The History of Rome, Vol. VI

Livy

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Translated by Reverend Canon Roberts

Book 40. Perseus and Demetrius

At the beginning of the following year the consuls and praetors balloted for their provinces. Liguria was the only consular province and was assigned to both consuls. The result of the ballot gave the civic jurisdiction to M. Ogulnius Gallus, the alien jurisdiction to M. Valerius, Hither Spain to Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Further Spain to P. Manlius, Sicily to L. Caecilius Denter, and Sardinia to C. Terentius Istra. The consuls received instructions to levy troops. Q. Fabius had written from Liguria to say that the Apuani were contemplating a renewal of hostilities and there was danger of their making an irruption into the territory of Pisae. In the Spanish provinces too there was trouble: the senate knew that Hither Spain was in arms and that fighting was going on with the Celtiberi; in Further Spain, owing to the long−continued illness of the praetor, military discipline was relaxed by luxury and idleness. Under these circumstances they decided that fresh armies should be raised: four legions for Liguria each numbering 5200 infantry and 200 cavalry, with the addition of 15,000 infantry and 800 cavalry drawn from the Latin allies. These were to form the two consular armies. The consuls were further instructed to call up 7000 infantry and 400 cavalry as an allied contingent and despatch them to M. Marcellus, whose command in Gaul had been extended at the close of his consulship. For the two Spanish provinces a force of 4000 Roman infantry and 200 cavalry, together with 7000 infantry and 300 cavalry from the Latin allies, was to be raised. Q. Fabius Labeo had his command in Liguria extended, and he was to retain the army which he had.

The spring of that year was a stormy one. On the eve of the Parilia, about the middle of the day a terrible storm of wind and rain burst and wrecked many sacred and ordinary buildings. It blew down the bronze statues on the Capitol, it carried off the door from the temple of Luna on the Aventine and dashed it against the walls behind the temple of Ceres. Other statues were overturned in the Circus Maximus together with their pedestals. Several sculptures were broken off from the roofs of the temples and ruthlessly shattered. This storm was in consequence regarded as a portent, and the augurs were bidden to direct the necessary expiation for it. A further expiation was demanded in consequence of intelligence brought to Rome of the birth of a mule at Reate with only three feet, and a report from Formiae that the temple of Apollo at Caieta had been struck by lightning. In consequence of these portents twenty full−grown victims were sacrificed and special intercessions offered for one day. From a despatch sent by A. Terentius it was ascertained that P. Sempronius, after more than a year's illness, had died in Further Spain. The praetors were ordered to start for Spain as soon as possible. Legations from overseas were admitted to an audience of the senate. First came those from Eumenes, Pharnaces and the Rhodians. The latter complained of the disaster which had overtaken Sinope. Envoys from Philip and from the Achaeans and Lacedaemonians went to Rome at the same time. After hearing Marcius, who had been sent to ascertain the state of affairs in Greece and

Macedonia, the senate gave their reply. The two sovereigns and the Rhodians were informed that the senate would send a commission to look into those matters.

Marcius had increased the senate's apprehensions about Philip. He admitted that Philip had carried out the measures insisted upon by the senate, but in such a way that he would obviously continue to do so no longer than he was compelled. There was little doubt that he would recommence war, and all his words and actions pointed in that direction. He transferred almost the entire population from the maritime cities to the district now called Emathia, formerly known as Paeonia, and had handed over those cities to the Thracians and other barbarians for their residence, thinking that these races could be more safely depended upon in case of a war with Rome. This action called forth loud protests throughout Macedonia; few of those who with their wives and children were abandoning their homes bore their grief in silence. Everywhere amongst the crowds of emigrants were heard curses on the king; their anger got the better of their fears. Furious at all this, Philip began to suspect all persons, places and seasons alike, and at last openly avowed that he could only be secure when he had the children of those whom he had put to death arrested and in safe keeping. Then he could put them out of the way from time to time.

This brutality, hideous as it was, was rendered still more so by the sufferings of one particular family. Herodicus, a leading man in Thessaly, had been put to death by Philip many years ago; afterwards he put his sons−in−law to death and his two widowed daughters, Theoxena and Archo, were left each with one little son. Theoxena had several offers of marriage but declined them all. Archo married a man called Poris who held quite the first place among the Aenianes. She bore him several children but died whilst they were still small. In order that her sister's children might be brought up under her own care, Theoxena married Poris and took as much care of her sister's sons as she did of her own. When she heard of the king's edict about arresting the children of those whom he had put to death, she felt sure that the boys would fall victims to the king's lust and even to the passions of his guards. She formed a terrible design and dared to say that she would rather kill them with her own hand than let them fall into Philip's power. Poris was horrified at the mere mention of such a deed, and said that he would send them away to some trustworthy friends in Athens and that he would accompany them in their flight. They went from Thessalonica to Aenia. A festival was being held there at the time, which was celebrated with great pomp every four years in honour of Aeneas, the founder of the city. After spending the day in the customary feasting they waited till the third watch, when all were asleep, and went on board a ship which Poris had in readiness, ostensibly to return to Thessalonica, but really to sail across to Euboea. While, however, they were vainly trying to make headway against a contrary wind, they were surprised by daylight not far from land, and the king's troops who were on guard at the harbour sent an armed boat to seize the ship, with strict orders not to return without her. Poris, meanwhile, was doing his utmost to urge on the rowers and sailors, lifting up his hands from time to time to heaven and imploring the gods to help him. His wife, a woman of indomitable spirit, fell back on the purpose she had long ago formed, and mixing some poison, placed the cup where it could be seen, together with some naked swords. "Death," she said, "alone can free us. Here are two ways of meeting it, choose each of you which you will, as the escape from the king's tyranny. Come, my boys, you who are the older be the first to grasp the sword, or if you would have a more lingering death, drink off the poison." On the one hand were the enemy close to them, on the other the insistent mother urging them to die. Some chose the one death, some the other, and whilst still half−alive they were thrown from the ship. Then the mother herself, flinging her arms round her husband, sprang with him into the sea. The king's troops took possession of a deserted ship.

The horror of this deed fanned afresh the flames of hatred against the king. Curses were everywhere heaped upon him and upon his children, and the dire imprecations soon reached the ears of all the gods, so that they drove him into murderous cruelty against his own flesh and blood. Perseus saw that his brother Demetrius was growing more every day in popularity and influence with the mass of his nation and in favour with the Romans, and he felt that no hope remained to him of winning the crown except through the perpetration of a crime, and to its accomplishment he now devoted all his thoughts. He did not think himself strong enough to carry out the purpose which he was hatching in his weak and unmanly mind, and he began to sound his father's friends one by one, dropping dark and dubious hints in his talks with them. Some of them made it appear at first as though they rejected anything of the kind, because they hoped more from Demetrius. But as Philip's bitterness against the

Romans, which Perseus encouraged and Demetrius did his utmost to check, became more pronounced every day, they foresaw the ruin of the youth who was taking no precautions against his brother's intrigues. So they at last decided to help on what must inevitably happen and advance the hopes of the stronger by taking the side of Perseus. They left other measures to be carried out at a fitting time, for the present they determined to use all their endeavours to inflame the king against the Romans and induce him to expedite the warlike plans which he was already contemplating. To aggravate the suspicions against Demetrius, they used to bring up the subject of the Romans in their conversations with him. Some would run down their national character and institutions, others spoke lightly of their military achievements, others scoffed at the appearance of the City, its lack of adornment in both public and private buildings, whilst others, again, spoke contemptuously of different public men. The young man, thrown off his guard by his devotion to the name of Rome and his opposition to his brother, defended them in every way, and thus made himself an object of suspicion to his father and laid himself open to charges of disloyalty. The result was that his father excluded him from all consultations on matters relating to Rome and took Perseus entirely into his confidence, discussing these subjects with him day and night.

The envoys whom he had sent to the Bastarnae to summon assistance had returned and brought back with them some young nobles, amongst them some of royal blood. One of these promised to give his sister in marriage to Philip's son, and the king was quite elated at the prospect of an alliance with that nation. Perseus, on this, said to him, "What advantage is there in that? Little protection will there be in foreign support, compared with the danger of domestic treason. We have in our midst a spy, I do not want to call him a traitor; ever since he was a hostage in Rome, the Romans possess his heart and soul, though they have given us back his body. The eyes of almost all Macedonia are turned towards him; they are fully persuaded that they will have none else as king but the one whom the Romans give them." The distempered mind of the old king was made still more uneasy by these words, which he took more seriously than appeared from his looks.

It happened to be the time for the lustration of the army. The following is a description of the ceremony. The body of a bitch was divided in the middle, the forepart with the head was placed on the right side of the road and the hinder part with the entrails on the left, and the troops marched between them. In front of the column were borne the insignia of all the kings of Macedonia from its remotest origin; then followed the king and his children; next to them the king's own cohort and his bodyguard, the Macedonian phalanx bringing up the rear. The two princes rode on either side of their father; Perseus was now thirty years old and Demetrius five years his junior, the former in the prime of manhood, the latter in the flower of youth. The father would have been fortunate in his maturer offspring if only he had been wise and sensible. When the purificatory rite was completed it was the custom for the army to go through maneuvers and after being formed into two divisions to engage in a sham−fight. The two princes were appointed to command in this mimic contest, but there was no make−believe about the fighting, it looked like a struggle for the crown, so fiercely did they engage. Many wounds were caused by their staves and nothing was wanting but swords to give the actual appearance of war. The division which Demetrius commanded was by far the better one. Perseus was intensely annoyed, but his wiser friends were delighted. That circumstance in itself, they said, would afford grounds for incriminating the young man.

Demetrius invited Perseus to supper at the close of the day, but he refused to go, and each of them gave a banquet to those who had been their comrades in the sham−fight. The lavish hospitality, as befitted the festal day, and the high spirits of youth led both parties to drink freely. Then they began to talk about the battle and jokes were made at the expense of their opponents, not even their leaders being exempt. A spy was sent from Perseus' party to listen to this conversation, but as he behaved somewhat incautiously he was caught by some youths who happened to be leaving the banquet−room and soundly cudgelled. Demetrius knew nothing of this and he asked his companions, "If my brother is still in an angry mood after the battle, why should we not go to him as boon companions and appease him by our open−hearted merriment?" All of them, except those who were afraid of prompt retaliation for thrashing the spy, called out that they would go. Demetrius made those also go with him, and they concealed swords under their garments to defend themselves in case of attack. Nothing could possibly be kept secret in this family quarrel, both their houses were full of spies and traitors. An informer ran to Perseus and told him that four young men who were wearing concealed swords were coming with Demetrius. Although he

must have known the reason, for he had heard that one of his guests had been thrashed by them, he made the affair look as black as possible by ordering the door to be bolted, and going to the upper part of the house, where the windows looked down on the road, he kept the revellers from approaching the door, as though they were coming to murder him. Demetrius was under the influence of wine, and finding himself shut out protested loudly for some time and then returned to the banquet−room, not knowing in the least what it all meant.

As soon as he could get an opportunity of seeing his father the next day, Perseus entered the palace with a perturbed expression and stood in silence at some distance from his father. "Are you well?" asked Philip. "Why that gloomy countenance?" "Let me tell you," he replied, "that it is more than I hoped for to be alive now. It is no longer by secret plots that my brother is seeking my life; he came to my house at night with an armed band to kill me. Only by barring the doors could I shelter myself from his fury behind the walls of the house." After thus astonishing and alarming his father, he went on, "Yes, and if you can give me a hearing I will make you see the whole thing clearly." Philip said that he would certainly hear him and sent orders for Demetrius to be summoned at once. He also sent for two of his older friends who had nothing to do with the quarrel between the brothers, and did not often visit the palace−Lysimachus and Onomastus. He wished to have them present at the council. Whilst waiting for them he walked up and down deep in thought, his son standing some distance away. When they were announced he withdrew with them and two of his life−guards into an inner room, and allowed each of his sons to bring three companions unarmed. After taking his seat he began: "Here I, a most unhappy father, am sitting as judge between my two sons, one accusing the other of fratricide, and I have to find my own children guilty of either a false accusation or a confession of criminal intent. I have for some time been dreading the imminence of this storm as I watched the way you looked at one another with an expression of anything but brotherly love, and listened to some of your language. Sometimes I have ventured to hope that your anger was dying down and that suspicions could be cleared up. Even hostile nations have laid down their arms and made treaties of peace, and many men have put an end to their private quarrels. I fancied that some day you might remember your relationship to one another, the unreserved intimacy of your boyish days and the teaching which I have given you, which has, I fear, fallen on deaf ears. How often have I told you of my detestation of fraternal quarrels and the dreadful results they lead to, how often they have ruined families and houses and kingdoms! I have also placed before you happier examples on the other side; the perfectly friendly relations between the two kings of Sparta, which had for long centuries been such a safeguard to themselves and their country; but as soon as the fashion came in of each trying to secure despotic power for himself, that State was destroyed. Look at those two monarchs, Eumenes and Attalus, who from such small beginnings that they shrank from the title of king have now become the peers of Antiochus and myself, and this is due to nothing so much as the brotherly concord that existed between them. I even drew examples from the Romans which had fallen under my own observation or which I had heard of: the two Quinctii, Titus and Lucius; the two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who conquered Antiochus; their father and their uncle whose lifelong harmony was cemented by death. And yet the bad examples which I first mentioned and the evil results of their evil conduct could not deter you from your insane quarrels, nor could the good character and the good fortune of the others turn you to a sound and healthy state of mind. While I am yet alive and drawing vital breath you have in your criminal ambition decided to whom the crown will pass. You wish me to live just long enough to survive one of you, and then by my death make the other the unquestioned king. You cannot bear that either your father or your brother should live. You have no affection, no conscience; an insatiable desire for the crown alone has supplanted everything else in your hearts. Go on, then, grieve and shock your father's ears, fight out your differences with mutual recriminations as you will soon do with the sword; speak out openly whatever you can truly allege or find pleasure in inventing. My ears are open to you now, henceforth they will be closed to any secret charges which you may make against each other." He uttered these last words in very angry tones and all present burst into tears; there was a long and sorrowful silence.

Then Perseus began: "You think, then, that I ought to have opened the door and admitted the armed revellers and presented my throat to the sword, and beset as I am with plots and treachery, I have to listen to the same language that is addressed to thieves and foot−pads. It is not for nothing that those people say that Demetrius is your only son, whilst they call me supposititious and base−born. They speak to some purpose, for if I possessed in your eyes the rank, the affection due to a son, you would not vent your anger on me when I complain of the plot that has

been frustrated, but on him who contrived it, nor would you hold my life so cheap as not to be moved by past dangers or by future dangers, should the plotters escape with impunity. If I am to die without uttering a protest, I would be silent except for a prayer to the gods that the villainy which began with me may end with me, and that my deathblow may not strike you. But if, whilst I see the sword drawn against me, I may be permitted to make my voice heard, then, just as Nature herself prompts those who are surrounded by dangers, with no friend near, to appeal for help to men they have never seen, so I beseech you by the sacred name of father−and you have long felt which of us holds that name most sacred−to grant me the same hearing as you would have done had you been awakened by a cry of alarm at night and gone at my call for help, and actually seen Demetrius with his armed comrades in my vestibule. What would have been my cry of alarm at the actual moment of danger, last night, I am today making the subject of my complaint.

"Brother, for a long time we have not lived together as table−companions. You, in any case, want to be king. This hope of yours is baffled by my seniority, by the right of primogeniture universally recognised, by the time−honoured usage of the Macedonians. You cannot surmount these barriers except through my blood. You are trying every device, every expedient. Hitherto, either my watchfulness or my good luck has stood in the way of your becoming a fratricide. Yesterday, on the occasion of the propitiatory sacrifice, the maneuvers and the sham−fight, you made the fight all but a fatal one, and nothing averted my death but the fact that I allowed my men and myself to be defeated. From that hostile encounter you wanted to inveigle me to your banquet, as though it had been merely brotherly sport. Do you believe, father, that it would have been amongst unarmed guests that I should have banqueted, when they came in arms to banquet with me? Do you believe that I was in no danger from their swords at night, after they had almost killed me with their staves whilst you were looking on? Why, Demetrius, do you come at that hour of the night, why do you come as an enemy to one who is in an angry mood, why do you come accompanied by youths with hidden swords? I did not dare to trust myself to you even as a guest, am I to admit you when you come with an armed band? Had my door been open, you, my father, would now be arranging my funeral obsequies instead of listening to my complaints. "I am not trumping up charges as a prosecutor, nor am I arguing upon questionable evidence. Surely he does not deny that he came to my door with a large crowd, or that he was accompanied by men with concealed swords. Send for the men whose names I give you. Those who have dared so far will go to any lengths, they will not, however, venture upon a denial. If I had caught them in my vestibule with their swords and brought them to you, you would have regarded it as a clear case; take their confession as equivalent to their being caught in the act.

"Now invoke curses on the eager longing for your crown, awake the furies that avenge a brother's blood, but do not, my father, let your execrations fall blindly. Discern, distinguish between the plotter and the victim of his plots, and let them fall on the guilty head. Let him who intended to kill his brother feel the wrath of his father's gods, let him who was to perish through a brother's crime find shelter in his father's justice and compassion. For where else can I find refuge, when there is no safety either in the ceremonial purification of the army, or in house, or banquet, or in night, nature's boon to mortals for repose? If I had accepted my brother's invitation it would have been my death, if I had admitted my brother inside my doors it would have been my death. I do not escape his murderous designs whether I go or stay. I have sought favour from none, save the gods and you, my father; I have not the Romans to flee to. They are seeking my ruin because I grieve over your wrongs, because I resent your being deprived of so many cities, so many subject nations, and now' of the coastline of Thrace. When neither you nor I are any longer safe they hope that Macedonia will be theirs. If my brother's murderous hand carries me off, if old age carries you off, or even if they do not wait for that, they know that the king and realm of Macedonia will be at their disposal. If the Romans had left you anything beyond the borders of Macedonia, I could even believe that it was left as a harbour of refuge for me.

"But, you say, I have sufficient protection in the Macedonians. You saw how the soldiers attacked me yesterday. What was lacking except a sword? What was lacking in the daytime my brother's guests furnished themselves with at night. Why should I speak about the majority of our leading men who have placed all their hopes of fortune and power on the Romans and on the man who is all−powerful with the Romans? They are not only setting that fellow above me, but very soon they will set him above you, his father and his king. It was out of

kindness to him that the Romans remitted the penalty they were going to impose on you; he it is who protects you from the arms of Rome, who thinks it right that you at your age should be at the mercy of his youth. On his side stand the Romans, on his side are all the cities which have been liberated from your rule, on his side are the Macedonians who are happy while there is peace with Rome. Whom have I to trust to but my father, what hope or security is there elsewhere?

