at a loss how to proceed on the third day; for to remain on that naked hill was impossible, and he could not return without disgrace, and even danger, if the enemy with the advantage of the ground, should press on his troops in their retreat: he had therefore no other plan left than to improve his bold attempt, by persevering resolution, which sometimes, in the issue, proves the wiser course. He had, in fact, brought himself into such a situation, that if he had had to deal with an enemy like the ancient kings of Macedon, he might have suffered a severe defeat. But while the king, with his horsemen, ran up and down the shore at Dium; and, though at a distance of twelve miles, he was almost within hearing of the shout and noise of his forces who were engaged, neither strengthened his forces by sending up fresh men to relieve the weary, nor, what was most material, appeared himself in the action; the Roman general, notwithstanding that he was above sixty years old, and unwieldy through corpulency, performed actively every duty of a commander. He persisted with extraordinary resolution in his bold undertaking; and, leaving Popilius to guard the summit, marched across, through trackless places, having sent forward a party to open a road. Attalus and Misagenes, with the auxiliary troops of their own nations, were ordered to protect them, while clearing the way through the forests. He himself, keeping the cavalry and baggage before him, closed the rear with the legions.

## 5

In descending the mountain, the men suffered inexpressible fatigue, besides the frequent falling of the cattle and their loads, so that, before they had advanced quite four miles, they began to think that their most eligible plan would be to return, if they could, by the way they had come. The elephants caused almost as much confusion among the troops as an enemy could; for, when they came to impassable steeps, they threw off their riders, and set up such a hideous roar, as spread terror through all, especially among the horses, until a method was contrived for bringing them down. They fastened in the earth, in the line of descent, some way from the top, two long, strong posts, distant from each other a little more than the breadth of the animal, on which were fastened beams thirty feet long, so as to form a kind of bridge, and covered it with earth; after a little intermediate space, a second and similar bridge was formed; then a third bridge, with several others one after another, where the rocks were precipitous. The elephant walked forward on solid footing upon the bridge; but before he came to the end, the posts underneath were cut, and the bridge falling, obliged him to slide down gently to the beginning of the next bridge, which some of them performed standing, others on their haunches. When they arrived at the level of another bridge, they were again carried down, by its falling in like manner; and so on until they came to more level ground. The Romans advanced that day scarcely more than seven miles; and even of this journey little was performed on foot. Their method of proceeding in general was rolling themselves down, together with their arms and other encumbrances, with every kind of discomfort; insomuch, that even their commander, who led them such a march, did not deny, but that tho' whole army might have been cut off by a small party. During the night, they arrived at a small plain; but, as it was hemmed in on every side, there was no opportunity of discovering whether it was a position of danger or not. However, as they had, beyond their expectation, at length found good footing, they judged it necessary to wait, during the next day, in that deep valley for Popilius, and the forces left behind with him; who, though the enemy gave them no disturbance from any quarter, suffered severely from the difficulties of the ground,—as if they had been harassed by an enemy. These having joined the main body, the whole proceeded, on the third day, through a pass called by the natives Callipeuce. On the fourth day they marched down through places equally trackless, but more cleverly in consequence of their experience, and with more comfortable hopes, as they saw no enemy any where, and as they were coming nearer to the sea, into the plains, where they pitched their camp of infantry between Heracleum and Libethrus, the greater part being posted on hills, the rest occupying a valley and part of the plain where the cavalry encamped.

## 6

The king, it is said, was bathing, when he was informed of the enemy's approach; on hearing which, he started up from his seat, and rushed out in a fright, crying out, that he was conquered without a battle; and afterwards, in a state of great perturbation, amidst plans and orders dictated by fear, he recalled two most intimate friends from his garrisons, and sent one to Pella, where his treasure was lodged, and the other to Parthus, and opened all the passes to the invasion of the enemy. He himself, having suddenly removed from Dium all the gilded statues, that they might not fall a prey to the enemy, ordered all the inhabitants to remove to Pydna; and thus made the conduct of the consul, in venturing into a situation out of which he could not retreat without the enemy's permission, although it might have been deemed rash and inconsiderate, to wear the appearance of judicious boldness. For there were only two passes through which the Romans could remove from their present situation; one through Tempe into

Thessaly, the other by Dium into Macedonia; and both these were occupied by parties of the king's troops. So that if an intrepid commander had, only for ten days, maintained his ground, without yielding to the first appearance of an approaching terror, the Romans could neither have retreated by Tempe into Thessaly, nor have had any road open for the conveyance of provisions to their position. For Tempe is a pass of such a nature, that even supposing no obstruction was given by an enemy, it is difficult to get through it; being so narrow for the distance of five miles, that there is barely room for a loaded horse to pass: the precipices, also, on both sides, are so abrupt, that it is scarcely possible to look down from them, without a dizziness alike of the eyes and the mind; while the roaring and depth of the river Peneus, flowing through the middle of the glen, increases the terrific effect. This defile, in its nature so dangerous, was guarded by parties of the king's troops, stationed in four different places: one near Gonnus, at the first entrance; another in an impregnable fortress at Condylos; a third near Lapathus, in a place called Charax; and the fourth on the road itself about midway, where the valley is narrowest, and might have been easily defended even by half a score men. All possibility either of retreating, or of receiving provisions through Tempe, being cut off, the Romans, in order to return, must have crossed over the same mountains from which they came down; but even though they might have been able to effect this by passing unobserved, they never could have accomplished it openly, and while the enemy kept possession of the heights; and besides, the difficulties which they had already experienced would have precluded every hope of the kind. In this rash enterprise they would have no other plan left than to force their way into Macedonia, through the midst of the enemy posted at Dium; and if the gods had not deprived the king of his understanding, this would have been extremely difficult. For the space between the foot of Mount Olympus and the sea is not much more than a mile in breadth; one half of which is taken up by the mouth of the river Baphirus, which forms a large morass, and, of the remaining plain, a great share is occupied by the town and the temple of Jupiter: the rest, being a very small space, might have been shut up with a trench and rampart of no great length; or, so great was the plenty of stones and timber on the spot, that a wall might have been drawn across, and towers erected. But the king's judgment was so entirely blinded by the sudden fright, that he reflected not upon any one of these circumstances; on the contrary, he evacuated all his strong posts, and leaving them open to the enemy, fled back to Pydna.

## 7

The consul, perceiving in the folly and sloth of the enemy a most favourable prospect, not only of safety, but of success, sent back a messenger to Larissa, with orders to Spurius Lucretius to seize on the deserted forts about Tempe; then, sending forward Popilius, to examine all the passes round Dium, and learning that all was clear, he marched in two days to that town, ordering the camp to be fixed under the walls of the temple, that no violation might be offered to that sacred place. He went himself into the city; and seeing it, though not large, yet highly ornamented with public buildings and abundance of statues, and remarkably well fortified, he could scarcely believe that there was not some stratagem concealed in the abandonment of such important advantages without cause. He waited therefore one day to examine all the country round; then he decamped; and supposing that he should find plenty of corn in Pieria, advanced to a river called the Mytis. On the day following, continuing his march, he received the voluntary surrender of the city of Agassæ; whereupon, in order to gain the good opinion of the rest of the Macedonians, he contented himself with receiving hostages, assuring

the inhabitants, that he would leave them their city without a garrison, and that they should live free from taxes, and under their own laws. Proceeding thence one day's march, he encamped at the river Ascordus; but, finding that the farther he removed from Thessaly, the greater was the scarcity of every thing, he returned to Dium; which clearly demonstrated how much he must have suffered if he had been cut off from Thessaly, since he found it unsafe to go to any great distance from it. Perseus, having drawn all his forces into one body, and assembled all his generals, reprimanded severely the commanders of the garrisons, and particularly Hippias, and Asclepiodotus; asserting that they had betrayed to the Romans the keys of Macedonia; of which charge no one was more truly guilty than himself. The consul, on seeing the fleet at sea, conceived hopes that they were coming with provisions, for every article had now become very dear and very scarce; but when the ships came into harbour, he was informed that the transports had been left behind at Magnesia. He was then under great perplexity to determine what measures to take; so hard did he find it to struggle with the difficulties of his situation, though not aggravated by any effort of the enemy; when, very seasonably, a letter arrived from Lucretius, acquainting him that he was in possession of all the forts about Tempe and Phila, and had found in them great plenty of corn and other necessaries.

## 8

The consul, highly delighted with this intelligence, removed his quarters from Dium to Phila, in order to strengthen that post, and, at the same time, to distribute corn to the soldiers, on the spot, as the carriage of it thence would be tedious. That march gave rise to opinions not at all favourable to his reputation: some said that he retired from the enemy through fear; because if he had staid in Pieria he must have risked a battle: others, that, not considering the daily changes produced by fortune in the affairs of war, he had let slip out of his hands advantages which threw themselves in his way, and which, in all probability, he could never regain. For, by giving up the possession of Dium, he at once roused the enemy to action; who at length saw the necessity of endeavouring to recover what he had lost before, through his own fault. On hearing of the consul's departure, therefore, Perseus marched back to Dium, repaired whatever had been destroyed and laid waste by the Romans, rebuilt the battlements which they had thrown down, strengthened the fortifications all round, and then pitched his camp within five miles of the city, on the hither bank of the Enipeus, in order to have the river itself, the passage of which was extremely difficult, as a defence to his post. The Enipeus, which rises in a valley of Mount Olympus, is a small stream during the summer, but is raised by the winter rains to a violent torrent, when, as it runs over the rocks, it forms furious eddies, and, by sweeping away the earth at the bottom into the sea, makes very deep gulfs, while the sinking of the middle of the channel renders the banks both high and steep. Perseus, thinking that the advance of the enemy was sufficiently obstructed by this river, contemplated spending there the remainder of the summer. In the mean time, the consul sent Popilius, with two thousand men, from Phila to Heracleum. It is distant about five miles from Phila, midway between Dium and Tempe, and stands on a steep rock hanging over the river.

## 9

Popilius, before he brought his troops up to the walls, sent to recommend to the magistrates and principal men, rather to try the honour and clemency of the Romans than their power; but this advice produced no effect, the fires in the king's camp on the

Enipeus being now within their sight. The attack was then commenced by assaults, and with works and machines, as well on the side facing the sea, (for the ships had been brought up close to the shore,) as on land. A party of Roman youths actually gained possession of the lowest part of the wall, by turning to the purposes of war a kind of sport which they were accustomed to practise in the circus. In those times, when the present extravagant fashion of filling the area with beasts of every kind was yet unknown, it was customary to contrive various kinds of amusements; for when one chariot race and one equestrian performer were exhibited, both the performances scarcely filled up the space of an hour. Among other diversions, in the more elaborate games, about sixty young men in arms, sometimes more, used to be introduced, whose performances were partly a representation of troops going through the military exercise, and partly a display of more accurate skill than appeared in the practice of soldiers, and which approached nearer to the mode of fighting used by gladiators. After performing various evolutions, they formed in a square body with their shields raised over their heads, and closed together, the foremost standing upright, the next stooping a little, the third and fourth lines more and more, and so on, until the hindmost rested on their knees, thus composing a covering in the shape of a tortoise-shell, and sloping, like the roof of a house. Then two armed men, who stood at the distance of about fifty feet, ran forward, and after some menacing flourishes of their arms, mounted over the closed shields, from the bottom to the top of this roof; and, treading as steadily as if on solid ground, sometimes paraded along the extreme edges of it, as if repelling an enemy, and sometimes encountered each other on the middle of it. A body similar to this was brought up against the lowest part of the wall, and the soldiers, standing thereon, mounted until they were as high as the defendants on the battlements; and these having been beaten off, the soldiers of two companies climbed over into the town. The only difference was, that here the outside men in the front and in the two flanks alone did not raise their shields over their heads, lest they should expose their bodies, but held them before them, as in battle; so that the weapons thrown at them from the walls, as they advanced, did them no injury, while those that were poured like a shower on the roof glided down the smooth slope to the bottom, without doing any mischief. When Heracleum was taken, the consul removed his quarters thither, as if he intended to besiege Dium; and, after driving the king thence, to advance to Pieria. But as he was now preparing his quarters for the winter, he ordered roads to be made for the conveyance of provisions from Thessaly, and proper places to be chosen for store-houses; also huts to be built, where the people employed in bringing the provisions might lodge.

## 10

Perseus, having at length recovered his spirits, after the panic with which he had been seized, began to wish that obedience had not been paid to the orders which he had given in his fright, to throw the treasures at Pella into the sea, and to burn the naval arsenals at Thessalonica. Andronicus, indeed, whom he had sent to Thessalonica, had spun out the time, leaving him time for repentance, which actually took place; but Nicias, less provident, threw into the sea what money he found at Pella. He seems, however, to have fallen into a mistake which was not without remedy, inasmuch as the greatest part of that treasure was brought up again by divers. Nevertheless, such shame did the king feel for his terror on the occasion, that he caused the divers to be privately put to death, together with Andronicus and Nicias, that there might be no living witnesses of so preposterous an order. In the mean time, Caius Marcius, with the fleet, sailed from

Heracleum to Thessalonica. Landing his men, he made wide depredations on the country; and when the troops from the city came out against him, he defeated them in several actions, and drove them back in dismay within their walls. He even alarmed the city itself; but the townsmen, erecting engines of every kind, wounded, with stones thrown from them, not only such as straggled carelessly near the walls, but even those who were on board the ships. He therefore re-embarked his troops; and giving up the design of besieging Thessalonica, proceeded thence to Ænia, fifteen miles distant, situated opposite to Pydna, in a fertile country. After ravaging the lands in that quarter, he coasted along the shore until he arrived at Antigonea. Here his troops landed, and for some time carried their depredations through all the country round, putting a great deal of booty on board the ships; but afterwards a party of Macedonians, consisting of foot and horse intermixed, fell upon them as they straggled, and, pursuing them as they fled to the shore, killed near five hundred, and took as many prisoners. Extreme necessity, on finding themselves hindered from safely regaining their vessels, roused the courage of the Roman soldiers, at once with despair of any other means of safety, (than by resistance,) and also with indignation. They renewed the fight on the shore, and those who were on board assisted them; and here about two hundred Macedonians were killed, and a like number taken. From Antigonea the fleet sailed on to the district of Pallene, where a descent was made for the purpose of plundering. This district belonged to the territory of Cassandrea, and was by far the most plentiful of any at which they had yet touched on the coast. There they were met by king Eumenes, who came from Elea with twenty decked ships; and king Prusias also sent thither five ships of war.

## 11

By this accession of strength the prætor was encouraged to lay siege to Cassandrea. This city was built by king Cassander, in the pass which connects the territory of Pallene with the rest of Macedonia. It is bounded on one side by the Toronæan, on another by the Macedonian Sea; for it stands on a neck of land which stretches into the ocean, and rises in the part opposite Magnesia to a height equal to that of Mount Athos, forming two unequal promontories, the larger called Posideum, the smaller Canastræum. The besiegers formed their attacks on two different sides; the Roman general, at a place called Clitæ, drew a trench from the Macedonian to the Toronæan Sea, to which he added pointed palisades, to cut off the communication; while on the other side is the Euripus, where Eumenes carried on his attack. The Romans underwent a vast deal of labour in filling up a trench, which Perseus had recently dug in the way; and on the prætor inquiring where the earth that had been taken out of it was thrown, as he saw no heaps of it any where, some arches were shown him that were closed up with it, not of equal thickness with the old wall, but with a single row of brick. On this, he formed the design of opening a way into the city, by breaking through that wall; and he hoped to be able to escape observation, if, by assaulting another part by scalade, and raising a tumult there, he could divert the attention of the besieged to the defence of the place attacked. There were in garrison at Cassandrea, besides the younger inhabitants, who formed no contemptible body, eight hundred Agrians and two thousand Illyrians from Penestia, sent thither by Pleuratus, each being a warlike race. While these were busy in defending the walls, and the Romans using their utmost efforts to scale them, in an instant of time the arches were broken through, and the city laid open; and if those who made this irruption had been armed, they must have immediately become masters of the town. When the soldiers were told that this work was accomplished, they were so

elated with joy, that they raised a sudden shout, expecting to force their way in, some in one part, and others in another.

## 12

At first the enemy was seized with wonder at to what this sudden shout could mean; but when Pytho and Philip, the commanders of the garrison, were told that the city was laid open, they concluded that every advantage resulting from that event would be in favour of whichever party should make the first charge; and, therefore, they sallied out, with a strong body of Agrians and Illyrians, who, while the Romans were coming together and being congregated from various parts that they might march in order into the city, routed them while thus disordered and irregular, and drove them to the trench, into which they tumbled them, in heaps, one over another. About six hundred were killed in this action, and almost every one that was found between the wall and the trench was wounded. The blow meditated by the prætor having thus recoiled on himself, made him slower to form any other attempts; and as Eumenes made little or no progress though he carried on his operations both by land and sea, they concurred in a resolution to strengthen their guards, in order to prevent the introduction of any reinforcement from Macedonia: and, since they had not succeeded by assault, to carry on the siege by regular approaches. While they were making preparations for this, ten barks, belonging to the king, sent from Thessalonica, with a chosen body of Gallic auxiliaries, observing the enemy's ships lying at anchor in the road, and keeping as close to the shore as possible, amidst the darkness of the night, in a single line, effected their entrance to the city. Intelligence of this new addition of force obliged both the Romans and Eumenes to raise the siege. They then sailed round the promontory, and brought the fleet into the harbour of Torone. This town also they attempted to besiege; but, perceiving that it was defended, by a strong garrison, they dropped the design, and proceeded to Demetrias. When they approached this place, they saw the walls fully manned with armed troops; they therefore sailed on, and brought the fleet into harbour at Iolcos, intending, after ravaging the country there, to proceed to the siege of Demetrias.

## 13

In the mean time, the consul, not to lie inactive in the enemies' country, sent Marcus Popilius, with five thousand men, to reduce the city of Melibœa. This city stands at the foot of the Mount Ossa, where it stretches out into Thessaly, and is very advantageously situated for commanding Demetrias. The first approach of the enemy struck terror into the inhabitants of the place; but soon recovering from the fright occasioned by the unexpectedness of the event, they ran hastily in arms to the gates and walls, where an entrance was apprehended, and at once put a stop to all hope of taking the place by the first assault. Preparations were therefore made for a siege, and the works commenced for making the approaches. When Perseus was informed that both Melibœa was being besieged by the consul's army, and that the fleet at the same time was lying at Iolcos, intending to proceed thence to attack Demetrias, he sent Euphranor, one of his generals, with two thousand chosen men, to Melibœa. His orders were, that, if he could compel the Romans to retire from before Melibœa, he should then march secretly into Demetrias, before the enemy should bring up their troops from Iolcos to that city. As soon as he suddenly became visible on the high grounds to the besiegers of Melibœa, they abandoned their numerous works in great consternation, and set them on fire. Thus they withdrew from Melibœa, and Euphranor, having raised the siege of one city, marched instantly to Demetrias. Then the townsmen felt confident that they should be

able, not only to defend their walls, but to protect their lands also from depredations; and they made several irruptions on the straggling parties of the plunderers, not without injury to the enemy. However, the prætor and the king rode round the walls to view the situation of the city, and try whether they might attempt it on any side, either by storm or works. It was reported, that some overtures of friendship between Eumenes and Perseus were here agitated, through Cydas, a Cretan, and Antimachus, governor of Demetrias. It is certain, that the armies retired from Demetrias. Eumenes sailed to the consul; and, after congratulating him on his success in penetrating into Macedonia, went home to Pergamus. Marcius Figulus, the prætor, having sent part of his fleet to winter at Sciathus, with the remainder repaired to Oreum in Eubœa; judging that the most convenient city from which he could send supplies to the armies in Macedonia and Thessaly. There are very different accounts given respecting king Eumenes: if Valerius Antias is to be believed, he neither gave any assistance with his fleet to the prætor, though often solicited by letters; nor did he depart from the consul for Asia in good humour, being offended at not being permitted to lie in the same camp with him; he says too, that he could not be prevailed on even to leave the Gallic horsemen that he had brought with him. But his brother Attalus remained with the consul, and in the constant tenor of his conduct evinced a sincere attachment, and an extraordinary degree of zeal and activity in the service.

#### 14

While the war was being carried on in Macedonia, ambassadors came to Rome, from a chieftain of the Gauls beyond the Alps, whose name is said to have been Balanos, but of what tribe is not mentioned. They brought an offer of assistance towards the war in Macedonia. The senate returned him thanks, and sent him presents,—a golden chain of two pounds weight, golden bowls to the amount of four pounds, a horse completely caparisoned, and a suit of horseman's armour. After the Gauls, ambassadors from Pamphylia, brought into the senate-house a golden crown, of the value of twenty thousand Philippeans, and requested permission to deposit it, as an offering, in the shrine of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to offer sacrifice in the Capitol, which was granted. The said ambassadors having expressed a wish to renew the treaty of friendship, a gracious answer was given, and a present was made to each of two thousand asses.<sup>332</sup> Then audience was given to the ambassadors of king Prusias; and, a little after, to those of the Rhodians, who discoursed on the same subject, but in a widely different manner. The purpose of both embassies was, to effect a peace with king Perseus. The address of Prusias consisted of entreaties rather than demands; for he declared, that “he had hitherto supported the cause of the Romans, and would continue to support it as long as the war should continue. But, on Perseus sending ambassadors to him, on the subject of putting an end to the war with Rome, he had promised them to become a mediator with the senate:” and he requested that, “if they could prevail on themselves to lay aside their resentment, they would place him in the favourable position of mediator of the peace.” Such was the discourse of the king's ambassadors. The Rhodians, after ostentatiously recounting their many services to the Roman people, and arrogating to themselves rather the greater share of its successes, particularly in the case of king Antiochus, proceeded in this manner; that, “at a time when peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they likewise commenced a friendship with king Perseus, which they had, since, unwillingly broken, without having

<sup>332</sup> 6l. 9s. 2d.

any reason to complain of him, but merely because it was the desire of the Romans to draw them into a confederacy in the war, that for three years past they had felt many inconveniences from that war. In consequence of the interruption of commerce, and the loss of their port duties and provisions, their island was distressed by a general scarcity. When their countrymen could no longer suffer this, they had sent other ambassadors into Macedonia, to Perseus, to announce to him that it was the wish of the Rhodians that he should conclude a peace with the Romans, and had sent them to Rome with the same message. The Rhodians would afterwards consider what measures they should judge proper to be taken against either party that should prevent an end being put to the war." I am convinced that no person, even at the present time, can hear or read such expressions without indignation; we may, then, easily judge what was the state of mind of the senators when they listened to them.

## 15

According to the account of Claudius, no answer was given; and a decree of the senate only was read, by which the Roman people ordered, that the Carians and Lycians should enjoy independence; and that a letter should be sent immediately to each of those nations, acquainting them therewith. On hearing which the principal ambassador, whose arrogant demeanour, just before, the senate could scarce contain, fell down insensible. Other writers say, that an answer was given to this effect: "That, at the commencement of the present war, the Roman people had learned, from unquestionable authority, that the Rhodians, in concert with king Perseus, had formed secret machinations against their commonwealth; and that, if that matter had been doubtful hitherto, the words of their ambassadors, just now, had reduced it to a certainty; as, in general, treachery, though at first sufficiently cautious, yet, in the end, betrays itself. Were the Rhodians now to act the part of arbiters of war and peace throughout the world? were the Romans at their nod to take up arms and lay them down? and henceforth to appeal, not to the gods, but to the Rhodians, for their sanction of treaties? And was this indeed the case, that, unless their orders were obeyed, and the armies withdrawn from Macedonia, they would consider what measures they should take? What the Rhodians might determine, they themselves knew best; but the Roman people, as soon as the conquest of Perseus should be completed, an event which they hoped was at no great distance, would most certainly consider how to make due retribution to each state, according to its deserts in the course of the war." Nevertheless the usual presents of two thousand *asses* each were sent to the ambassadors, which they did not accept.

## 16

Then was read a letter from the consul, Quintus Marcius, informing the senate, that "he had passed the mountains, and penetrated into Macedonia; that the prætor had collected there, and procured from other places, stores of provisions for the approaching winter; and that he had brought from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, ten thousand of barley, the price of which he desired might be paid to their ambassadors in Rome: that clothing for the troops must be sent from Rome; and that he wanted about two hundred horses, above all Numidian horses; where he was, he could procure none." The senate decreed, that every thing should be done in accordance with the consul's letter. The prætor, Caius Sulpicius, agreed with contractors for conveying into Macedonia six thousand gowns, thirty thousand tunics, and the horses, all to be left to the approbation of the consul; and he paid the Epirot ambassadors the

price of the corn. He then introduced to the senate, Onesimus, son of Pytho, a Macedonian of distinction. He had always advised the king to peaceable measures, and recommended to him, that, as his father Philip had, to the last day of his life, made it an established rule to read over twice every day the treaty concluded with the Romans, so he should, if not daily, yet frequently, observe the same practice. When he could not dissuade him from war, he at first began to absent himself on various pretences, that he might not be present at proceedings which he could not approve. But at last, having discovered that suspicions were harboured against him, and that he was tacitly accused of the crime of treason, he went over to the Romans, and was of great service to the consul. When he was introduced into the senate-house, he mentioned these circumstances, and the senate thereupon decreed that he should be enrolled in the number of their allies; that a house and accommodations should be provided for him; also a grant of two hundred acres of land, in that part of the Tarentine territory which was the public property of the Roman people; and a house in Tarentum to be bought for him; the charge of executing all which was committed to Caius Decimius, the prætor. On the ides of December, the censors performed the general survey with more severity than formerly. A great many were deprived of their horses, among whom was Publius Rutilius, who, when tribune of the people, had carried on a violent prosecution against them; he was, besides, degraded from his tribe, and disfranchised. In pursuance of a decree of the senate, one-half of the taxes of that year was paid by the quæstors into the hands of the censors, to defray the expenses of public works. Tiberius Sempronius, out of the money assigned to him, purchased for the public the house of Publius Africanus, behind the old house, near the statue of Vertumnus, with the butchers' stalls and shops adjoining; where he built the public court-house, afterwards called the Sempronian.

## 17

The end of the year was now approaching, and people chiefly canvassed in their conversation, through their concern about the war in Macedonia, what consuls they should choose, to bring that war, at length, to a conclusion. The senate therefore passed an order, that Cneius Servilius should come home, at the very first opportunity, to hold the elections. Sulpicius, the prætor, sent the order of the senate to the consul; and, in a few days after, read his answer in public, wherein he promised to be in the city before the \* \* day of \* \* \*. The consul came in due time, and the election was finished on the day appointed. The consuls chosen were, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, a second time, fourteen years after his first consulship, and Caius Licinius Crassus. Next day, the following were appointed prætors: Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, Lucius Anicius Gallus, Cneius Octavius, Publius Fonteius Balbus, Marcus Æbutius Elva, and Caius Papirius Corbo. The senate's anxiety about the Macedonian war stimulated them to more than ordinary expedition in all their proceedings; they therefore ordered, that the magistrates elect should immediately cast lots for their provinces, that it might be known which consul was to have the command in Macedonia, and which prætor that of the fleet; in order that they might, without loss of time, consider and prepare whatever was requisite for the service, and consult the senate on any point where their direction was necessary, they voted, that, "on the magistrates coming into office, the Latin festival should be celebrated as early as the rules of religion permitted; and that the consul who was to go into Macedonia should not be detained on account of it." When these orders were passed, Italy and Macedonia were named as the provinces for the consuls; and for the prætors, besides the two jurisdictions in the city, the fleet, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. As to the consuls, Macedonia fell to Æmilius, Italy to Licinius. Of the prætors, Cneius

Bæbius got the city jurisdiction; Lucius Anicius the foreign, under a rule to go wherever the senate should direct; Cneius Octavius, the fleet; Publius Fonteius, Spain; Marcus Æbutius, Sicily; and Caius Papirius, Sardinia.

## 18

It immediately became evident to all, that Lucius Æmilius would prosecute the war with vigour; for, besides that he was a different kind of man (from his predecessors), his thoughts were intently employed night and day solely on the business relative to that war. In the first place, he requested the senate to send commissioners into Macedonia, to review the armies and the fleet, and to bring authentic information as to what might be necessary both for the land and sea forces; to make what discoveries they could respecting the state of the king's forces; and to learn how much of the country was in our power, how much in that of the enemy; whether the Romans were still encamped among the woods and mountains, or had got clear of all the difficult passes, and were come down into the plains; who appeared to be faithful allies to us, who were doubtful and suspended their fidelity on fortune, and who avowed enemies; what store of provisions was prepared, and whence new supplies might be brought by land-carriage, whence by the fleet; and what had been achieved during the last campaign, either on land or sea. For he thought that, by gaining a thorough knowledge of all these particulars, decisive plans might be taken for future proceedings. The senate directed the consul Cneius Servilius to send as commissioners, into Macedonia, such persons as should be approved of by Lucius Æmilius. Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, and Lucius Bæbius, accordingly, began their journey two days after. Towards the close of this year it was reported that two showers of stones had fallen, one in the territory of Rome, the other in that of Veii; and the nine days' solemnity was performed. Of the priests, died this year, Publius Quintilius Varus, flamen of Mars, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, decemvir, in whose room was substituted Cneius Octavius. It has been remarked as an instance of the increasing munificence of the times, that in the Circensian games, exhibited by Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Publius Lentulus, curule ædiles, sixty-three panthers, with forty bears and elephants, made a part of the show.

## 19

At the beginning of the following year, Lucius Æmilius Paullus and Caius Licinius, the consuls, having commenced their administration on the ides of March, the senators were impatient to hear what propositions were to be laid before them, particularly with respect to Macedonia, by the consul to whose lot that province had fallen; but Paullus said, that he had as yet nothing to propose to them, the commissioners not being returned: that "they were then at Brundisium, after having been twice driven back to Dyrrachium in attempting the passage: that he intended, shortly, to propose something to their consideration, when he should have obtained the information which was previously necessary, and which he expected within very few days." He added, that, "in order that nothing should delay his setting out, the day before the ides of April had been fixed for the Latin festival; after finishing which solemnity, he and Cneius Octavius would begin their journey as soon as the senate should direct: that, in his absence, his colleague Caius Licinius would take care that every thing necessary to be provided, or sent for the war, should be provided and sent; and that, in the mean time, audience might be given to the embassies of foreign nations." The first introduced were ambassadors from Alexandria, sent by king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra. They came

into the senate-house dressed in mourning, with their hair and beard neglected, holding in their hands branches of olive; there they prostrated themselves, and their discourse was even more piteous than their dress. Antiochus, king of Syria, who had formerly been a hostage at Rome, had lately, under the honourable pretext of restoring the elder Ptolemy to the throne, made war on his younger brother, who was then in possession of Alexandria; and having gained the victory in a sea-fight off Pelusium, and thrown a temporary bridge across the Nile, he led over his army, and was terrifying Alexandria itself, by laying siege to it; so that he seemed almost on the point of taking possession of that very opulent kingdom. The ambassadors, after complaining of these proceedings, besought the senate to succour those princes, the faithful friends of their empire. They said, that "such had been the kindness of the Roman people to Antiochus, such its influence over all kings and nations, that if they only sent ambassadors, to give him notice that the senate were displeased at war being made with princes in alliance with them, he would instantly retire from the walls of Alexandria, and lead his army home into Syria. But if they hesitated to do this Ptolemy and Cleopatra would soon come to Rome as exiles from their kingdom, which must excite some degree of shame in the Roman people, for not having brought them assistance in their extreme distress." The senate, affected by the supplications of the Alexandrians, immediately sent Caius Popilius Lænas, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius, ambassadors, to put an end to the dispute between those kings. Their instructions were, to go first to Antiochus, then to Ptolemy; and to acquaint them, that, unless hostilities were stopped, whichever party persisted, must expect to be considered by the senate as neither a friend nor an ally.

## 20

These ambassadors set out, within three days, in company with those of Alexandria; and, on the last day of the feast of Minerva, the commissioners arrived from Macedonia. Their coming had been so impatiently wished for, that, if it had not been very late in the day, the consuls would have assembled the senate immediately. Next day the senate met, and the commissioners had an audience. They stated, that "the army had been led through pathless and difficult wilds into Macedonia, with more risk than advantage: that Pieria, to which its march had been directed, was then possessed by the king; and the two camps so close to each other, as to be separated only by the river Enipeus: that the king offered no opportunity to fight, nor were our men strong enough to compel him; and, besides, that the winter had unexpectedly interrupted all military operations: that the soldiers were maintained in idleness, and had not corn sufficient for more than six *days*: that the force of the Macedonians was said to amount to thirty thousand effective men: that if Appius Claudius had a sufficient force at Lychnidus, the king might be perplexed by a twofold hostile array; but that, as the case stood, both Appius, and the troops under his command, were in the utmost danger, unless either a regular army were speedily sent thither, or they were removed thence. "From the camp," they stated that "they had gone to the fleet; where they learned, that part of the seamen had perished by sickness; that others, particularly such as came from Sicily, had gone off to their own homes; and that the ships were in want of men, while those who were on board had neither received pay nor had clothing: that Eumenes and his fleet, as if driven thither by the wind, had both come and gone away, without any apparent reason; nor did the intentions of that king seem to be thoroughly settled." While they reported every particular in the conduct of Eumenes as suspicious, they represented the fidelity of Attalus as stedfast in the highest degree.

## 21

After the commissioners were heard, Lucius Æmilius said, that he then proposed for consideration the business of the war: and the senate decreed, that “tribunes for eight legions should be appointed, half by the consuls, and half by the people; but that none should be named for that year who had not held some magisterial office: that, out of all the military tribunes, Lucius Æmilius should select such as he chose for the two legions that were to serve in Macedonia; and that, as soon as the Latin festival should be finished, the said consul, with the prætor Cneius Octavius, to whose lot the fleet had fallen, should repair to that province.” To these was added a third, Lucius Anicius, the prætor who had the foreign jurisdiction; for it was resolved that he should succeed Appius Claudius in the province of Illyria, near Lychnidus. The charge of raising recruits was laid on the consul Caius Licinius, who was ordered to enlist, of Roman citizens, seven thousand foot and two hundred horse, and to demand, from the Latin confederates, seven thousand foot and four hundred horse; and also to write to Cneius Servilius, governor of Gaul, to raise there six hundred horse. This force he was ordered to send, with all expedition, into Macedonia, to his colleague. It was resolved, that there should be no more than two legions in that province, but that their numbers should be filled up so as that each should contain six thousand foot and three hundred horse; and that the rest of the foot and horse should be placed in the different garrisons; that such men as were unfit for service should be discharged, and that the allies should be obliged to raise another body of ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse. These were assigned as a reinforcement to Anicius, in addition to the two legions which he was ordered to carry into Illyria, consisting each of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse; and five thousand seamen were raised for the fleet. The consul Licinius was ordered to employ two legions in the service of his province, and to add to them ten thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies.

## 22

When the senate had passed these decrees, the consul Lucius Æmilius went out from the senate-house into the assembly of the people, whom he addressed in a discourse to this effect: “Romans, I think I have perceived that your congratulations, on my obtaining, by lot, the province of Macedonia, were warmer than either when I was saluted consul, or on the day when I entered on office; and that for no other reason, than your having conceived an opinion, that by me the war with Perseus, which has been long protracted, may be brought to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people. I trust that the gods also have favoured this disposal of the lots, and will give me their aid in the conduct of affairs. Some of these consequences I can prognosticate; others I can hope for. One thing I regard as certain, and venture to affirm; that I will endeavour, by every exertion in my power, that this hope which you have conceived of me may not be frustrated. Every thing necessary for the service, the senate has ordered; and as it has been resolved, that I am to go abroad immediately, and I do not wish to delay, my colleague, Caius Licinius, an admirable man, will make the preparations with as much zeal, as if he himself were to carry on that war. Do you give full credit to whatever I shall write to you, or to the senate; but do not by your credulity encourage mere rumours, of which no man shall appear as the responsible author. For, no man is so entirely regardless of reputation, as that his spirits cannot be damped; which I have observed has commonly occurred, especially in this war. In every circle, and, truly, at every table, there are people who lead armies into Macedonia; who know where the camp ought to be placed; what posts ought to be occupied by troops; when and through what pass Macedonia should be entered; where magazines should be formed; how

provisions should be conveyed by land and sea; and when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only determine what is best to be done, but if any thing is done in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the consul, as if he were on his trial. These are great impediments to those who have the management of affairs; for every one cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did, who chose to let his own authority be diminished through the folly of the people, rather than to mismanage the public business with a high reputation. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought never to receive advice; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud than wise, who did every thing of his own single judgment. What then is my opinion? That commanders should be counselled, chiefly, by persons of known talent; by those, especially, who are skilled in the art of war, and who have been taught by experience; and next, by those who are present at the scene of action, who see the country, who see the enemy; who see the advantages that occasions offer, and who, embarked, as it were, in the same ship, are sharers of the danger. If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified to give advice respecting the war which I am to conduct, which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedonia. He shall be furnished by me with a ship, a horse, a tent; and even with his travelling charges. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot. The city, in itself, furnishes abundance of topics for conversation; let it confine its passion for talking, and rest assured, that we shall be content with such councils as shall be framed within our camp." Soon after this speech, the Latin festival having been celebrated on the day before the calends of April, and the sacrifice on the mount affording favourable omens, the consul, and Cneius Octavius, the prætor, set out directly for Macedonia. There is a tradition that the consul, at his departure, was escorted by multitudes unusually numerous; and that people, with confident hope, presaged a conclusion of the Macedonian war, and the speedy return of the consul, to a glorious triumph.

## 23

During these occurrences in Italy, Perseus, though he could not, at first, prevail on himself to complete the design which he had projected, of attaching to himself Gentius, king of Illyria, on account of the money which would be demanded for it; yet, when he found that the Romans had penetrated the passes, and that the final crisis of the war drew near, resolved to defer it no longer, and having, by his ambassador Hippias, consented to pay three thousand talents of silver,<sup>333</sup> provided hostages were given on both sides; he now sent Pantauchus, one of his most trusty friends, to conclude the business. Pantauchus met the Illyrian king at Meteo, in the province of Labeas, and there received from the king his oath and the hostages. Gentius likewise sent an ambassador, named Olympio, to require an oath and hostages from Perseus. Together with him, were sent persons to receive the money; and by the advice of Pantauchus, to go to Rhodes with ambassadors from Macedonia. Parmenio and Morcus were appointed. Their instructions were, first, to receive the king's oath, the hostages, and money; and then to proceed to Rhodes; and it was hoped, that, by the name of the two kings, the Rhodians might be incited to a war against Rome, and that the union of that state, which alone at that time possessed naval glory, would leave the Romans no prospect of success, either on land or sea. As the Illyrians approached, Perseus marched with all his cavalry, from

<sup>333</sup> 58,125/.

his camp on the Enipeus, and met them at Dium. There the articles agreed on were executed; a body of cavalry having been drawn up around, whom the king chose should be witness to the treaty of alliance made with Gentius, supposing that this event would add greatly to their confidence. The hostages were given and taken in the sight of all; those who were to receive the money were sent to Pella, where the king's treasure lay; and the persons who were to go to Rhodes, with the Illyrian ambassadors, were ordered to take ship at Thessalonica. There was present one Metrodorus, who had lately come from Rhodes, and who, on the authority of Dinon and Polyaratus, two principal members of that state, affirmed, that the Rhodians were prepared for the war; he was appointed head of the joint embassy with the Illyrians.

## 24

At this time Perseus sent to Eumenes and Antiochus, a common message, which the state of affairs seemed to suggest that "a free state, and a king, were, in their natures, hostile to each other. That the Roman people were accustomed to attack kings singly; and, what was more shameful, to conquer them, by the power of other kings. Thus, his father was overpowered by the aid of Attalus; and by the assistance of Eumenes, and of his father Philip, in part, Antiochus had been vanquished; and now, both Eumenes and Prusias were armed against himself. If the regal power should be abolished in Macedonia, the next, in their way, would be Asia, which they had already rendered, in part, their own, under the pretence of liberating the states; and next to that Syria. Already Prusias was honoured by them, far beyond Eumenes; and already Antiochus, though victorious, was debarred from Egypt, the prize of his arms." He desired that each of them, "considering these matters seriously, should see that he either compelled the Romans to make peace with him, or, if they should persist in such an unjust war, he should regard them as the common enemies of all kings." The message to Antiochus was sent openly; the ambassador to Eumenes went under the pretence of ransoming prisoners. But some more secret business was transacted between them, which, in addition to the jealousy and distrust already conceived by the Romans against Eumenes, *brought on him charges* of a heavier nature. For they considered him as a traitor, and nearly as an enemy, while the two kings laboured to overreach each other in schemes of fraud and avarice. There was a Cretan, called Cydas, an intimate of Eumenes; this man had formerly conferred, at Amphipolis, with one Chimarus, a countryman of his own, serving in the army of Perseus; and he, afterwards, had had one interview with Menecrates, and another with Archidamus, officers of the king, at Demetrias, close under the wall of the town. Herophon, too, who was sent on that business, had, before that, executed two embassies to the same Eumenes. These furtive conferences and embassies were notorious; but what the subject of them was, or what agreement had taken place between the kings, remained a secret.