"What do you suppose is the meaning of that letter which has just been sent to you by T. Quinctius, in which he says that you acted wisely in your own interest by sending Demetrius to Rome, and urges you to send him again with a more numerous embassage including the foremost men in Macedonia? T. Quinctius is now his adviser and director in everything; he has renounced you, his father, and put him in your place. With him all the secret plans are arranged beforehand; he is looking out for men to help him in carrying out those plans when he bids you send more of the Macedonian leaders with him. They will go from here loyal and true, believing that they have a king in Philip, they will come back tainted and poisoned with Roman blandishments. Demetrius is everything to the Romans, they are already addressing him as king while his father is alive. If I show indignation at all this, I have forthwith to listen to charges of seeking the crown not only from others but even from you, my father. But if the accusation rests between us, I, for my part, repudiate it. For whom am I displacing that I may step into his place? My father alone is before me, and I pray Heaven that he may long be so. If I survive him−and may this be so only if my deserts make him wish it−I shall receive the heritage of the crown if my father delivers it to me. That youth is coveting the crown, and coveting it with criminal intent. He is eager to forestall the order laid down by age, by nature, by the usage of the Macedonians, by the law of nations. 'My elder brother,' he says to himself, 'to whom by right and even by my father's wish the crown belongs, stands in my way; let him be removed. I shall not be the first who has sought a kingdom at the cost of a brother's blood. My father, an old man, without the support of his elder son will be too much afraid for himself to think of avenging his son's death. The Romans will be glad, they will approve of my act and defend it.' These are uncertain hopes, but not groundless. For this is how matters stand, my father; you can repel the danger which menaces my life by punishing those who have taken up the sword to slay me; if their criminal purpose is achieved, you will not have the power to avenge my death."

When Perseus had finished, all present looked at Demetrius, expecting him to reply at once. There was a long silence and everybody saw that he was bathed in tears and unable to speak. At length they told him that he must speak, and he was compelled to stifle his grief. So he began: "Everything, my father, on which those who are accused could rely for their defence has been prejudiced by my accuser. The tears which he feigned for the purpose of effecting another's ruin have made you suspect the reality of mine. Ever since my return from Rome he has been hatching secret plots against me day and night with his confederates, and now he deliberately fastens on me the character not only of an intriguer but even of an open assassin. He alarms you with the bugbear of his own danger in order that through you he may hasten the destruction of his unoffending brother. He says that there is no place of refuge for him in the whole world in order that I may have no hope of safety with you. Beset by foes, deserted by friends, destitute of all resources, he loads me with the odium aroused by the favour shown to me by foreigners, which hurts me more than it benefits. How like a common prosecutor has he acted in mixing up his account of last night's events with a bitter attack upon the rest of my life so that he put that incident, which you will see in its true colours, in a suspicious light, by representing the tenor of my life as other than what it is, and bolstering up that false and scandalous description of my hopes and wishes and designs by this fictitious and hollow evidence. And at the same time he tried to make his accusations appear as though they were uttered without preparation, on the spur of the moment, called forth forsooth by the alarm and tumult of the night. But, Perseus, if I were a traitor to my father and the realm, if I were scheming with the Romans or with any of my father's enemies, you ought not to have waited for this trumped−up story of last night's doings, you ought to have accused me of treachery before this. If that accusation as distinct from this one was without any foundation and a proof of your bad feeling towards me, rather than of my guilt, surely it ought to be passed over today and deferred till another occasion, so that the question which of us in a spirit of unheard−of hatred has been intriguing against the other might be decided on its merits. At all events, so far as I am able to do so in this sudden bewilderment, I shall separate what you have confused together, and unveil last night's plot, to show whether you or I were the author of it.

"He wants to make it appear that I formed a design against his life in order, forsooth, that after the removal of the elder brother, to whom by a universally acknowledged right, by the usage of the Macedonians and by your decision, as he says, the future crown belongs, I, the younger son, could step into the place of him whom I had killed. What then is the meaning of that part of his speech in which he says that I curried favour with the Romans and hoped through my reliance on them to come to the throne? For if I believed that the Romans possessed so much influence that they could impose upon the Macedonians whom they would as king, and if I trusted so much to my interest with them, what need was there for me to kill my brother? Was it that I might wear a crown stained with a brother's blood? That I might be execrated and hated by the very men whose favour I have won by a straightforwardness, either sincere or at least assumed, if indeed I have won it? Perhaps you imagine that T. Quinctius, by whose virtuous counsels you say that I am ruled, has instigated me to be my brother's murderer, though he himself lives in such close affection with his own brother. Perseus has brought together in what he said not only my favourable position with the Romans but also the sentiments of the Macedonians and the all but unanimous judgment of gods and men, and owing to all these advantages he professes to believe that he is no match for me. And yet, as though in everything else I were inferior to him, he maintains that I have betaken myself to crime as my last hope. Do you want the issue of the trial to take this form: 'Whichever of the two feared that the other might be thought more worthy of the crown, let him be judged to have formed the design of crushing his brother?'

"Now in whatever way these charges have been fabricated, let us examine the order in which they stand. He said that numerous attempts had been made against his life, and he has brought all the methods employed within the limits of a single day. I wanted, he says, to kill him in broad daylight after the lustration when we were engaged in the mimic battle, actually, good heavens! on the very day of the lustration! Then I wanted to take him, forsooth, by poison, after inviting him to supper. Then I wanted to go with a band of revellers armed with hidden swords and kill him with cold steel. You notice what occasions he has selected for the murder−sports, a banquet, a wine party? Why, what was the character of the day? A day on which the army was purified, on which they marched between the two halves of the victim, with the royal arms of all the kings of Macedonia borne before them, we two alone in front by the side of you, my father, and the Macedonian phalanx following. Even though I had previously committed some sin which required expiation, could I, after being purified and absolved in this solemn rite, especially whilst gazing upon the victim which lay on either side our path−could I then be revolving in my mind thoughts of murder, poison, swords? With what other rites could I then have cleansed a mind steeped in uttermost guilt? But in his blind eagerness to launch accusations and throw suspicion on everything I did, he has made one thing contradict another. For if I intended to take you off by poison during the banquet, what could have less served my purpose than to rouse your anger by an obstinately contested fight so as to give you just cause for refusing my invitation? After your angry refusal what should I have done? Was I to make it my business to appease your wrath so as to have another opportunity, now that I had prepared the poison, or should I have, so to speak, leaped from that plan to another, and in the guise of a boon companion killed you with the sword, and all on the same day? If I had supposed that you kept clear of my supper party for fear of your life, how could I possibly have failed to suppose that the same fear would keep you from the drinking bout which followed?

"There is nothing to blush for, father, in my having taken wine with my comrades somewhat freely on such a festal day. I wish you would find out with what fun and merriment we kept up the banquet at my house last night, and how delighted we were−perhaps improperly−at our side not being the worst in the youthful assault−at−arms. My unhappiness and my fears have quite shaken off the effects of the wine; had these circumstances not arisen, we dangerous plotters should now all be lying fast asleep. If I had been going to attack your house, and after getting possession of it kill the owner, should I not have kept myself and my soldiers from wine for one day at least? And that I may not be alone in taking this simple and ingenuous line of defence, my brother, by no means a suspicious person, says: 'I know of nothing more, I can bring no further proof than his having come to my house with a sword.' If I were to ask 'whence do you know even this much?' you would have to confess either that my house was filled with your spies, or that my comrades took their swords so openly that everybody saw them. And to take away all appearance of his having made previous enquiries, or of his proving me a criminal, now he wants you to ask those whose names he has given whether they had swords, as though there were any doubt about it.

Then after being questioned as to a fact they all admitted, they were to be treated as persons found guilty after trial. Why do you not ask that this question be put to them: 'Did you take your swords for the purpose of murdering him?' This is what you want to have made clear, and not the other point which is openly admitted. But they say that they took their swords for their own protection. Whether they did this rightly or wrongly is their affair, they must answer for their own action. My case is in no way affected by what they did, do not mix up the two things together. Or else explain whether we were going to attack you secretly or openly. If openly, why did we not all carry swords ? Why did nobody take one besides those who had given your spy a thrashing? If secretly, what sort of a plan had we formed? After the party had broken up and I had left the table and four, as you say, remained behind for the purpose of attacking you when asleep, how could they have escaped, being as they were strangers belonging to my party, and, above all, objects of suspicion since they had been fighting not long before? How, too, could they have got away after murdering you? Could your house have been stormed and taken with four swords?

"Why do you not drop this story of what happened last night and come back to your real grievance which supplies the fuel to your jealousy? 'Why, Demetrius, are people talking everywhere about your being king? Why do you appear in some people's eyes to be a more worthy successor to your father's position than myself? Why do you cloud with doubt and anxiety those hopes which, if you did not exist, would be assured?' So Perseus thinks, if he does not speak his thoughts. It is this that makes him my enemy, my accuser, it is this that floods your palace and your realm with slander and suspicion. But, my father, as I am bound in duty not to hope for the crown nor, perhaps, ever to dispute it, since I am the younger and it is your wish that I should give place to the elder, so have I felt it my duty in the past and so I feel it today, never to show myself unworthy of you, my father, or unworthy of all my nation. For that would be caused by my faults, not by modestly giving way to him who has right and justice on his side. You bring up the Romans against me and turn into a crime what ought to be a source of pride. I never asked to be handed over to the Romans as a hostage, or to be sent as an envoy to Rome, but when sent by you I did not refuse to go. On both occasions I so conducted myself that neither you nor your sovereignty nor the whole of Macedonia could be ashamed of me. So you, my father, were the cause of my friendship with the Romans; as long as peace exists between you and them I too shall stand in favour with them. If war breaks out I, who have been a hostage and a not unsuccessful representative of my father, shall be their most determined foe. I do not claim today that my interest with the Romans shall help me, but I do pray that it may not injure me. It did not begin in a time of war nor is it reserved for a time of war. I was a pledge of peace, I was sent as an envoy to maintain the peace: neither of these should be put down to my credit or to my fault. If I have been guilty of undutiful conduct towards you, my father, or criminal designs against my brother, I am prepared to undergo any punishment. If I am innocent, I beg that I may not fall a victim to envy and malice, since I cannot suffer for any crime.

"My brother is not accusing me for the first time today, but it is the first time he is doing so openly, though I have done nothing to deserve it. If my father were angry with me it would be your duty, as the elder brother, to intercede for the younger to obtain pardon for my offence in consideration of my youth. Where I ought to find protection, I find a determination to destroy me. I have been dragged away whilst only half−awake from a banquet and a wine party to answer a charge of fratricide. Without advocates, without defending counsel, I am compelled to plead for myself. Had I to plead for another I should have taken time to think out and arrange my speech, and what else would be at stake but my reputation as a skilful pleader? Unaware of the reason for being summoned, I found you in an angry mood, ordering me to defend myself, and my brother making accusations against me. He delivered a carefully prepared and thought−out speech against me; I had only such time as he took to make his accusations in which to learn what the matter at issue was. What was I to do in those few moments, listen to my accuser or think out my defence? Thunderstruck by a danger so sudden and so unlooked for, I could with difficulty understand the charges brought against me, still less could I see the right way of defending myself against them. What hope would there be for me if I had not my father as my judge? If my brother has a greater share of his affection, I, who have to defend myself, ought at all events not to have a less share of his compassion. I am praying you to preserve me in your own interest as well as mine; he demands that you shall put me to death for his own security. What do you think he will do to me when you have left your crown to him, if even now he

thinks it right that my life should be sacrificed for him?"

Tears and sobs prevented him from saying more. Philip ordered them to withdraw, and after a short consultation with his friends gave his decision. He would not, he said, base his judgment of their case upon what they had said, or upon an hour's discussion, but upon an investigation into the life and character of each and a close observation of their language and behaviour on all occasions, important and unimportant alike. Everybody saw from this that whilst the charges arising out of the last night's proceedings were easily disposed of, Demetrius' excessive friendliness with the Romans had aroused suspicion. These incidents which occurred during Philip's lifetime became, so to speak, the seeds of the Macedonian war, which was fought mainly against Philip.

Both the consuls left for Liguria, which was the only consular province, and on account of their successes there thanksgivings were ordered for one day. About 2000 Ligurians came to the extreme frontier of Gaul where Marcellus was encamped, begging him to accept their surrender. Marcellus told them to stay where they were and wait till he had communicated with the senate. The senate instructed the praetor, M. Ogulnius, to inform Marcellus by letter that the consuls whose province it was were better able to decide than they were what course would be most in the interests of the State. At the same time, if Marcellus accepted the surrender of the Ligurians, the senate did not wish their arms to be taken from them and thought it right that they should be sent to the consul. The praetors took up their respective commands at the same time. P. Manlius went to Further Spain, which he had administered in his former praetorship; Q. Fulvius Flaccus proceeded to Hither Spain and took over the army from A. Terentius, for owing to the death of P. Sempronius, Further Spain had been without a magistrate. Whilst Fulvius Flaccus was besieging a Spanish town called Urbicua he was attacked by the Celtiberians. Many fierce actions took place, and there were severe losses in killed and wounded amongst the Romans. No display of force could draw Fulvius away from the siege, and his perseverance finally conquered. Exhausted by so many battles the Celtiberi retired, and the city, now that assistance was withdrawn, was taken in a few days and sacked. The praetor gave the booty to the soldiers. Beyond this capture Fulvius did nothing worth recording, nor did P. Manlius, beyond concentrating his scattered forces. They withdrew their armies into winter quarters. Such was the record of that summer in Spain. Terentius, after giving up his command there, entered the City in ovation. He brought home 9320 pounds of silver, 82 pounds of gold and seven golden crowns weighing 60 pounds.

During the year a commission went from Rome to arbitrate between the Carthaginian government and King Masinissa on a claim to certain territory. Masinissa's father, Gala, had taken it from the Carthaginians, Syphax had expelled Gala from it, and out of complaisance to his father−in−law Hasdrubal had made a present of it to the Carthaginians, and this year Masinissa had expelled the Carthaginians. The matter was contested as hotly in argument as it had been with the sword, and came before the Romans for decision, who investigated it on the spot. Masinissa said that he had recovered the territory as part of his ancestral dominions and held it by the universally acknowledged right of inheritance. His case was the stronger of the two, both by title and by actual possession. The only thing he feared was that he might be at a disadvantage should the Romans shrink from appearing to favour a monarch who was their friend and ally at the cost of a people who were enemies to him and them alike. The commissioners decided nothing as to the right of possession and referred the whole question to the senate. Nothing further took place in Liguria. The Gauls retreated into the pathless forests and then dispersed to their villages and forts. The consuls also wanted to disband their army, and consulted the senate about doing so. The senate ordered one of them to disband his army and proceed to Rome to elect the magistrates for the next year; the other was to winter with his legions at Pisae. There were rumours that the transalpine Gauls were arming and it was uncertain into what part of Italy they might descend, so the consuls arranged that Cn. Baebius should go to hold the elections, as his brother Marcus was a candidate.

The new consuls were M. Baebius Tamphilus and P. Cornelius Lentulus. Liguria was assigned as their province. The assignment of provinces to the new praetors was as follows: The civic jurisdiction fell to Q. Petilius, the alien to Q. Fabius Maximus; Gaul to Q. Fabius Buteo; Sicily to Tiberius Claudius Nero; Sardinia to M. Pinarius; Apulia to L. Duronius, who was also to command in Histria, because news was received from Tarentum and Brundisium that the fields on the coast were being plundered by pirates from overseas. The same complaint was made by

Marseilles about the ships of the Ligurians. The military requirements were then determined. Four legions were assigned to the consuls, each consisting of 5200 Roman infantry and 300 cavalry, and also 15,000 infantry to be drawn from the Latin allies and 800 cavalry. The former praetors remained in Spain with the armies they had, and reinforcements were sent to them of 3000 Roman citizens and 200 cavalry, together with 6000 allied infantry and 300 cavalry. Naval affairs were not lost sight of. The consuls appointed two officers to man twenty ships with crews of Roman citizens who had the status of freedmen, the officers alone being freeborn citizens. These two officers were responsible for the defence of the coast, each commanding ten ships, and their spheres of action were separated by the promontory of Minerva, which formed the centre of the defence; the operations of the one extending from that point westward to Marseilles; those of the other, south and east as far as Barium.

Many dreadful portents were witnessed in Rome this year and reported from outlying districts. In the precincts of the temple of Vulcan and Concord there was a rain of blood, and the pontiffs announced that the spears had been shaken and the image of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium had shed tears. So severe an epidemic broke out in the market−towns and country districts that Libitina was hardly able to supply the materials for the funerals. Greatly alarmed by these portents and by the ravages of the pestilence, the senate decreed that the consuls should sacrifice full−grown victims to whatever deities they thought proper, and that the Sacred Books should be consulted. The Keepers of these Books decreed that special intercession should be offered at all the shrines for a whole day. They also advised that intercessions and suspension of work for three days should be observed throughout Italy. The senate approved and the consuls published an edict ordering the observance. Owing to a revolt in Corsica and hostilities on the part of the Ilians in Sardinia it had been decided to call up 8000 Latin and allied infantry and 300 cavalry for the praetor M. Pinarius to take with him to Sardinia, but such was the extent and deadly nature of the pestilence that the consuls reported the number could not be made up owing to the great mortality and wide−spread sickness. The praetor was ordered to take what he wanted from C. Baebius, who was wintering in Pisae, and to sail from there to Sardinia. The praetor L. Duronius, to whom the province of Apulia had fallen, was further charged with an investigation into the Bacchanalia, some remains of which had come to light the previous year, seeds as it were sown by the earlier mischief. L. Pupius, the former praetor, had begun an inquiry but it had not been brought to a definite issue. The senate sent orders to the new praetor to cut the evil out and prevent it from spreading. Acting on the authority of the senate, the consuls brought before the people a measure dealing with bribery.

Some deputations were introduced to the senate. The first to be received were those from Eumenes, Ariarathes of Cappadocia and Pharnaces, King of Pontus. They were simply informed that commissions would be sent to examine and settle the conflicting claims. These were followed by envoys from the Lacedaemonian refugees and the Achaeans; the refugees were led to hope that the senate would order the Achaeans to repatriate them. The Achaeans explained to the satisfaction of the House the recovery of Messene and the settlement which had been made there. Two envoys also arrived from Philip of Macedonia−Philocles and Apelles. They were not sent with the view of obtaining anything from the senate, but simply to watch what was going on and to find out what those conversations were which Perseus had accused Demetrius of holding with the Romans, and in particular those with T. Quinctius, about the succession to the throne in opposition to his brother. The king had sent these men as being impartial and not biassed in favour of either, but they, too, were agents and accomplices in Perseus' treachery against his brother. Demetrius, ignorant of all the intrigues against him save what he had learnt from the recent outbreak of his brother's malice, was neither very sanguine nor altogether hopeless of a reconciliation with his father, but he gradually felt less confidence in his father's feelings towards him as he observed his brother constantly at his ear. To avoid grounds for further suspicion he was circumspect in all he said and did, and he took particular care to abstain from any mention of the Romans or any intercourse with them. He would not even have them write to him, because he saw that his father was particularly exasperated by this charge being brought against him.

To prevent his soldiers from becoming demoralised through inaction, and at the same time to remove any suspicion of his meditating a war with Rome, Philip ordered his army to assemble at Stobi in Paeonia, and from there he led them into Maedica. He had been seized with a great desire to ascend the crest of Mt. Haemus, as he

shared the common belief that the Pontus and the Hadriatic, the Hister and the Alps could all be seen from that point, and he believed that this prospect before his eyes would in no small measure serve to guide his plans in a war with Rome. He questioned those who knew the country about the ascent of Haemus, and all agreed that was impossible for an army, and extremely difficult even for a small lightly equipped force. His younger son he had decided not to take with him, and in order to lessen his disappointment, he engaged in familiar conversation with him and asked him, after putting before him the difficulties of the march, whether he thought he ought to go on or abandon the enterprise. If, however, he went on, he said, he could not forget the example of Antigonus, who, whilst tossing about in a violent storm and all his family in the ship with him, is reported to have given his children a precept for themselves to remember and to hand on to posterity, namely, that no one should expose himself to danger when accompanied by the whole of his family. Mindful of that precept Philip said that he would not expose both his sons to the chances of accident in what he proposed to do, and as he was taking his older son with him, he should send his younger son back to Macedonia as the stay of his hopes and the guardian of his kingdom. Demetrius was quite aware that the reason for his being sent back was that he might not be present at the council of war when Philip consulted his staff, whilst the various localities were lying in view, as to the quickest route to the Hadriatic, and the future conduct of the war. He was bound not only to obey his father's order but to show his approval of it, lest a reluctant compliance might arouse suspicions. To guarantee the safety of his journey to Macedonia, Didas, one of the royal officers who was governor of Paeonia, received orders to escort him with a small force. This man, also, Perseus had drawn into the conspiracy against his brother, as he had most of his father's friends, after it had become clear to everyone to which of the two sons the king's sympathies pointed as the heir to the throne. Didas' instructions were for the time being to insinuate himself by every kind of obsequiousness into Demetrius' confidence and intimacy so as to be able to draw out all his secrets and ascertain his hidden sentiments. So Demetrius departed amidst greater danger from his escort than if he had travelled alone.

Philip's first objective was Maedica. From there he marched across the desolate country between Maedica and the Haemus, and in seven days reached the foot of the mountain range. Here he remained encamped for one day to select those whom he was to take with him, and the next day resumed his march. The first part of the ascent did not involve much labour, but as they gained higher ground the country became more wooded and overgrown; and one part of their route was so dark that, owing to the density of the foliage and the interlacing of the branches, the sky was hardly visible. As they approached the crest, everything was veiled in cloud, an uncommon occurrence at great altitudes, and so dense that they found marching as difficult as at night. At last on the third day they reached the summit. After their descent they said nothing to contradict the popular belief; more, I suspect, to prevent the futility of their march from becoming a subject of ridicule than because the widely separated seas and mountains and rivers could really be seen from one spot. They were all distressed by the hardships of the march, the king most of all, owing to his age. He raised two altars there to Jupiter and the Sun, on which he offered sacrifices, and then commenced the descent, which occupied two days, the ascent having taken three. He was afraid of the cold nights, which, though it was the dog−days, were like the cold in winter.

After all the difficulties he had had to contend against during those five days, he found things just as cheerless in his camp, where they were destitute of everything. This was inevitable in a district surrounded on all sides by uninhabited country. After one day in camp to rest the men whom he had taken with him, he hastened into the Dentheletic country at a speed which resembled a flight. This people were his allies, but owing to lack of food the Macedonians plundered them as though they were on enemy soil. Not content with robbing the homesteads, they devastated some of the villages, and it was with feelings of deep shame that the king heard his allies making fruitless appeals to the gods who watch over treaties and invoking his help and protection. Carrying off a supply of corn he returned to Maedica and made an attempt on a city called Petra. He fixed his camp on a plain which extended to the city and sent Perseus with a small force to approach the place from higher ground. With danger threatening them from all sides the townsmen gave hostages and surrendered the place for the time being, but as soon as the army had withdrawn they forgot all about the hostages, deserted their city and fled to their mountain strongholds. Philip returned to Macedonia with his men worn out to no purpose by labours and hardships innumerable, and with his mind filled with suspicions of his son through the cunning and treachery of Didas.

This man, as I stated above, was sent to escort Demetrius. The young prince was incautious and angry, not without reason, at the way his relations treated him. Didas humoured him and pretended to be indignant on his account, and offered, unsolicited, to assist him in every way, and gave him his word of honour to be true to him. In this way he succeeded in eliciting his secret thoughts. Demetrius was meditating flight to the Romans and hoped to get away safely across Paeonia. That the governor of this province should further his project he regarded as a boon from heaven. This design was at once betrayed to his brother, and on his advice communicated to his father. A letter was sent to Philip while he was besieging Petra. On this, Heliodorus, the leading man amongst the friends of Demetrius, was flung into prison and orders were given to keep a secret watch on Demetrius. This more than anything else made the king's journey to Macedonia a very melancholy one. This new charge disturbed him greatly, but he felt that he ought to await the return of those who had been sent to find out everything in Rome. For some months he remained in suspense; at length his envoys returned after having settled beforehand in Macedonia what report they should bring back from Rome. In addition to all their other treachery, they handed to the king a forged letter sealed with a counterfeit of T. Quinctius' seal. The letter deprecated any harsh judgment of Demetrius, and stated that whatever communication the young prince in his eagerness for the crown had had with him, T. Quinctius, he was certain that he would do nothing to injure any of his relatives, nor was the writer a man who could be thought to countenance any unfilial conduct. This letter made Perseus' accusations appear more credible. Heliodorus was at once submitted to torture and died without implicating anyone.

Perseus made fresh accusations against Demetrius to his father. He alleged the preparations for his flight and the bribery of some who were to accompany him. The forged letter purporting to come from T. Quinctius, he said, was the strongest proof of his guilt. No pronouncement was, however, made as to the infliction of any severe punishment, the intention was rather that he should be put to death secretly, not through any anxiety felt about him, but that Philip's designs against the Romans might not be revealed by a public sentence of death. Philip was marching from Thessalonica to Demetrias, and he sent Demetrius, still accompanied by Didas, to Astraeum in Paeonia, and Perseus to Amphipolis, to receive the Thracian hostages. It is said that as Didas was departing, Philip gave him instructions about putting his son to death. Didas arranged a sacrifice or else pretended to do so, and Demetrius was invited to the sacrificial banquet and went to Heraclea for the purpose. It is said that poison was given to him at the banquet, and that as soon as he drank the goblet he became aware of it. Very soon he was in great suffering., and he left the table and retired to his room. There he lay in agony exclaiming against his father's cruelty, and accusing his brother and Didas of murdering him. Then one Thyrsis of Stubera and a Beroean named Alexander entered the room, threw the bed−clothes over his head and suffocated him. In this way the unoffending youth was killed, as his enemies were not content with only one way of putting him to death.

During these occurrences in Macedonia, L. Aemilius Paulus, whose command had been extended on the expiry of his consulship, marched against the Ingauni in Liguria. As soon as he had encamped on the enemy's territory, envoys came to him ostensibly to sue for peace, but really as spies. Paulus told them that he only made terms with those who surrendered. They did not definitely reject his conditions, but explained that they would require time to induce their people, a rustic population, to submit. An armistice for ten days was granted them. Then they asked that his soldiers might be forbidden to cross the mountains to gather fodder and wood−that cultivated part of the country formed part of their territory. They gained his consent to this also, and at once concentrated an enormous host behind those very mountains from which they were keeping their enemies away. A fierce attack was made on the Roman camp, all the gates being assaulted at once, and they kept up the attack with the utmost violence during the whole day. The Romans had no room for advancing against them, no sufficient ground for forming their battle−line. Massed in close order at the gates they defended the camp more by forming a barrier than by actual fighting. At sunset the enemy withdrew and Paulus sent two troopers to the proconsul at Pisae with a despatch informing him that his camp was invested in breach of the armistice, and asking him to come to his assistance as soon as possible. Baebius had handed over his army to the praetor M. Pinarius, who was on his way to Sardinia; however, he wrote to inform the senate that L. Aemilius was blockaded in his camp by the Ligurians, and he also wrote to M. Claudius Marcellus, whose province adjoined, that if he thought it wise he should transfer his army from Gaul to Liguria and relieve L. Aemilius from investment. This assistance would have been long in coming. The following day the Ligurians renewed their attack on the camp. Though L. Aemilius knew that they would

come, and though he could have led out his men in line of battle, he kept them within their rampart in order that he might delay a battle till such time as Baebius could come with his army from Pisae.

Baebius' despatch created considerable alarm in Rome, which was increased by the arrival of Marcellus a few days later. He had handed over his army to Fabius, and he told the senate that there was no hope of the army in Gaul being transferred to Liguria because it was engaged with the Histri, who were trying to prevent the formation of the colony at Aquileia. Fabius, he explained, had marched thither, and could not retrace his steps now that war had begun. There was one chance of sending help, though that would be later than the emergency demanded, namely, if the consuls hastened their departure for the province. All the senators were loud in their demand that they should go. The consuls declared that they would not go until the enrolment of troops was completed, and it was not through remissness on their part but through the violence of the epidemic that the completion was delayed. They were unable, however, to hold out against the unanimous determination of the senate, and left the City wearing the paludamentum, having appointed a day for the men whom they had enrolled to assemble at Pisae. The consuls were empowered to raise men indiscriminately as they went on, and take them with them. The praetors Q. Petilius and Q. Fabius received orders to raise fresh troops; Petilius to enrol two emergency legions of Roman citizens and to require all under fifty years of age to take the military oath; Fabius to demand from the Latin allies 15,000 infantry and 800 cavalry. C. Matienus and C. Lucretius were appointed to the naval command and ships were fitted out for them. Matienus, who was to command it in the Gulf of Gaul, was also ordered to bring his fleet as soon as possible down to the coast of Liguria in case it could be of any assistance to L. Aemilius and his army.

As there were no signs of assistance coming anywhere, Aemilius supposed that his mounted messengers had been intercepted, and felt that he ought not any longer to delay trying what Fortune had in store for him single−handed. The enemy's attacks showed less spirit and force, and before their next assault he drew up his army at the four gates in order that on the signal being given they might make a simultaneous sortie on all sides. To the four praetorian cohorts he added two others with M. Valerius, one of his staff officers, in command, and gave them orders to sally from the praetorian gate. At the southern gate he posted the hastati of the first legion; the principes of this legion being in reserve. M. Servilius and L. Sulpicius, both military tribunes, were in command of these. The third legion was similarly drawn up at the north gate, with this difference that the principes formed the front, the hastati the reserve. The military tribunes Sextius Julius Caesar and L. Aurelius Cotta were in command of this legion. Q. Fulvius Flaccus, a staff officer, was posted with the right division of allied troops at the quaestorian gate. Two cohorts and the triarii of the two legions were ordered to remain and guard the camp. The general visited all the gates to harangue his men and whet their rage against the enemy by everything that could exasperate them. He spoke bitterly of the treachery of the enemy who, after suing for peace and being allowed a suspension of arms, had come to attack the camp while the armistice was actually in force, in violation of all international law. He pointed out what a disgrace it was for a Roman army to be hemmed in by Ligurians, who could be more truly described as a horde of robbers than as a regular enemy. "If," he continued, "you get out of this with the help of others, and not by your own courage, with what face will any of you meet−I do not say the soldiers who defeated Hannibal, Philip or Antiochus, the greatest generals and monarchs of our time, but−those who have so often pursued and cut to pieces these very Ligurians as they fled like frightened cattle through their pathless forests? What the Spaniards, the Gauls, the Macedonians, the Carthaginians did not dare to do, this the Ligurian is doing today; he comes up to the Roman rampart and actually surrounds and attacks our camp. And yet, formerly, it was hard to discover him after a close search as he lurked in his trackless hiding−places!" His words were met by a unanimous shout of approval from the soldiers. It was no fault of theirs, they said; no one had given the signal for a sortie; let him give the signal now, he would soon learn that the Romans and the Ligurians were the same that they had always been.

The two camps of the Ligurians were on the near side of the mountain. During the first days they all used to march out of their camps at sunrise in proper formation; afterwards they did not take up arms unless they had been gorged with food and wine; they left their camps without any order, scattered about the field, feeling confident that their enemy would not advance outside his rampart. Whilst they were coming up in this disorderly

fashion, the battle−shout was suddenly raised by every one in the camp, camp−followers and sutlers alike, and the Romans dashed out from all the gates. So little did the Ligurians expect this that they were thrown into as much confusion as if they had fallen into an ambush. For a few moments there was some appearance of a battle, then there was a wild flight and slaughter of the fugitives in all directions. The signal was given to the cavalry to mount their horses and allow no one to escape; the enemy were all driven headlong into their camp and then driven out of it. Over 15,000 Ligurians were killed that day and 2500 taken prisoners. Three days afterwards the entire tribe of the Ingauni made their submission and gave hostages. Search was made for the pilots and sailors who had been in the pirate ships, and they were all placed under guard. Thirty−two of these ships were captured by Matienus off the coast of Liguria. L. Aurelius Cotta and C. Sulpicius Gallus were sent to Rome to report what had happened and also to request that L. Aemilius, having brought his province into order, might be permitted to leave and bring away his soldiers with him and then disband them. Both requests were granted by the senate and thanksgivings at all the shrines were ordered for three days. Petilius was ordered to disband the citizen legions, and Fabius received orders to suspend the enrolment of Latin and allied troops. The City praetor was also ordered by the senate to write to the consuls and inform them that the senate thought it right that the men which had been hastily raised to meet the emergency should be disbanded as soon as possible.

A colony was settled this year at Gravisca in Etruria on territory which had formerly been taken from the Tarquinii. Five jugera were given to each man; the supervisors of the settlement were C. Calpurnius Piso, P. Claudius Pulcher and C Terentius Istra. The year was marked by a drought and failure of the crops. It is recorded that no rain fell for six months. During this year while labourers were digging at some depth on land belonging to L. Petilius, a scrivener who lived at the foot of the Janiculum, two stone chests were discovered about eight feet long and four wide, the lids being fastened down with lead. Each bore an inscription in Latin and Greek; one stating that Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo and king of the Romans, was buried there, and the other saying that it contained his books. When the owner at the suggestion of his friends had opened them, the one which bore the inscription of the buried king was found to be empty, with no vestige of a human body or of anything else, so completely had everything disappeared after such a lapse of time. In the other there were two bundles tied round with cords steeped in wax, each containing seven books, not only intact but to all appearance new. There were seven in Latin on pontifical law, and seven in Greek dealing with the study of philosophy so far as was possible in that age. Valerius Antias says further that they were Pythagorean books, thus shaping his belief to the common opinion that Numa was a disciple of Pythagoras, and trying to give probability to a fiction.

The books were first examined by the friends who were present. As the number of those who read them grew, and they became widely known, Q. Petilius, the City praetor, was anxious to read them and took them from Lucius. They were on very friendly terms; when Q. Petilius was quaestor he had given Lucius Petilius a place on the decury. After perusing the most important passages he perceived that most of them would lead to the break−up of the national religion. Lucius promised that he would throw the books into the fire, but before doing so said that he should like to find out, if allowed to do so, whether he could reclaim them either by the right of possession or by the authority of the tribunes of the plebs, without, however, disturbing his friendly relations with the praetor. The scrivener approached the tribunes, and the tribunes left the matter for the senate to deal with. The praetor stated that he was ready to declare on oath that the books ought not to be preserved. The senate held the praetor's asseveration to be sufficient, and that the books ought to be burnt as soon as possible in the comitium. Whatever sum the praetor and the majority of the tribunes thought a fair price for the books was to be paid to the owner. The scrivener refused to accept it. The books were burnt in the comitium in the sight of the people in a fire made by the victimarii.

A serious war broke out this summer in Hither Spain. The Celtiberi had got together as many as 35,000 men; hardly ever before had they raised so large a force. Q. Fulvius Flaccus was in charge of the province. On hearing that the Celtiberi were arming their fighting men, he had drawn from the friendly tribes all the troops he could, but he was very inferior to the enemy in numbers. In the first days of spring he led his army into Carpetania and fixed his camp near the town of Aebura, a small detachment being sent to occupy the town. A few days afterwards the Celtiberi encamped at the foot of a hill about two miles distant. When the Roman praetor became

aware of their proximity, he sent his brother Marcus with two squadrons of native cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy's camp. His instructions were to approach as closely as possible to the rampart so as to get some idea of the size of the camp, but if he saw the enemy's cavalry coming, he was to retire without fighting. These instructions he carried out. For some days nothing took place beyond the appearance of these two squadrons, and they were always withdrawn after the enemy's cavalry had emerged from their camp. At last the Celtiberi issued from their camp with the whole of their infantry and cavalry, and formed up in line of battle midway between the two camps and remained stationary. The ground was level and well adapted for a battle. There the Spaniards stood in expectancy, whilst the Roman general kept his men within their rampart. For four successive days the enemy took their stand in battle−order on the same spot, but the Romans made no move. After this the Celtiberi rested in their camp as they had no opportunity of fighting; the cavalry alone rode out and took station as advanced pickets, in case of any movement on the part of their enemy. Both sides went out to collect fodder and wood in the rear of their camps, neither of them interfering with the other.