## 25

Now the truth of the matter was this: Eumenes neither wished success to Perseus nor intended to make war upon him; and his ill-will arose not so much from the enmity which they inherited from their fathers, as from the personal quarrels which had broken out between themselves. The jealousy of the two kings was not so moderate, that Eumenes could, with patience, have seen Perseus acquiring such vast power and glory as awaited him, if he conquered the Romans. Besides which, he saw that Perseus, from the commencement of the war, by every mean, sought a prospect of peace; and that every day, as the danger approached nearer, he was contriving and contemplating

no other object. He considered too, that as the war had been protracted beyond the expectations of the Romans, their commanders and senate would not be averse from putting an end to a contest so inconvenient and difficult. Having discovered this inclination in both parties, he concluded, that, from the disgust of the stronger party, and the fears of the weaker, this might take place spontaneously; and therefore he the more wished, for the sake of conciliating favour to himself, to make his own efforts available in the business. He therefore, sometimes, laboured to stipulate for a consideration for not affording assistance to the Romans, either on sea or land; at other times, for bringing about a peace with them. He demanded for not interfering in the war, one thousand talents;<sup>334</sup> for effecting a peace, one thousand five hundred;<sup>335</sup> and for his sincerity in either case, he professed himself prepared, not only to make oath, but to give hostages also. Perseus, stimulated by his fears, showed the greatest readiness in the beginning of the negotiation, and treated without delay about receiving the hostages; when it was agreed, that, on their being received, they should be sent to Crete. But when they came to the mention of money, there he hesitated; remarking that, in the case of kings of their high character, a pecuniary consideration was mean and sordid, both with respect to the giver, and still more so with respect to the receiver. He preferred not to decline the payment in the hope of a peace with Rome, but said that he would pay the money when the business should be concluded; and that he would lodge it in the mean time in the temple of Samothrace. As that island was under his own dominion, Eumenes said, that it was all the same as if the money were at Pella; and he struggled hard to obtain some part of it at the present. Thus, having manœuvred with each other to no purpose, they gained nothing but disgrace.

## 26

This was not the only business which Perseus left unfinished from motives of avarice, since for a small sum of money he might have procured, through Eumenes, a secure peace, well purchased even with half of his kingdom; while, if defrauded, he might have exposed him to public view, as an enemy laden with his pelf, and made the Romans deservedly his enemies. Through this avaricious spirit the prompt alliance of king Gentius, with the assistance of a large *army* of Gauls, who had spread themselves through Illyria, and offered themselves to him, was lost. There came ten thousand horsemen, and the same number of footmen, who themselves kept pace with the horses, and in place of the riders who had fallen, took on the horses to the fight. They had stipulated that each horseman should receive in immediate payment, ten golden Philippics, each footman five, and their commander one thousand. Perseus went from his camp on the Enipeus with half of his forces to meet them as they approached; and issued orders through the towns and villages near the road, to prepare provisions, so that they might have plenty of corn, wine, and cattle. He brought with him some horses, trappings, and cloaks, for presents to the chiefs; and a small quantity of gold to be divided among a few; for the multitude, he supposed, might be amused with hopes. He advanced as far as the city of Alman, and encamped on the bank of the river Axius, at which time the army of the Gauls lay near Desudaba, in Mædica, waiting for the promised hire. Thither he sent Antigonus, one of his nobles, with directions, that the said army should remove their camp to Bylazor, a place in Pæonia, and that their chiefs should come to him in a body. They were at this time seventy-five miles distant from the river Axius and the king's camp. Antigonus, in his message, told them what great plenty

<sup>334</sup> 193,750l.

<sup>335</sup> 290,625l.

of every thing was provided on the road by the king's directions, and what presents of apparel, money, and horses he intended for them on their arrival. They answered, that they would judge of those things when they saw them; at the same time asking him, whether, according to their stipulation for immediate payment, he had brought with him the gold which was to be distributed to each footman and horseman? When to this no direct answer was given, Clondicus, their prince, said, "Go back, then, and tell your king, that, unless they should have received the gold and the hostages, the Gauls would never move one step farther." When this message was brought to the king, he called a council: and, as it was very plain what advice all the members would give; he, being a better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, began to descant on the perfidy and savage behaviour of the Gauls. "The disasters," he said, "of many states demonstrated, that it would be dangerous to admit such a multitude into Macedonia, lest they might feel such allies more troublesome than their Roman enemies. Five thousand horsemen would be enough for them to employ in the war, and that number they need not be afraid to receive."

## 27

It was sufficiently clear to all that what he feared was the paying of such a multitude, and nothing else; but as none had the courage to declare their opinion, when asked, Antigonus was sent again, with a message, that the king chose to employ only five thousand horsemen, but that he could not receive the rest of their number. When the barbarians heard this, they began to murmur, and show a great deal of anger at being brought so far from home for no purpose; but Clondicus again asked him, whether he would pay even the five thousand the hire agreed on. When he perceived that an evasive answer was given to this question also, the Gauls, dismissing the insidious envoy unhurt, which was what he himself had scarcely hoped could be his fate, returned home to the Danube, after utterly wasting such lands of Thrace as lay near their road. Now had this body of troops, while the king lay quiet on the Enipeus, been led against the Romans through the passes of Perrhæbia, into Thessaly, it might not only have stripped that country so bare, that the Romans could not expect supplies from thence; but might even have destroyed the cities themselves, while Perseus, by detaining his enemy at the Enipeus, would have put it out of their power to succour their allies. The Romans, indeed, would have been obliged to look out for their own safety, since they could neither stay where they were, after losing Thessaly, whence their army drew sustenance, nor move forward, as the camp of the Macedonians *stood in their way*. *By this error, Perseus enlivened the hopes of the Romans, and damped not a little those of the Macedonians,*<sup>336</sup> who had depended much on that project. Through the same avarice, he alienated from him king Gentius. When he paid, at Pella, three hundred talents to the persons sent by Gentius, he allowed them to seal up the money. He then ordered ten talents to be carried to Pantauchus, and these he desired should be given immediately to the king. He ordered his people, who were carrying the rest of the money, sealed with the seals of the Illyrians, to convey it by short journeys, and when they should come to the bounds of Macedonia, to halt there, and wait for a message from him. Gentius, having received this small portion of the money, and being incessantly urged by Pantauchus to provoke the Romans by some hostile act, threw into custody Marcus Perperna and Lucius Petilius, who happened to come at that time as ambassadors. Having heard this, Perseus, thinking that the Illyrian had now laid himself under a

<sup>336</sup> The passages in Italics are only conjectural, and introduced to supply an hiatus in the original.

necessity of waging war with the Romans at least, sent to recall those who were conveying the money, as if for no other object, than that the greatest possible booty might be reserved for the Romans on his defeat. Herophon, too, returned from Eumenes, without any one knowing what had been secretly negotiated between them. The parties themselves had mentioned publicly that the business of the prisoners had been concluded, and Eumenes, for the sake of avoiding suspicion, acquainted the consul with it.

## 28

Upon the return of Herophon from Eumenes, Perseus, disappointed in his hope, sent Antenor and Callippus, the commanders of his fleet, with forty barks, to which were added five heavy galleys, to Tenedos, that they might protect the vessels sailing to Macedonia with corn, and scattered among the Cyclades. This squadron, setting sail from Cassandrea, steered, first, to the harbour at the foot of Mount Athos, and crossing over thence, with mild weather, to Tenedos, found lying in the harbour a number of Rhodian undecked ships, and their commander Eudamus; these they did not offer to molest, but, after having spoken them in a friendly manner, suffered them to pursue their course. Then, learning that, on the other side of the island, fifty transports of their own were shut up by a squadron of Eumenes, commanded by Damius, which lay in the mouth of the harbour, they sailed round with all haste; and the enemy's ships retiring, through fear, they sent on the transports to Macedonia, ten barks having been appointed to accompany them, which were to return to Tenedos as soon as they had convoyed them to a place of safety. Accordingly, on the ninth day after, they rejoined the fleet, then lying at Sigeum. From thence they sailed over to Subota, an island between Elea and Athos. The next day after the fleet had reached Subota, it happened that thirty-five vessels, of the kind called horse-transports, sent by Eumenes to Attalus, and which had sailed from Elea, with Gallic horsemen and their horses, were steering towards Phanæ, a promontory of Chios, from whence they might cross over to Macedonia, A signal having been given to Antenor, from a post of observation, that these ships were passing along the main, he left Subota, and met them between Cape Erythræ and Chios, where the strait is narrowest. The officers of Eumenes believed nothing less probable than that a Macedonian fleet was cruising in that sea; they imagined that they were Romans, or that Attalus, or some people sent home by him from the Roman camp, were on their way to Pergamus. But when, on their nearer approach, the shape of the vessels was plainly perceived, and when the briskness of their rowing, and their prows being directed straight against themselves, proved that enemies were approaching, a panic was struck into them; for they had no hope of being able to make resistance, their ships being of an unwieldy kind, and the Gauls scarcely able to bear a state of quiet when at sea. Some, who were nearest to the shore of the continent, swam to Erythræ; some, crowding all their sail, ran the ships aground near Chios; and, leaving their horses behind, made for the city in disorderly flight. When the barks, however, had landed their troops nearer to the city, where the access was more convenient, the Macedonians overtook and put to the sword the flying Gauls, some on the road, and some who had been shut out before the gate, for the Chians had shut their gates, not knowing who they were that fled, or who that pursued. About eight hundred Gauls were killed, and two hundred made prisoners. Of the horses, some were lost in the sea, by the ships being wrecked, and others the Macedonians hamstrung on the shore. Antenor ordered the same ten barks, which he had employed before, to carry twenty horses of extraordinary beauty, with the prisoners, to Thessalonica, and to return to the fleet as speedily as

possible; saying, that he would wait for them at Phanæ. The fleet staid about three days off the city, and then proceeded to Phanæ, and the ten barks having returned sooner than was expected, they set sail, and crossed the Ægean Sea to Delos.

## 29

While these things were taking place, the Roman ambassadors, Caius Popilius, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostinus having sailed from Chalcis with three quinqueremes, arrived at Delos, and found there forty Macedonian barks, and five quinqueremes belonging to king Eumenes. The sacred character of the temple and the island secured all parties from injury; so that the Roman and Macedonian seamen, and those of Eumenes, used to meet promiscuously in the temple, a truce being imposed by the religious feeling which the place inspired. Antenor, the commander of Perseus's fleet, having learned, by signals from his watch-posts, that several transport ships were passing by at sea, went himself in pursuit, with one half of his barks, (distributing the other half among the Cyclades,) and sunk or plundered every ship he met with, except such as were bound for Macedonia. Popilius and the ships of Eumenes assisted as many as they were able; but, in the night, the Macedonians sailing out, generally with two or three vessels, passed unseen. About this time, ambassadors from Macedonia and Illyria came together to Rhodes. Their influence was the greater, in consequence of their squadron cruising freely among the Cyclades, and over all the Ægean Sea, and likewise on account of the junction of Perseus and Gentius, and of the report of the Gauls approaching with a great force both of horse and foot. Dinon and Polyaratus, the partisans of Perseus, now took fresh courage, and the Rhodians not only gave a favourable answer to the ambassadors, but declared publicly, that "they would put an end to the war by their own influence; and therefore desired the kings to dispose themselves to accede to a peace."

## 30

It was now the beginning of spring, and the new commanders had arrived in their provinces; the consul Æmilius in Macedonia, Octavius at Oreum, where the fleet lay, and Anicius in Illyria, to carry on the war against Gentius. This prince, who was the son of Pleuratus, king of Illyria, and his queen Eurydice, had two brothers, one called Plator, by both parents, the other Caravantius, by the same mother only. The latter, as descended of ignoble ancestors on his father's side, was but little suspected; but, that his reign might be more secure, he had put to death Plator, and two active men his friends, Ettritius and Epicadus. It was rumoured, that he was actuated by jealousy towards his brother, who had engaged himself to Etuta, the daughter of Hononus, prince of the Dardanians, as if, by that match, engaging that nation in his interest; and this supposition was rendered the more probable by Gentius marrying her, after the death of Plator. From this time, when he was delivered from the fear of his brother, he began to be oppressive to his subjects, and the natural violence of his temper was inflamed by an immoderate use of wine. Having been incited, as was mentioned above, to a war with the Romans, he collected all his forces, amounting to fifteen thousand men, at Lissus. From thence, detaching his brother with one thousand foot and fifty horse, to reduce, either by force or terror, the nation of the Cavians, he marched himself to Bassania, a city five miles distant from Lissus. The inhabitants were in alliance with Rome. Therefore, having been first solicited by emissaries sent in advance, they determined rather to endure a siege than surrender themselves. In Cavia, the people of the town of Durnium cheerfully opened their gates to Caravantius, on his arrival; but another town,

called Caravantis, refused him admittance; and whilst he was carelessly ravaging their lands, many of his straggling soldiers were killed by a muster of the peasants. By this time Appius Claudius, having joined to the army he had in command some bodies of auxiliaries, composed of Bulinians, Apollonians, and Dyrrhachians, had left his winter quarters, and was encamped near the river Genusus. Having heard of the treaty between Persius and Gentius, and being highly provoked at the ill-treatment of the outraged ambassadors, he was resolved to make war upon him. The prætor Anicius, who was now at Apollonia, being informed of what passed in Illyria, despatched a letter to Appius, desiring him to wait for him at the Genusus; and, in three days after, he arrived in the camp. *Having added to the auxiliary troops which he then had, two thousand foot and two hundred horse of the Parthinians, (the foot commanded by Epicadus, and the horse by Agalsus,) he prepared to march into Illyria, chiefly that he might relieve the Bassanians from the siege. But an account brought him, of the sea-coast being ravaged by a number of the enemy's barks, checked his efforts. These were eighty vessels, which, by the advice of Pantauchus, Gentius had sent to waste the lands of the Dyrrhachians and Apollonians. The Roman fleet was then lying near Apollonia. Anicius hastily repaired thither, soon overtook the Illyrian plunderers, brought them to an engagement, and, defeating them with very little trouble, took many of their ships, and compelled the rest to retire to Illyria. Returning thence to the camp at the Genusus, he hastened to the relief of Bassania. Gentius did not bear up against the rumour of the prætor's coming; but, raising the siege, retired to Scodra with such precipitate haste, that he did not even take the whole of his army with him. There was a large body of forces, which, if their courage had been supported by the presence of their commander, might have given some check to the Romans; but, as he had withdrawn,*<sup>337</sup> they surrendered.

### 31

The cities of that country, one after another, followed the example; their own inclinations being encouraged by the justice and clemency which the Roman prætor showed to all. The army then advanced to Scodra, which was the chief seat of the war, not merely because Gentius had chosen it for the metropolis of his kingdom, but because it has by far the strongest fortifications of any in the territory of the Labeatians, and is of very difficult access. Two rivers enclose it; the Clausula flowing past the eastern side of the city, and by the western, the Barbanna, which rises out of the lake Labeatus. These two rivers, uniting their streams, fall into the river Oriuns, which, running down from mount Scordus, and being augmented by many other waters, empties itself into the Adriatic Sea. Mount Scordus is much the highest hill in all that country; at its foot, towards the east, lies Dardania; towards the south, Macedonia; and towards the west, Illyria. Notwithstanding that the town was so strong, from the nature of its situation, and was garrisoned by the whole force of the Illyrian nation, with the king himself at their head, yet the Roman prætor, encouraged by the happy success of his first enterprises, and hoping that the fortune of the whole undertaking would correspond to its commencement, and thinking also that a sudden alarm might have a powerful effect, advanced to the walls with his troops in order of battle. But, if the garrison had kept their gates shut, and manned the walls and the towers of the gates with soldiers, they might have repulsed the Romans from the walls with their efforts frustrated, instead of which they marched out from the gate, and, on equal ground, commenced a battle with more courage than they supported it: for, being forced to give

<sup>337</sup> This passage is supplied conjecturally.

way, and crowded together in their retreat, and above two hundred having fallen in the very entrance of the gate, the rest were so terrified, that Gentius immediately despatched Teuticus and Bellus, two of the first men of the nation, to the prætor, through whom he begged a truce, in order that he might be able to deliberate on the state of his affairs. He was allowed three days for the purpose, and, as the Roman camp was about five hundred paces from the city, he went on board a ship, and sailed up the river Barbanna, into the lake of Labeatus, as if in search of a retired place for consultation; but, as afterwards appeared, he was led by a groundless report, that his brother Caravantius was coming, with many thousands of soldiers collected in the country, to which he had been sent. This rumour dying away, on the third day he sailed down the river in the same ship to Scodra; and, after sending forward messengers, to request permission to call upon the prætor, and leave being given, came into the camp. He began his discourse with reproaches against himself, for the folly of his conduct; then descended to tears and prayers, and, falling at the prætor's knees, gave himself up into his power. He was at first desired to keep up his spirits, and having been even invited to supper, he went back into the city to his people, and, for that day, was entertained by the prætor with every mark of respect. On the day following, he was delivered into custody, to Caius Cassius, a military tribune, having, though a king, received ten talents, scarcely the hire of a party of gladiators, and that from a king, to reduce himself to these circumstances.

### 32

The first thing Anicius did, after taking possession of Scodra, was, to order the ambassadors, Petilius and Perperna, to be sought for and brought to him; and having restored to them their former dignity, he immediately despatched Perperna to seize the king's friends and relations, who, hastening to Medeo, a city of Labeatia, conducted to the camp at Scodra, Etleva, the king's consort; his brother Caravantius; with his two sons, Scerdiletus and Pleuratus. Anicius, having brought the Illyrian war to a conclusion within thirty days, sent Perperna to Rome with the news of his success; and, in a few days after, king Gentius himself, with his mother, queen, children, and brother, and other Illyrians of distinction. This one war was announced at Rome as finished before it was known to have been begun. At the time when these things took place, Perseus laboured under dreadful apprehensions, on account of the approach, both of the new consul Æmilius, who, as he heard, was coming with formidable threats, and also of the prætor Octavius: nor did he less dread the Roman fleet, and the danger which threatened the sea-coast. Eumenes and Athenagoras commanded at Thessalonica, with a small garrison of two thousand targeteers. Thither he sent Androcles, as governor, and ordered him to keep the troops encamped close by the naval arsenals. He ordered one thousand horse, under Antigonus, to Ænia, to guard the sea-coast; directing them, whenever they should hear of the enemy's fleet approaching the shore in any part, instantly to hasten thither, to protect the country people. Five thousand Macedonians were sent to garrison the mountains Pythium and Petra, commanded by Histiaëus, Theogenes, and Medon. After making these detachments, he set about fortifying the bank of the river Enipeus, the channel being dry and fordable; and, in order that all the men might apply themselves to this work, the women were obliged to bring provisions from the neighbouring cities into the camp. He ordered the soldiers to *fetch timber* from the woods which were not far distant. *Then a mound was formed and works thrown up strengthened with towers and with engines, disposed in various parts so that the enemy might not be able to force a way through without great opposition and danger. Thus he*

*trusted that he should be secure against every attack of the Romans, and that, wearied out with inaction and slow delay, and drained by expenses, a disgust at so difficult a war would seize on the mind of the enemy. On the other side, the more diligence and caution Paullus saw the Macedonians use, the more assiduously did he study to devise some means of frustrating those hopes, which the enemy had not without reason conceived. But he suffered immediate distress from the scarcity of water, as the neighbouring river was almost dried up, except that a little stream, and that impure, flowed in the part contiguous to the sea.*

### 33

*The consul, when those who were sent to search the neighbourhood announced that no water could be found,*<sup>338</sup> *at last ordered the water-carriers to attend him to the shore, which was not three hundred paces distant, and there to dig holes in several places, not far from each other. The great height of the mountains gave him reason to suppose that they contained hidden springs of water, the veins of which flowing through to the sea, mingled with its waves; and the more so, as they discharged no streams above ground. Scarcely was the surface of the sand removed, when springs began to boil up, small at first, and muddy, but in a little time they threw out clear water in great plenty, as if through the favourable interference of the gods. This circumstance added greatly to the reputation and influence of the general in the minds of the soldiers. He then ordered them to get ready their arms; and went himself, with the tribunes and first centurions, to examine the fords, in hopes of finding a passage, where the descent would be easy for the troops, and where the ascending the other bank would be least difficult. After taking a sufficient view of these matters, he made it his first care to provide, that, in the movements of the army, every thing should be done regularly, and without noise, at the first order and beck of the general. When notice was proclaimed of what was to be done to all at the same time, every one did not distinctly hear; and as the orders received were not clear, some making additions for themselves, did more than was ordered, while others did less; while dissonant shouts were raised in every quarter, insomuch that the enemy knew sooner than the soldiers themselves what was intended. He therefore directed, that the military tribune should communicate, secretly, to the first centurion of the legion, then he to the next, and that so on, in order that each should tell the next to him in rank what was requisite to be done, whether the instructions were to be conveyed from front to rear, or from rear to front. He likewise, by a new arrangement, forbade the sentinels to carry their shields when on duty; for as a sentinel did not go to fight, but to watch, he had no occasion for arms; it was his duty, when he perceived an enemy approaching, to retire, and to rouse the rest to arms. They used to stand with their helmets on, and their shields erected on the ground before them; when tired, they leaned on their spears; or laying their heads on the edge of their shields, stood dozing in such a manner, that from the glittering of their arms they could be seen afar off by the enemy, while themselves could see nothing. He likewise altered the practice of the advanced guards. Formerly, the guards were kept on duty through the whole day, all under arms, the horsemen with their horses bridled; and when this happened in summer, under a continual scorching sun, both men and horses were so much exhausted by the heat and the languor contracted in so many hours, that very often, when attacked by fresh troops, a few could get the better of a greater number. He therefore ordered, that they should retire from the morning-watch at noon, and that*

<sup>338</sup> The whole of the foregoing passage is supplied conjecturally.

others should succeed to the duty for the rest of the day; by which means the enemy could never come fresh upon them when they were wearied.

### 34

*Æmilius*, after publishing, in a general assembly, his orders for these regulations, added a speech of similar purport to that which he had made in the city, that "it was the business of the commander alone to consider what was proper to be done, sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with those whom he should call to council; and that such as were not called, ought not to pronounce their opinions either in public or in private. That it was a soldier's business to attend to these three things,—his body, that he may keep it in perfect strength and agility; his arms, in good order; and his provisions ready, in case of a sudden order; and to understand, that all other matters relating to him are under the care of the immortal gods and his captain. That in any army, where the soldiers formed plans, and that the chief was drawn, first one way, then another, by the rumours of the multitude, nothing was successful. For his part," he declared, that "he would take care, as was the duty of a general, to afford them occasion of acting with success. On their part, they were to make no inquiries whatever as to what was about to take place; but, when the signal was given, to discharge the duty of a soldier." After these precepts, he dismissed the assembly, while the veterans themselves acknowledged, that on that day, for the first time, they had, like recruits, been taught the business of a soldier. Nor did they, by such expressions only, demonstrate with what perfect conviction they had listened to the consul's discourse; but the practical effect of it was immediate. In the whole camp, not one person was to be seen idle; some were sharpening their weapons; others scouring their helmets and cheek-pieces, their shields and breastplates; some fitted their armour to their bodies and tested the agility of their limbs under it; some brandished their spears, others flourished their swords, and tried the points; so that it could be easily perceived that their intention was, whenever they should come to battle, to finish the war at once, either by a splendid victory or a memorable death. On the other side, when *Perseus* saw that, in consequence of the arrival of the consul, and of the opening of the spring, all was motion and bustle among the Romans, as in a new war; and that the camp had been removed from *Phila* and pitched on the opposite bank, and that the Roman general employed himself busily, sometimes in going round and examining all his works, doubtless looking out for a place to pass the river; *and sometimes in preparing every thing requisite for attack or defence of a camp, with the closest attention, and omitted nothing which could be attempted or achieved by a great general, whether against the enemy or for increasing the efficiency of his own men; he (Perseus) also exerted himself no less diligently on his part to rouse the courage of his soldiers, and add more and more strength to his defences, as if he were approaching the crisis of the whole business, and never considered all matters to be adequately provided for, or the bank sufficiently fortified and secured. Nevertheless, amidst this most vehement ardour on both sides, their camps were for some time in a state of tranquillity. Nor was it ever recorded that such powerful armies, with their camps pitched so near together, had ever lain so quiet.*

### 35

*In the mean time, a report announced that king Gentius had been defeated, in Illyria, by the prætor Anicius; and that himself, his family, and his whole kingdom, were in the hands of the Romans; which event greatly raised the spirits of the Romans, and struck no small degree of terror into the Macedonians and their king. At first, Perseus endeavoured to*

suppress the intelligence, and sent messengers to Pantauchus, who was on his way from that country, forbidding him to come near the camp; but some of his people had already seen certain boys, carried away among the Illyrian hostages; and it is certain that the more pains there are used to conceal any circumstances, the more readily they are divulged, through the gossiping disposition of the attendants of kings. About this time, ambassadors came to the camp from Rhodes, with the same message which had excited so much resentment in the Roman senate. They were now heard by the council in the camp with much greater indignation than at Rome; some *even advised* that they should be instantly driven out of the camp without any reply; but the consul said, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days. Meanwhile, to show how far the influence of the Rhodians as mediators extended, he began to consult on the plan of carrying forward the war. Some, particularly the older officers, advised to force their way across the Enipeus, and through the enemy's works. "When they should advance in close order and make an assault, the Macedonians," they said, "would never be able to withstand them. They had been, last year, beaten out of many fortresses much higher and better fortified, which they had occupied with much stronger garrisons." Others recommended, that Octavius, with the fleet, should sail to Thessalonica; and, by committing depredations on the sea-coast, to divide the king's forces; so that when, on the appearance of another enemy behind him, he should turn about to protect the interior part of the kingdom, he would be forced to leave a passage over the Enipeus open in some place or other. The consul himself was of opinion, that the nature of the bank, and the works erected on it, presented insuperable difficulties; and, besides its being every where furnished with engines, he had been informed, that the enemy were remarkable for using missile weapons with uncommon skill, and with a very certain aim. The consul's full conviction leaned quite another way; as soon, therefore, as the council broke up, he sent for Schœnus and Menophilus, Perrhæbian merchants, whom he knew to be men of probity and good sense, and examined them in private about the nature of the passes leading into Perrhæbia. They told him, that the places themselves were not difficult; but that they were occupied by parties of the king's troops; from which he conceived hopes of being able to beat off those parties, by making a sudden attack with a strong force in the night, when they were off their guard. For he considered that "javelins, and arrows, and other missile weapons, were useless in the dark, when one cannot see at distance what to aim at; but that, when combatants closed together in a throng, the business must depend on the sword, in which the Roman soldier was superior." He resolved to employ those two men as guides; and, sending for the prætor Octavius, explained to him what he intended, ordering him to sail directly with the fleet to Heracleum, and to have in readiness, there, ten days' provisions for one thousand men. He then sent Publius Scipio Nasica, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, his own son, with five thousand chosen men, to Heracleum, as if they were to embark in the fleet, to ravage the coast of the interior parts of Macedonia, as had been proposed in the council. He told them, in private, that there were provisions prepared for them on board, so that they should have no delay. He then ordered the guides to divide the road in such a manner that they might attack Pythium at the fourth watch on the third day. He himself, on the day following, in order to withdraw the king from the observation of other matters, attacked his advanced guards as soon as it was light in the middle of the channel of the river, where the fight was maintained by the light infantry on both sides, for the bottom was so uneven, that heavy arms could not be used. The slope of each bank was three hundred paces long, and the breadth of the channel, which was of various depths, somewhat more than a mile. In this middle space the fight was carried

on, while the king on one side, and the consul with his legions on the other, stood spectators on the ramparts of their camps. At a distance, the king's troops had the advantage in fighting with missile weapons; but in close fight the Roman soldier was more steady, and was better defended, either with a target or a Ligurian buckler. About noon, the consul ordered the signal of retreat to be given, and thus the battle ended for that day, after considerable numbers had fallen on both sides. Next morning at sun-rise, the fight was renewed with greater fury, as their passions had been irritated by the former contest; but the Romans were wounded, not only by those with whom they were immediately engaged, but much more by the multitudes that stood posted in the towers, with missiles of every sort, particularly stones; so that whenever they advanced towards the enemy's bank, the weapons thrown from the engines reached even the hindmost of their men. The consul, having lost far more men on that day, somewhat later called off his men. On the third day he declined fighting, and moved down to the lowest side of the camp, as if intending to attempt a passage through an intrenchment which stretched down to the sea. Perseus, *who did not extend his cares beyond the objects that lay before his eyes, bent all his thoughts and exertions to stop the progress of the enemy in the quarter where he lay, careful of nought beside. In the mean time, Publius Nasica, with the detachment assigned to him, having departed towards the sea to Heracleum, when he arrived there, waited for nightfall, ordering his soldiers to refresh themselves. He then explained to the principal of his officers the real directions of the consul, and when first the darkness spread itself, bending his course to the mountain, he led his troops in silence to Pythium, as he had been commanded. When they had arrived at the very summit, which rises to a height of more than ten stadia, some repose was given to the wearied soldiers. This height, as has been already stated, Medon, Histiaëus, and Theogenes, who were sent by Perseus, were occupying with five thousand Macedonians, but so great was the negligence of the king's generals, that no one perceived that the Romans were approaching. If we are to believe Polybius, Nasica, having attacked them while asleep, easily dislodged them from the height. Nasica himself however, narrates the affair very differently in a letter to one of the kings. He says, that the mountain was of steep ascent, but so unguarded that he could have taken possession of the pass with no trouble, had not a deserter from those Cretans, whom he was taking with him, fled to Perseus, and informed him what was being done. That the king himself remained in his camp, but sent two thousand Macedonians and ten thousand auxiliaries, with Medon as their leader, to take possession of the pass. That with these a most fierce engagement took place on the top of the hill, and, among other things, that he himself was thrust at with a sword by a Thracian soldier, whom he transfixed by driving his spear through his breast. That at length the Macedonians, being conquered, gave way, and that their leader himself, throwing away his arms, sought safety in a disgraceful flight. The Romans pursuing the fugitives had an easy descent, without any danger, to the plain. In this stale of things Perseus was in perplexity as to what was necessary to be done, as he feared lest, now that a way through the pass had been opened, he should be hemmed in by the Romans. It was absolutely necessary that he should either retire to Pydna, and await the enemy there, so as to fight with less danger under the walls of a fortified city; or that, dispersing his forces through the cities of Macedonia, conveying the corn and cattle into more fortified places, and devastating the fields, he, should leave the bare soil to the enemy. The mind of the king fluctuated irresolute between these two propositions: his friends, thinking that that which was the most honourable would also be the safer, advised him to try the fortune of a battle, alleging both that he was superior in the number of his soldiers, and that he ought surely to trust to that valour which, while it was natural to their minds, would be inflamed by the*

*most powerful and sacred incitements to a valiant opposition which could act upon men;—their altars, their hearths, and their religious institutions, amidst which and for which they had to fight; their parents and their wives, and, lastly, their king himself observing them, and exposing himself to a share of the danger. Influenced by these suggestions, the king prepared himself for a battle, and when he had retired to Pydna, at once pitched his camp, drew up his army, and assigned to each of his leaders his position and duty, as if about to fight immediately after the march. The locality was of this kind; the plain was suited for the ranging of the phalanx, which requires an open and even space, not, however, such as that it could be easily moved forward; then there were continuous hills which afforded to the light-armed troops the means of retreating at one time, and at another of wheeling round. Two streams, the one of which the inhabitants called Cæson, the other Leucus, though they flowed with but a scanty supply of water, yet seemed likely to occasion some trouble to the Romans. Æmilius, having united his forces with Nasica, set out directly against the enemy, but at the sight of their army, which was most effective both as to the number and the strength of the soldiers, and admirably drawn up and ranged for battle, he stopped, struck with awe, and revolving many considerations within himself.*

### 36

*The season of the year*<sup>339</sup> was a little after the summer solstice; the time of the day was approaching towards noon; and his march had been performed amidst great quantities of dust, and the increasing heat of the sun. Lassitude and thirst were already felt, and both would certainly be aggravated by mid-day coming on. He resolved, therefore, not to expose his men in that condition to an enemy, fresh and in full vigour; but so great was the ardour for battle in the minds of both parties, that the general had occasion for as much art to elude the wishes of his own men, as those of the enemy. He urged the military tribunes to hasten the forming of the troops, went himself round the ranks, and with exhortations inflamed their courage for the fight. At first, they called to him for the signal briskly; but afterwards, as the heat increased, their looks became less lively, and their voices fainter, while many stood resting on their shields, or leaning on their javelins. He then, at length, openly ordered the foremost ranks to measure out the front of a camp, and store the baggage; on seeing which, some undisguisedly rejoiced that he had not compelled them to fight when they were wearied with marching and with the scorching heat. Immediately about the general were the lieutenants-general, and the commanders of the foreign troops; among others Attalus, who, when they thought that the consul intended to fight, (for even to them he did not disclose his intention of delaying,) had all approved the measure. On this sudden alteration of his plan, while the rest were silent, Nasica alone of them all ventured to advise the consul, not to let slip from his hands an enemy, who, by shunning a battle, had baffled former commanders. "There was reason to fear," he said, "that if he should march off in the night, he would have to be pursued with extreme toil and danger, into the heart of Macedonia; and the troops must be led about, as under former generals, wandering through the glens and forests of the Macedonian mountains. He therefore earnestly recommended to attack the enemy while he had him in an open plain, and not to lose the opportunity of obtaining a victory, which now presented itself." The consul, not in the least offended at the frank advice of so illustrious a youth, answered: "Nasica, I once thought as you do now; hereafter you will come to think as I do. By the many chances of war, I have

<sup>339</sup> The above has been introduced to supply the place of a passage which has been lost from the original text.

learned when it is proper to fight, when to abstain from fighting. It would not be right in me, at present, standing at the head of the troops to explain to you the causes that render it better to rest to-day. Ask my reasons some other time. At present you will acquiesce in the judgment of an old commander." The youth was silent, concluding that the consul certainly saw some objections to fighting, which did not appear to him.

### 37

Paullus, as soon as he saw the camp marked out, and the baggage laid up, drew off, first, the veterans from the rear line, then the first-rank men, while the spearmen stood in the front, lest the enemy might make any attempt; and lastly, the spearmen, beginning at the right wing, and leading them away, gradually, by single companies. Thus were the infantry drawn off without tumult; and, in the mean time, the cavalry and light infantry faced the enemy; nor were the cavalry recalled from their station, until the rampart and trench were finished. The king, though he was disposed to have given battle that day, was yet satisfied; since his men knew, that, the delay was owing to the enemy: and he led back his troops to their station. When the camp had been thoroughly fortified, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune of the second legion, who had been prætor the year before, with the consul's permission collected the soldiers in assembly, and gave them notice, lest they should any of them consider the matter as a prodigy, that, "on the following night, the moon would be eclipsed, from the second hour to the fourth." He mentioned that, "as this happened in the course of nature, at stated times, it could be known, and foretold. As, therefore, they did not wonder at the regular rising and setting of the sun and moon, or at the moon's sometimes shining with a full orb, and sometimes in its wane, showing only small horns, so neither ought they to construe as a portent, its being obscured when covered with the shadow of the earth." When on the night preceding the day before the nones of September, at the hour mentioned, the eclipse took place, the Roman soldiers thought the wisdom of Gallus almost divine; but the Macedonians were shocked, as at a dismal prodigy, foreboding the fall of their kingdom and the ruin of their nation; nor did their soothsayers explain it otherwise. There was shouting and yelling in the camp of the Macedonians, until the moon emerged forth into its full light. Both armies had been so eager for an engagement, that, next day, both the king and the consul were censured by many of their respective men for having separated without a battle. The king could readily excuse himself, not only as the enemy had led back his troops into camp, openly declining a battle; but, also, as he had posted his men on ground of such a nature, that the phalanx (which even a small inequality of surface renders useless) could not advance on it. The consul, besides appearing to have neglected an opportunity of fighting, and to have given the enemy room to go off in the night, if he were so inclined, was thought to waste time at the present, under pretence of offering sacrifice, though the signal had been displayed, at the first light, for going out to the field. At last, about the third hour, the sacrifices being duly performed, he summoned a council, and there, too, he was deemed by several to spin out, in talking and unseasonable consultation, the time that ought to be employed in action; after the conversation, however, the consul addressed to them the following speech.

### 38

"Publius Nasica, a youth of uncommon merit, was the only one of those who were for fighting yesterday, that disclosed his sentiments to me; and even he was afterwards silent, so that he seems to have come over to my opinion. Some others have thought proper, rather to carp at their general in his absence, than to offer advice in his

presence. Now, I shall, without the least reluctance, make known to you, Publius Nasica, and to any who, with less openness, entertained the same opinion with you, my reasons for deferring an engagement. For, so far am I from being sorry for yesterday's inaction, that I am convinced that by that course I preserved the army. And if any of you think that I hold this opinion groundlessly, let him come forward, if he pleases, and take with me a review of how many things were favourable to the enemy and adverse to us. In the first place, how far they surpass us in numbers, I am sure not one of you was at any time ignorant; and yesterday, I am convinced that you must have observed it, when you saw their line drawn out. Of our small force, a fourth part had been left to guard the baggage; and you know that they are not the worst of the soldiers who are left in custody of the baggage. But suppose we were all here, can we believe it a matter of little moment, that, with the blessing of the gods, we shall this day, if judged proper, or tomorrow at farthest, march to battle out of this our own camp, where we have lodged last night? Is there no difference whether you order a soldier to take arms in his own tent, when he has not suffered any fatigue on that day, either from a long march or laborious work; after he has enjoyed his natural rest, and is fresh; so as to lead him into the field vigorous both in body and mind; or whether, when he is wearied by such a march, or fatigued with carrying a load; while he is wet with sweat, and while his throat is parched with thirst, and his mouth and eyes filled with dust, you oppose him, under a scorching noon-day sun, to an enemy who has had full repose, and who brings into the battle his strength unimpaired by any previous circumstance? Is there, in the name of the gods, any one so dastardly, that, if matched in this manner, he would not overcome the bravest man? We must consider, that the enemy had, quite at their leisure, formed their line of battle; had recruited their spirits, and were standing in regular order; whereas we must have formed our line in hurry and confusion, and have engaged before it was completed.

### 39

"We should then confessedly have an irregular and disorderly line, but should we have had a camp fortified, a watering-place provided, and the passage to it secured by troops, and all the country round reconnoitred; or should we have been without any one spot of our own, except the naked field on which we fought? Your fathers considered a fortified camp as a harbour of safety in all the emergencies of an army; out of which they were to march to battle, and in which, after being tossed in the storm of the fight, they had a safe retreat. For that reason, besides enclosing it with works, they strengthened it further with a numerous guard; for any general who lost his camp, though he should have been victorious in the field, yet was deemed vanquished. A camp is a residence for the victorious, a refuge for the conquered. How many armies, to whom the fortune of the fight has been adverse, when driven within their ramparts, have, at their own time, and sometimes the next moment, sallied out and defeated their victors! This military settlement is another native country to every soldier: the rampart is as the wall of his city, and his own tent his habitation and his home. Should we have fought while in that unsettled state, and without quarters prepared, to which, even if victorious, we might retire? In opposition to these considerations of the difficulties and impediments to the fighting at that time, one argument is urged: What if the enemy had marched off in the course of last night? What immense fatigue, it is observed, must have been undergone in pursuing him to the remotest parts of Macedonia! But, for my part, I take it as a certainty, that if he had had any intention of retreating, he would neither have waited, nor drawn out his troops to battle. For, how much more easily could he have gone off

while we were at a great distance, than now, when we are close behind him! Nor could he escape observation in departing either by day or by night. What could be more desirable to us, who were obliged to attack their camp, defended as it was by a very high bank of a river, and enclosed likewise with a rampart and a number of towers, than that they should quit their fortifications, and, marching off with haste, give us an opportunity of attacking their rear in an open plain? These were the reasons for deferring a battle from yesterday to this day. For I am myself also inclined to fight; and for that reason, as the way to come at the enemy over the river Enipeus was stopped, I have opened a new way, by dislodging the enemy's guards from another pass. Nor will I rest until I shall have brought the war to a conclusion."