When the Roman praetor had satisfied himself that after so many days' inaction the enemy would not expect him to take the initiative, he ordered L. Acilius to take the division of allied troops and 6000 native auxiliaries, and make a circuit round the mountain which lay behind the enemy's camp. When he heard the battle−shout he was to charge down on their camp. They started in the night to escape observation. At daybreak Flaccus sent C. Scribonius, the commander of the allied troops, with his "select" cavalry up to the enemy's rampart. When the Celtiberi saw them approaching more closely and in greater strength than they had usually done, the whole of their cavalry streamed out from the camp and the signal was given for the infantry also to advance. Scribonius, acting on his instructions, no sooner heard the clatter of the advancing cavalry than he turned his horses' heads and made for his camp. The enemy followed in hot haste. First their cavalry came up and soon after the infantry, never doubting but that they would that day capture the Roman camp. They were not now more than half a mile from the rampart. As soon as Flaccus considered that they were sufficiently drawn off from guarding their own camp he sallied forth from his camp, his army which had previously been drawn up inside the rampart being formed into three separate corps. The battle−shout was raised not only to stimulate the ardour of the combatants but also to reach the ears of those who were amongst the hills. Without a moment's delay these charged down, as they had been ordered, on the enemy's camp, where not more than 5000 men were left on guard. The strength of the assailants compared with their own scanty numbers and the suddenness of the attack so appalled them that the camp was taken with little or no resistance. When it was captured Acilius set fire to that part of it which could be best seen from the field of battle.

The Celtiberi who were in the rear were the first to catch sight of the flames; then word ran through the whole line that the camp was lost and was burning furiously. This increased the dismay of the enemy and the courage of the Romans. On the one hand there were the cheers of their victorious comrades, on the other the sight of the hostile camp in flames. The Celtiberi were for a few moments uncertain what to do, but as there was no shelter for them if they were defeated, and their only hope lay in keeping up the struggle, they recommenced the fight with greater determination. Their centre was being closely pressed by the fifth legion, but they advanced with more confidence against the Roman left where they saw that their own countrymen were posted, and it would have been repulsed had not the seventh legion come up in support. The troops left to hold Aebura appeared in the middle of the battle and Acilius was in the enemy's rear. Between the two the Celtiberi were being cut to pieces; the survivors fled in all directions. The cavalry were sent after them in two divisions and caused great slaughter among them. As many as 23,000 men were killed that day, and 4700 were made prisoners; 500 horses and 88 military standards were captured. It was a great victory, but not a bloodless one. Out of the two legions rather more than 200 Roman soldiers fell, 830 out of the Latin allies, and 2400 out of the native auxiliaries. The praetor led his victorious army back to camp. Acilius was ordered to remain in the camp he had captured. The following day the spoils were collected, and those who had shown conspicuous bravery were rewarded in the presence of the whole army.

The wounded were carried into Aebura and the legions marched through Carpetania to Contrebia. When this city was invested, the townspeople sent to the Celtiberi for assistance. This was delayed, not through any reluctance on the part of the Celtiberi, but because they could not make their way over the roads which were rendered

impassable and the rivers which were flooded by incessant rain. Despairing of any help from their countrymen, the inhabitants surrendered. Flaccus found himself compelled by the terrible storms to move his entire army into the city. The Celtiberi, meanwhile, had started from home in ignorance of the surrender, and as soon as the rain stopped they succeeded at last in crossing the rivers and arrived before Contrebia. They saw no camp outside the walls, and concluding that it had been transferred elsewhere, or else that the enemy had withdrawn, they approached the town without taking precautions or keeping any proper formation. The Romans made a sortie from two gates, and attacking them whilst in disorder, routed them. The very thing that made resistance impossible, namely, their not marching in one body, or keeping with their standards, really helped the majority to escape, for the fugitives dispersed all over the field and the Romans could nowhere intercept any considerable number together. Nevertheless, the killed amounted to 12,000 and the prisoners to more than 5000; 400 horses and 62 standards were also secured. The scattered fugitives made their way to their homes, and meeting another body of Celtiberi who were going to Contrebia, stopped them by informing them of the surrender of the place and of their own defeat. All promptly dispersed to their forts and villages. Leaving Contrebia Flaccus led the legions through Celtiberia, ravaging the country as he marched and storming many of the forts until the greater part of the nation came in to make their surrender. Such were the incidents this year in Hither Spain. In Further Spain the praetor Manlius fought several successful actions with the Lusitanians.

Aquileia, a city situated on land belonging to the Gauls, received this year a body of Latin colonists; 3000 infantry soldiers were settled there, and each man was allotted 50 jugera, the centurions 100, and the cavalry men 140. The supervisors of the settlement were P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, C. Flaminius and L. Manlius Acidinus. Two temples were dedicated during the year, one to Venus Erycina, by the Porta Collina−this temple had been vowed by L. Porcius in the Ligurian war and was dedicated by his son−the other, the temple of Pietas in the Forum Olitorium. Manius Acilius Glabrio dedicated this temple and set up a gilt statue of his father Glabrio, the first gilded statue to be set up in Italy. He had himself vowed this temple on the day of his battle with Antiochus at Thermopylae and had also contracted for the building of it in accordance with a resolution of the senate. At the time of the dedication of these temples L. Aemilius Paulus celebrated his triumph over the Ingauni. Twenty−five golden crowns were borne in the procession; there was no other gold or silver in the triumph. Many Ligurian chiefs walked as prisoners before his chariot. To each soldier he gave as his share of the booty 300 ases. His triumph was notable for the presence of Ligurian envoys who had come to pray for a perpetual peace. So thoroughly had he made that people understand that they must never again take up arms except at the bidding of Rome. By order of the senate the praetor informed them in answer to their request that this was no new petition on the part of the Ligurians, there must be a new spirit and temper corresponding to it, and this rested above all with themselves. They must go to the consuls and carry out whatever they ordered. The senate would not believe that the Ligurians meant honestly and sincerely to keep the peace on any one's word but the consuls'. Peace was established with them. In Corsica there was fighting with the natives, M. Pinarius slew 2000 of them in battle. Through this defeat they were driven to give hostages and also 100,000 pounds of wax. Pinarius took his army to Sardinia and fought successful actions with the Ilienses, a tribe which to this day is not thoroughly pacified. In the course of this year the hundred hostages were restored to the Carthaginians and the Roman people brought about peace not only on their side, but also on the side of Masinissa, who was in forcible occupation of the disputed territory.

The consuls' province remained quiet. M. Baebius was recalled to Rome to conduct the elections. A. Postumius Albinus Luscus and C. Calpurnius Piso were the new consuls. The praetors elected were Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, L. Postumius Albinus, P. Cornelius Mammula, Ti. Minucius Molliculus, A. Hostilius Mancinus and C. Maenius. All these magistrates entered upon office on the Ides of March. At the beginning of his year of office A. Postumius introduced to the senate L. Minucius, a staff officer, and two military tribunes, T. Maenius and L. Terentius Massiliota, who had come from Q. Fulvius Flaccus in Hither Spain. They gave a report of the two victorious battles, the surrender of the Celtiberi and the establishment of order throughout the province, and told the senate that there was no need of the pay which was usually sent nor of any supply of corn to the army for that year. They then requested that honour might be paid to the immortal gods for these successes and that Q. Fulvius should be allowed to bring back on his departure from Spain the army whose courage had been of such service to

him and to many praetors before him. This was not only due to them, but it was all but inevitable, for the soldiers were in such a determined mood that it appeared impossible to keep them any longer in the province, and if they were not disbanded, they were prepared to leave without orders, or if they were kept back by a strong hand, would break out into a dangerous mutiny.

The senate ordered the consuls to take Liguria as their province. Then the praetors balloted for their provinces. Hither Spain fell to Tiberius Sempronius. As he was to succeed Q. Fulvius he did not want the province to be robbed of the veteran army and accordingly made the following speech in the senate: "I ask you, L. Minucius, since you report that the province is in a settled state, whether it is your belief that the Celtiberi will always keep their word so that this province can be held without the presence of an army? If you can neither assure yourself nor give us any guarantee of their remaining permanently at peace, and still hold that in any case an army must be kept there, would you advise the senate to send such reinforcements as will only allow the time−expired soldiers to be released, the recruits being incorporated in the old army, or would you say that the veteran legions should be withdrawn and fresh ones enrolled and sent there, when the contempt felt for these raw recruits might possibly excite even the less aggressive barbarians to resume hostilities? To say that you have pacified and settled a province whose inhabitants are naturally warlike and aggressive may be easier than to do it. According to what I hear only a few communities, mainly those where we have made our winter quarters, have submitted to our authority; those further off are in arms. Under these circumstances, senators, I declare at the outset that I am ready to take the government of the province with the army which is there now. If Flaccus brings his legions with him, I shall select for my winter quarters places already pacified, and shall not expose my new soldiers to a most fierce enemy."

In reply to these questions Minucius said that neither he nor any one else could possibly divine what the intentions of the Celtiberi were at the time or what they might be in the future. He could not therefore deny that it might be better for an army to be sent even to those of the natives who had been reduced to submission but were not accustomed to our rule. But whether there was need of the old army or of a new one was for him to say who was in a position to know how far the Celtiberi would keep the peace, and who had also definitely ascertained whether the soldiers would take it quietly if they were retained in the province. If their sentiments were to be inferred from what they say to one another, or from their exclamations when their commander addresses them on parade, then it ought to be known that they had openly and loudly declared that they would either keep their general in the province or else go back with him to Italy. This discussion was interrupted by the consuls, who gave it as their opinion that the right and proper course was for their province to be provided for before the question of a praetor's army was raised. A whole new army was decreed for the consuls; two Roman legions for each with their full complement of cavalry and the usual proportion of Latin and allied troops, namely 15,000 infantry and 800 cavalry. With this army they were commissioned to make war on the Apuani in Liguria. P. Cornelius and M. Baebius were ordered to retain their commands until the consuls arrived, then after disbanding their army they were to return to Rome.

Then the question of the army for Tiberius Sempronius was settled. The consuls were ordered to enrol for him a fresh legion of 5200 infantry and 400 cavalry and an additional force of 1000 infantry and 50 cavalry. They were also to require the Latin allies to furnish 7000 infantry and 300 cavalry. Such was the army with which it was decided that Tiberius Sempronius should go to Hither Spain. Q. Flaccus received permission to bring away with him, if he thought fit, those soldiers, whether Roman citizens or allies, who had been transferred to Spain previous to the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Q. Marcius. When by the addition of the reinforcements the two legions had been raised above their normal strength, namely 14,000 infantry and 600 cavalry, Flaccus was at liberty to bring away all in excess of that number whose bravery had been of such service to Flaccus in his two successful actions against the Celtiberi. Thanksgivings were also decreed for his good services to the State. The other praetors were then sent off to their provinces; Q. Fabius Buteo was continued in his command in Gaul. It was decided that there should be only eight legions for that year besides the old army in Liguria who were expecting their discharge shortly. Even that force was with difficulty made up owing to the pestilence which had for three years been devastating Rome and Italy.

The death of the praetor Tiberius Minucius and not long after that of the consul C. Calpurnius, followed by those of many distinguished men of all ranks, came to be regarded as a portent. C. Servilius, the Pontifex Maximus, was instructed to search in the pontifical rolls for the method of appeasing the wrath of the gods, and the Keepers of the Sacred Books were to examine their Sibylline Books. The consul was ordered to vow and offer gilded statues to Apollo, Aesculapius and Salus. The Keepers of the Sacred Books proclaimed special intercessions for two days in the City, and in all market−towns and places of public resort. All who were above twelve years of age took part in the intercessions, wearing wreaths of bay and carrying branches of it in their hands. Men began to suspect that this was the work of criminals, and the senate ordered investigations to be made into some cases of alleged poisoning. C. Claudius was charged with this enquiry in the City and within a radius of ten miles from it; C. Maenius was to undertake it in the market−towns and places of public resort outside that limit, before he sailed for his province of Sardinia. The death of the consul aroused the strongest suspicion. He is said to have been murdered by his wife, Quarta Hostilia. When her son Q. Fulvius Flaccus was declared consul in place of his step−father, the death of Piso aroused much greater misgivings. Witnesses came forward who asserted that after Albinus and Piso had been declared consuls, Flaccus having been defeated in the election was reproached by his mother for having failed three times in his candidature for the consulship, and she went on to say that she was getting ready to canvass and would manage in less than two months to have him made consul. Amongst much other evidence bearing on the case this utterance of hers, which was only too truly confirmed by what followed, did most to secure her condemnation. While the consuls were detained in Rome by the enrolment of fresh troops and matters were still further delayed by the death of one of them, and the holding of an election to choose his successor, P. Cornelius and M. Baebius, who during their consulship had done nothing of any importance, now, at the beginning of spring, led their armies against the Apuani.

This Ligurian tribe, who had not expected that war would begin before the arrival of the new consuls, were taken wholly by surprise, and after a crushing defeat surrendered to the number of 12,000. After consulting the senate by letter, Cornelius and Baebius decided to remove them from their mountains into some open and level country far from their homes, so that there could be no hope of return; for they did not see any other end of the Ligurian wars. There was some land in Samnium, forming part of the State domain, which had belonged to Taurania. The consuls wished to settle the Ligurians in this district, and they issued an order for them to come down from Anidus and their mountain homes with their wives and children and take all their property with them. The Ligurians made frequent appeals through their envoys, begging that they might not be compelled to abandon their household gods, the homes in which they had been born and the burial−places of their forefathers, and promising to surrender their arms and give hostages. When they found all their appeals fruitless, and knew that they were not strong enough for war, they obeyed the consuls' edict. As many as 40,000 freemen with their wives and children were transported at the expense of the government; 150,000 silver denarii were allowed them to procure necessaries for their new homes. Cornelius and Baebius were also authorised to distribute and assign the land; they asked, however, that five assessors might be appointed to assist them, and the senate appointed them. After finishing this business they brought their army of veterans to Rome, and the senate decreed a triumph for them. These men were the very first to enjoy a triumph without having been engaged in a war. Only victims for sacrifice were led before the chariot; there were no prisoners, no spoils, nothing to distribute amongst the soldiers.

As his successor was somewhat late in reaching Spain, Fulvius Flaccus led out his army from winter quarters and began to devastate the more distant parts of Celtiberia, where the inhabitants had not come in to surrender. By this action he irritated the natives more than he intimidated them, and secretly collecting a force they beset the Manlian Pass, through which they were tolerably certain that the Romans would march. Gracchus had instructed his colleague, L. Postumius Albinus, who was on his way to Further Spain, to inform Q. Fulvius that he was to bring his army to Tarraco, where he intended to disband the old soldiers, incorporate the reinforcements into the various corps and reorganise the whole army. Fulvius was also informed of the date of his successor's arrival which was close at hand. This information compelled Flaccus to abandon his projected operations and withdraw his army hastily from Celtiberia. The barbarians, ignorant of the true reason, and imagining that he had become aware of their rising and secret gathering in arms and was afraid of them, invested the pass all the more closely. When the Roman column entered the pass, the enemy rushed down upon it from both sides. As soon as Flaccus

saw this, he allayed the first symptoms of tumult in the column by giving the order through the centurions for every man to stand where he was and get his weapons ready. The packs of the baggage animals were piled up in one place, and partly by his own exertions, partly through his officers, he got the whole force into such fighting order as the time and place required. He reminded his men that they had to deal with those who had twice made their submission and who were impelled by treachery, not by true courage. His soldiers, he told them, would have returned home without distinguishing themselves; the enemy had given them the chance of a glorious and memorable homecoming. They would carry in triumph through Rome swords reddened with the slaughter of their foes and spoils dripping with their blood. Time did not allow him to say more; the enemy were upon them and fighting was already begun at the outermost points. Then the two lines closed.

The battle was everywhere a desperate one, but with changing fortunes. The legionaries fought splendidly, nor did the two divisions of allied troops offer a less vigorous resistance. The native auxiliaries confronted by men similarly armed, but somewhat better fighters, could not hold their ground. When the Celtiberi found that their regular order of battle made them no match for the legions, they bore down upon them in wedge−formation, a maneuver which gives them such weight that in whatever direction they carry their attack it cannot be withstood. Even the legions were now thrown into disorder and the Roman line was all but broken. Fulvius, seeing this, galloped up to the legionary cavalry and shouted: "Unless you can come to the rescue it will be all over with this army." "Say," they shouted in reply, "what you want done, we shall not be slack in carrying out your orders." He replied: "Close up your squadrons, cavalry of the two legions, and let your horses go where the enemy wedge is pressing our men. Your charge will have all the greater force if you make it on unbitted horses." (We have heard that Roman cavalry have often done that and covered themselves with glory.) They removed the horses' bits and charged the wedge in both directions, first forward and then back again, inflicting great slaughter upon the enemy and shivering all their spears. When the wedge on which all their hopes rested was broken up, the Celtiberi so completely lost heart that they gave up almost any attempt at fighting and began to look about for means of escape. When the auxiliary cavalry saw the notable feat of the Roman horse they, too, fired by the courage of the others, and without waiting for orders, spurred their horses against the enemy who was now thoroughly shaken. This proved decisive; the Celtiberi fled precipitately in all directions, and the Roman commander, watching them as they turned their backs, vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris and the celebration of solemn Games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The Celtiberi, scattered in flight, were cut to pieces all through the pass. It is asserted that 17,000 of the enemy were killed on that day, and more than 4000 taken alive, together with 277 military standards and nearly 600 horses. The victorious army remained encamped in the pass. The victory was not without loss; 472 Roman soldiers, 1019 soldiers of the allies and 3000 native auxiliaries perished on the field. With its former glory thus renewed the victorious army marched to Tarraco. Tiberius Sempronius, who had landed two days before, went to meet Fulvius and congratulated him upon his successful conduct of affairs. They were quite at one as to which soldiers they should release and which retain. After releasing the time−expired men from their military oath, Fulvius embarked with them for Italy. Sempronius led the legions into Celtiberia.

The two consuls advanced against the Ligurians by different routes. Postumius with the first and third legions closed round the mountains of Ballista and Suismontium, and posted detachments to block the passes. By thus cutting off their supplies and reducing them to complete destitution, he brought them to terms. Fulvius moved out from Pisae with the second and fourth legions, and marched against those of the Apuani who dwelt round the Macra, and after receiving their surrender placed some 7000 of them on board ship and sailing along the Etruscan coast landed them at Neapolis. From there they were transported to Samnium, and land was assigned to them amongst their own countrymen. The Ligurians who dwelt in the mountains had their vineyards cut down and their corn crops burnt by A. Postumius, until after suffering all the miseries of war they were compelled to submit and give up their arms. From there Postumius sailed on a tour of inspection along the coast occupied by the Ingauni and Intemelii. Before the new consuls joined the army which was to assemble at Pisae, A. Postumius remained in command. M. Fulvius Nobilior, brother of Q. Fulvius, who was a military tribune in the second legion, during his two months of office, disbanded the legion, having first exacted an oath from the centurions that they would carry the unexpended soldiers' pay back to the quaestors who had charge of the treasury. As soon as Aulus heard of this at Placentia, where he happened to be at the time, he followed the disbanded soldiers, and those whom he caught

he sternly rebuked and took them back to Pisae, and sent word to the consul about the others. The consul laid the matter before the senate, and they passed a resolution that M. Fulvius should be relegated to a part of Spain beyond New Carthage, and a letter was handed to him by the consul to be given to P. Manlius in Further Spain. The soldiers were ordered to rejoin their standards; and in the case of any soldier who did not return to the army, the consul received orders to sell him as a slave and all his goods. In consequence of their disgraceful conduct, it was decreed that this legion should only receive half the year's pay.