#### 40

Silence ensued after this address; for some were convinced by his arguments, and the rest were fearful of giving offence needlessly in a matter which, from whatever cause overlooked, could not now be regained. Even on that day, neither the king nor the consul was desirous of engaging; not the king, because he was not going, as on the day before, to attack men who were fatigued after their march, were hurried in forming their line, and not completely marshalled; nor the consul, because, in his new camp, no collection was yet made of wood or forage, to bring which from the adjacent country a great number of his men had gone forth from the camp. Still fortune, whose power prevails over all human schemes, brought about a battle. Nearer to the enemy's camp was a river, not very large, from which both parties supplied themselves with water; and that this might be done with safety, guards were stationed on each bank. On the Roman side were two cohorts, a Marrucian and a Pelignian, with two troops of Samnite horse, commanded by a lieutenant-general, Marcus Sergius Silus; and in the front of the camp there was posted another guard, under Caius Cluvius, lieutenant-general, composed of three cohorts, a Firmian, a Vestinian, and a Cremonian; besides two troops of horse, a Placentine and an Æsernian. While there was quiet at the river, neither party making an attack; about the ninth hour, a horse, breaking loose from those who had the care of him, ran off towards the farther bank, and three Roman soldiers followed him through the water, which was about as high as their knees. At the same time two Thracians endeavoured to bring the horse from the middle of the channel to their own bank; but one of these having been slain, and the horse having been recovered, they retired to their post. On the enemy's bank there was a body of eight hundred Thracians, of whom a few, at first enraged at their countryman being killed before their eyes, crossed the river in pursuit of his slayers; in a little time some more, and at last all of them, and engaged with the guard which defended the bank on the Roman side. Some authors say, that by the command of Paullus, the horse was driven without a bridle to the enemy's side, and men sent to bring him back, in order that the enemy might first provoke the conflict. For when favourable auspices were not obtained by the first twenty victims, at length the haruspices declared, "that the entrails of the twenty-first portended victory to the Romans, provided they acted only upon the defensive, without striking the first blow." However, whether by the design of the leader or by accident, the battle was certainly brought about from this commencement, and, in a short time, was so augmented by party after party on both sides flying to carry succour to their comrades, that the commanders were compelled to come down to a general decision of the contest; for Æmilius, on hearing the tumult, came forth from his tent, and when it seemed neither easy nor safe to recall or stop the impetuosity of those who were rushing to arms, he thought it best to avail himself of the ardour of the

soldiers, and to turn an accident into an opportunity. He therefore led out his forces from the camp, and riding among their ranks exhorted them to enter upon the contest they had so greatly desired with corresponding ardour. At the same time Nasica, having been sent forward to reconnoitre what was the position of affairs amongst those who were engaged in the commencing conflict, announced that Perseus was approaching with his army in battle-array. First marched the Thracians, men of fierce countenance and tall of stature, and protected on their left side by bucklers which shone with remarkable brightness. A black cloak covered both shoulders, and on their right they brandished from time to time a sword of enormous weight. Next to the Thracians stood the hired auxiliaries, their armour and costume differing according to their respective nations; and among these were some Pæonians. Next came a band of the Macedonians themselves, which they called the phalanx of the Leucaspides. A few selected for their strength and valour were more conspicuous, shining in gilded armour and scarlet cloaks: this was the middle of the army. These were succeeded by those whom they called Chalcaspides, from their brazen and glittering bucklers. This phalanx was placed next to the other on the right wing. Besides these two phalanxes, which constituted the chief strength of the Macedonian army, the targeteers, who were also Macedonians, and carried pikes like those of the phalanx, but in other respects more lightly armed, were distributed on the wings advanced, and projecting beyond the rest of the line. The plain was illuminated with the brightness of their arms, the neighbouring hills echoed with their shouts, as they mutually cheered each other on. Such was the swiftness and boldness of all these forces as they came out to the fight, that those who were first slain fell at two hundred and fifty paces from the Roman camp. Meanwhile Æmilius advanced, and when he saw not only the other Macedonians, but those who constituted the phalanx, some with their bucklers, and some with their targets removed from their shoulders, and with their pikes inclined in one direction receiving the attack of the Romans, admiring the firmness of the serried ranks, and the bristling rampart of outstretched pikes, he was smitten at once with astonishment and terror, as if he had never seen so fearful a spectacle, and was afterwards in the habit of frequently referring to it, and making this statement respecting himself. Carefully concealing however at the time the agitation of his troubled mind, he with serene countenance and careless aspect, and with his head and body undefended, drew up his line. The Pelignians were now fighting against the targeteers, who were ranged opposite to them, and when, after long and laborious efforts, they were unable to break through that compact array, Salius, who was commanding the Pelignians, seized a standard and threw it among the enemy. On this a prodigious conflict was excited, whilst on the one side the Pelignians strove with all their might to recover the standard, the Macedonians on the other to retain possession of it. The former strove either to cut through the long spears of the Macedonians, or to repel them with the bosses of their bucklers, or in some instances to turn them aside even with their naked hands, while the latter drove them firmly grasped with both hands with such force against the enemy, who rushed on with rash and heedless fury, that, penetrating shields and bucklers, they overthrew the men transfixed in like manner. The first ranks of the Pelignians having been thus defeated, those who stood behind them were also cut down, and the rest retreated towards the mountain which the inhabitants call Mount Olocrus, though not yet in open flight. On this the grief of Æmilius burst forth, so that he even rent his robe with mortification, for in other places as well he saw that his men were hanging back and approaching with timidity that hedge of steel, as it were, with which the Macedonian line bristled in every part. But that skilful general observed that this conjunction of the foe was not every

where close, but that here and there it opened with little interstices, either on account of the unevenness of the ground, or on account of the very length of its front, which was immensely extended, while those who attempted to occupy higher ground were necessarily, though unwillingly, separated from those who occupied lower positions, or those who were slower from those who were faster, and those who advanced from those who held back, and lastly, those who pressed upon the enemy from those who were repulsed. In order, therefore, entirely to break the ranks of the enemy, and to distribute the irresistible attack of the entire phalanx into a number of separate conflicts, he commanded his men, that wherever they should see the line of the enemy present openings, they should individually rush to those spots, and insinuating themselves like a wedge into such spaces, however narrow their extent, they should fight with impetuosity. This order having been issued and spread through the whole army, he led on in person one of the legions to the battle.

#### 41

The troops were impressed by the high dignity of his office, the personal renown of the man, and, above all, by his age: for, though more than sixty years old, he discharged the duties of youth, taking on himself the principal share both of the labour and danger. His legion filled up the space between the targeteers and the phalanxes, and thus disunited the enemy's line. Behind him were the targeteers, and his front faced the shielded phalanx of Chalcaspides. Lucius Albinus, a man of consular rank, was ordered to lead on the second legion against the phalanx of the Leucaspides, which formed the centre of the enemy's line. On the right wing, where the fight began, at the river, he brought forward the elephants, with the cohorts of allied cavalry; and from this quarter the retreat of the Macedonians first began. For as new contrivances generally make an important figure in the words of men, but on being put in practice oftentimes prove vain and ineffectual, so on that occasion the elephants in the line of battle were a mere name, without the least use. Their attack was followed by the Latin allies, who forced the enemy's left wing to give way. In the centre, the second legion charged and dispersed the phalanx; nor was there any more evident cause of the victory, than there being many distinct fights, which first disordered that body, when it wavered, and at last quite broke it. Its force, while it is compact and bristling with extended spears, is irresistible; but if, by attacking them separately, you force them to turn about their spears, which, on account of their length and weight, are unwieldy, they are mingled in a confused mass; and, if any disorder arises on the flank or rear, they fall into irretrievable disorder. Thus, now, they were obliged to oppose the Romans in small parties, and with their own line broken into numerous divisions; and the Romans, when any opening was made, worked themselves into their ranks. But had they advanced with their entire line, straight against the phalanx when in its regular order, just as happened to the Pelignians, who, in the beginning of the battle, incautiously engaged the targeteers; they would have impaled themselves on the spears, and would have been unable to withstand such a firm body.

#### 42

But though a massacre was made of the infantry on all sides, except those who threw away their arms and fled, the cavalry quitted the field with scarcely any loss. The king himself was the first in flight. With the sacred squadrons of horse he took the road to Pella, and was quickly followed by Cotys and the Odrysian cavalry. The other wings of the Macedonians, likewise, went off with full ranks: because, as the line of infantry stood

in the way, the slaughter of them detained the conquerors, and made them careless of pursuing the cavalry. For a long time, the men of the phalanx were cut off, in front, on the flanks, and on the rear; at last, such as could avoid the enemy's hands, fled unarmed towards the sea; some even ran into the water, and, stretching out their hands to those on board the fleet, humbly begged their lives. And when they saw boats coming from all the ships, supposing that they were coming to take them in rather than to slay them, advanced farther into the water, so that some of them even swam. But, when they were cut to pieces as enemies by the boats, such as were able regained the land by swimming back, where they met with a more dreadful death; for the elephants, which their riders had driven down to the shore, trod them under foot, and crushed them in pieces. It was generally acknowledged, that the Macedonians never lost so great a number of men in any battle with the Romans; for their killed amounted to twenty thousand; six thousand, who made their escape from the field to Pydna, fell alive into the hands of the Romans, and five thousand were taken straggling through the country. Of the victorious army there fell not more than one hundred, the greater part of whom were Pelignians; but a much greater number were wounded. If the battle had been begun earlier, so that the conquerors might have had daylight enough for a pursuit, all their troops must have been utterly destroyed. As it happened, the approach of night both screened the fugitives, and made the Romans unwilling to follow them through an unknown country.

#### 43

Perseus fled as far as the Pierian wood, with a military appearance, being attended by a numerous body of horse, together with his royal retinue; but when he came into the thicket, where there were numerous paths in different directions, and when darkness came on, he turned out of the main path with a very few, in whom he placed the greatest confidence. The horsemen, abandoned by their leader, dispersed, in different directions, to their respective homes; some of whom made their way to Pella, quicker than Perseus himself, because they went by the straight and open road. The king was hindered by his fears and the many difficulties of the way, till near midnight. Perseus was met at the palace by Euctus, governor of Pella, and the royal pages; but of all his friends who had escaped from the battle by various chances, and had reached Pella, not one would come near him, though they were repeatedly sent for. Only three persons accompanied him in his flight; Evander a Cretan, Neo a Bœotian, and Archidamus an Ætolian. With these he continued his retreat, at the fourth watch; for he began to fear, lest those who had refused to obey his summons, might, presently, attempt something more audacious. He had an escort of about five hundred Cretans. He took the road to Amphipolis; leaving Pella in the night, and hastening to get over the river Axius before daylight, as he thought that it, from the difficulty of passing it, would put an end to the further pursuit of the Romans.

#### 44

The consul, when he returned victorious to his camp, to mar his entire joy, was much distressed by concern for his younger son. This was Publius Scipio, who afterwards acquired the title of Africanus by the destruction of Carthage. He was, by birth, the son of the consul Paullus, and by adoption, the grandson of the elder Africanus. He was then only in the seventeenth year of his age, which circumstance heightened his father's anxiety; for, pursuing the enemy with eagerness, he had been carried away by the crowd to a distant part. But when he returned late in the evening, the consul, having received his son in safety, felt unmixed joy for the very important victory. When the

news of the battle reached Amphipolis, the matrons ran together to the temple of Diana, whom they style Tauropolos, to implore her aid. Diodorus, who was governor of the city, fearing lest the Thracians, of whom there were two thousand in garrison, might, during the confusion, plunder the city, contrived to receive in the middle of the forum a letter through a person whom he had deceitfully suborned to personate a courier. The contents of it were, that "the Romans had put in their fleet at Emathia, and were ravaging the territory round; and that the governors of Emathia besought him to send a reinforcement to oppose the ravagers." After reading this, he desired the Thracians to march to the relief of the coast of Emathia, telling them, as an encouragement, that the Romans being dispersed through the country, they might easily kill many of them, and gain a large booty. At the same time he threw discredit on the report of the defeat, alleging that, if it were true, many would have come thither direct from the retreat. Having, on this pretence, sent the Thracians out of the town, he no sooner saw them pass the river Strynion, than he shut the gates.

#### 45

On the third day after the battle, Perseus arrived at Amphipolis, and sent thence to Paullus suppliant ambassadors, with the wand of peace. In the mean time, Hippias Medon, and Pantauchus, the principal friends of the king, went themselves to the consul, and surrendered to the Romans the city of Berœa, to which they had fled after the battle; and several other cities, struck with fear, prepared to do the same. The consul despatched to Rome, with letters and the news of his victory, his son Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus. He gave to his infantry the spoils of the enemy who were slain, and to his cavalry the plunder of the circumjacent country, provided, however, that they did not stay out of the camp longer than two nights. He himself then removed nearer the sea towards Pydna. Berœa, Thessalonica, and Pella, and indeed almost every city in Macedonia, successively surrendered within two days. The inhabitants of Pydna, which was the nearest, had not yet sent any ambassadors; the confused multitude, made up of many different nations, with the numbers who had been driven into one place in their flight from the battle, embarrassed the counsels and unanimity of the inhabitants; the gates, too, were not only shut, but closed up with walls. Milo and Pantauchus were sent to confer, under the wall, with Solon, who commanded in the place. By his means the crowd of military people were sent away, and the town was surrendered and given up to the soldiers to be plundered. Perseus, after making a single effort to procure the assistance of the Basaltians, to whom he had sent ambassadors in vain, came forth into a general assembly, bringing with him his son Philip, in order to encourage the Amphipolitans themselves, and to raise the spirits of those horse and foot soldiers who had either constantly accompanied him, or had happened to fly to the same place. But, though he made several attempts to speak, he was always stopped by his tears; so that, finding himself unable to proceed, he told Evander, the Cretan, what he wished to have laid before the people, and came down from the tribunal. Although the multitude, on observing the aspect of the king, and his pitiable weeping, had themselves sighed and wept with him, yet they refused to listen to the discourse of Evander; and some, from the middle of the assembly, had the assurance to interrupt him, exclaiming, "Depart to some other place, that the few of us who are left alive may not be destroyed on your account." Their daring opposition stopped Evander's mouth. The king retired to his palace; and, causing his treasures to be put on board some barks which lay in the Strymon, went down himself to the river. The Thracians would not venture to trust themselves on board, but went off to their own

homes, as did the rest of the soldiers. The Cretans only followed in hope of the money: but, as any distribution of it among them would probably raise more discontent than gratitude, fifty talents<sup>340</sup> were laid for them on the bank, to be scrambled for. After this scramble they went on board, yet in such hurry and disorder, that they sunk one of the barks, which was swamped by numbers in the mouth of the river. They arrived that day at Galepsus, and the next at Samothrace, to which they were bound. Thither it is said that as many as two thousand talents<sup>341</sup> were conveyed.

#### 46

Paullus sent officers to hold the government of the several cities which had surrendered; lest, at a time when peace was but newly restored, the conquered might suffer any ill treatment. He detained with himself the ambassadors of Perseus; and, being uninformed of the flight of the king, detached Publius Nasica, with a small party of horse and foot, to Amphipolis, both that he might lay waste the country of Sintice, and be ready to obstruct every effort of the king. In the mean time, Melibœa was taken and sacked by Cneius Octavius. At Æginium, to which Cneius Anicius, a lieutenant-general, had been despatched, two hundred men were lost by a sally made from the town; the Æginians not being aware that the war was at an end. The consul, quitting Pydna, arrived with his whole army, on the second day, at Pella; and, pitching his camp at the distance of a mile from it, remained in that station for several days, reconnoitring on all sides the situation of the city; and he perceived that it was chosen to be the capital of the kingdom, not without good reason.

It stands on a hill which faces the south-west, and is surrounded by morasses, formed by stagnant waters from the adjacent lakes, so deep as to be impassable either in winter or summer. In the part of the morass nearest to the city the citadel rises up like an island, being built on a mound of earth formed with immense labour, so as to be capable of supporting the wall, and secure against any injury from the water of the surrounding marsh. At a distance it seems to join the city rampart, but is divided from it by a river, and united by a bridge; so that if externally invaded it has no access from any part, and if the king chooses to confine any person within it, there is no way for an escape except by that bridge, which can be guarded with great ease. This was the depository of the royal treasure; but, at that time, there was nothing found there but the three hundred talents which had been sent to king Gentius, and afterwards brought back. While they were stationed at Pella, audience was given to a great number of embassies, which came with congratulations, especially out of Thessaly.

Then, receiving intelligence that Perseus had passed over to Samothrace, the consul departed from Pella, and after four days' march, arrived at Amphipolis. Here the whole multitude poured out of the town to meet him; a plain demonstration that the people considered themselves not as *bereft of a good and just king, but as delivered from a haughty tyrant. Paullus having entered the city while engaged in religious services, and performing a solemn sacrifice, the altar was suddenly kindled by lightning, while all considered the event to signify that the offerings of the consul were most acceptable to the gods, since they were consecrated by fire from heaven. The consul, after a short delay at Amphipolis, proceeded at once in pursuit of Perseus, and also that he might carry his*

<sup>340</sup> 9687l. 10s.

<sup>341</sup> 387,480l.

*victorious arms round to all the nations which had been under his sway, made for the province of Odomantice, a region beyond the river Strymon, and encamped at Siræ.*

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## Book XLV

*Perseus was captured by Æmilius Paulus in Samothrace. When Antiochus, king of Syria, was besieging Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, and ambassadors were sent to him by the senate, to order him to desist from besieging a king in alliance with Rome, on his being informed of the mandates of the senate, he answered, that he would consider what line of conduct he should adopt. Then Popilius, one of the ambassadors, described, with his wand, a circle around the king, and ordered him to give a decided answer before he passed it. By which decided conduct he compelled the king to desist from the war. The embassies of the nations and king, that came to congratulate the Romans, were admitted into the senate-house, with the exception of the embassy from the Rhodians, which was excluded because their feelings in that war were opposed to the Roman people. The next day, when the question was put "that war should be proclaimed against them," the Rhodian ambassadors pleaded the cause of their country before the senate, and were dismissed in a manner that rendered it uncertain whether they were looked on as enemies or allies. Macedon was reduced to the form of a Roman province. Æmilius Paulus triumphed; although his own soldiers opposed him, because they were dissatisfied with their share of the plunder, and Servius Sulpicius Galba spoke against him; Perseus and his three sons preceded his triumphal chariot. Still the joy of this triumph was not unmingled, for it was rendered remarkable by the death of his two sons: one of whom died before his father's triumph; the death of the other speedily followed. The ceremony of the conclusion of the census was performed by the censors. Three hundred and twelve thousand eight hundred and five citizens were enrolled. Prusias, king of Bithynia, came to Rome, to congratulate the senate on the victory gained over Macedon; and committed his son Nicomedes to the charge of the senate: being full of servility, he called himself the freed-man of the Roman people.*

### 1

Although Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus, who were sent with the news of the victory, made all possible haste to Rome, yet they found rejoicings for that event anticipated there. The fourth day after the battle with Perseus, while games were exhibiting in the circus, a faint rumour spread itself suddenly among the people through all the seats, "that a battle had been fought in Macedon, and that the king was entirely defeated." The rumour gathered strength, until at last arose shouting and clapping of hands, as if certain tidings of victory were brought to them. The magistrates were surprised, and caused inquiry to be made for the originator of this sudden rejoicing; but as none was found, the joy of course vanished, since the matter was uncertain; yet the prestige of conquest still remained impressed on their minds; and when, on the arrival of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, the fact was established by authentic information, they rejoiced on a twofold account,—on that of the victory, and their happy presage of it. This exultation in the circus is related in another manner, with equal appearance of probability: that on the fifteenth day before the calends of October, being the second day of the Roman games, as the consul Licinius was going down to give the signal for the race, a courier, who said he came from Macedon, delivered to him a letter decorated with laurel. As soon as he had started the chariots, he mounted his own, and as he rode back through the circus to the seats of the magistrates, showed to the people the embellished tablets, at the sight of which the multitude, regardless of the

games, ran down at once into the middle of the area. The consul held a meeting of the senate on the spot; and after reading the letter to them, by their direction told the people, before the seats of the magistrates, that "his colleague, Lucius Æmilius, had fought a general engagement with Perseus; that the Macedonian army was beaten and put to flight; that the king had fled with few attendants; and that all the states of Macedon had submitted to the Romans." On hearing this, a universal shouting and clapping of hands arose among the commons; and most of them, leaving the games, hastened home to communicate the joyful tidings to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battle was fought in Macedon.

## 2

On the following day a meeting of the senate was held in the council-chamber, and a general supplication was voted, and likewise a decree of the senate was passed, that the consul should disband all his troops, excepting the legionary soldiers and seamen; and that their disbandment should be taken into consideration as soon as the deputies from the consul Æmilius, who had sent forward the courier, should arrive in town. On the sixth day before the calends of October, about the second hour, the deputies came into the city, and proceeded directly to the tribunal in the forum, drawing after them, wherever they went, an immense crowd, composed of those who went forth to meet and escort them. The senate happened to be then in the council-chamber, and the consul introduced the deputies to them. They were detained there no longer than to give an account, "how very numerous the king's forces of horse and foot had been; how many thousands of them were killed, how many taken; with what small loss of men the Romans had made such havoc of the enemy, and with how small a retinue Perseus had fled; that it was supposed he would go to Samothrace, and that the fleet was ready to pursue him; so that he could not escape, either by sea or land." They were then brought out into the assembly of the people, where they repeated the same particulars, and the general joy was renewed in such a degree, that no sooner had the consul published an order, "that all the places of worship should be opened," than every one proceeded, with as much speed as he could use, to return thanks to the gods, and the temples of the immortal gods, throughout the entire city, were filled with vast crowds, not only of men, but of women. The senate, being re-assembled, ordered thanksgivings in all the temples, during five days, for the glorious successes obtained by the consul Lucius Æmilius, with sacrifices of the larger kinds of victims. They also voted that the ships, which lay in the Tiber fit for sea, and ready to sail for Macedon, in case the king had been able to maintain the contest, should be hauled up, and placed in the docks, and that the seamen belonging to them should be discharged, after receiving a year's pay; and, together with these, all who had taken the military oath to the consul; that all the soldiers in Corcyra and Brundisium, on the coast of the Hadriatic and in the territory of Larinum, (for in all these places had troops been cantoned, in order that the consul Licinius might, if occasion required, take them over to reinforce his colleague,) should be disbanded. The thanksgiving was fixed, by proclamation in the assembly, for the fifth day before the ides of October, and the five days following.

## 3

Two deputies, Caius Licinius Nerva and Publius Decius, arriving from Illyria, brought intelligence that the army of the Illyrians was defeated, their king, Gentius, taken prisoner and all Illyria reduced under the dominion of the Roman people. On account of these services, under the conduct and auspices of the prætor, Lucius Anicius, the senate

voted a supplication of three days' continuance, and it was accordingly appointed, by proclamation, to be performed on the fourth third, and second days before the ides of November. Some writers tell us that the Rhodian ambassadors, who had not yet been dismissed, were, when the news of the victory was received, called before the senate in order to expose their absurd arrogance. On this occasion, Agesipolis, their principal, spoke to this effect: that "they had been sent by the Rhodians to effect an accommodation between the Romans and Perseus; because the war subsisting between them was injurious and burdensome to all Greece, and expensive and detrimental to the Romans themselves; but that fortune had acted very kindly, since, by terminating the war after another manner, it afforded them an opportunity of congratulating the Romans on a glorious victory." This was the discourse of the Rhodians. The senate returned the following answer: that "the Rhodians had sent that embassy, not through anxiety for the interests of Greece, or for the expenses of the Roman people, but merely from their wish to serve Perseus. For, if their concern had been such as they pretended, they should have sent ambassadors at the time when Perseus, leading an army into Thessaly, had continued, for two years, to besiege some of the cities of Greece, and to terrify others with denunciations of vengeance. All this time not the least mention of peace was made by the Rhodians; but when they heard that the Romans had passed the defiles, and penetrated into Macedon, and that Perseus was held enclosed by them, then they sent an embassy, from no other motive whatever, but a wish to rescue Perseus from the impending danger." With this answer the ambassadors were dismissed.

#### 4

About the same time Marcus Marcellus, coming home from Spain, where he had taken Marcolica, a city of note, brought into the treasury ten pounds' weight of gold, and a quantity of silver, amounting to a million of sesterces.<sup>342</sup> While the consul, Paullus Æmilius, lay encamped at Siræ, in Odomantice, as mentioned above, a letter from king Perseus was brought to him by three ambassadors of mean appearance, and it is reported that he, on looking at them, shed tears at the uncertainty of the lot of man; because he who, a short time before, not content with the kingdom of Macedon, had invaded Dardania and Illyria, and had called out to his aid the whole Bastarnian nation, now banished from his kingdom after the loss of his army, was forced to take refuge in a little island, where, as a suppliant, he was protected by the sanctity of the place, not by any strength of his own. But when he read the address, "King Perseus to the consul Paullus, greeting," the folly of a man, who seemed insensible to his condition, banished every feeling of compassion; therefore, although there were, in the remaining part of the letter, entreaties ill suited to royalty, yet the embassy was dismissed without an answer and without a letter. Perseus felt that he must, now that he was conquered, forego the name of king, and consequently sent another letter, inscribed simply with his name, in which he made a request, and obtained it too, that some persons should be sent to him, with whom he might confer on the state and condition of his affairs. Three ambassadors were accordingly despatched, Publius Lentulus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, and Aulus Antonius; but nothing was effected by this embassy, for Perseus clung with all the energy of despair to the regal title, while Paullus insisted on an absolute submission of himself, and every thing belonging to him, to the honour and clemency of the Roman people.

#### 5

<sup>342</sup> 8072l. 18s. 4d.

Whilst these things are going on, the fleet of Cneius Octavius put in at Samothrace. When he also, by presenting immediate danger to Perseus's view, was endeavouring at one time by menaces, at another by hopes, to prevail on him to surrender; in this design he was greatly assisted by a circumstance which may have occurred either by accident or design. Lucius Atilius, a distinguished young man, observing that the people of Samothrace were met in a general assembly, requested permission of the magistrate to address a few words to them; which being granted, he said,—“People of Samothrace, our good hosts; is the account which we have heard true or false, that this island is sacred, and the entire soil holy and inviolable?” They all agreed in asserting the supposed sanctity of the place; whereupon he proceeded thus: “Why, then, has a murderer, stained with the blood of king Eumenes, presumed to profane it? And though, previous to every sacrifice, a proclamation forbids all who have not pure hands to assist at the sacred rites, will you, nevertheless, suffer your holy places to be polluted by an assassin who bears the mark of blood on his person?” The story of king Eumenes having been nearly murdered by Evander at Delphi, was now well known by report through all the cities of Greece. The Samothracians, therefore, besides the consideration of their being themselves, as well as the temple and the whole island, in the power of the Romans, were convinced that the censure thrown on them was not unjust, and therefore sent Theondas, their chief magistrate, whom they style king, to Perseus, to acquaint him, that “Evander the Cretan was accused of murder; that they had a mode of trial established among them, by the practice of their ancestors, concerning such as were charged with bringing impure hands into the consecrated precincts of the temple. If Evander was confident that he was innocent of the capital charge made against him, let him come forth, and stand a trial; but, if he would not venture to undergo an inquiry, let him free the temple from profanation, and provide for his own safety.” Perseus, calling Evander aside, advised him not on any account to stand a trial, because he was no match for his accusers, either in the merits of the cause, or in influence. He had secret apprehensions that Evander, on being condemned, would expose him, as the instigator of that abominable act. “What then remained,” he said, “but to die bravely?” Evander made, openly, no objection; but telling the king that he chose to die by poison rather than by the sword, took measures in secret for effecting his escape. When this was told the king, fearing lest he should direct the anger of the Samothracians against himself as accessory to the escape of a guilty person, he ordered Evander to be put to death. No sooner was this rash murder perpetrated, than the idea immediately struck his mind that he had now drawn on himself the whole of the guilt, which before had affected Evander only; that the latter had wounded Eumenes at Delphi, and he had slain Evander in Samothrace; and thus the two most venerable sanctuaries in the world had, through his means alone, been defiled with human blood. However, he avoided the imputation of this deed, by bribing Theondas to tell the people that Evander had laid violent hands on himself.

## 6

But by such an atrocious act, committed on his only remaining friend, on one whose fidelity he had experienced on so many trying occasions, and who, in return for not proving a traitor, was himself betrayed, he alienated the feelings of every one. All went over to the Romans as soon as they could, and consequently obliged him, now left almost alone, to adopt the design of flying. He applied to a Cretan, called Oroandes, to whom the coast of Thrace was well known, since he carried on traffic in that country, to take him on board his vessel, and convey him to Cotys. At one of the promontories of

Samothrace, is the harbour of Demetrium; there the vessel lay. About sun-set every thing necessary for the voyage was carried thither, together with as much money as could be transported with secrecy; and at midnight, the king himself, with three persons, who were privy to his flight, going out through a back door into a garden near his chamber, and having, with much difficulty, climbed over the wall, went down to the shore. Oroandes had set sail, at the dusk of the evening, the very moment the money arrived, and was now steering for Crete. Perseus, after he could not find the ship in the harbour, wandered about for a long time on the coast, but at last, fearing the approach of day, and not daring to return to his lodging, he hid himself in a dark corner at one side of the temple. The royal pages was the name given among the Macedonians to a band of the children of the leading noblemen, who were selected to wait on the king: this band had accompanied Perseus in his flight, and did not even now desert him, until a proclamation was made by the herald of Cneius Octavius, that, "if the royal pages, and other Macedonians, then in Samothrace, would come over to the Romans, they should have impunity, liberty, and all their property, both what they had in the island, and what they had left in Macedon." On this notice they all passed over to the Romans, and gave in their names to Caius Postumius, a military tribune. Ion of Thessalonica delivered up to Octavius the king's younger children also; nor was any one now left with Perseus, except Philip, his eldest son. Then, after uttering many execrations against fortune, and the gods to whom the temple belonged, for not affording aid to a suppliant, he surrendered himself and his son to Octavius, who gave orders to put him on board the prætor's ship; the remainder of his money was put on board the same ship; and the fleet immediately returned to Amphipolis. Thence Octavius sent the king into the camp to the consul, having previously sent forward a letter to inform him that he was a prisoner, and on the road thither.

## 7

Paullus, considering this a second victory, as it really was, offered sacrifices on receiving the intelligence; then, calling a council, and reading to them the prætor's letter, he sent Quintus Ælius Tubero to meet the king; the rest he desired to remain assembled in the prætorium. Never, on any other occasion, did so great a multitude gather about a spectacle. In the time of their fathers, king Syphax had been made prisoner, and brought into the Roman camp; but, besides that he could not be compared with Perseus, either in respect of his own reputation or that of his country, he was at the time merely a subordinate party in the Carthaginian war, as Gentius was in the Macedonian. Whereas Perseus was the principal in this war; and was not only highly conspicuous through his own personal renown, and that of his father, grandfather, and other relations in blood and extraction, but of these, two shone with unparalleled lustre,—Philip, and Alexander the Great, who made the empire of the Macedonians the first in the world. Perseus came into the camp, dressed in mourning, unattended by any of his countrymen, except his own son, who being a sharer in the calamity, made him more wretched. He could not advance on account of the number of persons that had collected to see him, until the lictors were sent by the consul, and they, after clearing the way, opened a passage to the prætorium. The consul arose to do him honour, but ordered the rest to keep their seats, and, advancing a little, held out his right hand to the king, on his entrance; and raised him up when he endeavoured to throw himself at his feet: nor would he suffer him to embrace his knees, but led him into the tent, and desired him to sit on the side opposite to the officers assembled in council.

## 8

The first question asked Perseus was, "by what injuries had he been compelled to enter into a war against the Roman people with such violent animosity, and to bring himself and his kingdom to the extremity of danger?" While all expected his answer, fixing his eyes on the ground, he wept a long time in silence. The consul, again addressing him, said, "If you had succeeded to the government in early youth, I should have wondered less at your not being sensible of the great importance of the friendship, or enmity, of the Roman people: but that was not the case, as you bore a part in the war which your father waged with us, and, afterwards, must have remembered the peace which we observed towards him with the strictest sincerity. What then was your design in preferring war to peace, with those, whose power in war, and whose good faith in peace, you had so fully experienced?" Neither questions nor reproaches could draw an answer from him: on which the consul added, "Howsoever these things may have occurred, whether through the frailty of mankind, or accident, or necessity, be of good spirits. The clemency of the Roman people, displayed in the distress of numerous kings and nations, affords you not only hope, but almost perfect confidence of safety." This he said in the Greek language to Perseus; and then, turning to his own people, he said, in the Latin tongue, "You observe this striking instance of the instability of human affairs. To you, young men, principally, I address the observation. In the hour of prosperity, therefore, we ought to adopt against no man measures dictated by either pride or violence, nor confide implicitly in present advantages; since we know not what the evening may produce. He is really a man, whose spirit neither prosperity can elate by success, nor adversity break by misfortune." On the dismissal of the council, the charge of guarding the king is given to Quintus Ælius. Perseus was invited to dine that day with the consul, and every other honour, which could be shown him under existing circumstances, was paid to him.

## 9

The troops were immediately sent off to their winter cantonments. Amphipolis furnished the greater part with quarters, and the towns in that neighbourhood received the rest. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had lasted, without intermission, four years; and thus ended a kingdom, long renowned through a great part of Europe, and throughout all Asia. From Caranus, who was their first king, they reckoned Perseus the fortieth. Perseus came to the crown in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, received the title of king from the senate in that of Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, and reigned eleven years. The Macedonians were little known by fame until the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas; although the empire began to increase in his time, and through his agency, still it was confined within the limits of Europe, extending over all Greece with a part of Thrace, and Illyria. Afterwards the power of Macedon poured down like a deluge on Asia, and in the course of the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, reduced under its dominion that almost immense tract which had constituted the empire of the Persians. Hence it overspread the Arabias and India, as far as where the Red Sea forms the utmost boundary of the earth. At that time their empire and name were the first in the world; but on the death of Alexander, it was torn asunder into a number of kingdoms, whilst his successors, in the general scramble for power, dismembered it by their struggles. From the time of its highest elevation to this its final downfall, it stood one hundred and fifty years.

## 10

When the news of the victory, obtained by the Romans, was carried into Asia, Antenor, who lay with a fleet of small vessels at Phanæ, sailed over to Cassandrea. Caius Popilius, who staid at Delos to protect the ships bound to Macedon, learning that the war there was at an end, and that the enemy's fleet had left its station, sent home the Athenian squadron, and proceeded on his voyage for Egypt, to finish the business of the embassy with which he was charged, in order that he might meet Antiochus before he should approach the walls of Alexandria. When the ambassadors, after sailing along the coast of Asia, arrived at Loryma, a port somewhat more than twenty miles from Rhodes, and just opposite to that city, some of the principal Rhodians (for the news of the victory had by this time reached them too) met them, and requested them "to sail over to their city; that it was of the utmost consequence to the character and safety of the Rhodian state that they should, in person, inform themselves of what had been done, and what was then passing at Rhodes; so as to carry to Rome intelligence, founded on their own knowledge, and not on vague reports." After refusing for a long time, they were at length prevailed on to submit to a short delay of their voyage, for the sake of the safety of an allied city. When they came to Rhodes, the same persons, by urgent entreaties, persuaded them to come into a general assembly. The arrival of the ambassadors rather heightened, than allayed, the fears of the public. For Popilius enumerated all the hostile expressions and actions, both of the community and of individuals, during the war: and, being naturally of an austere temper, he magnified the atrociousness of the matters which he mentioned, by the sternness of his countenance, and the harshness of his tone of voice; so that, as he had no cause of personal quarrel with their state, people judged from the severity of one Roman senator, what was the feeling of the whole senate towards them. The speech of Caius Decimius was more moderate; for he said, "that in most of the particulars mentioned by Popilius, the blame lay, not on the nation, but on a few incendiary ringleaders of the populace, who, employing their tongues for hire, procured the passing of several decrees, full of flattery towards the king; and had sent those embassies, at which the Rhodians should always feel not less shame than grief; all which proceedings, however, if the people were disposed to act properly, would fall on the heads of the guilty." He was heard with great satisfaction; not only because he extenuated the offences of the community, but because he threw the whole blame on the authors of their misconduct. When, therefore, their own magistrates spoke in answer to the Romans, the speech of those who endeavoured to exculpate them, in some measure, from the charges advanced by Popilius, was not so pleasing to them as the advice of those who concurred with the opinion of Decimius, in the necessity of giving up the principal instigators to atone for their crime. A decree was therefore immediately passed, that all who should be convicted of having, in any instance, spoken or acted in favour of Perseus, against the Romans, should be condemned to die. Several of those concerned had left the city on the arrival of the Romans: others put an end to their own lives. The ambassadors staid only five days at Rhodes, and then proceeded to Alexandria. Nor were the trials instituted, pursuant to the decree passed in their presence, carried on at Rhodes with less activity; and this perseverance of the Rhodians, in the execution of that business, was entirely owing to the mild behaviour of Decimius.

## 11

Whilst these events were going on, Antiochus, after a fruitless attempt on the walls of Alexandria, had retired: and being now master of all the rest of Egypt, he left, at Memphis, the elder Ptolemy, whose restoration to the throne was the pretended object of his armament, though, in reality, he meant to attack him, as soon as he should have

vanquished his competitors; and then he led back his army into Syria. Ptolemy, who was not ignorant of his intention, conceived hopes, that, while he held his younger brother under terror, and in dread of a siege, he might be received into Alexandria, provided his sister favoured the design, and his brother's friends did not oppose it. Accordingly, he never ceased sending proposals to his sister first, and his brother and his friends afterwards, until he effected an accommodation with them. His suspicions of Antiochus were awakened by this circumstance, that, when he gave him possession of the rest of Egypt, he left a strong garrison in Pelusium: a plain proof that he kept that key of Egypt in his hands, in order that he might be able, whenever he pleased, to introduce an army again into the country; and he foresaw, that the final issue of a civil war with his brother must be, that the conqueror, thoroughly weakened by the contest, would be utterly unable to contend with Antiochus. In these prudent observations of the elder brother, the younger, and those about him, concurred; while their sister greatly promoted the negotiation, both by her advice and entreaties. Accordingly, peace being made with the approbation of all, the elder Ptolemy was received into Alexandria, without any opposition even from the populace; who, during the war, had been severely distressed by a general scarcity, not only in consequence of the siege, but from receiving no provisions from the rest of Egypt after the enemy had retired from the walls. Although it was reasonable to suppose that Antiochus would be rejoiced at these events, if he had really marched his army into Egypt for the purpose of reinstating Ptolemy on the throne,—(the plausible pretext which he had professed to all the states of Asia and Greece, in his answers to their embassies, and in the letters that he wrote,)—yet he was so highly offended, that he prepared to make war on the two brothers, with much greater acrimony and fury of resentment than he had shown against the one. He instantly sent his fleet to Cyprus; and, as soon as the spring appeared, he directed his route towards Egypt at the head of his army, and advanced into Cœle-syria. Near Rhinocolura he was met by ambassadors from Ptolemy, who gave him thanks, because through his assistance he had recovered the throne of his fathers; and requested him to secure to him the enjoyment of the benefit, which he had himself conferred; and rather to signify what he wished to be done, than from an ally to become an enemy, and proceed by force of arms. To this he answered, that “he would neither recall his fleet, nor stop the march of his army, on any other conditions than the cession of all Cyprus and the city of Pelusium, together with the lands adjoining the Pelusian mouth of the Nile;” and he even named a particular day, on or before which he expected to receive an answer that these demands were complied with.

## 12

When the time fixed for the suspension of hostilities had elapsed, *Antiochus ordered the commanders of his fleet* to sail up the mouth of the Nile to Pelusium, while *he himself entered Egypt*, through the deserts of Arabia. *He was amicably received by the people* about Memphis, as he was, afterwards, by the rest of the Egyptians; some being led by inclination, others by fear; and he proceeded thus, by short marches, down to Alexandria. The Roman ambassadors met him after crossing the river at Eleusine, four miles from that city. On their approach he saluted them, and held out his right hand to Popilius; but Popilius put into his hand a written tablet, containing the decree of the senate, and desired him first to peruse that. On perusing it, he said, that he, after calling his friends together, would consult on what was to be done; on which Popilius, with the usual asperity of his disposition, drew a line round the king, with a wand which he held in his hand, and said, “Before you go out of that circle, give me an answer to report to

the senate." Astonished at such a peremptory injunction, the king hesitated for some time; but at last replied, "I will do as the senate directs." Popilius then thought proper to stretch out his right hand to him; as to a friend and ally. Antiochus having retired out of Egypt, on the day appointed, the ambassadors, after confirming by their influence the reconciliations between the brothers, as concord was far from being established among them, sailed to Cyprus: from which they sent home the ships of Antiochus, which had fought and defeated an Egyptian fleet. This embassy attracted a great share of respect from all nations; because it had manifestly rescued Egypt out of the hands of the Syrian, when he had it within his grasp, and restored to the race of Ptolemy the kingdom of their forefathers. While one of the consuls of this year distinguished his administration by a glorious victory, the reputation of the other was thrown into the shade, because he had no opportunity of displaying his talents. When, in the beginning of his administration, he had appointed his troops to assemble, he entered the consecrated place without due auspices; and the augurs, on the matter being laid before them, pronounced the appointment improper. Going into Gaul, he lay encamped near the long plains, at the foot of the mountains Sicimina and Papius, and passed the winter in the same country with the troops of the Latin allies. The Roman legions staid all the while in the city, because the day had been irregularly appointed for the meeting of the soldiers. The prætors went to their several provinces, except Caius Papius Carbo, to whose lot Sardinia had fallen; the senate having commanded him to administer justice, at Rome, between natives and foreigners; a duty to which he had been already named.