L. Duronius, who had been commanding as praetor in Illyria, returned this year to Brundisium. In giving his report of what he had done, he unhesitatingly threw all the responsibility for the piracy on Gentius, the King of Illyria; it was from his dominions that all the ships had sailed which had ravaged the shores of the Hadriatic. He stated, further, that he sent envoys to the king to deal with the matter, but they had had no opportunity of meeting him. A deputation from Gentius went to Rome and explained that at the time when the Romans went to meet the king he happened to be lying ill in the most distant part of his kingdom. He asked the senate not to accept the trumped−up charges against him which his enemies had made. In reply to this, Duronius further stated that injuries had been inflicted on many Roman citizens and Latin allies in his dominions, and it was reported that Roman citizens were being detained in Corcyra. The senate decided that they should all be brought to Rome and that the praetor C. Claudius should investigate their case. Till then no reply should be given to Gentius or to his envoys.

Amongst the many who were carried off by the epidemic this year were some of the priests. The pontiff L. Valerius Flaccus died, and Q. Fabius Labeo was appointed in his place; P. Manlius, who had lately returned from Further Spain, one of the three superintendents of the sacrificial banquets, fell a victim, and Quinctus the son of M. Fulvius was appointed in his place, quite a young man at the time. The filling of the vacancy caused by the death of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, the rex sacrificulus, led to a dispute between the Pontifex Maximus C. Servilius and L. Cornelius Dolabella, one of the two directors of naval affairs. The pontiff required him to resign his post in order that he might inaugurate him. On his refusing to do so, the pontiff imposed a fine upon him, and on his appeal the question of the fine was argued before the Assembly. When several of the tribes had declared by their votes that the naval director should comply with the pontiff's requirement, and that if he resigned his post the fine should be remitted, a thunderstorm interrupted the proceedings. The pontiffs were thus prevented on religious grounds from appointing Dolabella, and they inaugurated P. Claelius Siculus, who had the next largest number of votes. At the close of the year the Pontifex Maximus died. C. Servilius Geminus was not only Pontifex Maximus, but also one of the Keepers of the Sacred Books. Q. Fulvius Flaccus was co−opted by the college as one of the pontiffs, and M. Aemilius Lepidus was made Pontifex Maximus in place of Geminus from among many distinguished competitors. In his place Q. Marcius Philippus was chosen as a Keeper of the Sacred Books. The augur Sp. Postumius also died and the other augurs co−opted P. Scipio the son of Africanus to fill the vacancy.

During the year the people of Cuma sent a request to be allowed to use Latin as the language of law and commerce. Pisae offered land for the foundation of a Latin colony and was thanked by the senate. The supervisors of the settlement were Q. Fabius Buteo and the two Popillii Laenates, Marcus and Publius. C. Maenius, to whom Sardinia had been allotted, had also been charged with the investigation of the cases of poisoning which had occurred beyond the ten−mile radius from the City. A letter was received from him stating that he had sentenced 3000 offenders, and that the accumulating evidence was widening the scope of his enquiry; either he would have to give up the task or resign his province. Q. Fulvius Flaccus returned to Rome with a great reputation after his work in Spain. While he was still outside the City waiting for his triumph he was elected consul, together with L. Manlius Acidinus, and a few days later he entered the City in triumph with the soldiers he had brought with him. In the procession there were carried 124 golden crowns, 31 pounds of gold and 173,200 pieces of Oscan coinage. To each of the legionaries he gave from the sale of the booty 50 denarii, double the amount to the centurions and treble to the cavalry, and the same amount to the men of the Latin allies. All were alike granted double pay.

A law was passed for the first time this year fixing the age at which men could be candidates for or hold a magistracy. It was introduced by L. Vilius, a tribune of the plebs, and from this his family received the cognomen

of Annalis. After many years had elapsed, four praetors were elected this year under the Baebian Law, which laid down the rule that four praetors should be elected in alternate years. Those elected were Cnaeus Cornelius Scipio, C. Valerius Laevinus, and two sons of M. Scaevola, Quinctius and Publius. The new consuls had the same province assigned to them as their predecessors, and the same number of Roman and allied infantry and cavalry. In the two Spains, Ti. Sempronius and L. Postumius had their commands extended and retained their armies. To reinforce them the consuls were instructed to enrol 3000 Roman infantry and 300 cavalry, and 5000 infantry and 400 cavalry from the Latins and allies. P. Mucius Scaevola received the civic jurisdiction and was also charged with the investigation into the poisoning cases in the City and within ten miles of it. Cn. Cornelius Scipio had the alien jurisdiction; Q. Mucius Scaevola, Sicily; and C. Valerius Laevinus, Sardinia. Before Q. Fulvius commenced his duties as consul he said that he wished to discharge the State from the obligation of his vows. He had on the day of his last battle with the Celtiberi vowed Games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and also a temple to Fortuna Equestris, and he had collected money from the Spaniards for this purpose. A decree was made that the Games should be celebrated and that two commissioners should be appointed to see to the construction of the temple. A limit was fixed for the expenditure on the Games. It was not to exceed the sum which had been decreed for the celebration of the Games after the Aetolian war by Fulvius Nobilior, and the consul was forbidden to requisition or levy or accept or do anything in respect of these Games in contravention of the resolution passed by the senate during the consulship of L. Aemilius and Cn. Baebius. The senate made their decree in this form in consequence of the extravagant cost incurred in the Games exhibited by Ti. Sempronius in his capacity of aedile, a cost which proved burdensome not only to Italy and the Latin allies, but to the provinces abroad as well.

The winter was a severe one owing to snow and storms of every description. The trees which were exposed to the icy winds were all blasted, and the cold season lasted longer than usual. One result of this was that the Latin Festival was broken up by a terrible storm which burst suddenly upon the Alban Mount, and the pontiffs ordered it to be celebrated afresh. The same storm flung down some statues on the Capitol and several localities were disfigured by lightning, amongst them the temple of Jupiter in Terracina, the Alban temple at Capua and one of the gates of Rome. In some places the battlements were dislodged from the walls. Amongst these ominous occurrences it was reported from Reate that a mule had been foaled with only three feet. The Keepers were ordered to consult the Sacred Books, and they announced what deities were to be propitiated and what victims were to be offered, and they also enjoined special intercessions for one day. After this the Games which Q. Fulvius had vowed were exhibited on a grand scale for ten days. Next came the election of censors. The new censors were M. Aemilius Lepidus, Pontifex Maximus, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, who had celebrated his triumph over the Aetolians. Between these two distinguished men there was a feud which had often caused many violent quarrels between them in the senate and before the Assembly. When the election was over the censors took their seats, according to ancient custom, in curule chairs at the altar of Mars in the Campus Martius. Suddenly the leaders of the senate appeared, accompanied by a large body of citizens, and Q. Caecilius Metellus addressed them in the following terms:

"We have not forgotten, censors, that you have just been chosen by the universal voice of the Roman people to superintend our morals, and that we must be admonished and regulated by you, not you by us. We are, however, bound to point out what it is in you that gives offence to all good citizens, or at all events what they would prefer to see changed. When we contemplate you each by himself, M. Aemilius and M. Fulvius, we feel that we have no one amongst the citizens today whom, if we were recalled to the polling booths, we should wish to take precedence of you. But when we behold you both together we cannot help fearing that you are ill−suited for each other, and that the unanimous vote in your favour will not benefit the commonwealth so much as the entire absence of unanimity between yourselves will injure it. For many years you have been cherishing violent and bitter feelings against each other, and the danger is that these may prove more disastrous to us and to the commonwealth than to you. Many considerations might be alleged, unless you are deaf to all remonstrance, as to the causes of your mutual hostility. We all of us with one voice implore you to put an end to these quarrels on this day and on this hallowed ground; we ask that the men whom the Roman people have associated together by their vote may through us be reconciled to one another. Choose the senate, revise the equities, close the lustrum with one mind, one judgment, so that when you repeat the formula of almost all the prayers: 'May this prove to be a

good and blessed thing for me and my colleague,' you may in all sincerity desire and bring it about that it shall so prove, so that what you have prayed for from the gods, we men may believe you really wish for. In the very City where they met in hostile encounter, Titus Tatius and Romulus reigned peacefully side by side. Not only private quarrels, but even wars are put an end to; deadly enemies generally prove the most faithful allies; sometimes they even become fellow−citizens. When Alba was destroyed, the Albans were transferred to Rome; the Latins and the Sabines have been admitted to our franchise. That common saying: 'Friendships ought to be immortal, enmities mortal,' has passed into a proverb because it is true."

Murmurs of approval were heard and then the voices of all present, as though it were the voice of one making the same request, drowned the speaker. Hereupon Aemilius, amongst other things, complained that he had been twice rejected by M. Fulvius as a candidate for the consulship when he was certain to win it. Fulvius, on the other hand, protested that he had been constantly receiving provocation from Aemilius and had undergone the humiliation of having to give security. They each, however, signified that if the other was willing, he would bow to the authority of such an influential body. As all present pressed their demand, the censors grasped each other's hands and gave their word to dismiss all angry feelings and put an end to their quarrel. They were then conducted to the Capitol amidst universal applause, and the trouble which their leaders had taken over the matter and the yielding temper of the censors received the approbation and praise of the senate. The censors asked for a grant of money to spend on public works, and one year's revenue was assigned to them.

The propraetors in Spain agreed upon a common plan of operation; Albinus was to march through Lusitania against the Vaccaei, and if the Celtiberian war became more serious he was to return thither; Gracchus, meantime, was to penetrate to the further borders of Celtiberia. Making a nocturnal attack on the city of Munda, he took it at the first assault. After taking hostages and placing a garrison to hold the place, he marched on, storming the forts and burning the crops, till he came to another city of exceptional strength called by the natives Certima. He was already bringing up his engines against the walls when a deputation arrived from the town. Their words betrayed a primitive simplicity; they made no concealment of their intention to continue the struggle if they had the strength. They requested permission to visit the Celtiberian camp and ask for help; if it were refused them they would take counsel among themselves. Gracchus gave them permission, and in a few days they returned, bringing with them ten more envoys. It was at the hour of noon, and the first request they made to the praetor was that he would order something to be given them to drink. After emptying the cups they asked for more, and the bystanders burst into peals of laughter at such boorishness and utter want of manners. Then the oldest amongst them spoke: "We have been sent," he said, "by our nation to enquire on what it is that you rely in carrying your arms against us." Gracchus told them that he relied upon his splendid army, and if they wanted to see it for themselves so that they might carry back a fuller account of it, he would give them the opportunity of doing so. He then sent word to the military tribunes to order the whole of the force, horse and foot, to equip themselves completely and practice their maneuvers under arms. After this exhibition the envoys were sent home, and they dissuaded their countrymen from sending any succour to the besieged city. The townsmen kindled fires on their watch towers, but when they found that it was in vain, and that their only hope of assistance had failed them, they surrendered. A war indemnity of 2,400,000 sesterces was levied upon them. They had also to give up forty youths who were in their cavalry and belonged to their noblest families, not under the name of hostages, for they were to serve in the Roman army, but as a matter of fact they were pledges of the fidelity of their countrymen.

From there he advanced to the city of Alce, where the camp from which the envoys had come was located. For some days he confined himself to annoying the enemy by sending skirmishers against his advanced posts, but every day he sent them out in stronger force in order to draw the full strength of the enemy outside his lines. When he saw that he had gained his object, he ordered the commanders of the native auxiliaries to offer a slight resistance and then turn back in hasty flight to their camp, as though they were overborne by numbers. He in the meanwhile drew up his men at every one of the gates of the camp. No long time had elapsed when he saw his men flying back in a body with the enemy following in disorderly pursuit. Up to this point he kept his men within their rampart, and now, only waiting till the fugitives could find shelter within the camp, the battle−shout was raised and the Romans burst forth from all the gates simultaneously. The enemy could not stand against this

unlooked−for attack. They had come up to storm the Roman camp; now they could not even defend their own. Routed, put to flight, driven in a panic inside their rampart, they at last lost their camp. There were 9000 men killed that day, 320 taken prisoners, 112 horses and 37 military standards were captured. Out of the Roman army 109 fell.

From the battlefield Gracchus led the legions further into Celtiberia, which he ravaged and plundered. When the natives saw him carrying off their property and driving away their cattle, some of the tribes bowed their necks to the yoke voluntarily, others through fear, and within a few days he accepted the surrender of a hundred and three towns and secured an enormous amount of booty. Then he marched back to Alce and commenced the siege of that place. At first the townsmen withstood the assaults, but when they found themselves attacked by siege−engines as well as by arms, they lost confidence in the protection of their walls and retired in a body to their citadel. Finally they sent envoys to place themselves and all their property at the disposal of the Romans. A large amount of booty was seized here. Many of their nobles were taken, amongst them the two sons and the daughter of Thurrus. This man was the chief of these tribes and by far the most powerful man in Spain. On hearing of the disaster to his countrymen he sent to ask for a safe−conduct while he visited Gracchus in his camp. When he arrived his first question was whether he and his family would be allowed to live. On the praetor replying that his life would be safe, he asked, further, whether he would be allowed to fight on the side of the Romans. Gracchus granted that request also, and then he said: "I will follow you against my old allies." From that time he followed the Romans, and on many occasions his gallant and faithful services were helpful to the Roman cause.

On this, Ergavica, a powerful and influential city, alarmed at the disasters which had befallen her neighbours, opened her gates to the Romans. Some authorities assert that these surrenders were not made in good faith, and wherever Gracchus withdrew his legions, hostilities were at once renewed; also that he fought a great battle with the Celtiberi at Mt. Chaunus, lasting from dawn till mid−day, and many fell on both sides. You would not suppose from this that the Romans achieved any great success beyond the fact that they challenged the enemy who kept within his lines, and also spent the whole day in collecting the spoils. They assert, further, that on the third day a still bigger battle was fought, and now at last the Celtiberi suffered a decisive defeat; their camp was taken and plundered, 22,000 of the enemy were killed, more than 300 taken prisoners, and about the same number of horses and 72 military standards were taken. This finished the war and a real, not an insincere peace, as before, was made. According to these authors, L. Postumius fought with great success against the Vaccaei in Further Spain this summer, killing 35,000 of the enemy and getting possession of their camp. It would be nearer the truth to say that he arrived in his province too late in the summer to undertake a campaign.

M. Aemilius Lepidus, Pontifex Maximus and Censor, was himself chosen as leader of the House. Lepidus kept some on the roll whom his colleague had left out. The sums which had been granted to them for constructive works were employed as follows. Lepidus constructed a breakwater at Terracina, an unpopular proceeding because he had estates there and was charging to the public account what should have been his private expenditure. He contracted for the building of an auditorium and stage at the temple of Apollo, and the polishing with chalk of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol and the columns round it. He also removed the statues from the front of the columns which blocked the view and took away all the shields and military standards which had been fastened to them. M. Fulvius undertook more numerous and more useful works. He constructed a wharf on the Tiber and piles for a bridge on which some years later the censors P. Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius erected arches. He built a court−house behind the new bankers' establishments, a fish−market surrounded by shops, a market−square and colonnade outside the Porta Trigemina, and other colonnades behind the docks, at the fane of Hercules, behind the temple of Hope by the Tiber, and one at the temple of Apollo Medicus. Besides the sums allotted to each they had a certain amount to use in common, and this they devoted to the construction of an aqueduct on arches. M. Licinius Crassus threw difficulties in the way of this work, as he would not allow it to be carried through his land. Various tolls were also initiated by them, and they fixed rents for the use of the State lands. Many chapels and public buildings had been taken possession of by private individuals; the censors made it their care that these should preserve their sacred character and be accessible to the public. The method of voting was revised by them, and through all the "regions" they classified the tribes according to their status, their

circumstances, and their sources of income.

One of the censors, M. Aemilius, asked the senate for a sum of money to be decreed for the Games on the occasion of the dedication of Queen Juno and Diana, which he had vowed eight years previously, during the Ligurian war. A sum of 20,000 ases was granted. He dedicated the temples which both stood in the Circus Flaminius, and exhibited scenic Games for three days after the dedication of the temple of Juno, and for two days after the dedication of the temple of Diana. He also dedicated a temple to the Lares Permarini in the Campus Martius. This temple had been vowed by L. Aemilius Regillus eleven years previously, during the naval action against the commanders of King Antiochus. Above the folding−doors of the temple a tablet was affixed with this inscription: "When Lucius the son of Marcus Aemilius went out to battle to put an end to a great war and to subdue kings . . . The chief cause of obtaining peace . . . under his auspicious command and fortunate leadership the fleet of Antiochus, ever before invincible, was defeated, shattered and put to flight between Ephesus, Samos and Chios, before the very eyes of Antiochus and of his whole army, his cavalry and elephants. On that day forty−two ships of war were captured there, with all their crews; and after that battle had been fought, King Antiochus and his realm . . . Wherefore, because of this action he vowed a temple to the Lares Permarini." A similar tablet is fixed above the doors of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.

Two days after the censors had finished revising the roll of the senate the consul Q. Fulvius set out for Liguria. After traversing with his army pathless mountains and ravines and forests, he fought a pitched battle with the enemy, and not only defeated him but seized his camp the same day; 3200 of the enemy and the whole of that district made their surrender. The consul brought them down into the plains and posted detachments to hold the mountains. Despatches were quickly sent to Rome and a three days' thanksgiving was decreed, the praetors sacrificing full−grown victims. Nothing worth recording was done in Liguria by the other consul L. Manlius. Three thousand men belonging to the transalpine Gauls crossed the Alps into Italy without doing any injury, and asked the consuls and senate for a grant of land, that they might live quietly under the sovereignty of Rome. The senate ordered them to quit Italy, and Q. Fulvius was instructed to seek out and take action against the prime instigators of this movement across the Alps.