### 13

Popilius, with his colleagues in the embassy to Antiochus, returned to Rome, and gave information, that all disputes between the kings had terminated, and that the army had marched out of Egypt into Syria. Soon after, ambassadors arrived from the kings themselves. Those of Antiochus represented, that "their king had considered a peace, which was agreeable to the senate, as preferable to a victory, how complete soever, and had, accordingly, obeyed the order of the Roman ambassadors, as implicitly as if it had been a mandate of the gods." They then offered his congratulations on their victory, "to which," they said, "the king would have contributed with his utmost power, if any commands to that effect had been given him." The ambassadors of Ptolemy, in the joint names of that prince and Cleopatra, presented their thanks, acknowledging that "they were more indebted to the senate and people of Rome than to their own parents, more than to the immortal gods; since through their intervention they had been relieved from a most distressing siege, and had recovered the kingdom of their fathers, when it was almost entirely lost." The answer given by the senate was that "Antiochus had acted rightly and properly, in complying with the demand of their ambassadors; and that his conduct was pleasing to the senate and people of Rome." To Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, they answered, that "the senate rejoiced very much, that any benefit or advantage had accrued to the Egyptian monarchs, through their instrumentality; and would take care, that they should always have reason to consider, that the strongest bulwark of their kingdom lay in the protection of the Roman people." Caius Papius, the prætor, was commissioned to send the usual presents to the ambassadors. A letter now arrived from Macedon, which doubled the public joy, as it brought information that "king Perseus was in the hands of the consul." After the ambassadors were dismissed, a controversy between deputies from Pisa and others from Luna came on; the former, complaining that they were dispossessed of their lands by the Roman colonists; while the latter insisted that the lands in question had been

marked out to them by the triumvirs. The senate sent five commissioners to examine and fix the boundaries, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Publius Cornelius Blasio, Tiberius Sempronius Musca, Lucius Nævius Balbus, and Caius Apuleius Saturninus. A joint embassy from the three brothers, Eumenes, Attalus, and Athenæus, came with congratulations on the victory; and Masgaba, son of king Masinissa, having landed at Puteoli, Lucius Manlius, the quæstor, was immediately despatched with money to meet him, and conduct him to Rome at the public expense. An audience of the senate was immediately given him on his arrival. This young prince spoke in such a manner that he made services, which were meritorious in themselves, still more gratifying. He recounted what numbers of foot and horse, how many elephants, and what quantities of corn his father had sent into Macedon in aid of the Romans during the last four years. "But there were two things," he said, "that made him blush; one, the senate having sent by their ambassadors a request, instead of an order, to furnish necessaries for their army; the other, their having sent money in payment for the corn. Masinissa well remembered that the kingdom which he held had been acquired, and increased, and multiplied by the Roman people; and contenting himself with the management of it, acknowledged the right and sovereignty to be vested in those who granted it to him. It was just, therefore, to take, and not to ask from him nor purchase, any of the produce of lands made over by themselves. Whatever remained, after supplying the Roman people, would be fully sufficient for Masinissa." That with these instructions he parted with his father; but he was afterwards overtaken by some horsemen, who announced to him the conquest of Macedon, with directions to congratulate the senate, and acquaint them that his father felt so much joy at that circumstance, that he wished to come to Rome, and in the Capitol to offer thanks to Jupiter supremely good and great. He requested, therefore, that if it were not disagreeable, the senate would give him permission to do so.

#### 14

Masgaba was answered, that "his father, Masinissa, acted as became a prince of a benevolent and grateful disposition; to such a degree that, by acknowledging the kindness of his friends, he added value and dignity to it. The Roman people had been assisted by him in the Carthaginian war with exertions at once faithful and brave; by the favour of the Roman people he had obtained his kingdom, and had afterwards, in the successive wars with the three kings, discharged with his usual readiness every duty. That it was not surprising, that a king who had so intimately blended his own interests, and those of his kingdom, with the interests of the Romans, should be delighted at the victory of the Roman people. That he should return thanks to the immortal gods for the victory of the Roman people, before the tutelary deities of his family; that his son could return thanks in his stead at Rome; as he had already said enough in the way of congratulation, both in his own name and in his father's. But that the senate were of opinion, that his leaving his own kingdom, and going out of Africa, besides being inconvenient to himself, was detrimental to the Roman people." On Masgaba making a request that Hanno, son of Hamilcar, *might be brought to Rome as a hostage in the place of some other, the senate replied, that they could not reasonably require hostages from the Carthaginians, at the choice of any other person.* The quæstor was ordered, by a vote of the senate, to purchase presents for the young prince to the value of one hundred pounds' weight of silver, to accompany him to Puteoli, to defray all his expenses while he staid in Italy, and to hire two ships to carry him and the retinue of the king to Africa; clothes were given to every one of his attendants, both freemen and slaves. Soon after this a letter was brought concerning Masinissa's other son, Misagenes,

stating that, after the conquest of Perseus, he was sent by Lucius Paullus, with his horsemen, to Africa; and that while he was on his voyage in the Adriatic Sea, his fleet was dispersed, and himself, in a bad state of health, driven into Brundisium with only three ships. Lucius Stertinius, the quæstor, was sent to him to Brundisium, with presents of the same kind as those given to his brother at Rome, and he was ordered to provide lodgings for the prince and his retinue, and *every thing necessary for his health and convenience; and that the expenses of himself and his entire retinue should be paid liberally; that he should look out for ships by which the prince might pass over into Africa with ease and safety. The quæstor was ordered to give to each of the horsemen a pound of silver, and five hundred sesterces. The assemblies, for the election of consuls for the ensuing year, were held by Caius Licinius the consul. Quintus Ælius Pætus, Marcus Junius Pennus, were appointed consuls. Then Quintus Cassius Longinus, Manius Juventius Thalna, Tiberius Claudius Nero, Aulus Manlius Torquatus, Cneius Fulvius Gillo, C. Licinius Nerva, were made prætors. In the same year the censors, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Caius Claudius Pulcher, at length united in passing a decree on a matter, which had been for a long time discussed among themselves in different disputes. Gracchus, when the freed-men, after being repeatedly confined within the four city tribes, had once more spread themselves through them all, wished to pluck up by the root the evil which was always sending fresh shoots, and to exclude from enrolment all who had ever been slaves. Claudius struggled energetically against him, and made frequent references to the institutions of their ancestors, who had often tried to restrain the freed-men, but never to totally exclude them from the rights of citizens. He said that some relaxation of the former strictness had been conceded even by the censors, Caius Flaminius and Lucius Æmilius. And indeed, although even at that time those dregs of the people had spread themselves through all the tribes, and it appeared requisite to reduce them again within what might be considered their original settlement, still at the time some important concessions were made to several of that rank.*

## 15

*For by those censors the freed-men were enrolled in the four city tribes, excepting such as had a son more than five years old, who was their own offspring; all these the censors ordered to be surveyed in the tribe wherein they had been surveyed within the last five years; and such as had a farm, or farms, in the country, exceeding in value thirty thousand sesterces,<sup>343</sup> were allowed the privilege of being included in the country tribes. Though this reservation was made in their favour, yet Claudius still insisted, that "a censor could not, without an order of the people, take away from any man, and much less from a whole class of men, the right of suffrage. For though he can remove a man from his tribe, which is nothing more than ordering him to change it, yet he cannot, therefore, remove him out of all the thirty-five tribes; which would be to strip him of the rights of a citizen, and of liberty; not to fix where he should be surveyed, but to exclude him from the survey." These points were discussed by the censors, who at last came to this compromise: that out of the four city tribes, they should openly, in the court of the temple of Liberty, select one by lot, in which they should include all those who had ever been in servitude. The lot fell on the Æsquiline tribe; on which Tiberius Gracchus published an order, that all sons of freed-men should be surveyed in that tribe. This proceeding gained the censors great honour with the senate, who gave thanks to Sempronius for his perseverance in so good a design, and also to Claudius for not*

<sup>343</sup> 242l. 4s. 3d.

obstructing it. Greater numbers were expelled from the senate, and ordered to sell their horses, by them than by their predecessors. They both concurred in removing from their tribes and disfranchising the same persons, in every instance; nor did one of them remove any mark of disgrace inflicted by the other. They petitioned that, according to custom, the year and half's time allowed for enforcing the repairs of buildings, and for approving the execution of works contracted for, should be prolonged; but Cneius Tremellius, a tribune, protested against it, because he had not been chosen into the senate. This year Caius Cicereius dedicated a temple to Juno Monita on the Alban mount, five years after he had vowed it; and Lucius Postumius Albinus was inaugurated flamen of Mars.

## 16

The consuls, Quintius Ælius and Marcus Junius, having proposed the business of distributing, the provinces, the senate decreed that Spain, which during the Macedonian war had been but one province, should be again formed into two; and that the present governors, Lucius Paullus and Lucius Anicius, should continue in the government of Macedonia and Illyria, until, with the concurrence of commissioners, they should adjust the affairs of those countries disordered by the war, and reduce them to a form of government different from the regal. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Pisæ and Gaul, with two legions to each, containing separately five thousand two hundred foot and four hundred horse. The lots of the prætors were as follows: the city jurisdiction fell to Quintus Cassius; the foreign, to Manius Juventius Thalna; Sicily, to Tiberius Claudius Nero; Hither Spain, to Cneius Fulvius; and to Caius Licinius Nerva, Farther Spain. Sardinia had fallen to Aulus Manlius Torquatus, but he could not proceed thither, being detained by a decree of the senate, to preside at trials of capital offences. The senate was then consulted concerning prodigies which were reported: the temple of the tutelar deities, on the Velian hill, had been struck by lightning; and two gates, and a large part of the wall, in the town of Minervium. At Anagnia, a shower of earth had fallen; and, at Lanuvium, a blazing torch was seen in the sky. Marcus Valerius, a Roman citizen, reported, that at Calatia, on the public lands, blood had flowed from his hearth, during three days and two nights. On account of this last occurrence in particular, the decemvirs were directed to consult the books; on which they ordered a general supplication for one day, and sacrificed in the forum fifty goats. On account of the other prodigies, there was a supplication for another day, with sacrifices of the larger victims, and the city was purified. Then, with reference to the gratitude due to the immortal gods, the senate decreed, that, "forasmuch as their enemies were subdued, and the kings Perseus and Gentius, with Macedon and Illyria, were in the power of the Roman people, whatever offerings were made in all the temples by Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, the consuls, on occasion of the conquest of king Antiochus, offerings of the same value should then be made, and that Quintus Cassius and Manius Juventius, the prætors, should superintend them.

## 17

They then constituted commissioners, by whose advice the generals, Lucius Paullus and Lucius Anicius, were to regulate the affairs of their provinces; ten for Macedon, and five for Illyria. Those nominated for Macedon were, Aulus Postumius Luscus, Caius Claudius, both of whom had been censors, Caius Licinius Crassus, the colleague of Paullus in the consulship; he then held the province of Gaul, as he had the command continued to him. To these, who were of consular rank, the senate added Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus,

Servius Cornelius Sulla, Lucius Junius, Caius Antistius Labeo, Titus Numisius Tarquiniensis, and Aulus Terentius Varro. The following were nominated for Illyria: Publius Ælius Ligus, a man of consular rank, Caius Cicereius, Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, (he had been prætor the last year, as had Cicereius many years before,) Publius Terentius Tuscivicanus, and Publius Manilius. The consuls were then advised by the senate, that, as one of them must go into Gaul, in the room of Caius Licinius, who was appointed a commissioner, they should, as soon as possible, either settle their provinces between themselves, or cast lots, as might be agreeable to them. They chose to cast lots; when Pisæ fell to Marcus Junius, (who was ordered to introduce to the senate the embassies that came to Rome from all quarters, with congratulations before he went to his province,) and Gaul to Quintus Ælius.

## 18

But although men of such characters were sent on the commission, that confident hopes might be entertained that the generals, influenced by their counsel, would determine on nothing derogatory either to the clemency or dignity of the Roman people, yet the heads of a plan of settlement were considered in the senate, that the said commissioners might carry, from Rome to the generals, an outline of the entire plan. First, it was determined, that “the Macedonians and Illyrians should be free; in order to demonstrate to all the world that the arms of the Roman people did not bring slavery to the free, but freedom to slaves, and that the nations which already enjoyed freedom, should be convinced that it would be safe and permanent under the protection of the *Roman people*; and that such nations as lived under regal government should be convinced that their princes, under awe of the Roman people, would be, at present, more just and mild; and that, should war break out at any time between their kings and the Roman people, the issue would bring victory to the latter, and liberty to themselves. It was also provided, that the farming both of the Macedonian mines, which produced a very large profit, and that of crown lands, should be abolished; as business of this kind could not be managed without the intervention of revenue farmers; and wherever a tax-contractor was employed, either the rights of the people were a nonentity, or the freedom of the allies destroyed. Nor could the Macedonians themselves conduct such affairs; for while they afforded the managers opportunities of acquiring plunder for themselves, there never would be wanting causes of disputes and seditions. It was further determined, that there should be a general council of the nation; lest the perverseness of the populace might, some time or other, convert into pestilent licentiousness the liberty granted by the senate with a wholesome degree of moderation: but that Macedonia should be divided into four districts, each of which should have a council of its own; and that they should pay to the Roman people half the tribute which they used formerly to pay to their kings.” Similar instructions were given respecting Illyria. Other particulars were left to the generals and commissioners; whose investigation of matters on the spot would enable them to form more accurate plans.

## 19

Among the many embassies from kings, nations, and states, Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, attracted the general attention in a very particular manner; for he was received by those who had served along with him in the late war, with even greater demonstration of kindness than if Eumenes had come in person. Two reasons, both, apparently, highly honourable, had induced him to come; one to offer congratulations, which were quite proper, in the case of a victory to which he himself had contributed;

the other to complain of disturbances raised by the Gauls, and of a defeat received, by which his brother's kingdom was endangered. But he had, also, secret hopes of honours and rewards from the senate, which he could scarcely receive without infringing on his duty to his brother. There were among the Romans some evil advisers, who were working on his ambition by promises. They told him, that "the general opinion concerning Attalus and Eumenes was, that one was a steady friend to the Romans, and that the other was not a faithful ally either to them or to Perseus. That it was not easy to determine whether the requests that he might make for himself, or those against his brother, were more likely to be obtained from the senate; so entirely were all disposed to gratify the one, and to grant nothing to the other." As the event proved, Attalus was one of those who would have coveted all that hope can promise to itself, had not the prudent admonitions of one friend put a curb on those passions, which were growing wanton through prosperity. He had, in his retinue, a physician, called Stratius sent to Rome by Eumenes, who distrusted Attalus, for the purpose of watching over his conduct, and giving him faithful advice, if he should perceive him swerve from his allegiance. This man, although he had to address ears already prepossessed, and a mind already biassed, yet, by addressing him at judiciously selected times, restored the thing to its proper state, even after it had become almost desperate. He said that "different kingdoms grew into power by different means: that their kingdom being lately formed, and unsupported by any long-established strength, was upheld solely by the concord of the brothers; for, while one bore the title and the ornament which distinguishes the head of a sovereign, each of the brothers was considered as a king. As to Attalus, in particular, being the next in years, was there any man who did not consider him as king? and that, not only because they perceived his present power to be great, but because there was not a doubt but he must ascend the throne, in a very short time, in consequence of the age and infirmity of Eumenes, who had no legitimate issue" (for he had not at this time acknowledged the son who afterwards reigned). "To what purpose, then, employ violence, to attain what must come to him presently without any exertions on his part? Besides, a new storm had fallen on the kingdom, from the insurrection of the Gauls, which could scarcely be resisted by the most perfect harmony and union of the brothers. But if to a foreign war domestic dissensions were added, the evil could not be checked; nor would he effect any thing else than preventing his brother from dying on the throne, and depriving himself of the hope of ascending it. If both modes of acting were honourable,—either to preserve the kingdom for his brother, or to take it from him,—yet the honour that would result to him from the preservation of the kingdom, since it was united to brotherly love, would be the greater. The latter indeed, would be detestable, and bordering nearly on parricide; what room, then, could there be for deliberation? For, whether did he mean to demand a share of the kingdom, or to seize the whole? If he would demand a share, then both, by the separation of their strength, would be rendered feeble, and exposed to injuries of every kind; if the whole, would he then require his elder brother, reduced to a private station, at his time of life and labouring under such bodily infirmities, to live in exile, and die in such a wretched state. For, not to mention the catastrophes of undutiful brothers recorded in stories, the fate of Perseus seemed a striking instance, who, prostrated at the feet of a victorious enemy, laid down, in the temple of the Samothracians, before the gods, who, as it were, demanded satisfaction for his crimes, the crown which he had seized after the death of his brother. "Those very men," he continued, "who not through friendship for him, but enmity to Eumenes, had instigated him to the adoption of such measures, would praise his affection and firmness, if he preserved to the last his allegiance to his brother."

## 20

These arguments prevailed in the mind of Attalus. Therefore, on being introduced to the senate, he congratulated them on their success, and made mention of his own services during the war, and those of his brother, whatever he had performed; of the defection of the Gauls, which had lately happened, and which had caused violent commotions; and he entreated that they should send ambassadors to those people, by whose authority they should be summoned to desist. After delivering these messages respecting the general interest of the state, he requested a grant of Ænus and Maronea to himself. Having thus disappointed the hopes of those who expected that he, after arraigning his brother's conduct, would solicit a partition of the kingdom, he retired from the senate-house. Seldom on other occasions was either a king or private person heard with such a degree of favour and approbation by all; during his stay he received presents and honours of every description, and they treated him similarly at his departure. Of the many embassies which came from Greece and Asia, that of the Rhodians engaged the greatest share of the public attention. At first they appeared in white, the colour which was most becoming to persons congratulating others, for had they worn mourning, they might seem to be lamenting the misfortunes of Perseus. Afterwards the senate being consulted by the consul, Marcus Junius, (the ambassadors standing in the Comitium,) whether they should grant them lodgings, entertainments, and an audience of the senate they voted that no duty of hospitality was due to them. When the consul came out of the senate-house, after the Rhodians had told him that they were come to congratulate the Romans on their late success, and to clear their state of the charges made against it, and requested an audience of the senate, he returned this answer, that "it was the custom of the Romans both to grant audience in their senate, and to perform other acts of kindness and hospitality to their friends and allies; but that the Rhodians had not deserved in that war to be ranked in the number of friends or allies." On hearing this, they all prostrated themselves on the ground, beseeching the consul and all present not to think it right that new and false imputations should operate more powerfully to their prejudice, than their long course of services, which they had themselves witnessed. They immediately assumed a mourning dress, and going round to the houses of the principal men, supplicated with prayers and tears that their cause might be heard before they were condemned.

## 21

Marcus Juventius Thalna, the prætor who had the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, stimulated the public resentment against the Rhodians, and promulgated a bill, that "war should be declared against the Rhodians, and that the people should choose one of the magistrates of the present year, who should be sent with a fleet to carry on that war;" with the hope that he himself should be the person chosen. Two of the plebeian tribunes, Marcus Antonius and Marcus Pomponius, opposed this proceeding. But the prætor, on his part, commenced the business in an unprecedented and pernicious manner; for without first consulting the senate, and without acquainting the consuls, of his own sole judgment he proposed to the people the question, "was it their will and order that war should be declared against the Rhodians?" whereas, ever until then, the senate was first consulted concerning the war, and then the business was laid before the people. On the other side, the plebeian tribunes *opposed this proceeding*; although it was a received rule that no tribune should protest against a proposal, until opportunity was given to private citizens to argue for and against it; in consequence of which it had often happened that some, who had avowed no intention of protesting,

having discovered defects in the law from the discourses of those who opposed it, on that account did protest; and some who came avowedly to protest, abstained from it, being convinced by the arguments of those who spoke in favour of the law. On this occasion the prætor and tribunes vied with each other in doing every thing out of time. *While the tribunes blamed the hasty proceeding of the prætor, they imitated the example by protesting before their time. The only pretence they alleged for it was, the necessity for adjourning the entire deliberation concerning the Rhodians until the return of the general and the ten commissioners from Macedon, who, after most carefully weighing the matter according to the communications received in their letters and tablets, were likely to give certain information relative to the feelings which each state had borne towards Perseus or the Romans. But when the prætor, nevertheless, persisted in his determination, the matter came to this, that Antonius, the tribune of the commons, after bringing the ambassadors before the people, dragged down from the rostrum Thalna, who was attempting to ascend it contrary to his wishes, and was beginning to address the people, and gave the Rhodians an opportunity of speaking before the general assembly. But although the violent and, impetuous attempt of the prætor had been defeated by corresponding firmness on the part of the tribune, still anxiety did not as yet leave the minds of the Rhodians; for the senators bore them a most unfriendly feeling; so that the Rhodians were relieved from the impending evil for the present, rather than completely rescued from it. Therefore, when a meeting of the senate was granted to them, after requesting it for a long time and frequently, on their introduction by the consul they lay at first for a long time with their persons prostrated on the ground; afterwards, when the consul raised them up and ordered them to speak, Astymedes, whose appearance was most calculated to excite pity, spoke to the following effect: "Conscript fathers, this grief and degradation of allies, who enjoyed your friendship a short time ago, cannot fail to be pitied even by those who are irritated against us; and how much more justly will compassion enter your minds, if you will but consider the hard conditions under which we this day, in your presence, plead the cause of our state, already almost condemned. Others are accused prior to their condemnation; nor do they suffer punishment until their guilt is ascertained.*

## 22

"Whether we Rhodians have transgressed, or not is yet doubtful; meanwhile we suffer punishments and disgraces of all sorts. In former times, when we visited Rome, after the conquest of Carthage, after the defeat of Philip, and after that of Antiochus, we *were escorted* from a mansion furnished us by the public, into the senate-house, to present our congratulations to you, conscript fathers, and, from the senate-house to the Capitol, carrying offerings to your gods. But now, from a vile and filthy inn, scarcely gaining a reception for our money, treated as enemies, and forbid to lodge within the city, we come in this squalid dress to the Roman senate-house: we, Rhodians, on whom a short time ago you bestowed the provinces of Lycia and Caria; on whom you conferred the most ample rewards and honours. You order even the Macedonians and Illyrians, as we hear, to be free; though they were in servitude before they waged war with you: (nor do we envy the good fortune of any; on the contrary, we acknowledge therein the usual clemency of the Roman people.) But will you convert, from allies into enemies, the Rhodians, who were guilty of nothing more than remaining neutral during the war? You are in truth the same Romans, who boast that your wars are successful because they are just; who glory not so much in the issue of them, in that you conquer, as in the commencement of them, because you do not undertake them without a just cause. The attack on Messana, in Sicily, made the Carthaginians your enemies. The siege of Athens,

and attempt to reduce Greece to slavery, together with the assistance of men and money given to Hannibal, led to hostilities with Philip. Antiochus, on the invitation of the Ætolians, your enemies, came over in person with a fleet from Asia to Greece; and by seizing Demetrias, Chalcis, and the pass of Thermopylæ, endeavoured to dispossess you of empire. The motives to your war with Perseus were his attacks on your allies, and his putting to death the princes and leading members of certain states. But, if we are doomed to ruin, to what motive will our misfortune be ascribed? I do not yet separate the cause of the state from that of our countrymen, Polyaratus and Dino, with others, whom we have brought hither in order to deliver them into your hands. But supposing every one of us were equally guilty, I ask what was our crime with respect to the late war? We favoured the interest of Perseus; and we have supported that prince against you in like manner as, in the wars of Antiochus and Philip, we supported you against those kings. Now, in what manner we are accustomed to assist our allies, and with what vigour to conduct wars, ask Caius Livius and Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who commanded your fleets on the coasts of Asia. Your ships never fought a battle without us. We, with our own fleet, fought one engagement at Samos and a second on the coast of Pamphylia, against that distinguished commander, Hannibal. The victory, which we gained in the latter, was the more glorious to us because, although we lost a great part of our navy and the flower of our youth in the unsuccessful action at Samos, we were not deterred from venturing again to give battle to the king's fleet on its return from Syria. These matters I have mentioned not out of ostentation, (that would ill become our present situation,) but to remind you in what way the Rhodians assist their allies.

### 23

“When Philip and Antiochus were subdued, we received from you very ample rewards. If the fortune of Perseus were such as yours now is by the favour of the gods and your own courage, and we were to go into Macedon, to the victorious king, to demand rewards from him, what merit should we have to plead? Is it that he was aided by us with money or corn; with land or sea forces? Had we defended his garrison? where had we, either under his generals or by ourselves? If he should inquire where were our soldiers or ships acting in concert with his; what answer could we give? Perhaps we might be pleading our cause before him, if successful, as we are now, before you. All that we have gained by sending ambassadors to both, to mediate a peace, is, that we received no thanks from either party, and incurred from one of them accusations and danger. Perseus, indeed, might justly object to us what you cannot, conscript fathers, that at the commencement of the war we sent ambassadors to Rome, promising supplies of all sorts requisite for the war, and engaging to be ready, as in former wars, with our docks, our arms, and our men. It was your fault that we did not perform this, since you, whatever was the reason, rejected our assistance on that occasion. We have, therefore, neither acted in any instance as enemies, nor been deficient in the duty of well-affected allies; but we were prevented by you from performing it. What then shall we say? Rhodians, has there been nothing said or done in your country which you disapprove of, and at which the Roman people would be justly offended? Henceforth I do not mean to defend what has been done, (I am not so weak,) but to distinguish the cause of the public from the guilt of private men. For there is no nation whatever that has not, generally, some ill-disposed members, and always an ignorant populace. I have heard, that even among the Romans there have been men who worked themselves into power by courting the multitude; that the plebeians sometimes seceded from you, and that the government was not always in your hands. If it were possible for this to happen in a

state so well constituted, who can wonder at there being some among us, who, out of a wish to gain the king's friendship, led our commons astray by bad advice? Yet they effected nothing more than our remaining inactive, without infringing on our duty. I shall not pass by that, which has been made the heaviest charge against our state during the war. We sent ambassadors at the same time to you and Perseus, to mediate a peace; and that unfortunate design was, by a furious orator, as we afterwards heard, rendered foolish to the last degree; for it is ascertained that he spoke in such a manner as Caius Popilius, the Roman ambassador, should have spoken, when you sent him to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, to induce them to cease from hostilities. But still, whether this conduct is to be called arrogance or folly, it was the same towards Perseus as towards you. States, as well as individuals, have their different characters; some are violent, others daring, others timid; some addicted to wine, others more particularly to women. Fame says that the Athenian nation was quick and bold, beyond its strength, in beginning an enterprise; and that the Lacedæmonian was dilatory and backward in entering upon business, even when confident of success. I cannot deny that Asia, throughout its whole extent, produces men too much inclined to vanity, and that the speech of even the Rhodians is too much tinctured with vain-glory, because we seem to have the pre-eminence above the neighbouring states; and that, too, owing not so much to our strength as to the marks of honour and esteem conferred on us by you. That embassy received on the spot sufficient reproof for its immediate misconduct, when it was dismissed with so severe an answer. But, if the disgrace which we then suffered was too trifling, surely the present mournful and suppliant embassy would be a sufficient expiation for an embassy even more insolent than that was. Irritable men hate arrogance; men of sense despise it, particularly if shown in words; more especially, if it be shown by an inferior towards a superior; but no one has ever yet thought it deserving of capital punishment. There was, in truth, danger lest the Rhodians should condemn the Romans! Some men have spoken, even of the gods, in terms too presumptuous; yet we have never heard of any one being struck with thunder on that account.

## 24

“What charge then remains, of which we are to acquit ourselves, since there has been no hostile act on our part, and the insolent language of an ambassador, though grating to the ear, has not deserved the ruin of a state. Conscript fathers, I hear that the estimate of the penalty for our secret wishes has become the subject of your conversation. Some assert that we favoured the king, and therefore that we should be punished with war; others, that we did indeed wish him success, but ought not, on that account, to suffer the penalty of war, since it has not been so instituted either by the practice or laws of any state, that if any one should wish an enemy to perish, he should be condemned, provided that he did nothing towards effecting his wishes. We feel, indeed, grateful to those who absolve us from the punishment, though not from the crime; but we lay down this law for ourselves: if we all entertained the wishes of which we are accused, we will then make no distinction between the will and the deed: let us all be punished. If some of our people in power favoured you, and others the king, I do not demand, that for the sake of us who were on your side, the favourers of the king may be saved; but I deprecate our perishing through them. You are not more inveterate against them than is our state itself; and most of them, when they ascertained this, fled, or put themselves to death, the others have been condemned by us, and they will soon be in your power, conscript fathers. The rest of us Rhodians, as we have merited no thanks during the war,

so neither have we deserved punishment. Let the accumulation of our former services atone for our present dereliction of duty. You have recently waged war with three kings: let not the circumstance of our having been inactive in one of these wars, be more injurious to us than our having fought on your side in the other two has served us. Consider Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, as you would three votes; two of them acquit us; one, although it would be unfavourable, is nevertheless doubtful. If they were to sit in judgment over us, we would be condemned. Conscript fathers, you are to decide, whether Rhodes is to continue on the earth or to be utterly destroyed. You are not deliberating concerning war, conscript fathers, for though it is in your power to declare war, it is not in your power to wage it, as not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your anger, we will beg time from you, until we carry home an account of this unhappy embassy. We will then, every free person of all the Rhodians, both men and women, with all our wealth, embark in ships, and leaving the seats of our tutelary deities, both public and private, repair to Rome, where, heaping together in the Comitium, at the door of your senate-house, all our gold and silver, all the public and private property that we possess, we will submit our persons, and those of our wives and children, to your disposal; that, whatever we are to suffer, we may suffer here. Let our city be sacked and burned far away from our view. The Romans may pass a judgment, that the Rhodians are enemies; but we have also a right, in some degree, to judge ourselves; and we never will judge ourselves your enemies, nor do one hostile act, should we even suffer extreme calamities."

## 25

After so mournful a speech, they all prostrated themselves again, and as supplicants, held out olive branches; but at length they were raised, and withdrew from the senate-house. They then began to ask the opinions of the senators. The most inveterate against the Rhodians were those, who as consuls, prætors, or lieutenant-generals, had been engaged in the war with Macedon. Marcus Porcius Cato was the principal supporter of their cause, who, though naturally austere, acted his part as a senator, on this occasion, with much mildness and lenity. I will not introduce here a specimen of his copious eloquence, by relating what he said: his speech is extant, and is comprised in the fifth book of his Antiquities. The answer given to the Rhodians was, that "they should neither be declared enemies, nor any longer remain in alliance with Rome." At the head of this embassy were Philocrates and Astymedes. They determined that half their number, with Philocrates, should carry home to Rhodes an account of their proceedings; and that the other half, with Astymedes, should remain at Rome, that they might be acquainted with what passed, and inform their countrymen. For the present, they were commanded to remove their governors out of Lycia and Caria, before a certain day. This intelligence was announced at Rhodes; and although it was galling in itself, yet as the Rhodians were relieved from the dread of a greater evil, for they had feared a war, the announcement created joy. They therefore immediately voted a present, amounting in value to twenty thousand pieces of gold, and deputed Theætetus, the commander of their fleet, on that embassy. They wished to procure an alliance with the Romans; but, in such a manner, as that no order of the people should pass concerning it, nor any thing be committed to writing; for in either of these cases, if they failed in succeeding, there would be greater disgrace in the refusal. The admiral of the fleet was empowered, singly, to negotiate that business, if he could effect it without any law being brought forward at Rome on the subject; for, during a considerable length of time, they had maintained a friendship with the Romans, in such a manner as not to bind themselves by a treaty of alliance, for no

other reason than that they might neither preclude the kings from all hope of their assistance, if any of them should need it, nor themselves from a participation of the advantages which might accrue from the good fortune and liberality of the said kings. At this time, however, an alliance seemed particularly desirable, not to render them more secure from others, (for excepting the Romans, they feared none,) but to make them less suspected by the Romans themselves. About this time, the Caunians revolted from them, and the Mylasensians seized on the towns of the Euromensians. The spirit of their community was not so totally broken as to hinder their perceiving, that, if Lycia and Caria were taken from them by the Romans, their other provinces would either assert their own freedom by a revolt, or be seized on by their neighbours; and that they themselves would then be shut up in a small island; within the shores of a barren country, which could by no means maintain the numerous people in so large a city. They therefore sent out with all speed, a body of troops, and reduced the Caunians to obedience, though they had received succours from Cybara: and afterwards defeated in a battle at Orthosia the Mylassians and Alabandians, who, having seized the province of Euroma, had marched against them with their allied forces.

## 26

Whilst these events are occurring in Rhodes, different matters are going on in Macedon and Rome; in the mean time, in Illyria, Lucius Anicius, having reduced king Gentius under his power, as before mentioned, placed Gabinius over a garrison that he posted in Scodra, which had been the capital of the kingdom; and appointed Caius Licinius commander in Rhizon and Olcinium, which were towns very conveniently situated. Leaving these two in charge of Illyria, he marched with the rest of his forces into Epirus. Here, Phanota was the first place which submitted to him; the whole multitude, with fillets on their heads, coming out to meet him. Placing a garrison there, he went over into Molossis, all the towns of which province, except Passora, Tecmo, Phylace, and Horreum, having surrendered, he marched first against Passora. The two men of the greatest authority in that city, were Antinous and Theodotus, who were remarkable for their warm attachment to Perseus, and hatred to the Romans; the same individuals had instigated the whole nation to revolt from the Romans. These men, since they had no hope of pardon, owing to their consciousness of guilt, shut the gates, that they might be buried under the general ruin of their country, and exhorted the multitude to prefer death to slavery. No man dared to open his lips against men of such transcendent power. At last one Theodotus, a young man of distinction, (when his greater dread of the Romans had overpowered the lesser fear of his own leaders,) exclaimed, "What madness has seized you, to make the public accessory to the crimes of two individuals? I have often heard mention made of men who offered themselves to death for the sake of their country; but those are the first that were ever found, who required that their country should perish for them. Why not open our gates, and submit to that power to which the whole world has submitted?" As he spoke thus, the multitude followed him; on which Antinous and Theodotus rushed out on the advanced guards of the enemy, and freely exposing themselves to their weapons, were slain, and the city was surrendered to the Romans. Through a similar obstinacy in Cephalus, a man in power, the gates of Tecmo were shut: when he was put to death, Anicius received the surrender of the town. Neither Phylace nor Horreum stood a siege. Having thus reduced Epirus, Anicius distributed his troops in winter quarters, through the most convenient towns; and returning into Illyria, held a general convention at Scodra, where the five commissioners had arrived from Rome, and to which place he had summoned the

principal men from all parts of the province. There, with advice of the council, he proclaimed from his tribunal, that “the senate and people of Rome granted freedom to the Illyrians; and that he would withdraw his garrisons from all their towns, citadels, and castles. That the Issensians and Taulantians, with the Pirustans, that were included among the Dassaretians, the Rhizonites, and the Olcinians, should not only enjoy liberty, but likewise an immunity from taxes; because when Gentius was in his full strength, they had revolted to the Romans. That the same exemption was granted to the Daorseans; because they forsook Caravantius, and came over with their arms to the Romans; and that the Scodrans, Dassaretians, Selepitans, and the rest of the Illyrians, should pay half the taxes which they had formerly paid to their king.” He then divided Illyria into three districts; he made the first division out of the people above mentioned, the second comprehended all the Labeatians, and the third the Agranonites, Rhizonites, and Olcinians, with the contiguous states. Having established this constitution in Illyria, he returned into Epirus, to his winter quarters at Passaro.

## 27

While these matters are passing in Illyria, Paullus, before the arrival of the ten commissioners, sent his son Quintus Maximus, who was by this time returned from Rome, to sack Agassæ and Æginium: Agassæ, because the inhabitants, after surrendering their city to the consul, and voluntarily soliciting an alliance with Rome, had revolted again to Perseus: the crime of the people of Æginium was of a late date; not giving credit to the report of the Romans being victorious, they had treated with hostile cruelty some soldiers who came into the city. He also detached Lucius Postumius to pillage the city of Ænia; because the inhabitants had continued in arms with more obstinacy than the neighbouring states. Autumn now drew nigh; at the commencement of this season, when he resolved to make a tour through Greece, in order to take a view of those curiosities, which, being celebrated by fame, are represented as greater than they really are when examined by the eye, he gave the command of his quarters to Caius Sulpicius Gallus, and, with a moderate retinue, began his journey, accompanied by his son Scipio, and Athenæus, king Eumenes’ brother, and directed his route through Thessaly to the famous oracle at Delphi; where he offered sacrifices to Apollo, and, in honour of his victory, destined for his own statues some unfinished columns in the vestibule, on which they had intended to place statues of king Perseus. He also visited the temple of Jupiter Trophonius at Lebadia; where, after viewing the mouth of the cave, through which people applying to the oracle descend, in order to obtain information from the gods, he sacrificed to Jupiter and Hercyna, who have a temple there; and then went down to Chalcis, to see the curiosities of the Euripus, and of the island of Eubœa, which is there united to the continent by a bridge. From Chalcis he passed by sea to Aulis, a port three miles distant, famous for having been formerly the station of Agamemnon’s fleet of one thousand ships, and distinguished also for the temple of Diana, in which that king of kings sought a passage for his fleet to Troy, by offering his daughter Iphigenia as a victim at the altar. Thence he came to Oropus, in Attica; where an ancient prophet is worshipped as a god, and has an old temple, rendered delightful by the surrounding springs and streams. He then went to Athens, which, though filled with only the decayed relics of ancient grandeur, still contained many things worthy of observation; the citadel, the port, the walls connecting Piræus with the city; the dockyards, the monuments of illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, alike remarkable for the variety of the materials and the ingenuity of the artists.

## 28

After sacrificing to Minerva, the guardian of the citadel, he continued his journey, and on the second day arrived at Corinth. The city was then flourishing, as this visit was prior to its fall; the citadel too, and the isthmus, afforded admirable views; the former, within the walls, and towering up to an immense height, yet abounding with springs; and the latter, separating by a narrow neck two seas, which wash it on the east and west. He next visited the celebrated cities of Sicyon and Argos; then Epidaurus, which, though unequal to them in opulence, was yet remarkable for a famous temple of Esculapius, which, standing at five miles' distance from the city, was at that time rich in offerings, which the sick had dedicated to that deity, as an acknowledgment for the remedies which restored them to health; but now, full of the traces of them only, whence they have been torn away. Thence he proceeded to Lacedæmon, renowned, not for magnificent works of art, but for its laws and discipline; and then, passing through Magalopolis, he went up to Olympia. Here, having taken a view of all things worthy of notice, and beholding Jupiter in a manner present before him, he was struck with the deepest reverence; therefore he ordered preparations to be made for a sacrifice, with more than usual magnificence, and as if he were going to make offerings in the Capitol; having made his circuit through Greece in such a manner as not to inquire into the sentiments which any one, either in his public or private capacity, entertained in the war against Perseus, lest he might disturb the minds of the allies with any kind of apprehensions. On his way back to Demetrias, a crowd of Ætolians, in mourning apparel, met him: on his expressing surprise, and asking the reason of this proceeding, he was told that five hundred and fifty of the chief of their countrymen had been put to death by Lyciscus and Tisippus, who surrounded their senate with Roman soldiers, sent by their commander Bæbius; that others had been driven into exile; and that the accusers were in possession of the goods of the killed and exiled. They were ordered to wait on him at Amphipolis; and then, having met Cneius Octavius at Demetrias, who informed him that the ten commissioners were landed, he laid aside all other business, and went to Apollonia to meet them. And when Perseus, owing to the negligence of his guard, had come hither to meet him from Amphipolis, (the distance is a day's journey,) Æmilius spoke to him with great courtesy; but is said to have severely reprimanded Caius Sulpicius, when he reached the camp at Amphipolis; first, for allowing Perseus thus to ramble through the province, and next, for indulging the soldiers so far as to suffer them to strip the buildings on the city walls of the tiles, in order to cover their own winter huts. These tiles he ordered to be carried back the buildings to be repaired, and put in their former condition. He gave in charge to Aulus Postumius, Perseus, with his elder son Philip, and sent them into a place of confinement; his daughter and younger son he ordered to be brought from Samothrace to Amphipolis, and treated them with all possible kindness.