In the course of this year Philip king of the Macedonians died, worn out with old age and grief at the death of his son. He passed the winter at Demetrias, full of poignant regret at the death of his son and of remorse for his own cruelty. His feelings were still further embittered by the conduct of his other son, who, in his own opinion and in that of others, was undoubtedly king, for all eyes were turned towards him, and also by the desertion of his friends in his old age, some waiting for his death, others not even waiting for it. This was a greater source of anxiety to him as it was to Antigonus the son of Echecrates, who bore the name of his paternal uncle, Antigonus. The uncle had been Philip's guardian, a man of kingly dignity, distinguished, too, for his conduct in the famous battle against Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian. This man's nephew, Antigonus, out of all those whom Philip had honoured with his friendship, alone remained uncorrupted, and this loyalty made Perseus, who had never been friendly to him, his bitterest enemy. He foresaw the danger in which he would be involved by the heritage of the crown descending to Perseus, and as soon as he saw the king's feelings changing, and heard him deploring the loss of his son, he used sometimes to be a silent listener; at others he would lead the king to speak of the incident as unpremeditated, and in this way often showed active sympathy with his grief. And as truth usually gives signs of its presence, so it was here, and he followed up the traces to the utmost of his power so that everything might be the sooner brought to light. Suspicion attached mainly to Apelles and Philocles as the authors of the crime; they were the men who had gone in the character of envoys to Rome, and had brought back the letter forged in the name of Flamininus which had proved so fatal to Demetrius.

It was commonly said in the palace that the letter was a forgery concocted by one of the secretaries and sealed with a counterfeit seal. Whilst, however, there was as yet no clear evidence, only suspicion, Xychus happened to meet Antigonus, who had him promptly arrested and conveyed to the palace. Leaving him there under guard he went in to Philip and said to the king: "I think I have understood from my many conversations with you that you would value very highly the opportunity of learning the whole truth about your sons, which of them was the

victim of the cunning and treachery of the other. The one man in the whole world who can unravel the knot, namely Xychus, is in your hands. I met him by chance and had him brought to the palace; order him to be summoned." When brought in he at first denied everything, but with such hesitancy that a moderate appeal to his fears would obviously make him a ready informer. The sight of the executioner with his scourge was too much for him, and he explained in full detail the villainy of the two envoys and the way he had acted as their tool. Men were at once despatched to arrest them. Philocles was seized on the spot; Apelles, who had been in pursuit of a certain Chaereas, on learning that Xychus was turned informer, sailed for Italy. The fate of Philocles is not certain. According to some writers he, at first, stoutly denied; afterwards, confronted with Xychus, he no longer held out. Others say that even when put to the torture he still maintained his innocence. Philip's grief and distress were awakened afresh. He considered that the unhappiness caused by his children was made more painful by the survival of the one than by the death of the other.

On being informed that everything had been disclosed, Perseus, whilst feeling himself strong enough to avoid the necessity of flight, took care, nevertheless, to keep well out of the way, and prepared to protect himself from the flames of his father's wrath, as long as he was alive. Philip, hopeless of being able to inflict punishment on the person of his son, made it his aim to prevent him, whilst escaping punishment, from enjoying the rewards of his wickedness as well. Accordingly he summoned Antigonus, to whom he was under such obligations for the detection of the fratricide, and who he thought, owing to the glory recently won by his uncle, Antigonus, might be one whom the Macedonians would not be ashamed of or disappointed in as their king. "Antigonus," he began, "now that my condition is such that the childlessness which other fathers regard as a curse I am compelled to regard as a thing to be wished for, I have resolved to leave to you the kingdom which your gallant uncle not only defended but augmented by his fidelity and watchfulness. You are the only one I have whom I judge worthy of the crown; if I had no one I would rather have my kingdom perish and disappear than that Perseus should have it as the prize of treachery and murder. I should feel that Demetrius had been recalled from the tomb, if I could leave you to take his place, you who have shed tears over the death of an innocent victim and wept at my terrible mistake."

From this time he was continually advancing him from one honour to another. Whilst Perseus was away in Thrace, Philip made a progress through the cities of Macedonia, and recommended Antigonus to their leading men, and had he lived longer he would undoubtedly have left him in actual possession of the crown. Leaving Demetrias, he stopped for a considerable time at Thessalonica. From there he travelled to Amphipolis, and here he became seriously ill. But he was more sick in mind than in body. He was a prey to gloomy fears and sleeplessness; again and again the form and shade of his innocent murdered son threw him into violent agitation. He died whilst invoking terrible curses on the other one. Antigonus could, however, have been warned, had he been at hand, or had the king's death been openly announced in the palace. Calligenes, the head physician, did not anticipate it so soon. When the case became hopeless he sent the news as had been mutually agreed, to Perseus by a relay of messengers and concealed the fact from all outside the palace pending his arrival.

Perseus took them all by surprise; they were unaware of what had happened and were not in the least expecting him. He seized the throne which he had gained by crime. The death of Philip occurred very opportunely as regarded the postponement of hostilities and the concentration of the resources for war. A few days later the tribe of the Bastarnae, after repeated invitations, left their homes and crossed the Hister with a large body of infantry and cavalry. Antigonus and Cotto−a Bastarnian noble−went in advance to inform the king. Antigonus had previously been sent with this same Cotto to induce the Bastarnae to move. Not far from Amphipolis they heard a report, and soon afterwards were met by messengers who announced the king's death. This completely upset their plans. It had been settled that Philip would afford the Bastarnae a safe passage through Thrace and supply them with provisions. To ensure this he had bribed the chiefs in the districts to be traversed and had pledged his word that the Bastarnae would pass through peacefully. It was intended to exterminate the Dardani and to make a home for the Bastarnae in their territory. There was to be a double advantage in this; the Dardani, who had always been bitter enemies to Macedonia, and ready to fall on her in times of misfortune, would be put out of the way, and the Bastarnae could leave their wives and children in Dardania and be sent on to devastate Italy. The way to the

Hadriatic and to Italy lay through the Scordisci; that was the only practicable route for an army, and the Scordisci were expected to grant a passage to the Bastarnae without any difficulty, for neither in speech nor habits were they dissimilar, and it was hoped that they would unite forces with them when they saw that they were going to secure the plunder of a very wealthy nation. Thus Philip's plans were adapted to either alternative. If the Bastarnae were defeated by the Romans, the extermination of the Dardani, the plunder of what remained of the Bastarnae, and the unchallenged possession of Dardania would be some consolation to him; if on the other hand they met with success and the Romans were recalled to a war with the Bastarnae, he would win back what he had lost in Greece. Such were Philip's schemes.

At the outset the Bastarnae marched in peaceable and orderly fashion. But after Cotto and Antigonus had left them and the news of Philip's death arrived a few days later, the Thracians began to make difficulties about providing a market. Unable to buy what they needed, the Bastarnae could not be kept in their ranks nor prevented from straggling. This led to acts of violence on both sides, and as these became daily more aggressive, war broke out. In the end the Thracians, finding themselves unable to withstand the numbers and the fierceness of their assailants, left their villages in the plains and retired to a mountain of immense height called Donuca. While the Bastarnae were preparing to follow them, a storm similar to that which is said to have destroyed the Gauls while plundering Delphi burst upon them as they were nearing the summit. They were overwhelmed by a deluge of rain, followed by a heavy hailstorm accompanied with the crashing of thunder peals and blinding flashes of lightning. The lightning played everywhere round them; it seemed as though it were aimed at the men; not only the common soldiers but their chiefs were struck down. As they floundered and fell in blind headlong flight amongst the beetling cliffs, they were closely pursued by the Thracians; but they said to themselves that the gods were causing their flight and the heavens were falling on them. Scattered by the storm like shipwrecked sailors, they at last reached their camp, most having lost their arms, and then began to deliberate as to what they were to do. Opinions were divided; some were for returning home, others wanted to invade Dardania. About 30,000 men, led by Clondicus, succeeded in reaching Dardania; the rest of the host retraced their steps and made their way into the inland district of Apollonia. After gaining possession of the crown, Perseus ordered Antigonus to be put to death. Whilst he was strengthening himself on the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome to renew the friendship which had existed in his father's time and to request the senate to recognise him as king. These were the events of the year in Macedonia.

Q. Fulvius celebrated his triumph over the Ligurians, but it was generally believed that this triumph was granted to him more on personal grounds than because of the importance of his victories. He had a large amount of enemy arms carried in the procession, but no considerable sum of money. However, he distributed 300 ases to each of the legionaries, twice as much to each centurion, and three times as much to each of the cavalry. The most striking thing about this triumph was that he happened to celebrate it on the same day as his triumph the preceding year after his praetorship. Immediately after his triumph he fixed the day for the elections. The new consuls were M. Junius Brutus and A. Manlius Vulso. Three of the praetors had been elected when a storm interrupted the proceedings. The next day the remaining three were elected, namely, M. Titinius Curvus, Ti. Claudius Nero, and T. Fonteius Capitol The Roman Games were exhibited afresh by the curule aediles Cnaeus Servilius Caepio and Appius Claudius Cento in consequence of some portents which had occurred. There was an earthquake. Whilst a lectisternium was going on in the public shrines the deities on their couches turned away their heads from the offerings set before them, and the coverlet with the covers of the dishes set before Jupiter fell from the table. The olives were nibbled by mice before they were placed before the gods, and this was regarded as a portent. Nothing beyond the repetition of the Games was done in the way of expiating these portents.

Book 41. Perseus and the States of Greece

. . . It was said that he called to arms the fighting men whom his father had kept in peace, and that he was very popular with them, as they were eager for plunder. The consul held a council of war to discuss the Histrian campaign. Some thought it ought to be undertaken at once before the enemy had time to get his forces together;

others considered that the senate ought first to be consulted. The opinion in favour of prompt action prevailed. From Aquileia, the consul advanced to the Timavus Lake close to the sea. C. Furius, one of the two naval commanders, sailed there with ten ships. He and his colleague were to act against the Illyrian fleet and protect the coasts of the Upper Sea with twenty ships. Their joint command pivoted on Ancona; L. Cornelius had the defence of the coast to the right as far as Tarentum, and C. Furius to the left as far as Aquileia. The ten ships under Furius had been sent to the nearest harbour on Histrian territory, together with cargo ships and a large amount of supplies. The consul followed them with the legions and fixed his camp about five miles from the sea. A busy market soon sprang up in the harbour, and all supplies were carried up from the sea to the camp. To render this more secure, pickets were posted on every side of the camp. On the side facing Histria the emergency cohort from Placentia was posted permanently; M. Aebutius, one of the military tribunes, was ordered to take two maniples from the second legion to the river bank between the camp and the sea to protect the watering−parties; two other military tribunes, L. and C. Aelius, took the third legion along the road leading to Aquileia to protect the foraging and wood−cutting troops. In that direction lay the camp of the Gauls about a mile distant. and in their chief's absence Catemelus was in command. They did not number more than 3000 armed men.

As soon as the Roman army began to move towards the Timavus, the Histri took up a position in concealment behind a hill and followed it while on the march, carefully watching for every opportunity; nothing that happened on sea or land escaped their notice. When they saw that only weak pickets were posted in front of the camp and that between the camp and the sea there was a crowd of unarmed traders busy with their traffic and without any protection either on the land side or towards the sea, they made a simultaneous attack on the pickets, the Placentian cohort and the maniples of the second legion. Their movements were at first concealed by an early morning fog. As this began to disperse under the warm rays of the sun, the sunshine struggling fitfully through made everything, as it generally does, look larger to the beholder. In this way the Romans were deceived, as the hostile army appeared larger than it really was. The men from both the pickets fled in a great tumult to the camp. The terror they spread here was greater than the alarm in which they had fled, for they could not explain why they had fled, nor could they give any answer to those who questioned them. Shouts were heard from the gates, as there were no outposts there to make any resistance, and the crowding together of the soldiers, who were falling over each other in the fog, made it impossible to know whether the enemy were inside the camp or not. One voice was heard amongst the cries, calling "To the sea!" and this chance cry started by one individual resounded everywhere throughout the camp. They began to run down to the sea, as though acting under orders; at first in small bodies, some with arms, most of them without; then in larger numbers, till at last nearly every man had gone, including the consul himself. He was quite powerless to rally the fugitives; his commands, his authority, his expostulations were all fruitless. The only officer who remained was M. Licinius Strabo, a military tribune attached to the second legion, who had left him with three maniples in their flight. The Histri made their attack on the empty camp, and after finding no armed resistance, came upon him as he was forming and encouraging his men in the headquarters tent. The fight was a more stubborn one than might have been expected from the fewness of the defenders, and did not come to an end until the tribune and all round him had fallen. After overturning the headquarters tent and plundering everything in it, the enemy went on to the quaestor's tent, the forum, and the via quintana. Here they found an abundant supply of everything laid out in readiness, and in the quaestor's tent couches arranged for a meal. The chieftain lay down and began to feast himself; soon all the others, oblivious of any armed enemy, did the same, and being unused to such good fare, loaded themselves greedily with wine and food.

Things wore a very different aspect among the Romans. There was confusion both on land and sea. The marines struck their tents and hurriedly carried back on board the stores which had been landed on the beach; the soldiers rushed in panic to the boats at the water's edge; some of the sailors, afraid of their boats being overcrowded, tried to stop the crowd; others pushed their boats off into deep water. This resulted in a struggle, and soon a regular fight began between the soldiers and the sailors−with bloodshed on both sides−until at the consul's orders the fleet was withdrawn to some distance from the land. Then he began to separate those who had arms from those who were without any. There were hardly 1200 out of the whole number who were still armed; very few of the cavalry were found to have brought away their horses with them; the rest were a disorderly mob like so many sutlers and

camp−followers, certain to fall a prey to the enemy, if the enemy had had any idea of fighting. At last, word was sent to recall the third legion and the Gaulish contingent, and the troops posted round the camp began to come in determined to recover the camp and remove the stain of disgrace. The military tribunes of the third legion ordered the loads of wood and fodder to be thrown off the baggage animals, and commanded the centurions to place the older men in couples on the mules which had been relieved of their loads, and the cavalry were each to take one of the younger men with them on their horses. They told their men that it would be a most glorious thing for their legion if, by their own valour, they recovered the camp which had been lost through the faintheartedness of the second legion. And it easily could be recovered if the barbarians were suddenly surprised in the midst of their plundering; the camp could be recaptured just as it had been captured. His words of encouragement were listened to eagerly by the soldiers, the standards rapidly went forward, and the legionaries followed without a moment's delay. The first, however, to approach the rampart were the consul and the troops he was bringing from the sea. The first tribune of the second legion, with the view of encouraging his men, pointed out to them that if the barbarians had intended to hold the camp by the same arms by which they had taken it, they would, first of all, have followed up their enemy in his flight from his camp to the sea, and then they would have stationed pickets in front of their rampart. They were in all probability lying sunk in wine and slumber.

He thereupon ordered his standard−bearer, A. Baeculonius, a man noted for his courage, to go forward with his standard. Baeculonius replied that if they would follow him and his standard they would help him to do so all the more quickly. He then flung the standard with all his might over the rampart and was the first to pass through the camp gate. On another side of the camp the two Aelii, Titus and Caius, came up with the cavalry of the third legion. They were almost immediately followed by the men mounted on the baggage animals, and then the consul with the whole of the army. A few of the Histri who had taken only a moderate amount of wine were careful to escape; for the rest, sleep was prolonged into death, and the Romans recovered all their property intact. save the wine and food which had been consumed. Even the sick who had been left in the camp, finding their comrades inside the rampart, seized their arms and inflicted great slaughter. A cavalryman, C. Popilius Sabellus, distinguished himself especially in this way. He had been left behind with a wounded foot and he slew by far the greatest number of the enemy. As many as 8000 of the Histri were killed, not one prisoner was taken, rage and shame made the Romans indifferent to booty. The King of the Histri, however, drunk as he was, was carried off hurriedly from the table and lifted by his men on to a horse and so escaped. Two hundred and thirty−seven of the victors perished; more fell in the morning rout than in the recapture of the camp.

Cn. and L. Gavilius Novellus were coming with supplies from Aquileia, and unaware of what had happened, very nearly entered the camp while it was in the possession of the Histrians. They left their goods and fled back to Aquileia, spreading alarm and tumult not only in that city, but in Rome itself. Reports reached the City, true so far as they told of the capture of the camp by the enemy and the flight of the defenders, but rumours also filled the City to the effect that all was lost and the entire army annihilated. As usual in times of tumult and alarm, an extraordinary levy was ordered in the City and throughout the length and breadth of Italy. Two legions of Roman citizens were called up, and from the Latin allies 10,000 infantry with a complement of 500 cavalry were raised. The consul, M. Junius, was ordered to go to Gaul and requisition from the communities in that province as many soldiers as they could each supply. It was decreed that the praetor Tiberius Claudius should give notice to the men of the fourth legion, the 5000 allied troops and the 250 cavalry to muster at Pisae, and that he should be responsible for the defence of that province in the consul's absence. M. Titinius received instructions to order the first legion and the same number of allied infantry to assemble at Ariminum. Nero, wearing his paludamentum, left for Pisae; Titinius, after sending C. Cassius, one of the military tribunes, to take command of the legion at Ariminum, arrived at Aquileia. There he was informed that the army was safe, and at once sent a despatch to Rome to allay the tumult and alarm. He then sent back the contingents which he had requisitioned in Gaul and went to rejoin his colleague. There was great rejoicing in Rome at the unlooked−for news, all enrolment of troops was suspended and those who had already taken the military oath were released from its obligations. The army at Ariminum which had been suffering from the pestilence was disbanded and sent home. The Histrians were encamped in great strength not far from the consul's camp, and when they heard that the other consul had arrived with a fresh army they everywhere dispersed to their cities. The consuls took the legions back to Aquileia for their

winter quarters.

After the Histrian disturbance had at last quieted down, the senate passed a resolution that the consuls should arrange which of them was to come to Rome for the election. Two tribunes of the plebs, Licinius Nerva and C. Papirius Turdus, attacked Manlius in his absence and brought forward a motion that he should not retain his command after the Ides of March−the consuls had already had their administrations extended for a year−in order that he might be brought to trial immediately on quitting office. Their colleague, Q. Aelius, opposed the motion and after long and violent disputes prevented it from being carried. On their return from Spain, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and L. Postumius Albinus were received by the senate in the temple of Bellona. They gave a report of their administration and asked that honours should be paid to the immortal gods. News came from T. Aebutius, commanding in Sardinia, of a serious disturbance in that island. The Ilienses, in conjunction with the Balari, had invaded the province which was at peace, and owing to the weakened condition of the army, a large number of men having been carried off by the pestilence, no resistance could be offered. Envoys from Sardinia came with the same tale; they implored the senate to send assistance to the cities at all events; it was too late to save the fields.