## 29

When the day arrived, on which he had ordered ten chiefs from each of the states to attend at Amphipolis, and all the writings wherever deposited, and the money belonging to the king, to be brought thither, he seated himself, with the ten commissioners, on his tribunal, while the whole multitude of the Macedonians surrounded him. Though they were inured to the government of a king, yet the strange tribunal presented a terrible appearance; the path that was cleared towards the prætor by the removal of the people, the herald, the sergeant, were all objects strange to their eyes and ears, and capable of inspiring awe in allies, much more in conquered enemies. Silence being proclaimed by the herald, Paullus declared in the Latin language the regulations adopted by the senate,

and by himself with the advice of the council; and the prætor, Cneius Octavius, (for he too was present,) translated them into the Greek language, and read them aloud. First of all he ordered, that "the Macedonians should live free; possessing the same cities and lands as before; governed by their own laws, and creating annual magistrates; and that they should pay to the Roman people one-half of the taxes which they had paid to their kings. Next, that Macedon should be divided into four districts. That the division which should be deemed the first, should comprehend the lands between the rivers Strymon and Nessus: to this territory should be added the territory beyond the Nessus, towards the east, wherein Perseus had possessed villages, castles, or towns, excepting Ænus, Maronea, and Abdera; and the country beyond the Strymon, verging towards the west, including all Bisaltica, with Heraclea, which they call Sintice. That the second district should be the country enclosed by the river Strymon, on the east, where were excepted Sintice-Heraclea and Bisaltica, and by the river Axius on the west; to which should be added the Pœnians, who dwelt near the river Axius, and on its right bank. The third district comprised the territory bounded by the river Axius on the east, the Peneus on the west, and Mount Bora on the north. That to this division should be joined that tract of Pæonia, which stretches along the western side of the Axius; Edessa also, and Berœa, should be united to it. The fourth district was to consist of the country on the north of Mount Bora, touching Illyria on one side, and Epirus on the other. He then appointed the capitals of the districts in which the councils should be held: of the first district, Amphipolis; of the second, Thessalonica; of the third, Pella; and of the fourth, Pelagonia. In these he ordered that the councils of the several districts should be assembled, the public money deposited, and the magistrates elected." He then gave notice, "that it was determined, that there should not be intermarriage, nor liberty to purchase lands or houses, out of the limits of their respective districts, that the mines of gold and silver must not be worked; but those of iron and copper might." The tax imposed upon such persons as worked them, was one half of that which they had paid to the king. He likewise forbade the use of imported salt. To the Dardanians, who laid claim to Pæonia, because it had formerly been theirs, and was contiguous to their territory, he declared that, "he gave liberty to all who had been under subjection to Perseus." After the refusal of Pæonia, he granted them liberty to purchase salt, and ordered that the third district should bring it down to Stobi, in Pæonia; and he fixed the price to be paid for it. He prohibited them from cutting ship timber themselves, or suffering others to cut it. To those districts which bordered on the barbarians, (and excepting the third, this was the case with them all,) he gave permission to keep armed forces on their frontiers.

### 30

These terms, announced on the first day of the convention, affected the minds of those who were present with very different emotions. Liberty being granted them beyond their expectation, and the annual tribute being lightened, gave them high satisfaction; but then, by the prohibition of a commercial intercourse between the districts, Macedon appeared dismembered, like an animal torn asunder into separate limbs, which stood in need of mutual aid from each other; so little did the Macedonians themselves know how great was the extent of their country, how aptly it was formed for a division and how content each part could be with its own resources. The first division contains the Bisaltians, men of the greatest courage (residing beyond the river Nessus, and on both sides of the Strymon); it has many peculiar productions of the vegetable kingdom, and mines also, and the advantages derived from the city of Amphipolis, which, standing just

in the way, shuts up every passage into Macedonia from the east. The second division has two very remarkable cities, Thessalonica and Cassandria, and the country of Pallene, producing grain and fruits in abundance; its harbours at Torone and Mount Athos, (they call the latter the port of Ænea,) besides others, some of which are conveniently situated opposite Eubœa, and some upon the Hellespont, give it opportunities for maritime business. The third district has the celebrated cities of Edessa, Berœa, and Pella; and is partly inhabited by the Vettians, a warlike people; also by great numbers of Gauls and Illyrians, who are industrious husbandmen. The fourth district is occupied by the Eordæans, Lyncestans, and Pelagonians, to whom are joined Atintania, Stymphalis, and Elemiotis. All this tract is cold and rough, and unfavourable to tillage; it has men whose dispositions are like the land that they till. Their vicinity to the barbarians renders them more ferocious; for they at one time inure them to arms, and at another are in peace, and introduce their customs among them. Having separated the interests of the several districts of Macedon by this division, he declared that he would give them a constitution which should bind the Macedonians in general, when he was prepared to give them a body of laws also.

### 31

The Ætolians were then summoned to appear; in which trial the inquiry was directed to discover, rather, which party had favoured the Romans, and which the king, than which had done, and which suffered injury; for the murderers were absolved from guilt, and likewise the banishment of the exiles confirmed, and the death of the citizens overlooked. Aulus Bæbius alone was condemned for having lent Roman soldiers as agents in the butchery. This result in the case of the Ætolians puffed up the party which favoured the Romans to an intolerable degree of arrogance, throughout all the states and nations of Greece; and subjected all those, on whom the slightest suspicion of being in the king's interest fell, to be trodden under their feet. Of the leading men in the states, there were three parties; two of which paying servile court either to the Romans, or the kings, sought to aggrandize themselves by enslaving their countries; while one, adopting a middle course, and struggling against both, stood up in support of their laws and liberty. Although the last had the greatest share of the affection of their countrymen, still they had the least interest among foreigners. The partisans of the Romans being elated by the success of their party, alone held the offices of magistracy, and alone were employed on embassies. Great numbers of these, coming from the diets of Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and other parts of Greece, filled the ears of the ten commissioners with insinuations, that "those who, through folly, had openly boasted of being friends and intimates of Perseus, were not the only persons who had favoured his cause; much greater numbers had done so in secret. That there was another party, who under pretence of supporting liberty, had, in the diets, advanced every measure contrary to the Romans; and that these nations would not continue faithful, unless the spirit of these parties was broken, and the influence of those, who had no other object than the advancement of the Roman power, was augmented and strengthened." These persons, whose names were given in by this clique, were summoned by the general's letter out of Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, to follow him to Rome, and plead their cause. Two of the ten commissioners, Caius Claudius and Cneius Domitius, went to Achaia, that they might, on the spot, summon by proclamation the persons implicated. This was done for two reasons; one was because they believed that the Achæans would have greater spirit and confidence than the rest, and might disobey, and perhaps even endanger Callicrates, and other authors of the charges, and informers. The other reason

for summoning them on the spot, was, that the commissioners had in their possession letters from the chief men of the other nations, which had been found among the king's papers; but with regard to the Achæans the charges were not clear, because no letters of theirs had been discovered. When the Ætolians were dismissed, the Acarnanian nation was called in. No alteration was made in their situation, only Leucas was disunited from their council. Then making more extensive inquiries respecting those who had, publicly or privately, favoured the king, they extended their jurisdiction even into Asia, and sent Labeo to demolish Antissa, in the island of Lesbos, and to remove the inhabitants to Methymna; because they had received within their port, and supplied with provisions, Antenor, the commander of the king's fleet, while cruising with his squadron on the coast of Lesbos. Two distinguished men were beheaded, Andronicus, son of Andronicus, an Ætolian, because, imitating his father, he had borne arms against the Roman people; and Neo, a Theban, by whose advice his countrymen had formed an alliance with Perseus.

### 32

This examination into foreign matters having intervened, the general assembly of the Macedonians was again summoned, and information was given them that "with regard to the government of Macedon, they must elect senators called by themselves Synedroi, by whose advice the republic should be directed." Then was read a list of Macedonians of distinction, who, with their children above fifteen years of age, were ordered to go before him into Italy. This injunction, at first view cruel, appeared afterwards to the Macedonian populace to have been intended in favour of their freedom. For the persons named were Perseus's friends and courtiers, the generals of his armies, and the commanders of his ships or garrisons; men accustomed to pay servile obedience to the king, and to domineer haughtily over others; some immoderately rich, others vying in expense with those to whom they were unequal in fortune, all living in regal pomp and luxury; in a word, none possessed of a disposition suited to a member of a commonwealth, and all incapable of paying due obedience to the laws, and of enjoying an equal participation of liberty. All, therefore, who had held any employment under the king, even those who had been upon the most trivial embassies, were ordered to leave Macedon and go into Italy; and the penalty of death was denounced against any who disobeyed the mandate. He framed laws for Macedon with such care, that he seemed to be giving them not to vanquished foes, but to allies who had merited well; laws so wise, that even experience (which is the only corrector of laws) could not find any fault in them after a long trial. Turning from serious business, he celebrated with great pomp at Amphipolis games, for which he had been making preparations for a long time, having sent people to the states and kings in Asia to give notice of the intended diversions, and in his late tour through Greece he had himself mentioned his design to the principal people. There came thither from every region in the world, multitudes of artists of every sort, skilled in such exhibitions, and vast numbers of wrestlers and noble horses; deputations also came with victims and every other mark of respect usually shown out of regard to gods or men, in great games of Greece. Hence it came to pass, that the people admired not only the magnificence, but likewise the skill displayed in the entertainments; in which kind of business the Romans were, at that time, quite inexperienced. Feasts were also provided for the ambassadors with the same degree of care and opulence. They made frequent mention of an expression of his, that to furnish out a feast, and to conduct games, seldom fell to the lot of him who knew how to conquer.

## 33

When the games of every kind were finished, he put the brazen shields on board the ships; the rest of the arms, being all collected together in a huge pile, the general himself, after praying to Mars, Minerva, mother Lua, and the other deities, to whom it is right and proper to dedicate the spoils of enemies, set fire to them with a torch, and then the military tribunes who stood round all threw fire on the same. It was remarkable, that, at such a general congress of Europe and Asia, where such multitudes were assembled, some to congratulate the victors, some to see the shows; and where such numerous bodies of land and naval forces were quartered, so great was the plenty of every thing, and so moderate the price of provisions, that presents of divers articles were made by the general to private persons, and states, and nations; not only for their present use, but even to carry home with them. The stage entertainments, the gymnastics, and the horse races, did not afford a more pleasing spectacle to the crowd which had assembled, than the Macedonian booty, which was all exposed to view, consisting of the ornaments of the palace at Pella, namely, statues, pictures, tapestry, and vases, formed of gold, silver, brass, and ivory, in so elaborate a manner, that they seemed intended not merely for present show, like the furniture of the palace of Alexandria but even for continual use. These were embarked in the fleet and given in charge to Cneius Octavius, to be carried to Rome. Paullus, after dismissing the ambassadors with great courtesy, crossed the Strymon, and encamped at the distance of a mile from Amphipolis; then resuming his march, he arrived on the fifth day at Pella. Having passed by that city, he halted for two days at a place called Spelæum, and detached his son Quintus Maximus and Publius Nasica, with half of the troops, to lay waste the country of the Illyrians, who had assisted Perseus in the war, ordering them to meet him at Oricum; then, taking the road to Epirus, on his fifteenth encampment, he reached the city of Passaro.

## 34

Not far from this was the camp of Anicius, to whom he sent a letter, desiring him not to be alarmed at any thing that should happen, for "the senate had granted to his soldiers the plunder of those cities in Epirus which had revolted to Perseus." Having despatched centurions, who were to give out that they came to bring away the garrisons, in order that the Epirotes might be free, as well as the Macedonians; he summoned before him ten of the principal men of each city, and after giving them strict injunctions that all their gold and silver should be brought into the public street, he then sent cohorts to the several states. Those that were destined for the more remote states set out earlier than those who were sent to the nearer, that they might all arrive on the same day. The tribunes and centurions were instructed how to act. Early in the morning all the treasure was collected; at the fourth hour the signal was given to the soldiers to plunder, and so ample was the booty acquired, that the shares distributed were four hundred denariuses<sup>344</sup> to a horseman, and two hundred to a footman. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were led away captive. Then the walls of the plundered cities, they were about seventy in number, were razed; the effects sold, and the soldiers' shares paid out of the price. Paullus then marched down to the sea to Oricum, having by no means satisfied the wishes of his men as he had imagined, for they were enraged at being excluded from sharing in the spoil of the king, as if they had not waged any war in Macedon. When he found, at Oricum, the troops sent with his son Maximus and Scipio

<sup>344</sup> 12l. 18s. 4d.

Nasica, he embarked the army, and sailed over to Italy. Anicius, a few days after, having held a convention of the rest of the Epirotes and Acarnanians, and having ordered those of their chiefs, whose cases he had reserved for consideration, to follow him into Italy, waited only for the return of the ships that the Macedonian army had used, and then passed over to Italy. At the time that these events took place in Macedon and Epirus, the ambassadors that had been sent with Attalus, to put a stop to hostilities between the Gauls and king Eumenes, arrived in Asia. Having agreed to a suspension of arms for the winter, the Gauls were gone home, and the king had retired to Pergamus into winter quarters, where he fell sick of a grievous disease. The first appearance of spring drew out both parties from their respective homes; the Gauls had advanced as far as Synnada, while Eumenes had collected from every quarter his forces, at Sardis. Then the Romans held a conference with Solovettius, general of the Gauls, at Synnada, and Attalus accompanied them; but it was not thought proper that he should enter the camp of the Gauls, lest the passions of either party might be heated by debate. Publius Licinius held a conference with the Gallic chieftain, and brought back word that he was rendered more haughty by the attempt to persuade him; so that it might, therefore, seem matter of wonder that the mediation of Roman ambassadors should have had so great influence on Antiochus and Ptolemy, two powerful kings, as to make them instantly conclude a peace; and yet, that it had no influence with the Gauls.

### 35

The captive kings, Perseus and Gentius, with their children, were the first brought to Rome, and put in custody, and next the other prisoners; then such of the Macedonians and principal men of Greece as had been ordered to come to Rome; for of these, not only such as were at home were summoned by letter, but even those who were said to be at the courts of the kings. In a few days after, Paullus was carried up the Tiber to the city, in a royal galley of vast size, which was moved by sixteen tiers of oars, and decorated with Macedonian spoils, consisting not only of beautiful armour, but of tapestry, which had been the property of the king; while the banks of the river were covered with the multitudes that poured out to do him honour. After a few days, arrived Anicius, and Cneius Octavius with his fleet. A triumph was voted by the senate to all three: and instructions were given to Quintus Cassius, the prætor, to apply to the plebeian tribunes, who, by the authority of the senate, should propose to the commons the passing of an order to invest them with military command during the day on which they should ride through the city in triumph. Those in the middle rank are never assailed by popular displeasure, which usually aims at the highest. With regard to the triumphs of Anicius and Octavius, no hesitation was made; yet they detracted from the merits of Paullus, with whom these men could not, without blushing, set themselves in comparison. He had kept his soldiers under the ancient rules of discipline, and had made smaller donations out of the spoil, than they hoped to receive, since the treasures of the king were so large; for if he had indulged their avarice, there would have left nothing to be carried to the treasury. The whole Macedonian army was disposed to attend negligently in support of their commander, at the assembly held for the passing of the order. But Servius Sulpicius Galba, (who had been military tribune of the second legion in Macedon, and who was a personal enemy of the general,) by his own importunities, and by soliciting them through the soldiers of his own legion, had instigated them to attend in full numbers, to give their votes, and to “take revenge on a haughty and morose commander, by rejecting the order proposed for his triumph. The commons of the city would follow the judgment of the soldiery. Was it probable that he

could not give the money? The soldiers could confer honours! Let him not hope to reap the fruits of gratitude among those from whom he had not merited them.”

### 36

The soldiers were urged on by these expressions, and when, in the Capitol, Tiberius Sempronius, tribune of the commons, proposed the order, and private citizens had an opportunity of speaking on the law, no one came forward to speak in favour of it, as there was not a doubt entertained of its passing. Whereupon Servius Galba suddenly came forward and demanded of the tribune, that, “as it was then the eighth hour, and as there would not be time enough to produce all the reasons for not ordering a triumph to Lucius Æmilius, they should adjourn to the next day, and proceed with the business early in the morning: for he would require an entire day to plead that cause.” When the tribune desired, that he would say then whatever he chose to object; by his speech he protracted the affair until night, representing to the people and reminding the soldiers, that “the duties of the service had been enforced with unusual severity; that greater toil and greater danger had been imposed on them than the occasion required; while, on the other hand, in respect of rewards and honours, every thing was conducted on the narrowest scale; and if such commanders succeeded, military employment would become more irksome and more laborious to the soldiers, while it would produce to the conquerors neither riches nor honours. That the Macedonians were in a better condition than the Roman soldiers. If they would attend next day, in full numbers, to reject the order, men in power would learn, that every thing was not in the disposal of the commander, but that there was something in that of the soldiery.” The soldiers, instigated by such arguments, filled the Capitol next day with such a crowd, that no one else could find room to vote. When the tribes which were first called in gave a negative to the question, the principal men in the state ran together to the Capitol, crying out, that “it was a shameful thing that Lucius Paullus, after his success in such an important war, should be robbed of a triumph; that commanders should be given up, in a state of subjection, to the licentiousness and avarice of their men. As it was, too many errors were made through a desire to gain popularity; but what must be the consequence if the soldiers were raised into the place of masters over their generals?” All heaped violent reproaches on Galba. At last, when the uproar was calmed, Marcus Servilius, who had been consul and master of the horse, requested from the tribunes that they would begin the proceedings anew, and give him an opportunity of speaking to the people. These, after withdrawing to deliberate, being overcome by the influence of the leading men of the state, began the proceedings over again, and declared that they would call back the tribes as soon as Servilius and other private persons should have delivered their sentiments.

### 37

Servilius then said: “Romans, if we had no other means of judging what a consummate commander Lucius Æmilius was, this one would be sufficient: that, notwithstanding he had in his camp soldiers so fickle and mutinously inclined, with an enemy so noble, so zealous, and so eloquent, to stir up the passions of the multitude, yet he never had any sedition in his army. That strictness of discipline, which they now hate, kept them then in order. Subjected to the ancient rules, they did not mutiny. If truly, Servius Galba wished to make his debut as an orator in the case of Lucius Paullus, and to give a specimen of his eloquence, still he ought not to obstruct his triumph, since, if there was no other reason in its favour, the senate had judged it to be well merited. But on the day

after the triumph, when he should see Æmilius in a private station, he should prefer a charge, and prosecute him according to the laws; or else, at a later period, when he himself should be invested with magistracy, let him cite Paullus to a trial, and accuse his enemy before the people. By such conduct Lucius Paullus would both receive the reward of his proper conduct, a triumph for extraordinary success in war, and also meet punishment, if he had committed any thing unworthy of his former or present reputation. Instead of which, he has undertaken to detract from the merits of a man to whom he cannot impute either crime or dishonour. Yesterday he demanded a whole day, for making his charges against Lucius Paullus, and he spent four hours, which remained of that day, in delivering a speech to that purpose. What accused man was ever so transcendently wicked, that the offence of his life could not be set forth in that number of hours? And yet, in all that time, what did he object to him, that Lucius Paullus, if actually on his trial, would have wished to be denied? Let any one with me fancy for a moment, two assemblies: one composed of the soldiers who served in Macedon; the other, of sounder judgment, unbiassed either by favour or dislike; where the whole body of the Roman people is the judge. Let the cause of the accused be pleaded, first, before the citizens, peaceably assembled in their gowns. Servius Galba, what have you to say before the Roman citizens? for such a discourse, as you made before, is totally precluded. You were obliged to stand at your posts with too much strictness and attention; the watches were visited with too much exactness and severity; you had more fatigue than formerly, because the general himself went the rounds, and enforced the duties. On the same day you performed a march, and, without repose, were led forth to battle. Even when you had gained a victory, he did not allow you rest: he led you immediately in pursuit of the enemy. When he has it in his power to make you rich, by dividing the spoil, he intends to carry the king's treasure in his triumph, and deposit it in the treasury. Though these arguments may have some incentive to stimulate the passions of soldiers, who imagine that too little deference has been shown to their licentious temper, and too little indulgence to their avarice; yet they would have no kind of influence on the judgment of the Roman people; who, though they should not recollect old accounts, and what they heard from their parents, of the numerous defeats suffered in consequence of the desire of commanders to gain popularity, or of victories gained in consequence of strict enforcement of discipline; yet must they surely remember, what a difference there was in the last Punic war between Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, the dictator. The accuser, therefore, would soon know, that any defence, on the part of Paullus, would be superfluous.

### 38

“Let us now pass to the other assembly; and here I am not to address you as citizens, but as soldiers, if, indeed, this name can cause a blush, and inspire you with shame, for your injurious treatment of your general. And I for my part feel my own mind affected in a very different manner, when I suppose myself speaking to an army, from what it was, just now, when my speech was addressed to the commons of the city. For what say you, soldiers, is there any man in Rome, except Perseus, that wishes there should be no triumph over Macedon; and are you not tearing him in pieces with the same hands with which you subdued the Macedonians? That man, who would hinder you from entering the city in triumph, would, if it had been in his power, have hindered you from conquering. Soldiers, you are mistaken, if you imagine that a triumph is an honour to the general only, and not to the soldiers also, as well as to the whole Roman people. This

honour does not belong to Paullus alone. Many who failed of obtaining a triumph from the senate, have triumphed on the Alban Mount, No man can wrest from Lucius Paullus the honour of having brought the Macedonian war to a conclusion, any more than he can from Caius Lutatius, that of putting an end to the first Punic war, or from Publius Cornelius, that of finishing the second; or from those who, *since those generals*, have triumphed. Neither will a triumph add to, or diminish, the honour of Lucius Paullus as a commander: the character of the soldiers, and of the whole Roman people, is more immediately concerned therein, lest they should incur the imputation of envy and ingratitude towards one of their most illustrious citizens, and appear to imitate, in this respect, the Athenians, who have persecuted their distinguished men by exciting the hatred of the populace. Sufficient error was committed by your ancestors in the case of Camillus, whom they treated injuriously, before the city was recovered from the Gauls through his means; error sufficient, and more than sufficient, was committed by you in the case of Publius Africanus. How must we blush, when we reflect that the habitation and house of the conqueror of Africa was at Liternum; that his tomb is shown at Liternum! And shall Lucius Paullus, equal to any of those men in renown, receive from you an equal share of ill-treatment? Let then this infamy be first blotted out, which is shameful in the eyes of other nations, and injurious to ourselves; for who will wish to resemble either Africanus, or Paullus, in a state ungrateful and inimical to the virtuous? If there were no disgrace in the case, and the question merely concerned glory, what triumph does not imply the general glory of the Roman race? Are all the numerous triumphs over the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Carthaginians, called the triumphs of the generals only, or of the Roman people? As the triumphs were celebrated not merely over Pyrrhus, or Hannibal, or Philip, but over the Epirotes and Carthaginians; so it was not the individual, Manius Curius, or Publius Cornelius, nor Titus Quinctius, but the Romans, that triumphed. This, indeed, is the peculiar case of the soldiers, who, themselves both crowned with laurel, and conspicuous for the presents each one has received, proclaim the triumph by name, and march in procession through the city, singing their own and their commander's praises. If, at any time, soldiers are not brought home from a province to such honours, they murmur; and yet, even in that case, they consider themselves distinguished, even in their absence, because by their hands the victory was obtained. Soldiers, if it should be asked, for what purpose you were brought home to Italy, and not disbanded immediately, when the business of the province was finished; why you came to Rome, in a body, round your standards; why you loiter here, and do not repair to your several homes: what other answer can you give, than that you wished to be seen triumphing? And, certainly, you have a right to show yourselves as conquerors.

### 39

“Triumphs have been lately celebrated over Philip, father of the present king, and over Antiochus. Both these triumphs over them took place when they were in possession of their thrones, and shall there be no triumph over Perseus, who has been taken prisoner, and, with his children, brought away to the city? But if Lucius Paullus, as a private citizen, should, amid the crowd of gowned citizens, interrogate, from the lower ground, those mounting to the Capitol in a chariot, and clad in gold and purple,—‘Lucius Anicius, Cneius Octavius, whether do you esteem yourselves, or me, more deserving of a triumph?’ I am confident they would yield him the chariot, and, through shame, themselves present to him their ensigns of honour. And do ye choose, citizens, that Gentius should be led in procession, rather than Perseus; do you wish to triumph over

an accessory, rather than over the principal in the war? Shall the legions from Illyria, and the crews of the fleet, enter the city with laurel crowns; and shall the Macedonian legions, after being refused a triumph, be only spectators of other men's glories? What then will become of such a rich booty, the spoils of a victory so lucrative? Where shall be buried so many thousand suits of armour, stripped from the bodies of the enemy? shall they be sent back to Macedon? Where shall be lodged the statues of gold, of marble, and of ivory: the pictures, the tapestries, such a quantity of wrought silver and gold, and such a mass of royal money? Shall they be conveyed to the treasury by night, as if they were stolen? What? when will that greatest of shows, the celebrated and powerful captive king, Perseus, be exhibited to the eyes of a victorious people? Most of us remember what a concourse the captured king Syphax, an auxiliary only in the Punic war, caused; and shall the captured king, Perseus, with his sons, Philip and Alexander, names so illustrious, be withdrawn from the eager gaze of the state? All men are eagerly anxious to behold Lucius Paullus himself, twice consul, the conqueror of Greece, entering the city in his triumphal chariot. We made him consul for this very purpose, that he should finish a war which had been protracted for four years, to our great shame. When he obtained that province by lot, and when he was setting out for it, with presaging minds, we destined to him victory and triumph; and shall we now, when he is victorious, refuse him a triumph; shall we defraud, not only men, but the gods also of the honours due to them? For a triumph is due to the gods also, and not to men only: your ancestors commenced every business of importance with worshipping them, and ended all in the same manner. The consul, or prætor, (when going to his province and to a war, dressed in his military robe, and attended by his lictors,) offers vows in the Capitol; and when he returns victorious, after bringing the war to a conclusion, carries in triumph to the Capitol, to the deities to whom he made the vows, the due offering of the Roman people. The victims that precede him are not the most immaterial part of the procession,—to demonstrate that the commander comes home with thanksgivings to the gods for the success granted to the state. You may slay at sacrifices performed by different persons, all those victims, which he has claimed to be led in his triumph. Do you intend to interrupt those banquets of the senate which (whether they are meant for the gratification of men, or both of gods and men) are not partaken of either in any private or even public unconsecrated place, but only in the Capitol,—because such is the will of Servius Galba? Shall the gates be shut against the triumph of Lucius Paullus? Shall Perseus, king of Macedon, with his children, the multitude of other captives, and the spoils of the Macedonians, be left behind on this side of the river? Shall Lucius Paullus, in a private character, go straight from the gate to his house, as if returning home from his country-seat? And do you, centurion, and you, soldiers, listen to the votes of the senate respecting your general, Paullus, rather than to what Servius Galba may invent? Listen to me, who say this, rather than to him. He has learned nothing, but to speak; and even that with rancour and malice. I have three-and-twenty times fought against the enemy, on challenges; from every one with whom I engaged, I brought off spoils. I have my body plentifully marked with honourable scars, all received in front." It is said that he then stripped himself, and mentioned in what war each of his wounds was received; while he was showing these, he happened to uncover what ought to be concealed, and a swelling in his groins raised a laugh among those near him. He then said, "This too, which excites your laughter, I got by continuing days and nights on horseback; nor do I feel either shame or sorrow for it, any more than for these scars, since it never prevented me from rendering effectual service to the republic, either in peace or war. An aged soldier, I have shown to youthful soldiers this body of mine, often wounded by

the weapons of the enemy. Let Galba expose his, which is sleek and unhurt. Tribunes, be pleased to call back the tribes to vote. Soldiers, I<sup>345</sup> will go down among you, and will follow you as you proceed to give your votes, and I will mark the turbulent and ungrateful, and such as require that they should not be governed by the general, but that he should become their willing slave, through a desire to gain popularity." The great body of the soldiers felt so deeply the justice of this reproof, that they changed their minds, so that all the tribes, when recalled to give their votes, passed unanimously the bill concerning the triumph. Therefore Paullus, having at length overcome the malice and detraction of his enemies, celebrated a triumph over king Perseus and the Macedonians, which lasted three days, namely, the fourth, third, and second days, before the calends of December. This triumph, whether we consider the greatness of the conquered king, or the appearances of the images, or the quantity of money, was by far the most magnificent that was ever celebrated, so that by its greatness it precluded all comparison with occurrences of a similar nature. The people having raised stands, like those in the theatre, along the market-place and the other streets of the city, by which the procession was to move, were spectators, and were dressed in white gowns. All the temples were open, and were wreathed with garlands and smoking with incense. The lictors and beadles kept the whole extent of the streets clear, and the way open, by removing from the middle of them the mob, which was crowding together and wandering about. Although the gorgeous spectacle was destined to occupy three days, as we have already mentioned, yet the first day scarcely sufficed for the procession of the statues and paintings, which were placed on two hundred and fifty chariots. The next day all the most beautiful and most magnificent arms of the Macedonians were carried along on many waggons; and these arms were glittering with all the brightness of steel, or lately polished brass, and were piled up in such a manner with regard to one another, that although they seemed to be heaped up in masses rather than artificially arranged, yet they presented to the eye a striking appearance, owing to this very fortuitous and confused arrangement: helmets were mixed with shields, and coats of mail with greaves, and Cretan targets, and Thracian bucklers, and quivers, in one heap with the bridles of horses, and naked swords exposing their threatening points, and Macedonian spears projecting from the sides. And as all these arms were loosely bound together, whenever they clashed with one another in the carriage, they sent forth a certain terrible and martial sound, so that not even the arms of the conquered could be viewed without a feeling of fear. Then more than seven hundred and fifty vases, filled with coined silver, were borne along by three thousand men. Each vase contained three talents, and was borne by four men. There were some who bore silver bowls, and goblets, and cups, and vessels made of horn, remarkable as well for the beauty of their arrangement, as for their size and weight, and the surpassing workmanship of the raised carving. On the third day, at the very dawn, the trumpeters began the march, playing not only the festal strains which were usual in solemn processions, but also sounding the war-notes, as if they were advancing to battle. A hundred and twenty fat oxen with gilded horns, and adorned with fillets and wreaths of flowers, were led along. Young men, begirt with bands of exquisite workmanship, led the bulls along; and to them were added as companions, boys who bore golden and silver goblets. Then followed the persons who bore the coined gold in seventy-seven vases, each of which contained three talents, like those in which the silver was carried. Then was seen the sacred goblet, ten

<sup>345</sup> The conclusion of this speech is lost. The effect of it was, that the order for the triumph of Lucius Paullus passed unanimously. The beginning of the account of the procession is also lost. As we have adopted Twiss's text in our translation, we give here the continuation of the history, which has been derived chiefly from Plutarch.

*talents in weight, adorned with precious gems, which Paullus had ordered to be made, and also the goblets of Antigonus and Seleucus, and the cups made by Thericles, and other distinguished artists, all made of gold, with to which the saloons of Perseus had been furnished. After them came the chariot of Perseus, laden with his arms, and a diadem in addition. A band of captives followed, namely, Bethys, the son of king Cotys, who had been sent by his father into Macedon as a hostage, and subsequently taken by the Romans along with the children of Perseus; then the children of Perseus themselves, accompanied by a band of tutors and guardians, who in tears stretched forth their hands mournfully to the spectators, and instructed the boys to implore suppliantly the mercy of the victorious people. There were two sons and one daughter who excited the greater commiseration in the spectators, because they themselves, on account of their age, could scarcely comprehend their misfortunes. Therefore the majority of the spectators could not refrain from tears, and a sort of silent grief saddened the minds of all, and prevented them from enjoying real pleasure, as long as the children met their gaze. Behind his children walked Perseus with his wife, in a mourning robe, dressed in sandals, after the Greek custom, like a person stupified and astonished, whom the greatness of his calamities seemed to have deprived of reason. Then followed a crowd of friends and acquaintances, in whose countenances deep grief was depicted, for whenever they gazed on the king they wept bitterly, demonstrating clearly that they were grieved on account of his calamities, but forgot their own. Perseus had endeavoured to avert this ignominy by entreaties, and had sent persons to Æmilius, to beg that he should not be led in the triumphal procession. Æmilius smiled at the dastardly spirit of the wretch, and said, "that this request was formerly, and is even now, under his own actions and power;" thereby giving him a silent hint, that he should avoid by a noble death that of which he was afraid. But his irresolute mind was not capable of adopting so determined a design, and under the soothing influence of some hope, he preferred being considered part of his own spoil. Then four hundred golden crowns were carried along, which had been sent by almost all the states of Greece and Asia, through their ambassadors, as gifts to Paullus, and an expression of their joy for his victory: their value, if they were considered intrinsically, was immense, yet they constituted a slight addition to the enormous treasures which were borne in that triumph.*

#### 40

Valerius Antias tells us, that the total of the captured gold and silver, carried in the procession, was one hundred and twenty millions of sesterces;<sup>346</sup> but from the number of chariots, and the weights of the gold and silver, specifically set down by himself, the amount is unquestionably made much greater. An equal sum, it is said, had been either expended on the late war, or dissipated during the flight, when he sought Samothrace; and it was more wonderful on this account, because so large a quantity of money had been amassed within the space of the thirty years that intervened since Philip's war with the Romans, partly out of the produce of the mines, and partly from the other branches of revenue. Philip began war against the Romans almost destitute of money; Perseus, on the contrary, was immensely rich. Last came Paullus himself, in his chariot, making a very majestic appearance, both from the dignity of his person, and from his age. After his chariot, among other illustrious personages, were his two sons, Quintus Maximus and Publius Scipio; then the cavalry, troop by troop, and the cohorts of infantry, each in its order. The donative distributed among them was one hundred denariuses<sup>347</sup> to each footman, double to a centurion, and triple to a horseman; and it is

<sup>346</sup> 968,750l.

<sup>347</sup> 3l. 4s. 7d.

believed that he would have given as much more to the infantry, and in the same proportion to the others, had they not objected to his attaining the present honour, or had they answered with thankful acclamations, when that sum was announced as their reward. But Perseus, led through the city of his enemies in chains, before the chariot of the general, his conqueror, was not the only instance at the time of the misfortunes incident to mankind; another appeared even in the victorious Paullus, though glittering in gold and purple. For, of two sons, (whom, after having given away two others on adoption, he had retained at home, the sole heirs of his name, household gods, and estate,) the younger, about twelve years old, died five days before the triumph, and the elder fourteen years of age, three days after it; who ought to have been carried in the chariot with their father, dressed in the *prætexta*, and anticipating, in their hopes, the like kind of honours for themselves. A few days after, at a general assembly granted by Marcus Antonius, tribune of the people, after Paullus has descanted on his own proper services, as usually done by other commanders, his speech was memorable, and worthy of a Roman chief.

#### 41

“Although, Romans, I think you are not ignorant that I have successfully administered the state, nor that two dreadful strokes have lately crushed my house; since now my triumph and now the funerals of my two sons have been exhibited to your view; yet permit me, I pray you, to take in few words, and with that temper which becomes me, a comparative view of my own private situation, and the happy state of the public. Departing from Italy, I sailed from Brundisium at sun-rise; at the ninth hour, with my whole squadron, I reached Corcyra. On the fifth day after that I offered sacrifice to Apollo, at Delphi, in expiation of myself, of your armies and fleets. From Delphi I arrived on the fifth day in the camp; where, having received the command of the army, and altered several matters which greatly impeded success, I advanced into the country; as the enemy’s camp was impregnable, and Perseus could not be brought to an action, I forced the pass of Petra in the very face of his guards, and at length, compelled the king to come to an engagement, and gained a complete victory. I reduced Macedonia under the power of the Romans; and in fifteen days finished a war, which four consuls before me had for four years conducted in such a manner, that each left it to his successor more formidable than he had found it. Other prosperous events followed in consequence of this; all the cities of Macedon submitted; the royal treasure came into my hands; the king himself, with his children, was taken in the temple of Samothrace, just as if the gods themselves delivered him into my hands. I now thought my good fortune excessive, and on that account to be suspected; I began to dread the dangers of the sea in carrying away the king’s vast treasure, and transporting the victorious army. When all arrived in Italy, after a prosperous voyage, and I had nothing further to wish, I prayed that (as fortune generally from the highest elevation rolls backwards) my own house, rather than the commonwealth, might feel the change. I hope, therefore, that the republic is free from danger, by my having undergone such an extraordinary calamity, as to have my triumph, in mockery as it were of human fortunes, intervene between the funerals of my two sons. And though Perseus and myself are at present exhibited as the most striking examples of the vicissitudes of mortals, yet he,—who, himself in captivity saw his children led captive,—has them still in safety; while I who triumphed over him, went up in my chariot to the Capitol from the funeral of one son, and came down from the Capitol to the bed of the other, just expiring; nor out of so large a family of children is there one remaining to bear the name of Lucius Æmilius Paullus. For, as out of a

numerous progeny, the Cornelian and Fabian families have two of them who were given in adoption. In the house of Paullus, except the old man, none remains. However, your happiness, and the prosperous state of the commonwealth, console me for this ruin of my house." These words, expressed with such magnanimity, moved the minds of the audience with deeper commiseration than if he had with tears bewailed the loss of his children in the most plaintive terms.

## 42

Cneius Octavius celebrated a naval triumph over king Perseus, on the calends of December. That triumph was without prisoners or spoils. He distributed to each seaman seventy-five denariuses;<sup>348</sup> to the pilots who were on board, twice that sum; and to the masters of ships, four times. A meeting of the senate was then held. The fathers ordered that Quintus Cassius should conduct king Perseus and his son Alexander to Alba, to be there kept in custody; but that he should retain his attendants, money, plate, and furniture. Bitis, son to the king of Thrace, was sent to Carseoli; with the hostages he had given to Macedon, the rest, who had been led in triumph, were ordered to be shut up in prison. A few days after this passed, ambassadors came from Cotys, king of Thrace, bringing money to ransom his son and the said hostages. When they were introduced to an audience of the senate, and alleged, as an argument, in excuse of Cotys, that he had not voluntarily assisted Perseus in the war, but had been compelled to do it; and likewise requested the senate to allow the hostages to be ransomed, at any price that should be judged proper; the following answer was returned to them: that "the Roman people remembered the friendship which had subsisted between them and Cotys, and likewise his predecessors, and the Thracian nation; that the giving of hostages was the very fault laid to his charge, and not an apology for it; for Perseus, even when at rest from others, could not be formidable to the Thracian nation, much less when he was embroiled in a war with Rome. But that notwithstanding that Cotys had preferred the favour of Perseus to the friendship of the Roman people, yet the senate would consider rather what suited their own dignity, than what treatment he had merited; and would send home his son and the hostages; that the kind acts of the Roman people were always gratuitous, and that they chose to leave the value of them in the memory of the receivers, rather than to demand it at the time." Titus Quintius Flamininus, Caius Licinius Nerva, and Marcus Caninius Rebilus were nominated ambassadors to conduct the hostages to Thrace; and a present of two thousand *asses*.<sup>349</sup> was made to each of the Thracian ambassadors. Bithys was fetched from Carseoli, and, accompanied by the hostages, was sent to his father along with the ambassadors. Some of the king's ships which were taken from the Macedonians, which were of a size never seen before, were hauled ashore in the field of Mars.

## 43

While the memory of the Macedonian triumph was remaining not only in the minds but almost before the eyes of the people, Lucius Anicius triumphed over king Gentius and the Illyrians, on the day of the festival of Quirinus. These exhibitions were considered rather as similar than equal. The commander himself was inferior; Anicius was not to be compared in renown with Æmilius; a prætor, in dignity of office, with a consul; neither could Gentius be set on a level with Perseus, nor the Illyrians with the Macedonians; nor the spoils, nor the money, nor the presents obtained in one country, with those obtained

<sup>348</sup> 2l. 8s. 5d.