It was left to the consuls to decide what reply should be given to these envoys and to deal with the whole state of things in Sardinia. An equally tragic story was told by the Lycians, who had come to complain of the cruel tyranny of the Rhodians, under whose government they had been placed by L. Cornelius Scipio. They had been formerly under Antiochus and they assured the senate that their subjection under the king was glorious liberty compared with their present condition. It was not political oppression only under which they were suffering, but absolute slavery; they, their wives and children were the victims of violence; their oppressors vented their rage on their persons and their backs, their good name was besmirched and dishonoured, their condition rendered detestable in order that their tyrants might openly assert a legal right over them and reduce them to the status of slaves bought with money. Moved by this recital, the senate gave the Lycians a letter to hand to the Rhodians, intimating that it was not the pleasure of the senate that either the Lycians or any other men born free should be handed over as slaves to the Rhodians or any one else. The Lycians possessed the same rights under the suzerainty and protection of Rhodes that friendly states possessed under the suzerainty of Rome.

The two commanders in Spain now celebrated their triumph; first, Sempronius Gracchus for his victory over the Celtiberi and their allies, and on the following day L. Postumius over the Lusitanians and the adjacent tribes. In Gracchus' procession were borne 40,000 pounds of silver, in that of Postumius 20,000. Each of the legionaries received 25 denarii, the centurions twice and the cavalry three times as much, and the allied troops received the same. The consul, M. Junius, came about this time to Rome for the elections. Two tribunes of the plebs, Papirius and Licinius, put a multitude of questions to him in the senate about what had happened in Histria, and then they brought him before the Assembly. The consul explained that he had not been in that province more than eleven days and he, like them, only knew by report what had happened in his absence. Then they asked "why in that case A. Manlius had not come to Rome, rather than Junius, that he might explain to the people of Rome why he had left the province of Gaul, which had been allotted to him, for Histria. When did the senate make a decree or the Assembly an order for that war? 'Well,' you may say, 'granting that the war was undertaken on his personal responsibility, still it was conducted with courage and prudence.' On the contrary it is impossible to say whether its inception is the more flagitious or its conduct the more reckless. Two pickets were surprised by the Histrians, a Roman camp was taken and what troops were in the camp were cut to pieces; all the rest threw away their arms and fled in disorder to the sea and the ships, the consul himself above all. He will have to account for all this as an ordinary citizen, since he will not do so as consul."

Then came the elections. The new consuls were C. Claudius Pulcher and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, and the new praetors, P. Aelius Tubero (for the second time), C. Quinctius Flamininus, C. Numisius, L. Mummius, Cnaeus Cornelius Scipio and C. Valerius Laevinus. Tubero received the civic jurisdiction, Quinctius the alien. Sicily fell to Numisius, and Sardinia to Mummius; the latter, however, owing to the magnitude of the war, was made a consular province. Gaul was divided into two provinces and allotted to Scipio and Laevinus. On the Ides of

March, when Sempronius and Claudius entered upon office, the provinces of Sardinia and Histria and the instigators of war in those provinces were only informally discussed. On the following day, the Sardinian deputation, who had been referred to the new consuls, and L. Minucius Thermus, who had been second in command with the consul Manlius in Histria, appeared before the senate, and after the information they gave, the senate realised what a state of war existed in those provinces. Delegates from the Latin allies, after numberless appeals to the censors and the late consuls, were at length admitted to an audience of the senate, and their statement made a great impression. The gist of their complaint was that their citizens who were on the Roman register had migrated in great numbers to the City, and if this were allowed it would come to pass in a very few lustra that the towns and fields would be deserted and incapable of furnishing any men for the army. The Samnites and Paeligni stated that 4000 families had gone from them to Fregellae, but they were not diminishing their contingents, nor were the Fregellans increasing theirs. The practice of individuals changing their citizenship led to two kinds of fraud. The law allowed those amongst the Latin allies who chose, to become Roman citizens if they left male progeny behind in the old home. This law was abused to the injury of the allies and of the Roman people. For in order to avoid any male descendants being left at home, they gave their children as slaves to some Roman or other, on condition that they should be manumitted, and as freedmen become citizens, whilst on the other hand those who had no male descendants became Roman citizens. Subsequently, even this legal presence was brushed aside. In defiance of law and without any male descendants they migrated to Rome and were placed on the City register. The delegates asked that this might be stopped for the future, and that those who had migrated should be ordered to return to their homes. They asked further that a law might be passed making it illegal for any person to adopt or manumit any one with the view of changing his citizenship, and also require those who had become Roman citizens by this means to renounce their citizenship. The senate granted these requests.

The senate then decreed that the provinces which were in a state of war−Sardinia and Histria−should be assigned to the consuls. Two legions were ordered to be raised for Sardinia, each consisting of 5200 infantry and 300 cavalry; the Latin allies were to supply 12,000 infantry and 600 cavalry. In case the consul wished to take ships from the dockyard, ten quinqueremes were placed at his disposal. The same strength of infantry and cavalry was decreed for Histria as for Sardinia. The consuls also received instructions to despatch a force of one legion with its complement of cavalry and 5000 infantry and 250 cavalry from the allies to M. Titinius in Spain. Before the consuls balloted for their provinces various portents were reported. A stone fell from the sky into the grove of Mars in the Crustumerian district; on Roman land a boy was born without all his limbs, and a four−footed snake was seen; at Capua numerous buildings in the forum were struck by lightning; at Puteoli two shops had been set on fire by a similar stroke. While these were being reported, a wolf entered the City by the Colline Gate in broad daylight and was chased till it escaped through the Esquiline Gate, amidst great excitement on the part of its pursuers. In consequence of these portents the consuls sacrificed full−grown victims, and there were special intercessions at all the shrines for one day. When the religious rites had been duly performed the consuls drew for their provinces. Histria fell to Claudius, Sardinia to Sempronius. Then, in accordance with the resolution of the senate, the consul C. Claudius carried a measure in which it was ordered that those of the Latin allies who themselves or whose ancestors had been registered among the Latin allies during the censorship of M. Claudius and T. Quinctius or subsequently, should all return to their cities before November 1. The praetor L. Mummius was charged to enquire into the cases of those who had not returned by that date. In addition to this new law, and the consul's edict enforcing it, a resolution was passed by the senate ordering that whenever any one of them was manumitted and publicly declared to be free, the dictator, consul, interrex, censor or praetor for the time being should put the manumitter on his oath that he was not doing it for the purpose of altering his citizenship; in case he refused to take the oath the senate would declare the manumission invalid. This resolution was to guide all future proceedings.

M. Junius and A. Manlius, the ex−consuls who had been in winter quarters at Aquileia, led their army into Histria at the commencement of spring. They carried their ravages far and wide, and the Histrians were animated much more by indignation and rage at the loss of their property than by any certain hope that they would be strong enough to meet two consular armies. From all the tribes their fighting men collected into a hastily levied

tumultuary force, and they displayed much more impetuosity in beginning a battle than steadfastness in keeping it up. Four thousand of them fell on the field; the rest abandoned all resistance and dispersed to their cities. From these cities delegates were sent to the Roman camp to sue for peace, and on being required to give hostages they sent them. When this became known in Rome through despatches from the proconsuls, C. Claudius, fearing lest this success should rob him of his province and his army, went off post−haste to his province without offering the customary prayers, unattended by his lictors and in the dead of night, his colleague being the only one who was aware of his intention. His conduct after his arrival was more ill−advised even than the way in which he had started for his province. Addressing the assembled troops, he taunted Manlius with his flight from the camp, to the intense annoyance of the soldiers, since it was they who began the flight, and then he attacked M. Junius for associating himself with his colleague's disgrace, and ended by ordering them both to quit the province. They promised that they would obey his order as soon as he had made his departure from the City in the traditional way, after the customary prayers in the Capitol, and attended by his lictors in their official dress. Claudius, beside himself with rage, called the official who was acting as quaestor to Manlius to bring fetters, and threatened to send both Manlius and Junius in chains to Rome. This officer also ignored the consul's authority, and their determination not to obey was strengthened by the way the army supported their commanders and resented the conduct of Claudius. At last the consul, overborne by the insults and jeers of individual soldiers, and the ridicule (for they actually laughed at him) of the whole army, returned to Aquileia in the same vessel in which he had come. From there he sent word to his colleague to warn that portion of the new levies which had been raised for service in Histria to assemble at Aquileia, so that nothing might detain him in Rome or prevent him from leaving the City, with due formalities, offering the customary prayers and wearing the paludamentum. His colleague carried out his instructions and ordered the troops to assemble at an early date at Aquileia. Claudius almost overtook his letter. On his arrival he convened the Assembly and laid before it the case of Manlius and Junius. His stay in Rome only lasted three days, and then, in full state with lictors and paludamentum, after offering up prayers in the Capitol, he departed for his province with quite as much precipitancy as before.

A few days before his arrival Junius and Manlius began a determined attack on the town of Nesactium, to which place the chiefs of the Histri, with their king, Aepulo, had retired. Claudius brought up the two newly−raised legions, and after disbanding the old army with its generals, invested the town and proceeded to attack it with the vineae. There was a river flowing past the town which impeded the assailants and furnished water to the Histrians. After many days' work he diverted this river into a new channel, and the cutting off of their water−supply as though by a miracle greatly alarmed the natives. Even then they had no thought of suing for peace; they made up their minds to murder their women and children, and that this horrid deed might be a spectacle to the enemy, they butchered them openly on the walls and then flung them down. Amidst the shrieks of the women and children and the unspeakable horrors of the massacre, the Romans surmounted the walls and entered the town. When the king heard the terrified cries of those who fled, and understood from the tumult that the place was taken, he stabbed himself that he might not be taken alive. The rest were either killed or made prisoners. This was followed by the storming and destruction of two other towns, Mutila and Faveria. The booty, considering the poverty of the natives, surpassed expectations, and the whole of it was given to the soldiers; 5632 persons were sold as slaves. The prime instigators of the war were scourged and beheaded. The extermination of these three towns and the death of the king led to peace throughout Histria; all the tribes made their submission and gave hostages.

Just after the Histrian war had come to an end the Ligurians began to hold councils of war. Tiberius Claudius, who had been praetor the previous year and was now acting as proconsul, was in command of Pisae with one legion He reported the movement in Liguria to the senate, and they decided to send his despatch on to C. Claudius, for the other consul had landed in Sardinia, and they authorised him to transfer his army, if he thought it advisable now that Histria was quiet, to Liguria. After receiving the consul's report of his operations in Histria a two days' thanksgiving was decreed. The other consul, Tiberius Sempronius, was equally successful in Sardinia. He marched into the Ilian country, and finding a large body of Balari had come to the assistance of the Ilians, he fought a pitched battle with the two tribes. The enemy were routed, put to flight and driven out of their camp, 12,000 men being killed. The consul ordered all the arms to be collected on the following day and thrown into one heap. He then burnt them as an offering to Vulcan. The victorious army retired into winter quarters in the friendly

cities. On receipt of Tiberius Claudius' despatch and the instructions of the senate, Caius Claudius led his legions into Liguria. The enemy had come down into the plains and was encamped by the river Scultenna. A battle took place there; 15,000 were killed and over 700 were made prisoners, either on the battlefield or in the camp−for this was stormed−and 51 military standards taken. The Ligurians who survived this slaughter fled to the mountains, and no resistance was met with anywhere by the consul as he traversed the level country plundering and devastating their fields. After winning victories over two nations and reducing two provinces to submission during his year of office−a thing which very few have done−Claudius returned to Rome.

Some portents were reported this year. Near Crustumerium an osprey cut a sacred stone with its beak; in Campania a heifer spoke; a brazen image of a cow in Syracuse was mounted by a bull which had strayed from the herd. Special intercessions were offered on the spot at Crustumerium, and the heifer in Campania was to be kept at the public cost. The portent at Syracuse was expiated by sacrifices to the deities who were named by the haruspices. One of the pontiffs, M. Claudius Marcellus, died this year. He had been consul and also censor. His son, M. Marcellus, was appointed pontiff in his place. Two thousand Roman citizens were settled as colonists at Luna under the supervision of P. Aelius, M. Aemilius Lepidus and Cnaeus Sicinius. Fifty−one and a half jugera were allotted to each colonist. The land had been taken from the Ligurians; it had previously been in the possession of the Etruscans.

After his return to the City the consul C. Claudius made his report to the senate of his victories in Histria and Liguria, and at his request, a triumph was decreed to him. Whilst still in office he celebrated a double triumph over the two nations. In the procession were carried 307,000 denarii and 85,702 "victoriati." To each legionary were given fifteen denarii, double the amount to the centurions, and treble to the cavalry. The allied troops received only half as much, and by way of showing their anger, they followed the victor's chariot in silence. Whilst the new consuls were each sacrificing an ox to Jupiter on the day of their entering upon office, the victim which Q. Petilius was sacrificing was defective; there was no head to the liver visible. He reported this to the senate, and they ordered him to go on sacrificing until the victim gave a favourable omen. The provinces were then discussed, and the senate decreed that Pisae and Liguria should be the consular provinces, and the one to whom the ballot gave Pisae was ordered to return and hold the elections when the time for them arrived. They further decreed that the consuls should raise two new legions and 300 cavalry with each, and from the Latin allies 10,000 infantry and 600 cavalry. Ti. Claudius retained his command till the new consul arrived in his province.

While this business was being transacted in the senate, Cnaeus Cornelius was called out by an apparitor, and left the House. On his return he was visibly perturbed, and explained that the liver of the ox which he had sacrificed had disappeared. When the victimarius reported this to him he did not believe it, and he ordered the water in which the entrails were being boiled to be poured out from the cauldron. He saw every other portion of the victim complete, but in some unaccountable way the liver had been consumed. The senators were much alarmed at this ominous incident, and their alarm was intensified by the other consul's statement that after the appearance of the defective liver he had sacrificed three oxen in succession without getting any favourable indication. The senate ordered them both to go on sacrificing until the omens were favourable. It is said that favourable omens were at last observed in the case of all the other deities, but not in the case of Salus, to whom Petilius was sacrificing.

The consuls and praetors now balloted for their provinces. Pisae fell to Cnaeus Cornelius, Liguria to Petilius, the City jurisdiction to L. Papirius Maso, the alien to M. Aburius. M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis had Further Spain, and L. Aquilius Gallus received Sardinia. Two asked to be excused from going to their provinces. M. Popilius alleged as a reason for his not going to Sardinia that Gracchus was pacifying that province and that the praetor T. Aebutius was, by direction of the senate, helping him in this task. It was, he said, most inconvenient for a line of policy to be interrupted when its success mainly depends upon its continuance in the same hands. During the transfer of authority and the time required by the new man to learn the condition of affairs before taking any action, many an opportunity of achieving success is lost. The senate allowed his excuse. P. Licinius Crassus, to whom Hither Spain had fallen, alleged that he was prevented by his religious duties. However, he was ordered either to go or to take an oath before the Assembly that he was prevented by his religious duties. When the case of

P. Licinius had been settled in this way, M. Cornelius Scipio asked them to accept his oath also, that he might not have to go to Further Spain. These two praetors both took the same oath. M. Titinius and T. Fonteius, who were in charge of that province as proconsuls, were ordered to remain in Spain with the same authority as before and reinforcements were to be sent to them−3000 Roman citizens and 200 cavalry, with 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry from the allies.

The Latin Festival took place on March 5, and something occurred to mar its celebrations; the magistrate of Lanuvium omitted to pray over one of the victims for "the Roman people of the Quirites." This irregularity was reported to the senate and by them referred to the college of pontiffs. The pontiffs decided that the Latin Festival not having been properly and duly celebrated must be observed anew, and that the people of Lanuvium, whose fault made the renewal necessary, should provide the victims. A fresh misfortune increased the general uneasiness. The consul Cn. Cornelius, whilst returning from the Alban Mount, fell from his horse and was partially crippled. He went to the Baths of Cumae, but became gradually worse and died at Cumae. The body was brought to Rome and received a magnificent funeral. He had also been a pontiff. Orders were given to the consul Q. Petilius to hold an election−as soon as he obtained favourable omens from the sacrifices−to provide him with a colleague and also to proclaim the Latin Festival. He fixed the election for the 3rd and the Latin Festival for the 11th of August.

Whilst men's minds were thus filled with religious fears, fresh portents were announced. At Tusculum a burning brand was seen in the sky; at Gabii the temple of Apollo and several private buildings were struck by lightning, as also were the wall and one of the gates at Graviscae. The senate ordered such measures to be taken as the pontiffs should direct. During this time, whilst the two consuls were pre−occupied with matters of religion, and then the death of one of them and the duty thrown upon the other of electing his successor, and also of presiding at the Latin Festival, created further delay, C. Claudius brought his army up to Mutina, which the Ligurians had taken the year before. After a three days' assault he recaptured the place and restored it to the colonists; 8000 Ligurians were killed inside the walls. He promptly sent a despatch to Rome in which he gave an account of his operations and boasted that owing to his good fortune and ability there was no longer any enemy to Rome on this side the Alps, and that a considerable quantity of land had been acquired which could be distributed amongst many thousands of colonists.

After many successful actions Ti. Sempronius finally subjugated Sardinia; 15,000 natives were killed and all the revolting tribes were forced into submission. Those who had before paid the tax had now to pay double; the rest paid in corn. After peace was established in the province and hostages taken from all parts of the island−230 in all−a deputation was sent to Rome to announce the subjection of the island and to ask the senate that honours should be paid to the immortal gods for the success achieved under the leadership and auspices of Ti. Sempronius, and that he himself might be allowed to bring away his army with him when he left the province. The senate received the deputation with their report in the temple of Apollo and decreed a two days' thanksgiving; the consuls were also ordered to offer forty sacrifices of the larger victims. Ti. Sempronius was to remain in the province with his army as proconsul. The election to fill the vacancy in the consulship took place on the appointed day, August 3. C. Valerius Laevinus was chosen as colleague to Q. Petilius and was to enter upon his consulship at once. He had long been anxious to obtain a province and most opportunely for his wishes a despatch reached Rome saying that the Ligurians had begun another war. On receipt of this intelligence the senate ordered his immediate departure, and he left the City, wearing the paludamentum, on August 5. The third legion was ordered to join C. Claudius in Gaul and the fleet commanders were instructed to proceed to Pisae, making a circuit of the Ligurian littoral and creating alarm in the coastal districts. Q. Petilius had previously fixed the date for the muster of the army at Pisae. C. Claudius, on hearing that the Ligurians were renewing hostilities, raised an emergency force in addition to the troops he had with him, and marched to the frontiers of Liguria.