<sup>349</sup> 6l. 9s. 2d.

in the other. But though the late triumph outshone the present, yet the latter, when considered by itself, appeared very far from contemptible. For Anicius had, in the space of a few days, entirely subdued the Illyrian nation, though they were remarkable for their courage both on land and sea, and confident in the strength of their position; he had also taken their king and the whole royal family. He carried in his triumph many military standards, and much spoil of other sorts, with all the royal furniture; and also twenty-seven pounds' weight of gold, and nineteen of silver, besides three thousand denariuses,<sup>350</sup> and, in Illyrian money, the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand.<sup>351</sup> Before his chariot were led Gentius, with his queen and children; Caravantius, the king's brother, and several Illyrian nobles. Out of the booty he gave forty-five denariuses<sup>352</sup> to each footman, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman; to the Latin allies the like sums as to natives, and to the seamen the same as to the soldiers. The soldiers attended this triumph with greater demonstrations of joy than that of Æmilius, and the general was celebrated in abundance of songs. Valerius Antias says, that twenty thousand sesterces<sup>353</sup> were produced by the sale of the booty, besides the gold and silver carried to the treasury; but, as no sources appeared from which such a sum could be raised, I have set down my authority instead of asserting the fact. King Gentius, with his queen, children, and brother, was, pursuant to an order of the senate taken to Spoletium, to be kept there in custody; the rest of the prisoners were thrown into prison at Rome; but the people of Spoletium refusing the charge, the royal family was removed to Iguvium. There remained of the Illyrian spoil, two hundred and twenty barks, which Quintus Cassius, by order of the senate, distributed among the Corcyreans, Apollonians, and Dyrrachians.

#### 44

The consuls of this year, after merely ravaging the lands of the Ligurians, as the enemy never brought an army into the field, returned to Rome to elect new magistrates, without having performed any matter of importance; and on the first day on which the assembly could meet, they appointed Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus, consuls. Lucius Livius, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, Publius Rutilius Calvus, Publius Quintilius Varus, and Marcus Fonteius, were elected prætors on the next day. The two city provinces, the two Spains, Sicily, and Sardinia were decreed to these prætors. There was an intercalation made in the calendar this year, which took place on the day after the feast of Terminus. One of the augurs, Caius Claudius, died this year, and Titus Quintus Flamininus was chosen in his place by the college. The flamen quirinalis, Quintus Fabius Pictor, died also. This year king Prusias arrived at Rome with his son Nicomedes. Coming into the city with a large retinue, he went directly from the gate to the forum, to the tribunal of the prætor, Quintus Cassius; and a crowd immediately collecting, he said, that "he came to pay his respects to the deities inhabiting the city of Rome, and to the Roman senate and people, to congratulate them on their conquest of the two kings, Perseus and Gentius, and the augmentation of their empire by the reduction of Macedon and Illyria under their dominion." When the prætor told him that, if he chose it, he would procure him audience of the senate on the same day, he desired two days' time, in which he might go round and visit the temples of the gods, see the city, and his acquaintances and friends. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, then

<sup>350</sup> 96l. 17s. 6d.

<sup>351</sup> 3874l.

<sup>352</sup> 1l. 9s. 1d.

<sup>353</sup> 161,458l. 6s. 8d.

quæstor, who had been sent to Capua to meet him, was appointed to conduct him around Rome. A house was likewise provided, capable of lodging him and his retinue with convenience. On the third day after, he attended at a meeting of the senate. He congratulated them on their success, recounted his own deserts towards them during the war, and then requested that "he might be allowed to fulfil a vow of sacrificing ten large victims in the Capitol, and one to Fortune at Præneste; a vow which had been made for the success of the Roman people. He further desired that the alliance with him might be renewed; and that the territory taken from king Antiochus, and not granted to any other, but now in possession of the Gauls, might be given to him." Lastly, he recommended to the senate his son Nicomedes. He was assisted by the interest of all those who had commanded armies in Macedon; his requests therefore were granted, except that with regard to the territory, concerning which he received this answer: that "they would send ambassadors to examine the matter on the spot. If the territory in question had become the property of the Roman people, and if no grant had been made of it, they would deem no other so deserving of a present of the kind as Prusias. But if it had not belonged to Antiochus, it evidently, in consequence, did not become the property of the Roman people; or if it had been already granted to the Gauls, Prusias must excuse the Roman people if they did not choose to confer a present on him in violation of the rights of others. A present cannot be acceptable to the receiver, which he knows the donor may take away whenever he thinks proper. That they cheerfully accepted his recommendation of Nicomedes; and Ptolemy, king of Egypt, was an instance of the great care with which the Roman people supported the children of their friends." With this answer Prusias was dismissed. Presents were ordered to be given him to the value of \* \* \* \* sesterces besides vases of silver, weighing fifty pounds. And they voted that gifts should be given to his son Nicomedes of the same value with those given to Masgaba, the son of king Masinissa; and that the same victims, and other matters pertaining to sacrifices, should be furnished to the king at the public expense, as to the Roman magistrates, whenever he chose to make the offering, either at Rome or at Præneste; and that twenty ships of war should be assigned to him, and which were then lying at Brundisium, of which he should have the use until he arrived at the fleet which was presented to him. That Lucius Cornelius Scipio should not quit him, but defray all his expenses, and those of his retinue, until they went on board the ships. We are told that Prusias was wonderfully rejoiced at the kind treatment which he received from the Roman people; that he refused all that had been offered to himself, but ordered his son to receive the present of the Roman people. Such are the accounts given of Prusias by our own writers. Polybius, however, represents that king as having degraded the majesty of his name,—and says that he used to meet the ambassadors, wearing a cap, and having his head shaved, calling himself a freed slave of the Roman people, and, accordingly, bearing the badges of that class; that likewise at Rome, when coming into the senate-house, he stooped down and kissed the threshold; called the senate his tutelar deities, and used other expressions not so honourable to the hearers as disgraceful to himself. He staid in the city and its vicinity not more than thirty days, and then returned to his kingdom, and the war that had been carried on in Asia.

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Here ends all that has reached us of this history. Of ninety-five books more, which it originally consisted of, the contents only have been preserved; they are as follow:—

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# Preserved Contents Of The Remaining Books

## BOOK XLVI.

King Eumenes came to Rome. [y. r. 586. b. c. 166.] A general law was introduced, that no king should be permitted to come to Rome, in order that he might not appear to be declared an enemy, if he were excluded; nor yet justified, if he were admitted—because he had remained neutral in the Macedonian war. The consul, Claudius Marcellus, subdued the Alpine Gauls; and Caius Sulpicius Gallus the Ligurians. [y. r. 587. b. c. 165.] The ambassadors of king Prusias complain of Eumenes, for ravaging their borders; they accuse him of entering into a conspiracy, with Antiochus, against the Romans. A treaty of friendship was made with the Rhodians, upon their solicitation, [y. r. 588. b. c. 164.] A census was held by the censors; the number of the citizens was found to be three hundred and twenty-seven thousand and twenty-two. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was chosen chief of the senate. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, being dethroned by his younger brother, was restored by ambassadors sent from Rome. [y. r. 589. b. c. 163.] Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, died, and was succeeded by his son Ariarathes, who entered anew into a treaty of friendship with the Romans. [y. r. 590. b. c. 162.] Expeditions against the Ligurians, Corsicans, and Lusitanians, were attended with various success. Commotions took place in Syria, on occasion of the death of Antiochus, who had left a son, an infant; Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, who had been a hostage at Rome, secretly murders this young Antiochus, with his tutor Lysias, because he was not dismissed by the Romans, and usurps the kingdom, [y. r. 591. b. c. 161.] Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perseus, died. Such was the moderation and integrity of this great commander, that, notwithstanding the immense treasures he had brought from Spain and Macedon, upon the sale of his effects, there could scarcely be raised a sum sufficient to repay his wife's fortune, [y. r. 592. b. c. 160.] The Pomptine marshes were drained, and converted into dry land, by the consul, Cornelius Cethegus.

## BOOK XLVII.

Cneius Tremellius, a plebeian tribune, was [y. r. 593. b. c. 159] fined for contending in an unjust cause with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the chief priest; which greatly enhanced the authority of the priesthood. A law was made respecting the canvassing for offices, [y. r. 594. b. c. 158.] A census was held: the number of Roman citizens was found to be three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and fourteen. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was again chosen chief of the senate. A treaty was concluded between the Ptolemies, brothers, that one should be the king of Egypt, the other of Cyrene. [y. r. 595. b. c. 157.] Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, being deprived of his kingdom by the intrigues and power of Demetrius, king of Syria, was restored by the senate. Ambassadors were sent by the senate to determine a territorial dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, [y. r. 596. b. c. 156.] Caius Marcius, the consul, fought against the Dalmatians, at first unfortunately; but afterwards successfully. The cause of this war was, that they had made inroads upon the Illyrians, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. [y. r. 597. b. c. 155.] The Dalmatians were subdued by the consul, Cornelius Nasica. The consul, Quintus Opimius, defeats the Transalpine Ligurians,

who had plundered Antipolis and Nicæa, two towns belonging to the Massilians. [y. r. 598. b. c. 154.] Various ill successes occurred under different commanders, in Spain. In the five hundred and ninety-eighth year from the foundation of the city, the consuls enter upon office immediately after the conclusion of their election; which alteration was made on account of a rebellion in Spain. [y. r. 599. b. c. 153.] The ambassadors sent by the senate to determine a dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians return, and report that the Carthaginians had collected a vast quantity of materials for ship-building. Several prætors, accused of extortion by different provinces, were condemned and punished.

### **BOOK XLVIII.**

A census was held by the censors [y. r. 600. b. c. 152]; the number of citizens amounted to three hundred and twenty-four thousand. The causes of the third Punic war are enumerated: when a large army of Numidians was said to be in the territory of the Carthaginians, with Ariobarzanes, the descendant of Syphax, as general, Marcus Porcius Cato advised that war should be declared against the Carthaginians, because they had invited Ariobarzanes into their country, apparently to oppose king Masinissa, but in reality against the Romans. Publius Scipio Nasica being of a contrary opinion, it is resolved to send ambassadors to Carthage, to inquire into the truth of the affair. The Carthaginian senate being reproved for levying forces, and preparing materials for ship-building, contrary to treaty, declare themselves ready to make peace with Masinissa, upon condition of his giving up the lands in dispute. But Gisgo, son of Hamilcar, a man of a seditious disposition, at that time chief magistrate, notwithstanding the determination of the senate to abide by the decision of the ambassadors, urges the Carthaginians to war against the Romans, in such strong terms, that the ambassadors are obliged to save themselves by flight from personal violence. On this being announced at Rome, the senate becomes more highly incensed against them. Cato, being poor, celebrated the funeral obsequies of his son, who died in the office of prætor, at a very small expense. Andriscus, an impostor, pretending to be the son of Perseus, king of Macedonia, was sent to Rome. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who had been six times declared chief of the senate, on his death-bed, gives strict orders to his sons that he shall be carried out to burial on a couch, without the usual ornaments of purple and fine linen, and that there shall not be expended on his funeral more than ten pieces of brass: alleging that the funerals of the most distinguished men used, formerly, to be decorated by trains of images, and not by vast expense. An inquiry was instituted concerning poisoning. Publicia and Licinia, women of high rank, accused of the murder of their husbands, were tried before the prætor, and executed, [y. r. 601. b. c. 151.] Gulussa, son of Masinissa, gives information that troops were levying and a fleet fitting out at Carthage, and that there could be no doubt of their intending war. Cato urging a declaration of war, and Nasica speaking against it, entreated the senate to do nothing rashly; it is resolved to send ten ambassadors to inquire into the affair. The consuls, Lucius Licinius Lucullus, and Aulus Postumius Albinus, carrying on the levying of soldiers with inflexible severity, were committed to prison by the tribunes of the people, for not, at their entreaty, sparing some of their friends. The ill success of the war in Spain having so discouraged the citizens of Rome, that none could be found to undertake any military command or office, Publius Cornelius Æmilianus comes forward, and offers to undertake any office whatever, which it should be thought proper to call him to: roused by his example, the whole body of the people make the like offer. It was thought that the consul, Claudius Marcellus, had reduced all the states of Celtiberia to a state of tranquillity; nevertheless,

his successor, Lucius Lucullus, is engaged in war with the Vaccosans, Cantabrians, and other nations of Spaniards, hitherto unknown; all of which he subdues. In this war, Publius Cornelius Africanus Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Lucius Paullus, and nephew, by adoption, of Africanus, a military tribune, slays a barbarian who had challenged him, and distinguishes himself highly at the siege of Intercatia; being the first who scaled the wall. The prætor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, fights against the Lusitanians unsuccessfully. When the ambassadors, returning from Africa, together with some Carthaginian deputies, and Gulussa, reported that they found an army and a fleet ready for service at Carthage, the matter was taken into consideration by the senate. Cato, and other principal Senators, urge that an army should be immediately sent over into Africa; but Cornelius Nasica declaring that he yet saw no just cause for war, it is resolved that it should not be declared, provided the Carthaginians would burn their fleet, and disband their troops; but if not, that then the next succeeding consuls should propose the question of war. A theatre which the censors had contracted for, being built, Cornelius Nasica moves, and carries the question, that it be pulled down, as being not only useless, but injurious to the morals of the people: the people, therefore, continue to behold the public shows standing. Masinissa, now ninety-two years old, vanquishes the Carthaginians, who had made war against him unjustly, and contrary to treaty. By this infraction of the treaty, they also involve themselves in a war with Rome.

#### **BOOK XLIX.**

The commencement of the third Punic war, dated [y. r. 602. b. c. 150], which was ended within five years after it began. Marcus Porcius Cato, deemed the wisest man in the state, and Scipio Nasica, adjudged by the senate to be the best, differ in opinion, and have a sharp altercation: Cato urging the demolition of Carthage; Nasica arguing against it. It was, however, resolved, that war should be declared against the Carthaginians, for having fitted out a fleet contrary to treaty, and led forth an army beyond the boundaries of their state; for having committed hostilities against Masinissa the friend and ally of the Romans; and refusing to admit Gulussa, who accompanied the ambassadors into their city. [y. r. 603. b. c. 149.] Before any forces were embarked, ambassadors came from Utica, and surrendered their state and property to the Romans: an ominous circumstance highly pleasing to the Roman senate, and at the same time a grievous mortification to the Carthaginians. Games were exhibited at Tarentum, in honour of Pluto, according to directions found in the Sibylline books, the same as had been celebrated a hundred years before, during the first Punic war. [y. r. 502.] The Carthaginians send thirty ambassadors to Rome to make a tender of submission; but the opinion of Cato, that the consuls should be ordered to proceed immediately to the war prevails. These, passing over into Africa, receive three hundred hostages, and take possession of all the arms and warlike stores to be found in Carthage; they then, by authority of the senate, command them to build themselves a new city, at least ten miles from the sea. Roused by this indignant treatment, the Carthaginians resolve to have recourse to arms. Lucius Marcius and Marcus Manlius, consuls, lay siege to Carthage. During this siege, two military tribunes force their way in, with their troops, in a place which they observed to be negligently guarded; they are set upon and beaten by the townsmen, but rescued afterwards by Scipio Africanus, who also, with a few horsemen, relieves a Roman fort, attacked by the enemy in the night. He also repulsed the Carthaginians, who sallied forth in great force to attack the camp. When, afterwards, one of the consuls (the other having gone to Rome to hold the elections) observed that the siege of Carthage was not going on prosperously, and proposed to attack Hasdrubal,

who had drawn up his forces in a narrow pass, he (Scipio) first advised him not to venture upon an engagement on ground so very disadvantageous: and then, when his advice was overruled by those who were envious both of his prudence and valour, he himself rushed into the pass; and when the Romans were routed and put to flight, as he foresaw would take place, he returns with a very small body of horse, rescues his friends, and brings them off in safety. Which valiant action, Cato, although much more inclined to censure than to praise, extols in the senate in very magnificent terms: saying that all the others, who were fighting in Africa, were but mere shadows; Scipio was life itself: and such was the favour he gained among his fellow-citizens, that at the ensuing election the greater number of the tribes voted for electing him consul, although he was under the legal age. Lucius Scribonius, tribune of the people, proposes a law, that the Lusitanians, who, notwithstanding they had surrendered upon the faith of the Roman people, had been sold in Gaul, by Servius Galba, should be restored to liberty; which Marcus Cato supports with great zeal, as may be seen by his oration, which is still extant, being published in his annals. Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, although Cato had before handled him with great severity, yet takes up the cause of Galba. Galba himself too, apprehensive of being condemned, taking up in his arms his own two infant children, and the son of Sulpicius Gallus, speaks in his own behalf, in such a piteous strain of supplication, that the question was carried in his favour. One Andriscus, a man of the meanest extraction, having given himself out to be the son of Perseus, and changed his name to Philip, flies from Rome, whither Demetrius had sent him, on account of this audacious forgery; many people believing his fabulous account of himself to be true, gather round him, and enable him to raise an army; at the head of which, partly by force, and partly by the willing submission of the people, he acquires the possession of all Macedon. The story which he propagated was this: that he was the son of Perseus by a harlot; that he had been delivered to a certain Cretan woman to be taken care of, and brought up; in order that whatever might be the event of the war, in which the king was at that time engaged with the Romans, some one, at least, of the royal progeny might remain. That, upon the death of Perseus, he was educated at Adramytteum, until he was twelve years old; ignorant all along of his real parentage, and always supposing himself to be the son of the person who brought him up. That, at length, this person being ill, and about to die, discovered to him the secret of his birth; informing him at the same time of a certain writing, sealed with the royal signet of Perseus, which had been intrusted to his supposed mother, to keep and give to him, when he should attain to manhood: but with the strictest injunctions that the affair should be kept a profound secret until the arrival of that period. That, when the time came, the writing was delivered to him; in which was indicated a very considerable treasure, left him by his father. That the woman, after informing him fully of the circumstance of his birth, earnestly besought him to quit that part of the country before the affair should come to the knowledge of Eumenes, the enemy of his father Perseus, lest he should be murdered. That, fearful of being assassinated, and in hopes also of receiving some assistance from Demetrius, he had gone into Syria; and had there first ventured openly to declare who he was.

#### **BOOK L.**

The aforesaid impostor [y. r. 604. b. c. 148] assuming the name of Philip, being about to invade and forcibly possess himself of Thessaly, was prevented by the Roman ambassadors, with the aid of the Achæans. Prusias, king of Bithynia, a man abandoned to the practice of every vice, was murdered by his son Nicomedes, assisted by Attalus,

king of Pergamus. He had another son, who in the place of teeth in his upper jaw, is said to have had one entire bone. The Romans send an embassy to negotiate peace between Nicomedes and Prusias; it happening that one of the ambassadors had his head deformed by scars, from many wounds; another was lame from gout, and the third was of weak understanding: Cato said, it was an embassy without head, feet, or heart. The king of Syria was of the royal race of Perseus; but being, like Prusias, addicted to every vicious pursuit, and passing his whole time in tippling-houses, brothels, and such like places of infamous resort, Ammonus rules in his stead; and puts to death all the king's friends, together with his queen Laodice, and Antigonus, the son of Demetrius.

Masinissa, king of Numidia, a man of a character truly illustrious, dies, aged upwards of ninety years; he retained the vigour of youth even to his last years; and begot a son at the age of eighty-six. Publius Scipio Æmilianus, being authorized by his will so to do divides his kingdom into three parts, and allots their respective portions of it to his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Manastabal. Scipio persuades Phamæas, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, under Himilco, a man highly looked up to and relied upon by the Carthaginians, to revolt to the Romans, with the troops under his command. Claudius Marcellus, one of the three ambassadors sent to Masinissa, was lost in a storm.

Hasdrubal, nephew of Masinissa, was put to death by the Carthaginians, who suspected him of treasonable views, on account of his affinity to Gulussa, now the friend of the Romans. Scipio Æmilianus, when a candidate for the ædileship was elected consul by the people, though under age: a violent contest arises from this, the people supporting, the nobles opposing, his election; which, at length, terminates in his favour. Manius Manlius takes several citizens in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The impostor Philip, having slain the prætor, Publius Juventius, and vanquished his army, was himself afterwards subdued and taken prisoner by Quintus Cæcilius, who recovered Macedonia.

## **BOOK LI.**

Carthage, [y. r. 605. b. c. 147.] comprehended in a circuit of twenty-three miles, was besieged with immense exertion, and was gradually taken; first, by Mancinus, acting as lieutenant-general; and afterwards by Scipio, the consul, to whom Africa was voted as his province, without casting lots. The Carthaginians having constructed a new mole, (the old one being destroyed by Scipio,) and equipped, secretly, in an unusually short space of time, a considerable fleet, engage, unsuccessfully, in a sea-fight. Hasdrubal, with his army, notwithstanding he had taken post in a place of extremely difficult approach, was cut off by Scipio; who at length took the city by storm, in the seven hundredth year after its foundation. [y. r. 606. b. c. 146.] The greater part of the spoil was returned to the Sicilians, from whom it had been taken. During the destruction of the city, when Hasdrubal had given himself up into Scipio's hands, his wife, who, a few days before, had not been able to prevail upon him to surrender to the conqueror, casts herself, with her two children, from a tower into the flames of the burning city. Scipio, following the example of his father, Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedon, celebrates solemn games; during which he exposes the deserters and fugitives to wild beasts. The origin of the Achæan war is referred to the circumstance of the ambassadors of the Romans being expelled from Corinth by the Achæans, when they were sent to separate from the Achæan council those cities which had been under the dominion of Philip.

## **BOOK LII.**

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus engages and conquers the Achæans, together with the Bœotians and Chalcidians. Critolaus, their unsuccessful general, poisons himself; in

whose room, the Achæans choose as general, Diæus, the chief promoter of the insurrection; he also is conquered, in an engagement near Isthmos, and all Achaia reduced; Corinth was demolished, by order of the senate, because violence had been done there to the ambassadors. Thebes also, and Chalcis, for having furnished aid to the Achæans, were destroyed. Lucius Mummius afforded in himself an example of extreme forbearance, for, having all the vast wealth and splendid ornaments of the opulent city of Corinth in his power, he took none of them. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus triumphs, on account of his victory, over Andruscus; likewise Publius Cornelius Scipio, for the conquest of Carthage and Hasdrubal. [y. r. 607. b. c. 145.] Viriathus, in Spain, from a shepherd becomes a hunter, then leader of a band of robbers; afterwards general of a powerful army, with which he possesses himself of all Lusitania, having vanquished the prætor, Petilius, and put his army to flight. Caius Plautius, the prætor, sent against him, is equally unfortunate. So successful was his career, that, at length, it was deemed necessary to send a consul, at the head of a consular army, against him. Commotions in Syria, and wars between the kings in those parts are recorded. Alexander, a man utterly unknown, and of an unknown race, murders Demetrius, and usurps the crown in Syria: he is afterwards slain by Demetrius, (son of the before-mentioned Demetrius,) aided by Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whose daughter he had married. Ptolemy grievously wounded in the head; dies of the operations intended for the cure of his wounds; and is succeeded by his younger brother, Ptolemy, king of Cyrene. Demetrius, by his cruelty towards his subjects, provokes an insurrection; is vanquished by Diodotus, and flies to Seleucia, while Diodotus claims the crown for Alexander, a child scarcely two years old. Lucius Mummius triumphed over the Achæans, and so carried in his triumph brazen standards, marble statues, and pictures.

### **BOOK LIII.**

Appius Claudius, the consul, [y. r. 608. b. c. 144.] subdued the Salacians, a nation of the Alps. Another impostor, assuming the name of Philip, appears in Macedonia, but is vanquished by the quæstor, Lucius Tremellius. [y. r. 609. b. c. 143.] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, the proconsul, defeats the Celtiberians. [y. r. 610. b. c. 142.] Quintus Fabius, the proconsul, takes many cities of Lusitania, and recovers the greatest part of that country. Caius Julius, a senator, writes the history of Rome in the Greek language.

### **BOOK LIV.**

Quintus Pompeius, the consul, [y. r. 611. b. c. 141.] subdues the Termestines in Spain, and makes peace with them, and also with the Numantines. A census was held,—the number of citizen amounts to three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-two. Ambassadors from Macedon complain that Decius Junius Silanus, the prætor, had extorted money from that province; Titus Manlius Torquatus, the father of Silanus, sought and obtained permission to inquire into the matter. And the case having been considered at home, he condemned and disowned his son, and did not even attend his funeral after he had hung himself, but continued to sit at home, and give audience to those who consulted him, as if nothing, which concerned him, had happened, [y. r. 612. b. c. 140.] Quintus Fabius, the proconsul, having successfully terminated the war, stains the honour of his victories by making peace with Viriathus, upon terms of equality, [y. r. 613. b. c. 139.] Servilius Cæpio procures the death of Viriathus, by traitors; he is much bewailed, and interred with distinguished funeral honours by his army. He was, in truth, a great man, and a valiant general; and in the fourteen years

during which he carried on war with the Romans, had very frequently vanquished their armies.

### **BOOK LV.**

While Publius Cornelius Nasica, [y. r. 614. b. c. 138,] (who was nicknamed Scrapio by the plebeian tribune Curiatius, a man of humour,) and Decius Junius Brutus, the consuls, were holding the levies, an act of public justice was done, in the sight of the whole body of the young men then assembled, which afforded a very useful example: Caius Matienus was accused, before the tribunes, of deserting from the army in Spain; being found guilty, he was scourged under the gallows, and sold as a slave, for a sestertius.<sup>354</sup> The tribunes of the people claimed the privilege of exempting from service any ten soldiers whom they thought proper; on this being refused by the consuls, they commit the latter to prison. Junius Brutus, the consul in Spain, allots lands, and a town called Valentia, to the soldiers who had served under Viriathus. Marcus Popilius, having made peace with the Numantines, which the senate refused to ratify, was routed, and his whole army put to flight. [y. r. 615. b. c. 137.] While Caius Hostilius Mancinus, the consul, was sacrificing, the holy chickens escape from their coop, and fly away; afterwards, as he was getting on board his ship, to sail for Spain, a voice is heard crying out, "Go not, Mancinus, go not." The event afterwards proves these omens to have been inauspicious: for, being vanquished by the Numantines, and driven out of his camp, when he had no prospect of preserving his army, he made a disgraceful peace, which the senate likewise refused to ratify. Upon this occasion thirty thousand Romans were beaten by only four thousand Numantines. Decius Junius Brutus subdues all Lusitania, as far as the western sea; and when his soldiers refused to pass the river Oblivio, he seizes the standard and carries it over; whereupon they follow him. The son of Alexander, king of Syria, was traitorously murdered by his guardian Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon: his physicians were bribed to give out that he had a stone in his bladder; and in pretending to cut him for it, they killed him.

### **BOOK LVI.**

[y. r. 616. b. c. 136.] Decius Junius Brutus fought with success against the Gallæcians, in Farther Spain: Marcus Æmilius Lepidus engages the Vaccæans, unsuccessfully, and is as unfortunate as Mancinus was against the Numantines. The Romans, to absolve themselves from the guilt of breach of treaty, order Mancinus, who made the peace with the Numantines, to be delivered up to that people; but they refuse to receive him. [y. r. 617. b. c. 135.] The lustrum was closed by the censors: the number of citizens was three hundred and twenty-three thousand. Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, subdued the Vardeans in Illyria. Marcus Cosconius, the prætor, fights against the Scordiscians, in Thrace, and conquers them. The war in Numantia still continuing, owing to the ill-conduct of the generals, the senate and people voluntarily confer the consulship upon Scipio Africanus: on which occasion the law, which prohibits any man from being elected consul a second time, is dispensed with. [y. r. 618. b. c. 134.] An insurrection of the slaves arose in Sicily; which is committed to the care of the consul, Caius Fulvius, when the prætor is unable to quell it. Eunus, a slave, a Syrian by birth, was the author of this war; by gathering a large body of the rustic slaves, and breaking open the prisons, he raised a considerable army: Cleon also, another slave, having assembled seventy

<sup>354</sup> Worth a little more than 2*d*.

thousand slaves, joins him; and they, several times, engage the Roman forces in those parts.

### **BOOK LVII.**

Scipio Africanus laid siege to Numantia, [y. r. 619. b. c. 133,] and restored to the strictest military discipline the army, which had been corrupted by licentiousness and luxury: this he effected by cutting off every kind of pleasurable gratification; driving away the prostitutes who followed the camp, to the number of two thousand; keeping the soldiers to hard labour, and compelling every man to bear on his shoulders provisions for thirty days, besides seven stakes for their fortifications; to any one who lagged behind on account of the burden, he used to cry out, When you are able to defend yourself with your sword, then cease to carry your fortification; he ordered another who carried with ease a small shield, to bear one unusually large; and not unfrequently ridiculed them for being more expert in managing their shields for the defence of their own bodies, than their swords for the annoyance of those of the enemy. When he found any man absent from his post, he ordered him to be flogged with vine twigs, if a Roman; if a foreigner, with rods. He sold all the beasts of burden, that the soldiers might be forced to carry their own baggage. He engaged in frequent skirmishes with the enemy, with good success. The Vaccæans, being reduced to extremity, first put their wives and children to death, and then slew themselves. Antiochus, king of Syria, having sent him some very magnificent presents, Scipio, contrary to the practice of other commanders who used to conceal these royal gifts, received them openly, and ordered the quæstor to place the whole to the public account, and promised out of them, to reward those who should most distinguish themselves by their valour. When Numantia was closely invested on all sides, he gave orders that those who came out in search of victuals should not be killed; saying, that the more numerous the inhabitants were, the sooner would their provisions be consumed.

### **BOOK LVIII.**

Titus Sempronius Gracchus, the plebeian tribune, having proposed an Agrarian law, (contrary to the sense of the senate, and the equestrian order,) to the effect that no person should hold more than five hundred acres of the public lands, wrought himself up to such a degree of passion that he deprived his colleague, Marcus Octavius, of his authority by a law which he made, and appointed himself, together with his brother Caius, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius, commissioners for dividing the lands. He also proposed another Agrarian law, by which the land was still more at his disposal, that the same commissioners should be authorized to determine which was public and which private land. When afterwards it appeared that there was not land sufficient to be divided so as to satisfy the people, whose hopes he had raised to cupidity by the expectations held out to them, he declared that he would propose a law, that all those, who by the law of Sempronius were entitled to such grant, should be paid in money out of the bequest of king Attalus. But Attalus, king of Pergamus, son of Eumenes, had made the Romans his heirs. The senate was roused to indignation at such repeated ill-treatment; and chiefly Publius Mucius, the consul, who, having delivered a severe invective against Gracchus in the senate, was seized by him, dragged before the people, and accused; nevertheless he continued to inveigh against him from the rostrum. Gracchus, endeavouring to procure his re-election as tribune, was slain in the Capitol, by the chief nobles, by the advice of Publius Cornelius Nasica, after having been beaten first with the fragments of the seats, and was thrown, without the rites of sepulture, into the

river, together with some others who fell in the tumult. Various engagements, with various success, against the slaves in Sicily are recorded.

### **BOOK LIX.**

The Numantines, reduced to the extremity of distress by famine, put themselves to death. Scipio having taken the city, destroys it and triumphs in the fourteenth year after the destruction of Carthage, [y. r. 620. b. c. 132.] The consul, Publius Rupilius, puts an end to the war with the slaves in Sicily. Aristonicus, the son of king Eumenes, invades and seizes Asia; which having been bequeathed to the Roman people by Attalus, ought to be free. The consul, Publius Licinius Crassus, who was also chief priest, marches against him out of Italy, (which never was done before,) engages with him in battle, is beaten and slain. Marcus Peperna, the consul, subdued Aristonicus. Quintus Metellus and Quintus Pomponius, the first plebeians who were ever both at one time elected censors, closed the lustrum; the number of citizens amounted to three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, besides orphans and widows, [y. r. 621. b. c. 131.] Quintus Metellus gives his opinion, that every man should be compelled to marry, in order to increase the population of the state. His speech upon the occasion, is still extant, and so exactly does it apply to the present times, that Augustus Cæsar read it in the senate upon occasion of his proposing to release marriage from all restraints on account of the difference of rank. Caius Atinius Labeo, tribune of the people, orders the censor, Quintus Metellus, to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock for striking him out of the list of the senate; but the other tribunes interfere and protect him. [y. r. 622. b. c. 130.] Quintus Carbo, the plebeian tribune, proposes a law that the people might have the power of re-electing the same tribune as often as they please: Publius Africanus argues against the proposition in a speech of great energy, in which he asserts that Tiberius Gracchus was justly put to death. Gracchus supports the proposed law; but Scipio prevails. War was waged between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Phraates, king of Parthia, nor does the record show that greater tranquillity existed in Egypt. Ptolemy, surnamed Evergetes, being detested on account of his cruelty by his subjects, who set his palace on fire, escaped to Cyprus, and when the people conferred the kingdom upon his sister Cleopatra, whom he had divorced, after having first ravished and then married her daughter; he being enraged, murders the son he had by her at Cyprus, and sent his head and limbs to the mother, [y. r. 623. b. c. 129.] Seditious were excited by Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Gracchus, and Caius Carbo, appointed to carry into execution the Agrarian law: these were opposed by Publius Scipio Africanus, who going home at night in perfect health, was found dead in his chamber the next morning. His wife, Sempronia, sister of the Gracchuses, with whom Scipio was at enmity, was strongly suspected of having given him poison: no inquiry however was made into the matter. Upon his death the popular seditions blaze out with great fury. Caius Sempronius, the consul, fought the Iapidæ, at first unsuccessfully, but soon repairs all his losses by a signal victory, gained by the valour of Junius Brutus, the conqueror of Lusitania.

### **BOOK LX.**

Lucius Aurelius subdued the rebellious Sardinians, [y. r. 624. b. c. 128.] Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, who first subdued the Transalpine Ligurians, was sent to assist the Massilians, against the Salvian Gauls, who were ravaging their country. Lucius Opimius, the prætor, caused the revolted Fregellans to lay down their arms, and destroyed Fregellæ. [y. r. 625. b. c. 127.] An extraordinary multitude of locusts in Africa, killed and lying dead

on the ground, is said to have produced a pestilence, [y. r. 626. b. c. 126.] The censors closed the lustrum: the number of the citizens was three hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and thirty-six. [y. r. 627. b. c. 125.] Caius Gracchus, the plebeian tribune, the brother of Tiberius, even more eloquent than his brother, carried some very dangerous laws; among others, one respecting corn, that the people shall be supplied with the article in the market at the rate of half and a third of an *as*; also an Agrarian law, the same as his brother's: and a third intended to corrupt the equestrian order, who at that time were subservient in all their opinions to the senate: namely, that six hundred of them should be admitted into the senate: these six hundred equestrians were to be joined to three hundred senators for at that time there were only three hundred senators; that is, in other words, that the equestrian order should have double influence in the senate. His office being continued to him another year, by Agrarian laws which he passed, he caused that many colonies should be led out into Italy, and he himself, having been made triumvir, headed one to the territory of demolished Carthage, [y. r. 628. b. c. 124.] The successful expeditions of the consul Quintus Metellus against the Balearians, called by the Greeks Gymnesians, because they go naked all the summer, are recorded. They are called Balearians, from their skill in throwing weapons; or, as some will have it, from Baleus, the companion of Hercules, who left him there behind him, when he sailed to Geryon. [y. r. 629. b. c. 123.] Commotions in Syria, in which Cleopatra murders her husband Demetrius, and also his son Seleucus, for assuming the crown without her consent, upon his father's death, are also mentioned.

#### **BOOK LXI.**

Caius Sextius, the proconsul, [y. r. 630. b. c. 122,] having subdued the nation of the Salyans, founds a colony, which he named *Aquæ Sextiæ*, after his own name, and on account of the abundance of water which he found there, flowing both from hot and cold springs, [y. r. 631. b. c. 121.] Cneius Domitius, the proconsul, fought the Allobrogians with success at the town of Vindalium. The cause of this war was their receiving, and furnishing with all the aid in their power, Teutomalius, the king of the Salyans, who had fled to them, and their ravaging the lands of the *Æduans*, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. [y. r. 632. b. c. 120.] Caius Gracchus, upon the expiration of his seditious tribunate, seized upon the Aventine mount with a considerable number of armed followers; Lucius Opimius, by a decree of the senate, armed the people, drove him from it, and put him to death, together with Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, a participator of the same wild project. Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul, nephew of Paullus, gained a battle against the Allobrogians and Bituitus, king of the Arvernians, in which one thousand one hundred and twenty of the army of Bituitus were slain, [y. r. 633. b. c. 119.] The king having come to Rome to make satisfaction to the senate, was sent prisoner to Alba, there to be kept in custody, as it was not considered safe to send him back to Gaul. A decree was also passed, that his son, Congentiatus, should be taken and sent to Rome. The Allobrogians were admitted to a capitulation. Lucius Opimius, being brought to trial before the people for committing to prison some citizens who had not been condemned, was acquitted.

#### **BOOK LXII.**

The consul, Quintus Marcius, [y. r. 634. b. c. 118,] subdued the Stonians, an Alpine nation. Micipsa, king of Numidia, dying, bequeathed his kingdom to his two sons, Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha, his nephew, whom he had adopted. [y. r. 635. b. c. 117.] Lucius Cæcilius Metellus subdued the Dalmatians. Jugurtha went to war with his

brother Hiempsal; vanquished him and put him to death; drove Adherbal from his kingdom, who was restored by the senate. [y. r. 636. b. c. 116.] Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the censors, expelled thirty-two senators. [y. r. 637. b. c. 115.] Disturbances in Syria are recorded.

### **BOOK LXIII.**

Caius Porcius, the consul, [y. r. 638. b. c. 114,] fought against the Scordiscians in Thrace, unsuccessfully. The lustrum was closed by the censors: the number of the citizens amounts to three hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and thirty-six. Æmilia, Licinia, and Marcia, vestal virgins, were found guilty of incest. [y. r. 639. b. c. 113.] The Cimbrians, a wandering people, came into Illyria, where they fight with and defeat the army of the consul, Papirius Carbo. [y. r. 640. b. c. 112.] The consul, Livius Drusus, made war successfully upon the Scordiscians, a people descended from the Gauls.

### **BOOK LXIV.**

Jugurtha attacked Adherbal, besieged him in Cirta, and put him to death, contrary to the express commands of the senate. [y. r. 641. b. c. 111.] War was declared against him on this account, which being committed to the conduct of the consul, Calpurnius Bestia, he made peace with Jugurtha, without authority from the senate and people. [y. r. 642. b. c. 110.] Jugurtha, called upon to declare who were his advisers, came to Rome upon the faith of a safe-conduct; he is supposed to have bribed many of the principal senators. And being called on to stand his trial for the murder of a certain prince, by name Massiva, slain at Rome, who had aimed at his kingdom, which he hoped to obtain through the hatred of the Romans to Jugurtha, he escaped when he found himself in danger; and is reported to have said, on going away, "O venal city! doomed to quick perdition, could but a purchaser be found!" Aulus Posthumius, having fought against Jugurtha unsuccessfully, added to his disgrace, by making an ignominious peace with him; which the senate refused to ratify.

### **BOOK LXV.**

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, the consul, [y. r. 643. b. c. 109,] defeated Jugurtha, in two battles, and ravaged all Numidia. Marcus Junius Silanus, the consul, fought unsuccessfully against the Cimbrians. The Cimbrian ambassadors petitioning the senate for a settlement and lands, were refused. [y. r. 644. b. c. 108.] Marcus Minucius, the proconsul, vanquished the Thracians. Cassius, the consul, with his army, was cut off by the Tigurine Gauls, in the country of the Helvetians. The soldiers who survived that unfortunate action stipulated for their lives, by giving hostages, and delivering up half their property.

### **BOOK LXVI.**

Jugurtha, [y. r. 645. b. c. 107,] being driven out of Numidia by Caius Marius, received aid from Bocchus, king of the Moors. [y. r. 646. b. c. 106.] Bocchus, having lost a battle, and being unwilling to carry on the war any longer, delivered up Jugurtha in chains to Marius. In this action, Lucius Cornelius Sylla, the quæstor under Marius, distinguished himself most highly.

### **BOOK LXVII.**

Marcus Aurelius Scaurus, [y. r. 647. b. c. 105,] lieutenant-general under the consul, was taken prisoner by the Cimbrians, his army being routed; and was slain by Boiorix, for

saying, in their council, when they talked of invading Italy, that the Romans were not to be conquered. Cneius Mallius, the consul, and Quintus Servilius Cæpio, the proconsul, were taken prisoners by the same enemies who defeated their armies and drove them from both their camps, with the loss of eighty thousand men, and forty thousand sutlers, and other camp-followers. The goods of Cæpio, whose rashness was the cause of this misfortune, were sold by auction, by order of the people; being the first person whose effects were confiscated, since the dethronement of king Tarquin, and he was deprived of office. [y. r. 648. b. c. 104.] Jugurtha, with his two sons, was led in triumph before the chariot of Caius Marius, and was put to death in prison. Marius entered the senate, in his triumphal habit; the first person that ever did so: on account of the apprehensions of a Cimbrian war, he is continued in the consulship for several years, being elected a second and a third time, in his absence; dissembling his views, he attains the consulship a fourth time. The Cimbrians, having ravaged all the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees, passed into Spain, where, having committed many depredations, they were at length put to flight by the Celtiberians: returning into Gaul, they joined the Teutons, a warlike people.

### **BOOK LXVIII.**

Marcus Antonius, the prætor, [y. r. 649. b. c. 103,] attacked the pirates, and chased them into Cilicia. The consul, Caius Marius, when attacked by the Teutons and Ambrogians, with their utmost force, defended himself; and afterwards, in two battles, in the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ, utterly defeated them, with the loss, it is said, of two hundred thousand killed, and ninety thousand taken prisoners. Marius was elected consul, in his absence, a fifth time. A triumph was offered to him, which he deferred until he should have subdued the Cimbrians also. [y. r. 650. b. c. 102.] The Cimbrians, having driven Quintus Catulus, the proconsul, from the Alps, where he had possessed himself of the narrow passes, and erected a castle to command the river Athesis, which he abandoned, passed into Italy. Catulus and Marius, having effected a junction of their forces, fought and vanquished them: in this battle we are told that there fell one hundred and forty thousand of the enemy, and that sixty thousand were taken. Marius, on his return to Rome, was received with the highest honours, by the whole body of the citizens; two triumphs were offered him, but he contented himself with one. The principal men in the state, who were for some time extremely envious that such distinctions should be conferred upon a man of no family, now acknowledge him to have saved the commonwealth. [y. r. 651. b. c. 101.] Publicius Malleolus was executed for the murder of his mother; being the first that ever was sewn up in a sack and cast into the sea. The sacred shields are said to have shaken, with considerable noise, previous to the conclusion of the Cimbrian war. Wars between the kings of Syria.

### **BOOK LXIX.**

Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, aided by Marius,—the soldiers having killed his competitor, Aulus Nonius,—having been forcibly elected prætor, exercised his office with a violence equal to that by which he obtained it. Having procured an Agrarian law, he summons Metellus Numidicus to stand his trial before the people, for refusing to swear to the observance of it. Metellus, notwithstanding he enjoyed the protection of all the best men in the state, yet, being unwilling to furnish matter of dispute, retires into voluntary exile, to Rhodes: there he passed his time entirely in study, and in receiving the visits of men of eminent character, [y. r. 652. b. c. 100.] Caius Marius, the chief promoter of the sedition, who had now purchased a fourth consulship, by openly distributing money

among the tribes, pronounced sentence of banishment upon him after his departure. The same Appuleius Saturninus murders Caius Memmius, who was a candidate for the consulship, fearing lest he might have, in him, a strenuous opposer of his evil actions. By which conduct the senate was aroused, and Caius Marius, when he could no longer defend Saturninus, being a man of fickle and versatile disposition, who always suited his plans to circumstances, joined it. Saturninus, with Glaucias, and other participators of the same mad conduct, having been overpowered by force of arms, was killed in what may be considered a war. [y. r. 653. b. c. 99.] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus was recalled from banishment by the decided favour of the whole state. Marcus Aquilius, the proconsul put an end to the servile war in Sicily.

### **BOOK LXX.**

Manius Aquilius, [y. r. 654. b. c. 98,] being accused of extortion, refused to implore the favour of the judges appointed to try him. Marcus Antonius, his advocate, cut open his vest, and showed the scars of his honourable wounds; upon sight of which he was clearly acquitted, [y. r. 655. b. c. 97.] This fact is related upon the authority of Cicero only. Titus Didius, the proconsul, fought successfully against the Celtiberians. [y. r. 656. b. c. 96.] Ptolemy, king of Cyrene, surnamed Apio, dying, bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people: and the senate decreed that the cities in that kingdom should be free. [y. r. 657. b. c. 95.] Ariobarzanes was restored to his kingdom of Cappadocia by Lucius Sylla. Ambassadors from Arsaces, king of Parthia, come to Sylla, to solicit the friendship of the Roman people, [y. r. 658. b. c. 94.] Publius Rutilius, a man of the strictest integrity, because he exerted himself, when lieutenant-general under Quintus Mucius, the proconsul, to protect the people of Asia from the oppression of the revenue farmers, became odious to the equestrian order, who had the cognizance of affairs of that nature, and being brought to trial, was condemned to exile, [y. r. 659. b. c. 93.] Caius Sentius, the prætor, fought unsuccessfully against the Thracians. [y. r. 660. b. c. 92.] The senate not being disposed to tolerate the inefficiency of the equestrian order in the exercise of their judicial functions, tried, by all its influence, to have those functions transferred to itself, and Marcus Livius Drusus, the plebeian tribune, promoting this design, stimulated the people, by the pernicious hope of bribes, to add their sanction. Moreover a commotion occurred among the kings of Syria.

### **BOOK LXXI.**

Marcus Livius Drusus, the plebeian tribune, [y. r. 661. b. c. 91,] in order the more effectually to support the senate in their pretensions, gained the concurrence of the allies, and the Italian states, by promising them the freedom of the city. Aided by them, besides the Agrarian and corn laws, he carried that also relative to criminal jurisdiction;—that in capital prosecutions the senate should have equal authority with the equestrian order. It was afterwards found that the freedom which he had promised could not be conferred upon them; which incensed and incited them to revolt. An account is given of their assembling,—their combinations and speeches made at their meetings, by the chief men among them. Drusus becoming obnoxious even to the senate, on account of his conduct in this affair, and being considered as the cause of the social war, was slain in his own house, by an unknown hand.

### **BOOK LXXII.**

The Italian states, the Picentians, Vestinians, Marcians, Pelignians, Marrucinians, Samnites, and Lucanians, revolted, the war commencing with the Picentians. Quintus Servilius, the proconsul, was murdered, in the town of Asculum, with all the Roman

citizens in the place. The whole body of the Roman people assumed the military dress. Servius Galba, having been taken by the Lucanians, escaped by the assistance of a woman with whom he lodged. [y. r. 662. b. c. 90.] Æsernia and Alba were besieged by the Italians. Aid was sent to the Romans by the Latins, and other foreign nations, and the expeditions, and sieges, on both sides, are recorded.

### **BOOK LXXIII.**

The consul, Lucius Julius Cæsar, fought against the Samnites unsuccessfully. The colony of Nola fell into the hands of the Samnites, together with Lucius Posthumius, the prætor, whom they killed. Many different states went over to the enemy. After Publius Rutilius had fought unsuccessfully against the Marcians, and had been slain in battle, Caius Marius, his lieutenant-general, encountered them with better success. Servius Sulpicius defeated the Pelignians, in a pitched battle. Quintus Cæpio, Rutilius's lieutenant-general, made a successful sally against the enemy besieging him; on account of which success he was made equal in command to Marius, and becoming adventurous and rash, was surprised in an ambuscade, and his army being defeated, was slain. Lucius Julius Cæsar, the consul, fought successfully against the Samnites. On account of this victory the inhabitants of Rome laid aside the military habit; the war being carried on with various success, Æsernia, with Marcellus, fell into the hands of the Samnites. Caius Marius vanquished the Marcians, Herius Asinius, the prætor of the Marrucinians, being killed. Caius Cæcilius subdued the rebellious Salvians in Trausalpine Gaul.

### **BOOK LXXIV.**

Cneius Pompeius defeated the Picentians, and laid siege to their town; on account of this victory the inhabitants of Rome resume their purple robes, and other distinguishing marks of magistracy. Caius Marius fought an undecided battle with the Marcians. Freedmen's sons were now first received into the army. [y. r. 663. b. c. 89.] Aulus Plotius, the lieutenant, subdued the Umbrians, and Lucius Porcius, the prætor, the Marcians, both of whom had revolted. Nicomedes was restored to the kingdom of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes to that of Cappadocia. Cneius Pompeius, the consul, overthrew the Marcians in a pitched battle. The citizens, being deeply involved in debt, Aulus Sempronius Asellio, the prætor, was murdered in the forum, by the usurers, in consequence of some judgments given by him in favour of debtors. Incursions were made by the Thracians, and devastations committed against the Macedonians.

### **BOOK LXXV.**

Aulus Posthumius Albinus, commander of a fleet, upon a suspicion of treachery, was murdered by the forces under his command. Lucius Cornelius Sylla, lieutenant-general, defeated the Samnites, and took two of their camps. The Vestinians surrendered to Cneius Pompeius. Lucius Porcius, the consul, having been successful in frequent engagements with the Marcians, was slain in an attack upon their camp, which circumstance decided the victory in favour of the enemy. Cosconius and Lucceius overthrew the Samnites in a battle, slew Marius Egnatius, the most distinguished of their generals, and received the surrender of many of their towns. Lucius Sylla subdued the Hirpinians, defeated the Samnites in many battles, and received the submission of several states; in consequence of having performed so many distinguished services, as scarcely any one had ever done under the circumstances, he repaired to Rome to solicit the consulship.

### **BOOK LXXVI.**

Aulus Gabinius, the lieutenant, having defeated the Lucanians, and taken several of their towns, was slain in an attack on their camp. Sulpicius, a lieutenant-general, committed military execution on the Marrucinians, and reduced their whole country. Cneius Pompeius, the proconsul, forced the Vestinians and Pelignians to submission. Also the Marcians, defeated in several battles, by Lucius Murena and Cæcilius Pius, sued for peace, [y. r. 664. b. c. 88.] Asculum was taken by Cneius Pompeius, and the Italians there were put to death by Mamercus Æmilius. Silo Pompædus, the author of the revolt, was killed in an action. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, were driven out of their kingdoms by Mithridates, king of Pontus. Predatory incursions were made by the Thracians into Macedon.

#### **BOOK LXXVII.**

Publius Sulpicius, the tribune of the people, having, with the aid of Caius Marius, carried certain laws: "that those who had been banished should be recalled; that the newly-created citizens, and the sons of freed-men, should be distributed among the tribes, and that Caius Marius should be appointed general against Mithridates, king of Pontus," and having used violence towards Quintus Pompeius and Lucius Sylla, the consuls, who had opposed these proceedings; Quintus, the son of Pompeius, who was married to Sylla's daughter, being murdered, Lucius Sylla came into the town with an army, and fought against the faction of Sulpicius and Marius, in the city, and drove it out. Twelve of the number, among whom are Caius Marius, the father, and his son, were condemned by the senate. Publius Sulpicius having concealed himself in a farm-house in the neighbourhood, being betrayed by one of his slaves, was apprehended and put to death. The slave, being entitled to the reward promised to the discoverer, was made free; and was then thrown from the Tarpeian rock, for having traitorously betrayed his master. Caius Marius, the son, passed over into Africa. Caius Marius, the father, having concealed himself in the marshes of Minturna, was seized by the towns-people: after a Gallic slave who was sent to despatch him, being terrified at his majestic appearance, had retired, unable to accomplish the deed, he was publicly placed in a vessel, and sent off to Africa. Lucius Sylla reformed the state, and afterwards sent forth colonies. Cneius Pompeius, the proconsul, procured the murder of Quintus Pompeius, the consul, who was to have succeeded him in the command of the army. Mithridates, king of Pontus, seized Bithynia and Cappadocia, after having driven the Roman general, Aquilius, out of them: and at the head of a great army entered Phrygia, a province belonging to the Roman people.

#### **BOOK LXXVIII.**

Mithridates possessed himself of Asia; threw into chains Quintus Oppius, the proconsul, and Aquilius, the general; and ordered all the Romans in Asia to be massacred on the same day; he attacked the city of Rhodes, the only one which had retained its fidelity to the Roman state; and being overcome in several actions at sea, he retreated, [y. r. 665. b. c. 87.] Archelaus, one of the king's governors, invaded Greece and took Athens. Commotions resulted in several states and islands, some endeavouring to draw over their people to the side of the Romans, others to that of Mithridates.

#### **BOOK LXXIX.**

Lucius Cornelius Cinna having, by force of arms, procured the enactment of several injurious laws, was driven out of the city by his colleague, Cneius Octavius, together with six plebeian tribunes. Thus deposed from the authority, he procured the command of his army under Appius Claudius, by bribery, and made war upon the city, having called to his assistance Caius Marius, and other exiles, from Africa. In this war, two

brothers, (one of Pompeius's army, the other of Cinna's,) encountered each other without knowing it; and when the conqueror despoiling the enemy recognised his brother, he vented his grief in uncontrolled lamentation, and having prepared a funeral pile for him, he stabbed himself on it, and was consumed with him. Although this war might have been suppressed at first, yet owing to the treachery of Pompeius, who, by encouraging either party, gave power to Cinna, whilst he only succoured the patriotic party when their energies were exhausted; and also to the neglect of the consul; Cinna and Marius, with four armies, two of which were commanded by Sertorius and Carbo, gained strength and laid siege to the city. Marius took Ostia, which he plundered in the most cruel manner.

#### **BOOK LXXX.**

The freedom of the city of Rome was granted to the Italian states. The Samnites, the only people who continued in arms, joined Cinna and Marius, and overthrew Plautius's army, killing the general. Cinna and Marius, with Carbo and Sertorius, seized the Janiculum; and were repelled by the consul Octavius. Marius plunders Antium, Aricia, and Lanuvium. The principal men in the state having now no hope of resisting, on account of the cowardice and treachery both of the generals and soldiers, who, being bribed, either refused to fight, or deserted to one party or another, received Cinna and Marius into the city, who, as if it had been captured, devastated it by murder and robbery, putting to death the consul, Cneius Octavius, and all the chiefs of the opposite party; among others, Marcus Antonius, a man highly distinguished for his eloquence, with Lucius and Caius Cæsar, whose heads they stuck up on the rostrum. The younger Crassus having been slain by a party of horsemen at Fimbria; his father, to escape suffering insult, killed himself. Cinna and Marius, without even the formality of an election, declared themselves consuls; and on the first day of their entering upon office, Marius ordered Sextus Licinius, a senator, to be cast from the Tarpeian rock, and after having committed very many atrocious acts, died on the ides of January. If we compare his vices with his virtues, it will be difficult to pronounce whether he was greater in war, or more wicked in peace. Having preserved his country by his valour, he ruined it afterwards by every species of artifice and fraud; and finally destroyed it by open force.

#### **BOOK LXXXI.**

Lucius Sylla besieged Athens, [y. r. 666. b. c. 86,] held by Archelaus, under Mithridates, and took it, after an obstinate resistance. The city and such of the inhabitants as remained alive, were restored to liberty. Magnesia, the only city in Asia which continued faithful, was defended against Mithridates with great valour. The Thracians invaded Macedon.

#### **BOOK LXXXII.**

Sylla defeated Mithridates in Thessaly, killing one hundred thousand men, and taking their camp. The war being renewed, he entirely routed and destroyed the king's army. Archelaus, with the royal fleet, surrendered to Sylla. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Cinna's colleague in the consulship, who was appointed to succeed Sylla in the command of his army, became so odious to his men, on account of his avarice, that he was slain by Caius Fimbria, his lieutenant-general, a man of consummate audacity, who assumed the command. Several cities in Asia were taken by Mithridates, who treated them with extreme cruelty. Macedon was invaded by the Thracians.

#### **BOOK LXXXIII.**

[y. r. 667. b. c. 85.] Caius Fimbria having defeated several of Mithridates' generals in Asia, took the city of Pergamus, and was very near making the king captive. He took and destroyed the city of Ilium, which adhered to Sylla, and recovered a great part of Asia. Sylla overcame the Thracians in several battles. Lucius Cinna and Cneius Papirius Carbo, having declared themselves consuls, made preparations for war against Sylla; Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the chief of the senate, having made a speech among that body, by their assistance, with that of all who desired tranquillity, effected that ambassadors should be sent to Sylla, concerning a treaty of peace. Cinna, attempting to force his men to embark and go against Sylla, was slain by them. [y. r. 668. b. c. 84.] Carbo alone held the consulship. Sylla made peace in Asia with Mithridates, upon conditions that the king should evacuate Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia. Fimbria, deserted by his army, which went over to Sylla, put himself to death, by calling on his slave to cut off his head.

#### **BOOK LXXXIV.**

Sylla replied to deputies sent by the senate, that he would yield to the authority of the senate, upon condition that those who, being banished by Cinna, had fled to him, should be restored; which proposition appeared reasonable to the senate, but was opposed and rejected by Carbo and his faction, who conceived that they would derive more advantage from a continuance of the war. Carbo, requiring hostages from all the towns and colonies of Italy, to bind them more firmly in union against Sylla, was overruled by the senate. The right of voting was given to the new citizens by a decree of the senate. Quintus Metellus Pius, who had taken part with the chief men of the state, being prepared for war in Africa, was crushed by Caius Fabius, the prætor, [y. r. 660. b. c. 83.] Carbo's faction and the Marian party procured a decree of the senate, that the armies should every where be disbanded. The sons of freed-men were distributed among the thirty-five tribes. Preparations were made for war against Sylla.

#### **BOOK LXXXV.**

Sylla entered Italy at the head of an army, and defeated in a battle Norbanus, the consul, by whom his ambassadors, sent to negotiate a peace, had been maltreated. Having ineffectually tried every means with Lucius Scipio, the other consul, to bring about a peace, he prepared to attack his camp, when the consul's whole army deserted to Sylla, having been seduced by some soldiers sent out by him. Scipio was set free, when he could have been killed. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius, who took Asculum, raised an army of volunteers, and went over to Sylla with three legions; also the whole body of the nobility quit the city and joined his camp. Sundry actions in different parts of Italy are recorded in the book.

#### **BOOK LXXXVI.**

While Caius Marius, son of Caius Marius, was made consul [y. r. 670. b. c. 82] by force, before he was twenty years old, Caius Fabius was burned alive in his tent, in Africa, for his avarice and extortion. Lucius Philippus, Sylla's lieutenant-general, having overthrown and killed the prætor, Quintus Antonius, took Sardinia. Sylla made a league with the states of Italy, lest he should be suspected of intending to deprive them of their constitution and the right of suffrage, which had been lately conceded to them. So confident was he of the victory, that he published an order that all persons engaged in lawsuits, bound by sureties, should make their appearance at Rome, although the city was yet in the possession of the opposite party. Lucius Damasippus, the prætor, having called together the senate, at the desire of Marius, murdered such of the nobility as remained in the city; among them Quintus Mucius Scævola, the high priest, who,

endeavouring to make his escape, was killed in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta. Besides, it includes an account of the war in Asia against Mithridates, renewed by Lucius Muræna.

#### **BOOK LXXXVII.**

Sylla, having conquered and destroyed Caius Marius's army, at Sacriportus, laid siege to Præneste, where Marius had taken refuge. He recovered Rome out of the hands of his enemies. Marius attempting to break forth from Præneste, was repelled. This book moreover contains an account of the successes of the different commanders under him, every where.

#### **BOOK LXXXVIII.**

Sylla, having routed and cut off the army of Carbo at Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia, drove him out of Italy; he completely subdued the Samnites near the city of Rome, before the Colline gate: they were the only one of all the Italian states that had not before laid down their arms. Having restored the affairs of the commonwealth, he stained his glorious victory with the most atrocious cruelties ever committed; he murdered eight thousand men in the Villa Publica, who had submitted and laid down their arms, and published a list of persons proscribed: he filled with blood the city of Rome, and all Italy. He ordered all the Prænestines, without exception, although they had laid down their arms, to be murdered; he killed Marius, a senator, by breaking his legs and arms, cutting off his ears, and scooping out his eyes. Caius Marius, being besieged at Præneste by Lucretius Asella, one of the partisans of Sylla, having endeavoured to escape through a mine, was intercepted by an army, and committed suicide; this took place in the centre of the mine, when he found it impossible to escape with Pontius Telesinus, the companion of his flight, for each having drawn his sword, rushed madly on: when he had slain Telesinus, he himself, being wounded, begged of a slave that he would despatch him.

#### **BOOK LXXXIX.**

Marcus Brutus being sent in a fishing-boat to Lilybæum, by Cneius Papirius Carbo, who had sailed to Cossura, to discover if Pompeius were there, and being surrounded by the ships, which Pompey had sent, turned the point of his sword against himself, and threw himself on it with all the weight of his body, at one of the ship's benches. Cneius Pompeius, being sent by the senate to Sicily, with full powers, having taken Carbo prisoner, put him to death; he dies weeping with womanly weakness. Sylla, having been created dictator, marched through the city with twenty-four lictors, which no one had ever done before. He established new regulations in the state; abridged the authority of the plebeian tribunes; took from them the power of proposing laws; increased the college of priests and augurs to fifteen; filled up the senate from the equestrian order; took from the descendants of the proscribed persons all power of reclaiming the property of their ancestors, and sold such of their effects as had not been already confiscated, to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions of sesterces. He ordered Lucretius Ofella to be put to death in the forum, for having declared himself a candidate for the consulship, without having previously obtained his permission; and when the people of Rome were offended, he called a meeting, and told them that Ofella was slain by his orders, [y. r. 671. b. c. 81.] Cneius Pompeius vanquished and killed, in Africa, Cneius Domitius, one of the proscribed persons, and Hiarbas, king of Numidia, who were making preparations for war. He triumphed over Africa, although not more than twenty-four years of age, and only of equestrian rank, which never happened to any

man before. Caius Norbanus, of consular rank, being proscribed, when he was taken at Rhodes, committed suicide. Mutilus, one of the proscribed, coming privately and in disguise to the back door of his wife Bastia's house, was refused admission, and she told him that he was a proscribed man, whereupon he stabbed himself, and sprinkled the door of his wife's house with his blood. Sylla took Nolla, a city of the Samnites, [y. r. 672. b. c. 80,] and led forth forty-seven legions into the conquered lands, and divided them among them. [y. r. 673. b. c. 79.] He besieged and took the town of Volaterra, which was as yet at war with him. Mitylene, the only town in Asia which continued to adhere to Mithridates, was likewise stormed and demolished.

#### **BOOK XC.**

Sylla died, and the honour was paid him by the senate of being buried in the Campus Martius. [y. r. 674. b. c. 78.] Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, attempting to rescind the acts of Sylla, raised a war, and was driven out of Italy by his colleague, Quintus Catulus, and having vainly planned a war in Sardinia, lost his life. [y. r. 675. b. c. 77.] Marcus Brutus, who held possession of Cisalpine Gaul, was slain by Cneius Pompeius. Quintus Sertorius, one of the proscribed, raised a formidable war in Farther Spain. Lucius Manilius, the proconsul, and Marcus Domitius were overthrown in a battle by the quæstor Herculeius. This book contains, moreover, an account of the expedition of the proconsul, Publius Servilius, against the Cilicians.

#### **BOOK XCI.**

Cneius Pompeius, while yet only of equestrian rank, was sent with consular authority against Sertorius. Sertorius took several cities, and reduced very many others to submission. The proconsul Appius Claudius, conquered the Thracians in several battles, [y. r. 676. b. c. 76.] Quintus Metellus, the proconsul, cut off Herculeius, the quæstor of Sertorius, with his whole army.

#### **BOOK XCII.**

Cneius Pompeius fought an undecided battle with Sertorius, the wings on each side being beaten. Quintus Metellus conquered Sertorius and Peperna, with both their armies; Pompeius, desirous of having a share in this victory, engaged in the action, but without success. Sertorius, besieged in Clunia, made frequent sallies, to the great loss of the besiegers, [y. r. 677. b. c. 75.] This book contains, moreover, an account of the successful expedition of Curio, the proconsul, against the Dardanians, and of the cruelties of Sertorius against his own partisans, many of whom he put to death, upon pretended suspicion of treachery.

#### **BOOK XCIII.**

Publius Servilius, the proconsul in Cilicia, subdued the Isaurians, and took several cities belonging to the pirates. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dying, bequeathed his dominions to the Roman people, who reduced them into the form of a province, [y. r. 678. b. c. 74.] Mithridates, having established a league with Sertorius, declared war against Rome; he made vast preparations, both by land and sea, and seized Bithynia: Marcus Aurelius Cotta was overcome in an action by the king, at Chalcedon. This book contains the history of the actions of Pompey and Metellus against Sertorius, who was equal to them in all the tactics of war and military service, and having driven them from the blockade of the town of Calagurris, he compelled them to retire to different countries—Metellus to Farther Spain, and Pompey to Gaul.

**BOOK XCIV.**

Lucius Licinius Lucullus, consul, defeated Mithridates in an action between their cavalry, and made several successful expeditions, and repressed a mutiny among his soldiers which originated from an eager desire of fighting. Deiotarus, tetrarch of Gallogræcia, killed certain officers of Mithridates who were stirring up war in Phrygia. This book contains, moreover, an account of the successes of Pompeius against Sertorius in Spain.

**BOOK XCV.**

Caius Curio, the proconsul, [y. r. 679. b. c. 73.] subdued the Dardanians, in Thrace. Seventy-four gladiators, belonging to Lentulus, make their escape from Capua, and having collected a great number of slaves and hired servants, and having put themselves under the command of Crixus and Spartacus, they defeated, in a battle, Claudius Pulcher, a lieutenant-general, and Publius Varenus, the prætor. Lucius Lucullus, the proconsul, destroyed the army of Mithridates, by the sword and famine, at Cyzicus; and obliged that king, when driven from Bithynia, and broken down by various misfortunes arising from war and shipwrecks, to take refuge in Pontus.

**BOOK XCVI.**

Quintus Arrius, the prætor, [y. r. 680. b. c. 72.] slew Crixus, the commander of the fugitive gladiators, with twenty thousand men. Cneius Lentulus, the consul, engaged Spartacus unsuccessfully, who also defeated Lucius Gellius, the consul, and Quintus Arrius, the prætor. Sertorius was slain at a feast, in the eighth year of his command, by Manius Antonius, Marcus Peperna, and other conspirators: he was a great general, and although opposed to two eminent commanders, Pompeius and Metellus, was often equal, and sometimes even superior, to both of them; at last, being deserted and betrayed, the command of his force devolved upon Peperna, whom Pompeius took prisoner and slew, and recovered Spain, towards the close of the tenth year of that war. Caius Crassus, the proconsul, and Cneius Manlius, the prætor, fought Spartacus unsuccessfully; the charge of that war was committed to the prætor, Marcus Crassus.

**BOOK XCVII.**

Marcus Crassus, the prætor, [y. r. 681. b. c. 71.] fought successfully first with that part of the fugitives which was composed of Gauls and Germans, and slew thirty-five thousand of them, with their general, Granicus; afterwards he fought with Spartacus, killing him and forty thousand men. Marcus Antonius, the prætor, ended, by his death, the war against the Cretans, which had been unsuccessfully undertaken. Marcus Lucullus, the proconsul, subdued the Thracians. Lucius Lucullus fought successfully against Mithridates in Pontus, more than sixty thousand of the enemy being slain, [y. r. 682. b. c. 70.] Marcus Crassus and Cneius Pompey, being made consuls, restored the tribunitian power; the latter, being of the equestrian order, had not filled the office of quæstor. The right of trial was transferred to the Roman knights, by the prætor, Lucius Aurelius Cotta. The affairs of Mithridates being reduced to a state of desperation, he flew for refuge to Tigranes, king of Armenia.

**BOOK XCVIII.**

A treaty of friendship was made by Machares, son of Mithridates, king of Bosphorus, with Lucius Lucullus. Cneius Lentulus and Caius Gellius, the censors, exercised their office with extreme rigour; expelling sixty-four senators. The lustrum was closed, and

the number of citizens amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand. [y. r. 683. b. c. 69.] Lucius Metellus, the prætor, was successful against the pirates in Sicily. The temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, having been consumed by fire, was rebuilt, and dedicated by Quintus Catulus. [y. r. 684. b. c. 68.] Lucius Lucullus defeated Mithridates and Tigranes, with their vast armies, in Armenia, in several battles. The war against the Cretans being committed to the charge of the proconsul, Quintus Metellus, he laid siege to the city of Cydonia. [y. r. 685. b. c. 67.] Lucius Triarius, a lieutenant-general of Lucullus, was defeated in a battle against Mithridates. Lucullus was prevented, by a sedition in his army, from pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes, and completing his victory; the Valerian legions refused to follow Lucullus, alleging that they had served out their time.

### **BOOK XCIX.**

The proconsul, Quintus Metellus, took Gnossus, Lyctus, Cydonia, and many other cities. Lucius Roscius, the plebeian tribune, carried a law, that the fourteen lower seats in the theatre shall be allotted to the Roman knights. Cneius Pompeius, being ordered by a law, which had the sanction of the people, to proceed against the pirates, who had interrupted the commerce of corn, in forty days drove them wholly from the sea; and having finished the war against them in Cilicia, and reduced them to submission, assigned them lands and towns. This book contains, moreover, the history of the successes of Metellus against the Cretans, the letters between Metellus and Pompeius. Metellus complained that Pompeius had robbed him of the glory of his actions, in sending a deputy of his own to receive the submission of the Cretans. Pompeius alleged that he had a right to do so.

### **BOOK C.**

Caius Manilius, the tribune of the people, [y. r. 686. b. c. 66,] to the great dissatisfaction of the nobility, proposed that the Mithridatic war should be committed to the conduct of Pompeius. He made an admirable speech on the occasion. Quintus Metellus, having subdued Crete, imposed laws upon that hitherto free island. Cneius Pompeius, on setting out for the war against Mithridates, renewed the treaty of friendship with Phraates, king of Parthia; he overcame Mithridates in an engagement between their cavalry. This book contains also the history of the war between Phraates, king of Parthia, and Tigranes, king of Armenia; afterwards, between the father and son Tigranes.

### **BOOK CI.**

Cneius Pompeius vanquished Mithridates, in a battle fought in the night, and compelled him to fly to Bosphorus; reduced Tigranes to submission, taking from him Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia; and restored to him his own kingdom of Armenia. The conspiracy planned by those, who had been found guilty of bribery in seeking the consulship, to murder the consuls, was suppressed. [y. r. 687. b. c. 65.] Pompeius pursued Mithridates into remote, and even unknown regions; he conquered in battle the Iberians and Albanians, who had refused him a passage through their territories. This book contains also the history of the flight of Mithridates through Colchis and the country of the Heinochi, and of his actions at Bosphorus.

### **BOOK CII.**

Pompeius reduce Pontus to the form of a Roman province. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, made war upon his father. Mithridates, besieged in his palace, took poison, and, when this did not produce the desired effect, he caused himself to be slain by a

Gaul, named Bituitus. Pompeius conquered the Jews, and took their hitherto unviolated temple at Jerusalem. [y. r. 688. b. c. 64.] Catiline, having twice failed in his suit for the consulship, forms a conspiracy, with Lentulus, Cethegus, and others, to destroy the consuls and the senate, to burn the city, and seize the commonwealth: he raised an army in Etruria; [y. r. 689. b. c. 63;] the conspiracy was discovered, and frustrated by the exertions of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the consul. Catiline was driven out of Rome; the other conspirators were punished with death.

### **BOOK CIII.**

Catiline, together with his army, [y. r. 690. b. c. 62,] was slain by the proconsul, Caius Antonius. Publius Clodius being accused of having, disguised in woman's apparel, entered a chapel, which it was not lawful for a man to enter, and of having defiled the wife of the high priest, was acquitted. Caius Pontinius, the prætor, subdued at Solon the Allobrogians, who had rebelled. Publius Clodius joined the party of the people. Caius Cæsar subdued the Lusitanians: [y. r. 691. b. c. 51:] being a candidate for the consulship, and determined to seize the power of the commonwealth in his own hands, he formed a party with two of the principal men of the state, Cneius Pompeius and Marcus Crassus. [y. r. 692. b. c. 60.] Cæsar, the consul, procured the passing of some Agrarian laws, contrary to the will of the senate, and notwithstanding the opposition of his colleague, Marcus Bibulus. [y. r. 693. b. c. 59.] Caius Antonius, the proconsul, was defeated in Thrace. [y. r. 694. b. c. 58.] Marcus Cicero was banished, in consequence of a law procured by Publius Clodius, for having put to death Roman citizens uncondemned. Cæsar, having gone into the province of Gaul, subdued the Helvetians, a wandering tribe, who, seeking a place of settlement, attempted to pass through Narbo, a part of his province. This book contains a description of the situation of Gaul. Pompeius triumphed over the children of Mithridates, Tigranes, and also the son of the latter; and the surname of the Great was conferred upon him by a full assembly of the people.

### **BOOK CIV.**

This book commences with a description of the situation of Germany, and the manners and customs of the natives. Caius Cæsar, at the request of the Æduans and Sequanians, whose country had been seized upon, leads his army against the Germans, who had invaded Gaul, under the command of Ariovistus, roused by an address the courage of his soldiers, who were alarmed at the unusual appearance of these new enemies, and expelled from Gaul the Germans, defeated in a battle, [y. r. 695. b. c. 57.] Marcus Tullius Cicero, to the great joy of the senate, and of all Italy, was recalled from banishment chiefly by the persuasion of Pompeius, aided by Titus Annius Milo, the plebeian tribune, who also argued in his favour. The charge of providing corn for the city was committed to Cneius Pompeius for five years. Cæsar brought to subjection the Ambians, Suessians, Veromanduans, and Atrebatians, a people of the Belgians, whose numbers were immense, after having subdued them in battle. He afterwards, at great risk, engaged the Nervians, a people belonging to one of the above states, and destroyed that race; this war they continued with such obstinacy, that their army was reduced from sixty thousand men to three hundred, and, of four hundred senators, only three remained alive. A law being made to reduce Cyprus to the form of a province, and to confiscate the royal treasure; the management of that business was committed to Marcus Cato. [y. r. 696. b. c. 56.] Ptolemy, being ill-treated by his subjects, and dethroned, came to Rome. Caius Cæsar defeated the Venetians, a people living on the borders of the sea, in a sea-fight. This book contains also the history of his lieutenants' equally good fortune.

**BOOK CV.**

When, by the intercessions of Caius Cato, the elections were suspended, the senate went into mourning, [y. r. 607. b. c. 55.] Marcus Cato, a candidate for the prætorship, lost the election, Vatinius carrying it against him. The same Cato was committed to prison by the tribune Trebonius, for resisting the law allotting the provinces, for five years, in the following manner: to Cæsar, Gaul and Germany; to Pompeius, Spain; and to Crassus, Syria, and the Parthian war. Aulus Gabinius, the proconsul, restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and dethroned Archelaus, whom the people had elected king. [y. r. 698. b. c. 54.] Cæsar, having vanquished the Germans who had invaded Gaul, passed the Rhine, and subdued the nearest part of it: and then crossed over the sea into Britain, with adverse fortune, at first owing to opposing tempests, and afterwards with little better success; and, having killed a very great number of the inhabitants, he reduced a part of the island to subjection.

**BOOK CVI.**

Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, and wife of Pompeius, died, and by a vote of the people she was honoured with burial in the Campus Martius. Certain tribes of the Gauls revolted under the command of Ambiorix; they insnare and cut off Cotta and Titurius, lieutenants-general under Cæsar, with the armies under their command: having attacked the camps of the other legions, who with difficulty defended them, and among the rest the camp of Quintus Cicero, who commanded in the country of the Nervii, they were defeated by Cæsar in battle. [y. r. 699. b. c. 53.] Marcus Crassus crossed the Euphrates, to make war against the Parthians, and was overthrown in a battle, in which his son was killed, after he had collected the remains of his army upon a rising ground: having been invited to a conference by the enemy, whose leader was Surenas, under the pretence of a treaty of peace, he was insnared, and fell fighting bravely, to prevent his suffering indignity from the enemy while alive.

**BOOK CVII.**

Caius Cæsar, having subdued the Trevirian Gauls, passed over a second time into Germany; finding no enemy there, he returned to Gaul, and reduced to obedience the Eburones, and other cities, which had revolted. Titus Annius Milo, a candidate for the consulship, killed Publius Clodius on the Appian road, near Bovilla: the people burned the body of the latter in the curia, [y. r. 700. b. c. 52.] The candidates for the consulship, Hypsæus, Scipio, and Milo, carried on their contention with so much rancour, as to come to open violence, which excited a seditious tumult. To repress these enormities, Cneius Pompeius was a third time elected consul, in his absence, and without a colleague,—a circumstance which never occurred before. Milo was tried for the murder of Clodius, and condemned to banishment. A law was made, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Marcus Cato, to empower Cæsar to stand for the consulship, though absent. This book contains also the history of Cæsar's operations against the Gauls, who had almost all revolted, and put themselves under the command of Vercingetorix: he took many towns; amongst others, Avaricum, Biturium, and Gergovia.

**BOOK CVIII.**

Caius Cæsar overthrew the Gauls at Alesia, and reduced all the revolted cities to subjection. Caius Cassius, Marcus Crassus's quæstor, defeated the Parthians who had passed over into Syria. [y. r. 701. b. c. 51.] Marcus Cato failed in his suit for the consulship; the successful candidates being Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus.

Caius Cæsar subdued the Bellovacians, and other Gallic tribes. This book contains, moreover, the record of the disputes between the consuls, concerning the sending out of a person to succeed Cæsar; Marcellus contending that Cæsar should come home to sue for the consulship, being, by a law made expressly for that purpose, enabled to hold his province until that period; and also the exploits of Marcus Bibulus in Syria.

#### **BOOK CIX.**

In this book are recorded the causes and commencement of the civil war, and [y. r. 702. b. c. 50] disputes about sending a successor to Cæsar, who refused to disband his army, unless Pompeius should also do the same. And it contains an account of the actions of Caius Curio, the plebeian tribune, first against Cæsar, afterwards in his favour. [y. r. 703. b. c. 49.] A decree of the senate being passed, that a successor to Cæsar should be appointed, Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius being driven out of the city, for protesting against that measure, orders were sent by the senate to the consuls, and to Cneius Pompeius, to take care that the commonwealth should sustain no injury. Cæsar, determined to make war upon his enemies, arrived in Italy with his army, took Corfinium, and in it Lucius Domitius and Lucius Lentulus, whom he discharged; and drove Cneius Pompeius and his adherents out of Italy.

#### **BOOK CX.**

Cæsar besieged Masilia, the gates of which had been shut against him; leaving his lieutenants-general, Caius Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, to carry on the siege, he set out for Spain, where Lucius Afranius and Caius Petreius, Pompeius's lieutenants-general, with seven legions, surrendered to him at Ilerda: he dismissed them all in safety. He also reduced to submission Varro, another lieutenant-general of Pompeius, with the army under his command. He granted the privileges of Roman citizens to the Gaditanians. The Massilians were defeated in two engagements at sea; after having sustained a long siege, they yielded to Cæsar. Caius Antonius, a lieutenant-general of Cæsar, having made an unsuccessful attack upon Pompeius's forces in Illyria, was taken prisoner. In the course of this war, the inhabitants of Opitergium, a district beyond the Po, in alliance with Cæsar, seeing their bridge blocked up by the enemy's ships, rather than fall into their hands, killed one another. Caius Curio, one of Cæsar's lieutenants-general in Africa, after a successful engagement with Varus, a general of the Pompeian party, was cut off, together with his army, by Juba, king of Mauritania. Caius Cæsar passed over into Greece.

#### **BOOK CXI.**

Marcus Cælius Rufus, the prætor, [y. r. 662. b. c. 48,] having excited a sedition in the city, by holding out hopes to the people that their debts should be annulled, his office being taken from him, was driven from the city: he joined Milo, who, being in exile, was raising an army of fugitives: they were both slain while preparing for war. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, was dethroned by her brother Ptolemy. The Cordubians in Spain, harassed by the extortion and oppression of the prætor, Quintus Cassius, desert Cæsar's party, together with two legions. Cneius Pompeius being besieged by Cæsar at Dyrracchium, beats him out of his lines; the siege being raised, the seat of war was removed to Thessaly; Cæsar conquered Pompeius in a battle at Pharsalia. Cicero remained in the camp, as he was a man better calculated for any thing than war. Cæsar granted a free pardon to all who submitted themselves to his power.

#### **BOOK CXII.**

The consternation and flight of the vanquished parties in various quarters of the world are recorded. Cneius Pompeius, when he had gone to Egypt, before he could land, was slain in his boat by Achilles, who had been sent for that purpose, according to the command of Ptolemy, the young king, who was instigated by Pothinus and Theodotus, his tutor, who had great influence over the king. Cornelia, his wife, and Sextus, his son, fled to Cyprus. Cæsar followed him three days after; and when Theodotus presented to him the head and ring of Pompeius, he was grievously offended, and wept over them. [y. r. 705. b. c. 47.] Cæsar entered Alexandria in safety, though it was in a state of tumult. Cæsar being created dictator, restored Cleopatra to her throne; and defeated with great slaughter Ptolemy, who had made war upon him by the advice of those who had caused him to put Pompeius to death. Ptolemy, in his flight, sunk with his vessel in the Nile. This book contains also an account of the fatiguing march of Marcus Cato, with his legions, through the deserts of Africa; and of the unsuccessful war of Cneius Domitius against Pharnaces.

### **BOOK CXIII.**

The Pompeian party having collected their forces in Africa, the supreme command was given to Publius Scipio,—Marcus Cato, who had been joined with him in the command, giving it up. When it was deliberated, in council, whether the city of Utica should not be demolished, on account of its attachment to Cæsar, Cato opposed that measure, which was strongly recommended by Juba: Cato's opinion prevailing, he was appointed governor of the city. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius the Great, having collected some forces in Spain, which neither Afranius nor Petreius would take the command of, renews the war against Cæsar. Pharnaces, king of Pontus, son of Mithridates, after supporting the war but a very short time, was subdued. When seditions were excited in Rome by Publius Dolabella, a plebeian tribune, who moved for a law to abolish the debts of the people, and on that account a tumult arose among the people, Marcus Antonius, master of the horse, brought troops into the town, and killed eight hundred of the people. Cæsar discharged the veteran soldiers, who were grown mutinous, crossed over into Africa, and engaged the forces of king Juba in a very hazardous combat.

### **BOOK CXIV.**

Cæcilius Bassus, [y. r. 706. b. c. 46,] a Roman knight of the Pompeian party, stirred up war in Syria; the legion left there under the command of Sextus Cæsar, having slain their commander, and revolted to Bassus. Cæsar defeated Scipio the prætor, Afranius, and Juba, at Thapsus, their camps having been stormed. Having heard of this circumstance, Cato stabbed himself at Utica, and by the intervention of his son he might have been saved, but in the middle of the restoratives, having torn open the wound, he expired, in his forty-ninth year. Petreius put Juba and himself to death. Publius Scipio, being surrounded in his ship, to an honourable death added also a remarkable speech, for to the enemies who inquired about the general, he said, "The general is well." Faustus and Afranius were slain. Cato's son was pardoned. Brutus, Cæsar's lieutenant-general, defeated the rebellious Bellovacians in battle.

### **BOOK CXV.**

Cæsar triumphed four times; over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. He gave a feast, and exhibited shows of every description. To Marcus Marcellus, a man of consular rank, he granted leave to return at the request of the senate; which favour Marcellus did not live to enjoy, having been murdered at Athens by Cneius Magius Cilo, his own dependant. Cæsar held a census, when the number of citizens amounted to one hundred and fifty

thousand, [y. r. 707. b. c. 45,] and went to Spain against Cneius Pompey; where, after many attacks on both sides, many cities having been stormed, he at length gained a signal victory, after a most desperate engagement, at Munda. Sextus Pompeius effected his escape.

### **BOOK CXVI.**

Cæsar triumphed a fifth time over Spain. Very many and high honours were decreed him by the senate; among others, that he should be styled Father of his country, and Sacred, and also that he should be perpetual dictator, [y. r. 708. b. c. 44.] It afforded cause of odium against him, that he rose not to the senate when conferring these honours on him, as he was sitting before the shrine of Venus Genetrix; and that he laid aside on a chair the diadem, placed on his head, by his colleague in the consulship, Marcus Antonius, who was running among the Lupercalians, and that the magistracies were taken away from Epidius Marullus and Cassetius Flavus, the tribunes of the people, who excited envy against him for aiming at the imperial dignity. For these reasons, a conspiracy was formed against him; the chiefs of which were, Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius, with two of his own partisans, Decimus Brutus and Caius Trebonius. He was slain in Pompey's senate-house with three-and-twenty wounds; and the Capitol was seized on by his murderers. An act of amnesty having been passed by the senate in relation to his murder, and the children of Antony and Lepidus having been taken as hostages, the conspirators came down from the Capitol. Octavius, Cæsar's nephew, was by his will made heir of half his possessions. Cæsar's body was burnt by the people, in the Campus Martius, opposite the rostrum. The office of dictator was abolished for ever. Caius Amatius, one of the lowest of the people, giving himself out for the son of Caius Marius, having excited some seditious movements among the credulous vulgar, was slain.

### **BOOK CXVII.**

Caius Octavius came to Rome from Epirus, whither Cæsar had sent him to conduct the war in Macedonia; and, having received favourable omens, assumed the name of Cæsar. In the confusion and bustle of affairs, Lepidus procured the office of chief priest. But when Marcus Antonius, the consul, governed with violence, and forcibly caused a law to be passed respecting the change of provinces; and had also given very injurious treatment to Cæsar, when he requested that he would assist him in punishing the murderers of his uncle; Cæsar, to strengthen himself and the commonwealth against him, called out the veteran soldiers, who had been settled in the colonies. The fourth and Martian legions also deserted from Antony to Cæsar. Afterwards also very many revolted to Caasar, on account of the cruelty of Antony, who slaughtered every where in their own camps even those whom he suspected. Decimus Brutus, in order to stop Antonius on his way into Cisalpine Gaul, seized Mutina with his army. This book contains also the history of the attempts of both parties to possess themselves of the provinces, and of the preparations for war.

### **BOOK CXVIII.**

Marcus Brutus, in Greece, under the pretext of supporting the commonwealth, and the war against Antonius, managed to get the command of Vatinius' army and province. [y. r. 709. b. c. 43.] To Cæsar, who had first undertaken to defend the commonwealth by arms, was given the authority of proprætor, with consular ornaments by the senate, and it was added that he should be enrolled a senator. Marcus Antonius besieged Brutus at Mutina; and the ambassadors sent to him by the senate, with a treaty of peace, met with

little success in effecting it. The people of Rome assumed the military habit. Marcus Brutus reduced under his power Caius Antonius, the prætor, together with the army which he commanded in Epirus.

#### **BOOK CXIX.**

By the treachery of Publius Dolabella, Caius Trebonius was slain in Asia: for which crime the senate voted Dolabella to be a public enemy. When Pansa, one of the consuls, had fought unsuccessfully against Antony, Aulus Hirtius, the other consul, coming up with his army, equalized the fortune of either party, the forces of Antony being routed. Antonius, afterwards being conquered by Hirtius and Cæsar, fled into Gaul, and joined to himself Marcus Lepidus, together with the legions which were under him, and was declared a public enemy by the senate, together with all his associates. Aulus Hirtius, who, after his victory, was slain in the enemy's camp, and Lucius Pansa, who died of a wound received in an unsuccessful battle, were buried in the Campus Martius. To Cæsar, the only surviving general of the three, the senate showed but little gratitude; for a triumph was voted to Decimus Brutus, who was relieved from the siege of Mutina by Cæsar. They did not mention with sufficient gratitude Cæsar and his soldiers, wherefore Caius Cæsar, having, by the intervention of Marcus Lepidus, renewed his friendly relation with Marcus Antonius, came with his army to Rome, and those who had been unjust to him, being struck with dread at his approach, he was elected consul in his nineteenth year.

#### **BOOK CXX.**

Cæsar, the consul, introduced a law to hold an inquiry into the case of those by whose instigation his father had been murdered, and Marcus Brutus, Caius Cassius, and Decimus Brutus having been tried by this law, were condemned, though absent. When Asinius Pollio and Munatius Plancus, having also joined their forces to those of Antonius, had increased his strength, and when Decimus Brutus, to whom the senate had given orders to pursue Antony, being deserted by the legions under his command, had fled, he was killed by Capenus Sequanus, by order of Antonius, into whose hands he had fallen. Caius Cæsar became reconciled to Antonius and Lepidus, so that he and Lepidus and Antony formed a triumvirate for the administration of the republic for five years, and that they should proscribe each his particular enemies, in which proscription were included very many of the equestrian order, and one hundred and thirty senators; among whom were Lucius Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, Lucius Cæsar, Antony's uncle, and Marcus Tullius Cicero, whose head and right hand were placed on the rostrum, when he was murdered in his sixty-third year by Popilius, a legionary soldier. This book also contains an account of the transactions of Brutus in Greece.

#### **BOOK CXXI.**

Caius Cassius, having received orders from the senate to pursue Dolabella, who had been pronounced a public enemy, acting under the sanction of the state, reduced Syria under his authority by means of the three armies which were in that province, and besieging Dolabella, in Laodicea, put him to death. Caius Antonius, having been taken, was also slain by order of Marcus Brutus.

#### **BOOK CXXII.**

Marcus Brutus fought unsuccessfully with the Thracians. Afterwards all the provinces beyond sea, together with the armies in them, having been brought into obedience to him and Cassius, they met at Smyrna, to hold a council relative to the war which they

were about to engage in. [y. r. 710. b. c. 42.] They agreed in pardoning Publicola, the brother of Marcus Messala, who had been conquered.

### **BOOK CXXIII.**

Sextus, son of Pompey the Great, having assembled a considerable number of the proscribed Romans, and other fugitives, in Epirus, wandering about for a long time, subsisting chiefly by piracy; at length he seized first on Messana in Sicily, and afterwards on the whole province; and having killed Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus, the prætor, he defeated Quintus Salvidienus, a general of Cæsar's, in a sea-fight. Cæsar and Antonius, with their armies, passed over into Greece, to make war against Brutus and Cassius. Quintus Cornificius conquered, in a battle in Africa, Titus Sestius, the leader of Cassius' party.

### **BOOK CXXIV.**

Caius Cæsar and Antony fought an undecisive battle with Brutus and Cassius at Philippi; in which the right wing of each army was victorious; and on both sides the camps were taken: the death of Cassius turned the scale of fortune; for, being at the head of that wing which was beaten, he supposed his whole army routed, and killed himself. Afterwards, in another battle, Brutus, being overcome, put an end to his life, in his fortieth year, after entreating Strabo, the companion of his flight, to drive a sword through him. *Many others slew themselves*, among whom was Quintus Hortensius.

### **BOOK CXXV.**

Cæsar, [y. r. 711. b. c. 41,] leaving Antonius to take care of the provinces beyond the sea, returned to Italy, and made a distribution of lands among the veterans. He represses, with great risk, a mutiny among his soldiers, who, being bribed by Fulvia, the wife of Marcus Antonius, conspired against their general. Lucius Antonius, the consul, influenced by Fulvia, made war upon Cæsar, having taken to his assistance those whose lands Cæsar had distributed among his veteran soldiers: and having overthrown Lepidus, who, with an army, had charge of the defence of the city, he entered it in a hostile manner.

### **BOOK CXXVI.**

Cæsar, now twenty-three years of age, [y. r. 712. b. c. 40,] besieged Antonius in Perugia, and forced him, after several ineffectual attempts to escape, to surrender through famine, and pardoned him and all his soldiers. He razed Perugia to the ground and terminated the war without bloodshed, all the forces of the enemy having been brought under his own power.

### **BOOK CXXVII.**

The Parthians, who had joined the Pompeian party, under the command of Labienus, invaded Syria, and having beaten Decidius Saxa, a lieutenant-general under Antonius, seized that whole province. When Marcus Antonius was excited to dispute with Cæsar by his wife Fulvia, having dismissed her, lest she should mar the concord of the generals, and having concluded a treaty of peace with Cæsar, he married his sister Octavia. He himself informed against Quintus Salvidienus, who was forming a villanous combination against Cæsar, who, having been condemned, committed suicide. [y. r. 713. b. c. 39.] Publius Ventidius, the lieutenant of Antony, drove the Parthians from Syria, having conquered them in battle, their general, Labienus, having been slain. When Sextus Pompey held Sicily, (being hostilely disposed, and near to Italy,) and obstructed

the commerce in corn, at his own request Cæsar and Antony entered into a treaty of peace, so that he was made governor of Sicily. This book contains also the history of the commotions and war in Africa.

#### **BOOK CXXVIII.**

[y. r. 714. b. c. 38.] When Sextus Pompeius had again infested the sea with his piracies, nor kept the peace which he had solicited, Cæsar, being obliged to make war upon him, fought against him in two indecisive sea-engagements, [y. r. 715. b. c. 37.] Publius Ventidius, the lieutenant of Marcus Antonius, overthrew the Parthians in battle, in Syria, and killed their king. [y. r. 716. b. c. 36.] Antonius's generals vanquished the Jews also. This book contains also the account of the preparations for war in Sicily.

#### **BOOK CXXIX.**

Several battles were fought at sea, with Sextus Pompeius, with various success; of Cæsar's two fleets, one under the command of Agrippa gained a victory; the other, led by Cæsar himself, was cut off; and his soldiers, being sent on shore, were exposed to great dangers. Pompeius, being afterwards defeated, fled into Sicily. Marcus Lepidus, who came from Africa, under the pretext of joining Cæsar in the war which he was about to wage against Sextus Pompeius, when he declared war against Cæsar himself, being deserted by his army, and deprived of the honour of the triumvirate, obtained his life. Cæsar conferred a naval crown upon Agrippa, an honour never before bestowed on any commander.

#### **BOOK CXXX.**

Marcus Antonius, having spent much time in luxurious indulgence with Cleopatra, having arrived late in Media, with eighteen legions and sixteen thousand horse, made war upon the Parthians. When, having lost two of his legions, nothing prospered with him, he retreated to Armenia; being pursued by the Parthians, he fled three hundred miles in twenty-one days, great trepidation and danger encompassing his whole army. He lost about eight thousand men by tempests; he was himself the cause, as well of the losses by the tempests, as of the unfortunate Parthian war; for he would not winter in Armenia, being in haste to revisit Cleopatra.

#### **BOOK CXXXI.**

Sextus Pompeius, [y. r. 717. b. c. 35,] notwithstanding his engagements to Marcus Antonius, endeavoured to raise a war against him in Asia, and was slain by one of Antonius's generals. [y. r. 718. b. c. 34.] Cæsar repressed a mutiny of the veterans, which threatened much mischief; he subdued the Japidæ, the Dalmatians, and Pannonians. [y. r. 179. b. c. 33.] Antonius, having, by promises of safety and protection, induced Artavardes, king of Armenia, to come to him, commanded him to be thrown into chains, and gave the kingdom of Armenia to his own son, whom he had by Cleopatra, whom he now treated as his wife, having been long enamoured of her.

#### **BOOK CXXXII.**

Cæsar conquered the Dalmatians in Illyria. [y. r. 720. b. c. 32.] He passed over to Epirus at the head of an army [y. r. 721. b. c. 31] against Antonius, who, fascinated by the love of Cleopatra, by whom he had two sons, Alexander and Philadelphus, would neither come to Rome, nor, the time of his triumvirate being expired, would resign that office; but meditated war, which he should wage against Rome and Italy, and for that purpose was preparing great forces both by sea and land, having also divorced Octavia, Cæsar's

sister. Sea-fights, and battles on land between the cavalry, in which Cæsar was victorious, are recorded.

### **BOOK CXXXIII.**

After his fleet had been vanquished by Cæsar at Actium, Antonius escaped to Alexandria, where, being besieged by Cæsar, in desperation, induced principally by a false rumour of the death of Cleopatra, he committed suicide. Cæsar having reduced Alexandria, [y. r. 722. b. c. 30,] Cleopatra, to avoid falling into his hands, having put herself to death, on his return to Rome triumphs three times: first, over Illyria; secondly, on account of the victory at Actium; and, thirdly, over Cleopatra: the civil wars being thus terminated, after they had lasted one-and-twenty years, [y. r. 723. b. c. 29.] Marcus Lepidus, the son of Lepidus, who was of the triumvirate, forming a conspiracy against Cæsar, was taken and killed.

### **BOOK CXXXIV.**

Cæsar, having settled the affairs of the state, [y. r. 724. b. c. 28,] and reduced all the provinces to exact order, received the surname of Augustus; and the month Sextilis was named, in honour of him, August. [y. r. 725. b. c. 27.] Cæsar having called a meeting of the states at Narbo, a census was made of the three Gauls, which were conquered by his father. The war against the Bastarnians, Mœsians, and other nations, under the conduct of Marcus Crassus, is described in this book.

### **BOOK CXXXV.**

The war carried on by Marcus Crassus against the Thracians, and by Cæsar against the Spaniards, is recorded in this book. [y. r. 729. b. c. 23.] The Salassians, a people of the Alps, were subdued.

### **BOOK CXXXVI.**

Rhætia was subdued by Tiberius Nero and Drusus, the step-sons of Cæsar. Agrippa, Cæsar's son-in-law, died. The census was held by Drusus.

### **BOOK CXXXVII.**

The states of Germany, situated on either side of the Rhine, are attacked by Drusus. The insurrections, excited by the taxes levied in Gaul, were suppressed, [y. r. 740. b. c. 12.] An altar was dedicated to Cæsar at the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone, by Caius Julius Vercundaris Dubius, an Æduan, appointed priest for that purpose.

### **BOOK CXXXVIII.**

That the Thracians were subdued by Lucius Piso; [y. r. 741. b. c. 11;] also the Cheruskans, Tenetherans, Cattians, and other nations beyond the Rhine, by Drusus, is recorded in this book. Octavia, Augustus's sister, died, having before lost her son, Marcellus; a theatre and portico, dedicated in his name, form his monument.

### **BOOK CXXXIX.**

[y. r. 742. b. c. 10.] The war against the nations beyond the Rhine, conducted by Drusus, is recorded in this book: the chief actors in it were Senectius and Anectius, military tribunes, belonging to the Nervians. Nero, the brother of Drusus, subdued the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Peace was concluded with Parthia, the standards which were taken from Crassus, and afterwards from Antonius, being restored by their king.

### **BOOK CXL.**

[y. r. 743. b. c. 9.] The war against the German nations beyond the Rhine, conducted by Drusus, is recorded in this book. Drusus himself, his horse having fallen on his leg, died of the fracture thirteen days after the accident. His body was conveyed to Rome by his brother, Nero, who having been summoned by the tidings of his illness, had quickly come to him, and it was buried in the tomb of Caius Julius. His funeral eulogium was pronounced by Cæsar Augustus, his stepfather, and many honours were added to his last rites.

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# Fragments Of The History Of Livy

TRANSLATED

BY WILLIAM A. M'DEVITTE, Sen. Mod. Ex. Schol. A. B. T. C. D.

N. B. An asterisk is prefixed to such fragments as can, by a probable conjecture, be referred to the books to which they belong; the other fragments, to which we cannot assign their proper place in the books of Livy, together with what remains of a letter inscribed to his son, have been added subsequently.

\* Belonging to the 12th book.

Pyrrhus was a consummate tactician, but more skilful in the arrangements of a battle than the operations of a war.—Servius on Virg. *Æn.* i. 456.

\* Belonging to the 13th book.

We might have held it in private.—Priscian.

\* Belonging to the 14th book.

Both Livy and Sallust inform us that the ancients used scythe-armed chariots.—Servius. Virg. *Æn.* i. 476.

\* Belonging to the 16th book.

Sichæus was called Sicharbas; Belus, the father of Dido, Methres; Carthage from Carthada, (as we read it,) which is found in the history of the Carthaginians, and in Livy.—Servius. Virg. *Æn.* i. 343.

Carthage signifies, in the Punic tongue, "New City," as Livy informs us.—Servius. Virg. *Æn.* i. 366.

Bitias was the admiral of the Punic fleet, as Livy informs us. Servius.—Virg. *Æn.* i. 738.

\* Belonging to the 17th book.

The day before the Nones. The day before the Ides.—Priscian.

\* Belonging to the 18th book.

Beardless.—Charis. book i.

There is also mention made by Livy of a serpent, in a narrative alike interesting and eloquent.

For he says that there was in Africa, at the river Bagradas, a snake of such enormous size, that it prevented the army of Atilius Regulus from using the water: and that, after seizing many of the soldiers in its powerful fangs, and crushing several to death in the folds of its tail, as soon as they discovered that it could not be injured by weapons cast by the hand, it was at last attacked on every side by missiles from the engines, and killed by numerous and ponderous blows of huge stones; and that it appeared to all, both cohorts and legions, more terrible than Carthage itself. He narrates that the Romans were compelled to remove their camp, owing to the river being tinged with its blood, and the air in the vicinity being corrupted by the pestilential effluvia.

He says, too, that the skin of the monster, which was a hundred and twenty feet long, was sent to Rome.—Valerius Maximus.

\* Belonging to the 19th book.

The third (secular) games were celebrated, according to Antias and Livy, in the consulship of Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Caius Junius Pullus.—Censorinus.

It is recorded in Livy that when a certain general, who was desirous of carrying on a war, was prevented by one of the tribunes of the commons from setting out on the expedition, he ordered the sacred chickens to be brought forward: when they did not eat the corn that was cast before them, the consul, in derision of the augury, said, "let them drink," and cast them into the Tiber. Afterwards, when returning victorious in his ships, he was drowned off the coast of Africa, with all that he commanded.—Servius. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 198.

\* Belonging to the 22nd book.

And in repeating the attack with a small body of troops on the walls of Alisfa, after coming like a marauder, an elephant covered with armour broke forth from the town: the consul took it, and after slaying those on its back, reserved it for the fight. But the townsmen, as they felt little anxiety about it, on the second day, armed with shields, engraven with the figures of elephants, attack a few fugitives, and retake the elephant under more favourable omens; and the inhabitants give the name of Alifæ to the town, formerly called Ruffius, from the circumstance of the favourable following the unfavourable omen.

This fragment is undoubtedly spurious.

\* Belonging to the 49th book.

There are three different opinions concerning the date of the fourth (secular) games. For Antias, and Varro, and Livy have recorded, that they were exhibited in the consulate of Lucius Marcus Censorinus and Manius Manilius, in the six hundred and fifth year after the foundation of Rome.—Censorinus.

\* Belonging to the 56th book.

Who say that Pompey pleaded disease as an excuse, lest, by his presence in the tumult, he might irritate the minds of the Numantines.—Priscian.

\* Belonging to the 77th book.

Sulla makes a most noble matrimonial alliance, by marrying Cæcilia, the daughter of Metellus, the pontifex maximus. For which reason the populace chanted many lampoons against him, and many of the principal men envied him, considering him, whom they judged deserving of consulship, unworthy of that woman, as Livy remarks.—Plutarch. Sulla.

Livy relates that, when Sulla first advanced to the city against Marius, the entrails appeared so propitious to the person sacrificing, that Postumius, the soothsayer, expressed his willingness to give himself into custody, on condition that he should suffer capital punishment, if Sulla did not, by the aid of the gods, succeed in the projects which he had in contemplation.—Augustin.

\* Belonging to the 83rd book.

Since when all the statues were overthrown and burned along with the town, the statue of Minerva alone is reported (as Livy says) to have stood uninjured under the ruins of that immense temple.—Augustin.

Belonging to the 91st book.

The inhabitants of Contrebia, although they were attacked by the pangs of famine, in addition to their other calamities, after making many ineffectual attempts to repel the war from their city and walls, injured the works of Sertorius by casting fire from the walls; and a tower of many stories, which exceeded in height all the fortifications of the city, being consumed by the spreading flames, fell to the ground with a great crash. However, during the following night another tower was reared in the same place, by the efforts of Sertorius, who remained awake all night; the sight of which at the dawn struck the enemy with astonishment. At the same time the city-tower, which had been their strongest defence, as its foundations were undermined, began to yawn with great rents, and afterwards take fire from a torch that was thrown against it; and the inhabitants of Contrebia, being terrified by the fear of the fire and fall of the battlements combined, fled in alarm from the walls: and the whole populace shouted out that ambassadors should be sent to surrender the city. The same valour which had urged Sertorius to besiege them when they provoked him, made him, when victorious, more inclined to mercy. After receiving hostages, he exacted a small sum of money, and took away from them all their arms. He ordered the deserters that were freemen to be brought alive to him: he ordered the inhabitants to slay the fugitive slaves, of whom there was a greater number. They cut their throats and cast them from the walls. Having reduced Contrebia, after a siege of forty-four days, which cost him a great number of men, and having left Lucius Insteius in command there with a strong garrison, he himself marched his army to the river Iberus. Then having built his winter quarters nigh to the town, which is called *Castra Ælia*, he remained in person in the camp; during the day he held a congress of the allied states in the town. He had previously issued a proclamation throughout the entire province, that each state should make arms in proportion to its resources: and after inspecting them, he ordered his soldiers to bring in their other arms, which had been rendered ineffective by frequent marches, or assaults and battles, and divided the new arms among the men by means of the centurions. He also furnished the cavalry with new arms: and distributed among them clothes, which had been previously prepared for them, and gave them pay also. He searched carefully for mechanics, and brought them together from every quarter, and erected public manufactories in which he could employ their labour, and made calculations of the amount of work that could be done each day. Therefore all the implements of war were in process of preparation at the same time: neither did the mechanics want materials, as all things had been previously prepared by the zealous efforts of the states; nor was any department of the service unprovided with proper workmen. Then, after calling together the embassies of all the nations and states, he returned them thanks, because they furnished the supplies which had been levied on them for the infantry: he laid before them a statement of the acts which he had performed in defending his allies and besieging the cities of the enemy, and encouraged them to prosecute the war with vigour: he informed them, briefly, how deeply the provinces of Spain were interested in the success of his party. He then dismissed the assembly, and after bidding them all to be of good courage, and return to their respective states, he sent Marcus Perpenna early in spring with twenty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, to the nation of the Ilercaonians, to defend the maritime coast of that country: he gave him instructions relative to the

routes by which he should march to defend the cities in alliance with him, which Pompey was besieging, and pointed out the places in which he might lay ambuscades for Pompey on his march. At the same time he sent letters to Herennuleius, who was in the same country, and to Lucius Hirtulius, in the other province, with instructions as to the manner in which he wished the war to be conducted: charging him especially "to defend the allied states in such a manner as not to fight a pitched battle with Metellus, for whom he was not a match either in influence or strength. That he himself did not intend to march against Pompey; nor did he believe that the latter would come to a pitched battle; since if the war were protracted, the enemy could procure supplies from every quarter by their shipping, as they had the sea at their back, and all the provinces under their dominion; and that he himself would be reduced to want of every thing, since what he had previously stored was consumed during the former summer. That Perperna was appointed to the command of the region bordering on the sea, in order that he might be able to defend the country which was as yet free from the ravages of the enemy, and at the same time attack them unawares, if any opportunity should occur." He determined to march in person with his army against the Beronians and Autrigonians; because he ascertained that they had frequently, during the winter, solicited aid from Pompey, and had sent persons to point out the way to the Roman army, during the time that he himself was employed in besieging the Celtiberian cities; and besides, his soldiers were often harassed by their cavalry during the siege of Contrebia, in whatsoever direction they might proceed in search of corn and forage. They had even the hardihood at that time to solicit the Arevaci to join their party. He intended, after giving them an example of the severity of war, to deliberate which of his two enemies he should attack, which of the two provinces he should repair to: whether he should go to the maritime coast, to prevent Pompey from entering Ilercaonia and Contestania, both of which were allied nations, or should turn his attention to Metellus and Lusitania. Sertorius, anxiously deliberating on these plans, marched his army peaceably along the banks of the river Iberus, through the territory of his allies, without injuring any one. Then he marched into the territories of the Bursaonians, Cascantinians, and Gracchuritanians; and after wasting every thing, and trampling down the crops, came to Calaguris Nasica, a city of the allies; and after passing the river night to the town, by a bridge built for the occasion, he encamped there. On the next day he sent Marcus Marius, the quæstor, into the territory of the Arevacans and Cerindonians, to enlist soldiers among those nations, and to convey the corn from them to Contrebia, called also Leucas, near which city lay the most convenient roads leading out of the country of the Beronians, in whatever direction he should determine to march his army: and he sent Caius Insteius, the prefect of the cavalry, to Liguria and the nation of the Vaccæans, to search for horsemen, with orders to wait for him at Contrebia with such cavalry as he could collect. After despatching them, he himself set out, and having marched his army through the territory of the Vasconians, pitched his camp on the confines of the Beronians. On the next day he went forward with the cavalry to reconnoitre the roads, after giving orders to the infantry to march in the form of a square, and came to Vaccæa, the strongest city in that country. He came on them unexpectedly during the night. The townsmen having summoned from every quarter the cavalry, both of their own nation and the Autrigonians, made a sally and marched against Sertorius, to prevent him from entering the pass.—The Vatican copy of Livy. This was the first battle that was fought between Sertorius and Pompey. We have the authority of Livy, that Pompey's army lost ten thousand men and all their baggage.—Frontinus.

\* Belonging to the 94th book.

Livy says, in his 94th book, that Inarime was in part of Mæonia, where, for an extent of fifty miles, the earth has been burned with fire. He intimates that Homer signified the same fact.—Servius. *Æn.* ix. 715.

Belonging to the 97th book.

Livy relates that thirty thousand armed men (composed of the fugitives conquered by Crassus) were slain in that battle with their leaders, Castus and Gannicus, and that five of the Roman eagles were recovered, besides twenty-six military standards, and many spoils, among which were the rods and axes.—Frontinus.

\* Belonging to the 98th book.

Livy says that the Romans never before, with such inferior numbers, engaged an enemy. For the victors were scarcely equal in number to a twentieth, or even a smaller portion, of the conquered.—Plutarch. *Lucullus*. We have the authority of Livy that in the former engagement (that at Tigranocerta) a greater number of the enemy was slain and taken prisoners, but in the latter battle (that at Artaxata) the noblest of the nation met that fate.—Plutarch. *Lucullus*.

\* Belonging to the 99th book.

Crete had at first a hundred cities; from which circumstance it was called Hecatompolis; afterwards it contained twenty-four; and subsequently, as we are told, two, Gnossus and Hierapytna: although Livy says that several were stormed by Metellus.—Servius. *Virg.* *Æn.* iii. 106.

\* Belonging to the 102nd book.

After having dissolved this.—Agroetius. For on the capture of the city, (he alludes to the capture of Jerusalem by Cneius Pompeius,) in the third month of the siege, on a fast-day, in the 179th Olympiad, in the consulship of Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, when the Romans, after storming the town, were butchering those who were in the temple; notwithstanding all this, those who were engaged in the sacred ceremonies continued to offer divine worship with the same attention, and were not induced, either by the fear of losing their lives, or by the number of men who were slain around them, to take to flight, for they considered it better to suffer at the very altars whatever they might be compelled to endure, than to neglect any of the commandments instituted by their forefathers. Those who have recorded the achievements of Pompey, testify that these facts were not invented, merely with a tendency to extol a false piety, but that they are really true; among these writers may be enumerated Strabo and Nicolaus, and in addition to them Titus Livy, the writer of Roman History.—Josephus.

Belonging to the 103rd book.

The cancer which eats away the body is more horrible. When concealed it consumes the vitals; when palpable, tears them away: formerly the ancients expelled it by various remedies. For the 103rd book of Titus Livy informs us that such an ulcer was cut out by a red-hot knife, or driven away by drinking the seed of rape: he asserts that the life of a person who has received the infection can scarcely be prolonged for seven days; so great is the violence of the disease.—Q. Seren. Lamon.

\* Belonging to the 105th book.

Livy among the ancients, and Fabius Rusticus among the moderns, both most eloquent writers, have compared the shape of Great Britain to an oblong shield, or two-edged battle-axe.—Tacitus. Agric. Although no one as yet has made the circuit of the entire of Britain, as Livy relates, still various opinions have been expressed by many in speaking on that subject.—Jornandes.

\* Belonging to the 109th book.

In the seven hundredth year from the foundation of Rome, a conflagration, the origin of which has not been ascertained, broke out in that city, and consumed fourteen divisions of it: never, as Livy remarks, was it wasted by a greater fire; so extensive was it, that several years after, Cæsar Augustus gave a large sum of money out of the public treasury for the purpose of rebuilding those edifices which were then burned to the ground.—Orosius. Cæsar, having crossed the river Rubicon, on his reaching Ariminum soon after, issued the necessary commands to the five cohorts, which were the only troops that he then had, and with which, as Livy says, he attacked the world.—Orosius.

\* Belonging to the 111th book.

Caius Crastinus was the first that struck an enemy on the late occasion, which he did with the first javelin that he could seize.—Scholiast on Lucan. Caius Cornelius, a man skilled in the science of augury, the fellow-citizen and intimate friend of Livy the historian, happened to be engaged in taking auspices at the same time. He first, as Livy records, knew the exact period of the battle (of Pharsalia), and told the bystanders that the affair was going on at that moment, and that the leaders were commencing battle. When he took the auguries a second time, and beheld the signs, he leaped up in a fit of inspiration, shouting out, "Cæsar, thou art conquering!" While they who were present were astonished, he took off the garland from his head, and swore that he would not replace it until the event was proved to correspond to his art. Livy positively asserts that this is true.—Plutarch. Cæsar.

Belonging to the 112th book.

Bogud Bogudis, the name of a barbarian, which Livy has declined in the 112th book with the genitive Bogudis.—Priscian. Cassius and Bogud attacked the camp also in different parts, and were not far from forcing the works. At which time also he endeavoured to transport his army rapidly into Africa, for the purpose of strengthening the kingdom of Bogud. Cassius would have waged war against Trebonius, if he could have induced Bogud to become a partner in his mad design.—Priscian. Four hundred thousand books, the noblest monument of the wealth of kings that ever existed, were burned at Alexandria. Other writers have spoken in favour of this library; Livy, for instance, who said that it was the surpassing work of the elegance and research of kings.—Seneca.

Belonging to the 113th book.

And he himself defended the coast about Palpud.

\* Belonging to the 114th book.

These are the accounts that some give of Bassus; but Livy says that he fought under the command of Pompey, and on his defeat lived privately at Tyre, and by bribing some of the legionary soldiers, succeeded in being elected general by them when Sextus was killed.—Appian. I should wish my lot to be such as Titus Livy describes Cato's to have been: for his glory was of such an elevated character, that no addition to or diminution of it was made by the praise or blame of any man, though men of the greatest abilities

did both. He alludes to Marcus Cicero and Caius Cæsar, the former of whom wrote in praise, and the latter in condemnation, of the above-mentioned individual.—Hieronymus.

\* Belonging to the 116th book.

According to the narrative of Livy, an ornamental top had been added to the house of Cæsar, by a decree of the senate, to give it beauty and grandeur. His wife Calpurnia imagined in her dreams that this had fallen, and that she was lamenting and weeping over it. Therefore, when day dawned, she entreated Cæsar not to go into the street that day, but postpone the meeting of the senate to another occasion, if he could possibly effect it.—Plutarch. Cæsar. It is considered an evil omen when Mount Ætna, in Sicily, emits not only smoke, but balls of fire: and Livy says that such extensive flames issued from it before the death of Cæsar; that not only the neighbouring cities, but also the state of Rhegium, which is far distant from it, felt the fiery vapour.—Servius. The remark that was generally made concerning Julius Cæsar, and attributed to Titus Livy, is applicable also to the winds; namely, that it was doubtful whether his existence or non-existence would have been more advantageous to the republic.—Seneca.

\* Belonging to the 118th book.

In opposition to the murderers of Caius Cæsar, he levied some troops to assist his avengers.

\* Belonging to the 120th book.

Marcus Cicero had left the city a little before the arrival of the triumvirs, considering it certain that there was no greater possibility of his being rescued from Antonius, than of Brutus and Cassius being saved from Cæsar, and so the matter really was. He fled first to the territory of Tusculum, and afterwards proceeded by crossroads into the territory of Formiæ, with the intention of embarking at Caieta. From which he sailed out several times into the deep sea, but when the adverse winds at one time drove him back, at another he himself could not endure the pitching of the ship in the heavy roll of the sea, he was at length seized with a disgust at both life and flight: and having returned to his upper villa, which is little more than a mile from the sea, he said, "I will die in my native land that I have saved so often." It is ascertained that his slaves were prepared to fight with bravery and fidelity; and that he himself ordered them to lay down the litter, and bear with resignation whatever the severity of fortune would enjoin. As he stretched forth from the litter, and held his neck unmoved, his head was cut off. Nor did that suffice the senseless cruelty of the soldiers. They cut off his hands also, in reproach of their having written any thing against Antonius. In this way his head was brought to Antonius, and by his orders placed between his hands on the rostrum. The people, raising up their eyes bedimmed with tears, could scarcely bear the sight of his dismembered limbs. He lived sixty-three years; so that in the absence of violence his death would not have seemed a premature one: his genius was successfully displayed in his works, and in gaining the rewards of his works: he himself was for a long time prosperous, yet during his long career of success suffering occasionally great calamities: namely, exile, the ruin of the party which he had espoused, the death of his daughter, his own, so miserable and galling; none of which calamities he bore with the firmness worthy of a man, except his death, which, to a man that estimated matters justly, might seem less likely to call forth indignation, as he had not suffered from his victorious enemy greater cruelty than he would himself have practised, if he had been equally successful. However, if any one will weigh accurately his virtues against his vices, he will

come to the conclusion that he was a great, energetic, and remarkable man, and one who would require the eulogies of a second Cicero to do justice to his merit.

Belonging to the 127th book.

Since traces of the dissensions between Augustus and Antonius still existed, Cocceius Nerva, the ancestor of that Nerva who was subsequently emperor of Rome, recommended to Augustus to send deputies to treat of affairs in general. Therefore Mæcenas and Agrippa were sent, who brought both armies into one camp, as Livy relates in the 127th book. But we must understand that when Fonteius was deputed by Antonius, Augustus sent Mæcenas and others to the same place.—Acro on Horace. When a dispute arose between Cæsar Augustus and Antonius, Cocceius Nerva, the ancestor of him who was afterwards emperor of Rome, requested of Cæsar to send some one to Tarracina to negotiate the principal points. Mæcenas held the conference first, and was shortly after joined by Agrippa, and there entered into a most solemn compact with Antonius's deputies, and ordered the standards of both armies to be brought together into the same camp. Livy mentions this also in the 127th book, but makes no mention of Capito.—Porphyrio on Horace. Fonteius Capito had been sent as deputy by Antonius and Mæcenas, and Agrippa, in a similar capacity, by Augustus, owing to the mediation of Cocceius Nerva, who possessed great influence with both Augustus and Antonius, and was the ancestor of the emperor Nerva. But the deputies met for the purpose of negotiating the general interests of their principals, and settling the disputes that had broken out between these two commanders; which they did, and brought both armies into one camp, near Brundisium; an event which was hailed with great demonstrations of joy, as Livy relates in the 127th book.—Commentator Cruquii on Horace.

\* Belonging to the 133rd book.

Livy relates that Cleopatra, when after her capture by Augustus she was designedly treated with great indulgence, used to say: I will not grace a triumph.—Commentator Cruquii. Hor. Odes, i. 37.

Belonging to the 136th book.

In the same year Cæsar celebrated the secular games with great pomp; they were usually celebrated every hundredth year (for such was the limit of a secular period).—Censorinus.

A man of great but ill-directed abilities.—Seneca.

I confess that I am astonished that Titus Livy, a most celebrated writer, in one of the volumes of his history, which he traces back to the foundation of the city, used the following exordium: that he had already acquired sufficient glory, and had it in his power to cease his exertions, were it not that his intellectual restlessness obtained food by labour.—Pliny.

Titus Livy and Cornelius Nepos have recorded that the breadth of the Straits of Gibraltar at the narrowest part is seven miles; but at the widest part ten miles.—Pliny. The proper number of consuls being elected.—Servius.

Thou, whosoever thou art, shalt be ours, are the words of a general receiving a deserter under his protection, in which sense we meet them in Livy.—Servius.

I was destined from my birth to be a general, not a common soldier.

William of Malmesbury appears to have borrowed this expression of Scipio from Livy.

Tell me, when we often read in Roman history, on the authority of Livy, that countless thousands of men perished very frequently in this city by the breaking out of plagues, and that matters often came to such a state that there were scarcely sufficient men to constitute an army in those warlike times, were no sacrifices offered to your god, Februarius, at that period? Or was his worship utterly ineffectual? Were not the Lupercalia celebrated at that time? For you cannot say that these sacred rites were unknown at the time since they were said to have been introduced into Italy by Evander before the date of Romulus. But Livy, in his second decade, tells us the reason of the institution of the Lupercalia (as they are intimately connected with his own superstitions): he does not say that they were instituted to check disease, but to remove the barrenness of women, which was then prevalent.—Gelasius.

According to Livy, ambassadors suing for peace are called heralds.—Servius.

Livy calls silver heavy; he means masses of it.—Servius.

On this eminence (the promontory of Circæum) was a town, which was called both Circæum and Circæi. For Livy uses both.—Servius.

Titus Livius was so unfavourable to Sallust, that he reproached him with this sentence, “prosperity has a wonderful tendency to cloak misconduct,” as being not only translated, but even spoiled in the translation. Nor does he do this out of regard to Thucydides, with a view to extol him. He praises him whose rivalry he does not fear, and thinks that Sallust could be more easily surpassed by him if he were previously excelled by Thucydides.—Seneca.

Titus Livy used to say that Miltiades, the rhetorician, made the following elegant remark—“they are mad on common-place subjects ...” in reference to orators who hunt after antiquated or obsolete terms, and consider chastity of style to consist in obscurity of diction.—Seneca.

Several have fallen into the same error: nor is it a novel defect, since I find, even in Livy, that there was a certain teacher of rhetoric who ordered his pupils to throw an air of mystery over their expressions, which he expressed by the Greek word [Greek: skotison]. From which circumstance originated the remarkable expression of approbation: “so much the better: even I myself did not understand.”—Quintilian.

Therefore that hint was the safest, of which an example occurs in Livy, in the letter written to his son, “we ought to read Demosthenes and Cicero, and them too in such a manner that each of us should closely resemble Demosthenes and Cicero.”—Quintilian.

THE END.

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