The enemy had not forgotten that it was C. Claudius who had defeated and routed them at the Scultenna, and they prepared to defend themselves against a force of which they had had so unhappy an experience more by the strength of their position than by their arms. With this object they occupied two mountain heights, Letum and

Ballista, and enclosed them with a wall. Some who were too late in getting away from their fields were caught and 1500 of them perished; the rest kept to the mountains. But they were not too much cowed to forget their native savagery, and they glutted their cruelty upon what they had taken at Mutina. The prisoners were put to death amid horrible tortures; the cattle were killed in their temples as an act of butchery rather than of sacrifice. When they were satiated with the slaughter of living things they turned to the destruction of inanimate objects and dashed against the walls vessels of every description, though made for use more than for ornament. Q. Petilius did not want the war to be brought to a close while he was absent and sent written instructions to C. Claudius to come to him in Gaul with his army, saying that he should expect him at the Campi Macri. On receiving the despatch C. Claudius left Liguria and handed over his army to the consul at the Campi Macri. A few days later the other consul, C. Valerius, arrived. Here, before the two armies separated, a lustration was completed for them both. As the consuls had settled not to make a combined attack on the enemy, they drew lots to decide in which direction each should advance. It was generally understood that Valerius cast his lot under proper auspices. In the case of Petilius the augurs declared afterwards that he had been at fault, for after the lottery had been taken into the sacred enclosure he remained outside, whereas he ought to have gone in himself .

Then they started for their respective positions. Petilius fixed his camp fronting the twin heights of Ballista and Letum, which are connected by a continuous ridge. Writers say that whilst he was addressing words of encouragement to his troops, he made the ominous prediction that he would take Letum on that day; the double meaning of the word did not occur to him. He then advanced up the mountain in two divisions. The division which he personally commanded mounted with great spirit, but the enemy forced the other division back, and to restore the battle the consul rode forward and rallied his men. Whilst exposing himself somewhat incautiously in front of the standards, he was struck by a missile and fell. The enemy were not aware of the general's death, and a few of his men who had witnessed it carefully concealed the body, as they felt sure that the victory turned on that. The rest of the troops−infantry and cavalry alike−drove the enemy out of his positions and took the mountain heights without their general; 5000 Ligurians were killed; out of the Roman army 52 fell. In addition to his ill−omened words, to which his death gave a clear significance, it was gathered from what the "pullarius" said that the auspices had been unfavourable and that the consul was not unaware of this.

. . . . . Those skilled in divine and human law said that since the two duly elected consuls for the year had died, one through sickness, the other by the sword, the "consul suffectus" could not rightly hold the election.

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. . . On this side the Apennines there had been the Garuli, the Lapicini and the Hergates; on the other side the Briniates. P. Mucius made war on those who had ravaged Luna and Pisae, and after completely subjugating them deprived them of their arms. For these successes in Gaul and Liguria under the leadership and auspices of the two consuls, the senate decreed a three days' thanksgiving and sacrifices of forty victims. The disturbances in Gaul and Liguria which had broken out at the beginning of the year had been quelled without any great difficulty, and now the public anxiety was directed to the danger of a war with Macedonia, as Perseus was trying to involve the Dardani and the Bastarnae in a conflict. The commissioners who had been sent to Macedonia to investigate the position there had now returned and reported that there was a state of war in Dardania. Envoys from Perseus arrived at the same time and they declared, on his behalf, that the Bastarnae had not been approached by him nor had they done anything at his instigation. The senate did not clear him from the charges brought against him, nor did they press them; they only ordered a warning to be given him that he must be very careful to hold sacred the treaty which he could regard as existing between him and Rome.

When the Dardani found that the Bastarnae were not evacuating their territory as they had hoped, but were becoming every day more aggressive and were receiving assistance from their Thracian neighbours and from the Scordisci, they thought that they ought to attempt some active measures, however hazardous. The whole of their armed force assembled at a town near the camp of the Bastarnae. It was winter and they chose that season on the chance of the Thracians and the Scordisci going back to their own country. It fell out as they expected, and when

they learnt that the Bastarnae were left to themselves they divided their forces; one division was to make a frontal attack, the other fetching a circuit was to take the enemy in the rear. The fighting began, however, before they could get round the enemy, and the Dardani were defeated and driven into a city some twelve miles distant from the camp of the Bastarnae. The victors followed them closely and invested the place, feeling pretty confident that they would capture the place the next day either by surrender or by storm. Meanwhile the other division, unaware of the disaster which had overtaken their comrades, seized the camp of the Bastarnae which had been left unguarded.

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. . . Seated in Roman fashion on an ivory chair he used to administer justice and settle the most trifling disputes. Roaming through every phase of life, he was so far from remaining constant to any one form of it, that neither he himself nor any one else was at all clear as to his real character. He did not speak to his friends; he had a pleasant smile for those who were hardly known to him; he made himself and others ridiculous by his misplaced liberality. To some who were of high rank and set great value upon themselves he used to give childish presents of cakes and toys; others who expected nothing he enriched. Some people thought that he was at a loss to know what he meant by his actions; some said he was only playing the fool; some declared that he was undoubtedly mad. In two matters of great importance and redounding to his honour he showed a truly kingly spirit−his munificence to cities and his care for divine worship. He promised to build a wall round Megalopolis and gave the greater part of the money for it. At Tegea he began the construction of a magnificent marble theatre. At Cyzicus he furnished vessels of gold for one table in the Prytaneum, the central hall of the city, where those to whom the privilege has been granted dine at the public cost. In the case of the Rhodians he did not make them any single gift of surpassing value, but he gave them all sorts of things to suit their various requirements. The splendid munificence which he showed towards the gods is attested by the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, the only one in the world which has been begun on a scale proportionate to the greatness of the deity. Delos he adorned with splendid altars and a great array of statues. At Antioch he projected a magnificent temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, of which not only the ceiling was to be overlaid with gold, but the whole of the walls were to be covered with gold leaf. Many public edifices in other places he promised to build, but the shortness of his reign prevented him from fulfilling his promises. In the magnificence of public exhibitions of every kind he surpassed all former monarchs; they were with only one exception given by Greek performers, the one exception being a gladiatorial contest exhibited in Roman fashion, which frightened the spectators, who were unused to such sights, more than it pleased them. By frequently giving these exhibitions, in which the gladiators sometimes only wounded one another, and at other times fought to the death, he familiarised the eyes of his people to them and they learnt to enjoy them. In this way he created amongst most of the younger men a passion for arms, and whilst at first he used to hire gladiators from Rome at a great cost, now from his own.

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. . . Scipio, the alien jurisdiction. The province of Sardinia had fallen to M. Atilius, but he was ordered to sail to Corsica with the new legion which the consuls had raised−5000 infantry and 300 cavalry. Whilst he was engaged in that war, Cornelius' command in Sardinia was extended. To Cnaeus Servilius in Further Spain and P. Furius Philus in Hither Spain were voted 3000 Roman infantry and 150 cavalry, and of Latin allied troops 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry. Lucius Claudius received no reinforcements for Sicily. In addition to these troops the consuls were required to raise two fresh legions in full strength, both of infantry and cavalry, and also 10,000 infantry and 600 cavalry from the Latin allies. The work of enrolment was all the more difficult for the consuls, because the pestilence which the year before had attacked the cattle had now turned into an epidemic, and those who fell victims to it seldom survived the seventh day; those who did survive were subject to a long and tedious illness, which generally took the form of a quartidian ague. The deaths occurred chiefly amongst the slaves and their unburied bodies lay scattered in all the streets, and not even in the case of the free population could the funeral rites be carried out decently The corpses lay untouched by dog and vulture and slowly rotted away, and it was generally observed that neither in this nor in the previous year had a vulture been anywhere seen.

Several members of the sacerdotal colleges died from the epidemic−the pontiff Cn. Servilius Caepio, father of the praetor; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, a Keeper of the Sacred Books; P. Aelius Paetus, the augur; Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus; C. Atellus Mamilius, the chief curio; and the pontiff M. Sempronius Tuditanus. C. Sulpicius Galba was elected pontiff in place of Caepio . . . in place of Tuditanus. The new augurs were T. Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus in place of Gracchus, and Q. Aelius Paetus in place of P. Aelius. C. Sempronius Longus was appointed a Keeper of the Sacred Books, and C. Scribonius Curio was made chief curio. As the pestilence continued unabated the senate decided that the Keepers should consult the Sacred Books. In accordance with their decree there were special intercessions for one day, and the people, gathered together in the Forum, made a solemn vow, in words dictated by Marcius Philippus, that if disease and pestilence were banished from Roman soil they would keep two days as solemn holy days and days of special intercession. In the district of Veii a boy was born with two heads; at Sinuessa a child with only one hand; at Ariminum a girl was born with teeth; a rainbow spanned the temple of Saturn in the Forum in broad daylight and under a cloudless sky, three suns shone at the same time, and in the same night many meteors glided through the sky. The people of Caene declared that a crested snake covered with golden spots had appeared in the town, and it was generally believed that an ox had spoken in the Capuan district.

The commission who had gone to Carthage, after interviewing Masinissa, returned on June 7. They had been more accurately informed as to what was going on in Carthage by the king than by the Carthaginians themselves. It was an ascertained fact, so they asserted, that envoys from Perseus had gone to Carthage, and that the senate there had given them audience at a nocturnal session in the temple of Aesculapius. Masinissa had stated that envoys had been sent from Carthage to Macedonia, and this the Carthaginians did not directly deny. The Roman senate decided that they too must send envoys to Macedonia. Three were sent−C. Laelius, M. Valerius Messala, and Sextus Digitius. A certain section of the Dolopes refused to obey Perseus' orders and appealed from him to the Romans to settle the differences between them. He advanced against them with an army and reduced the whole nation to complete submission. Then he crossed Mount Oeta and went up to Delphi to consult the oracle about religious matters which were disquieting his mind. His sudden appearance in the middle of Greece created general alarm, not only amongst the neighbouring States, but in Asia as well, where information of what was happening was hurriedly sent to Eumenes. Perseus did not stay more than three days at Delphi, and passing through Phthiotis, Achaia and Thessaly, returned to his kingdom without damaging or injuring the districts through which he passed. Nor did he consider it sufficient to conciliate those States through which his route lay; he sent either letters or envoys to the different Greek peoples, asking them to dismiss from their minds the hostile feelings which had existed between them and his father. They were not, he urged, so bitter that they could not, and ought not, to be put an end to in his case. As far as he was concerned there was nothing to disturb their relations or to prevent the growth of an honest and sincere friendship. With the Achaeans, especially, he was anxious to find some way of ingratiating himself.

This nation and the Athenians alone out of all Greece had pushed their animosity so far as to forbid the Macedonians to enter their country. Macedonia had, in consequence, become a refuge for all the runaway slaves from Achaia, for as the Achaeans had closed their frontiers against Macedonia, they could not themselves venture into that kingdom. When Perseus got to know this, he had the runaways arrested and sent a letter . . . "They, too, however, must think out the best means of preventing the flight of slaves in the future." The letter was read at a meeting of their council by Xenophanes, their captain−general, who was anxious to make private interest with the king. Most of those present thought it written in a fair and generous spirit, especially those who were to recover the runaway slaves whom they had given up for lost. Amongst those who believed that the safety of the nation depended upon their keeping their treaty with Rome intact was Callicrates. He made the following speech to the council: "Some look upon this question as of small and trifling importance; I regard it as the greatest and most serious of all under discussion, and, more than that, I consider that it has in one way been decided. For although we have excluded the kings of Macedonia and the Macedonians themselves from our territories, and that decree is still in force forbidding us to admit the envoys and communications of their kings, through which the feelings of some amongst us might be wrongly influenced, nevertheless, we are now listening to the king as though he were addressing us whilst absent, and we are actually giving our approval to his speech. Wild animals mostly reject and

shun the food which is placed to deceive them, but we in our blindness are caught by the idle show of a petty boon, and in the hope of recovering some miserable slaves of very little value we are allowing our own liberty to be tampered with and undermined. Who does not see that a way is being sought to lead us to an alliance with the king, and therefore to a breach of the treaty with Rome, with which all our interests are bound up? Unless, indeed, anyone doubts that a war between Perseus and the Romans is inevitable, and that what was expected during Philip's lifetime and interrupted by his death will take place now that he is dead. Philip, as you know, had two sons, Demetrius and Perseus. Demetrius far surpassed his brother in birth on the mother's side, in courage, in ability, in popularity with his countrymen. But Philip had destined the crown as a reward for hatred of the Romans, and he put Demetrius to death for no other offence than his friendship with Rome. Perseus, he knew, would inherit a war with Rome almost before he inherited the crown, and he made him king. What else has he been doing since his father's death but making preparations for war? In the first place he sent the Bastarnae into Dardania creating universal alarm. If they had made their home in that country, Greece would have found them more troublesome neighbours than the Gauls were in Asia. Though his expectations here were frustrated, he did not give up all thoughts of war; rather, to say the truth, he has now commenced war and subjugated the Dolopes by force of arms, and refused to listen to their proposal to refer their differences to the arbitration of Rome. Then he crossed Mount Oeta and, in order to make a sudden appearance in the heart of Greece, went up to Delphi. What do you imagine was his object in thus exercising a right−of−way where none existed? Then he traversed Thessaly. His doing so without inflicting injury on any of those he hated I regard with all the more apprehension as an attempt to win them over. And now he has sent a letter to us with what looks like an act of generosity, and advises us to consider how for the future we may dispense with that generosity, namely, by rescinding the decree by which the Macedonians are kept out of the Peloponnese. This, too, in order that we may once more see the king's ambassadors and the renewal of hospitable relations with his chief men. Before long we shall have the Macedonian armies and the king himself entering the Peloponnese by way of Delphi−narrow is the strait that separates us!−and, finally, we shall find ourselves in the ranks of the Macedonians whenever they take up arms against Rome. I give it as my opinion that we make no fresh decree, but let everything remain just as it is, until it becomes absolutely certain whether these fears of mine are groundless or justified. If the peace between Macedonia and Rome remains unbroken, let there be friendly intercourse between us. For the present it seems to me premature and dangerous to think of altering our policy."

He was followed by Archo, the brother of Xenarchus, who spoke as follows: "Callicrates has made it difficult for me and for all who disagree with him to reply. By taking up the defence of our alliance with Rome and asserting that it is attacked and opposed when nobody is either attacking or opposing it, he has made anyone who does not agree with him appear as though he were speaking against the Romans. To begin with, he knows and proclaims every secret transaction, just as if instead of being here amongst us he had come straight from the Roman senate−house or from the king's privy council. He even divines what would have happened had Philip lived; why under the circumstances Perseus was heir to the crown; what preparations the Macedonians are making; what designs the Romans are entertaining. But we, who do not know the cause of the circumstances of Demetrius' death, nor what Philip would have done had he lived, are bound to frame our policy in accordance with open and notorious facts.

"Now we know that on receiving the crown Perseus was recognised as king by the Roman people; we hear that Roman ambassadors visited the king and were graciously received by him. In my judgment, this points to peace and not to war, nor can the Romans possibly be offended if, as we followed their lead in war, so now we follow them as the authors of peace. I do not see why we alone in all the world should wage a relentless war against the kingdom of Macedonia. Are we so near it as to be open to attack? Are we like the Dolopes, who are the weakest of all the nations that he has subdued? No, quite the contrary. Whether it is through our own strength or through the favour of heaven or owing to the distance which separates us, in any case we are safe. But suppose we lay as open to invasion as the Thessalians and the Aetolians, have we no more interest with the Romans, no stronger claim upon them than the Aetolians, who were not long ago in arms against them, while we have always been their friends and allies? Whatever reciprocal rights exist between the Macedonians and the Aetolians, Thessalians and Epirotes, in fact the whole of Greece, let us also enjoy. Why does this abominable interference with the

common rights of humanity exist for us alone? Granting that Philip did something which caused us to make this decree against him when he was in arms and engaged in war, what has Perseus, new to the throne, guiltless of any wrong towards us, effacing by his kindness the enmity aroused against his father−what has Perseus done to make us, alone of all nations, his enemies? I might also urge this point, that the services which the former kings of Macedonia have rendered us have been so great that the injury which Philip has done to us, however great it was, should be forgotten, especially now that he is dead. You know that when the Roman fleet was lying at Cenchreae and the consul with his army was at Elatia, we were assembled in council to decide whether we should follow Philip or the Romans, and the discussion lasted three days. Even if the pressure of immediate danger in no way alienated our feelings from the Romans, there must have been something at least to make our deliberations so lengthy, and this was our long−standing union of interests with Macedonia and the great services which her kings have for many years rendered to us. Let these same motives weigh with us now, not to make us especially his friends, but to prevent us from being especially his enemies. Do not let us make a presence, Callicrates, of seriously discussing a proposal which nobody has brought forward. No one suggests that we should form fresh alliances or draw up a new treaty so as to fetter ourselves with obligations thoughtlessly incurred. Let there be free intercourse between us, a mutual recognition of reciprocal rights; let us not, by closing our own frontiers, shut ourselves off at the same time from the king's dominions; let it not be possible for our runaway slaves to find shelter anywhere. What is there in all this that conflicts with the terms of our treaty with Rome? Why do we make so much of a little matter and throw suspicion upon what is simple and straightforward ? Why do we raise such troubles out of nothing? Why do we make others mistrusted and suspected in order that we ourselves may be free to flatter the Romans? If there is to be war, even Perseus himself entertains no doubt as to our taking the side of Rome. As long as there is peace, let all hostile feelings be suppressed, even if they are not dispelled." Those who had approved of the king's letter were in full agreement with this speech. The leaders were indignant at Perseus not thinking the matter important enough for formal negotiation and making his demand in the few lines of a letter. The discussion was adjourned and no decree was made. Subsequently envoys were sent by the king whilst the council was in session at Megalopolis, and those who feared a breach with Rome took steps to prevent their admission to the council.

While this was going on the Aetolians turned their rage against themselves, and it seemed as though the massacres on both sides would result in the total destruction of the nation. At last both factions, weary of slaughter, sent missions to Rome and approached each other in the hope of re−establishing peace and concord. But these negotiations were rendered fruitless by a fresh outrage which roused all the old passions. The refugees from Hypata, comprising eighty illustrious citizens, who belonged to the party of Proxenus, had been assured of their restoration to their native country under the pledged word of Eupolemus, the chief magistrate. As they were returning home the whole population, including Eupolemus himself, came out to meet them; he gave them a kind greeting and the right hand of friendship. But as they were entering the gates they were all put to death in spite of their appeals to the gods, as witnesses of the pledges given by Eupolemus. After this the war blazed up more fiercely than ever. C. Valerius Laevinus, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, C. Memmius, M. Popilius and L. Canuleius had been sent by the senate to arbitrate between the contending parties. The delegates from both sides appeared before them at Delphi and a keen debate took place, in which Proxenus was considered to have spoken by far the most convincingly and most eloquently. A few days later he was poisoned by his wife Orthobula. She was convicted of the crime and sent into exile. The same madness of party faction was rife among the Cretans. When Q. Minucius, who had been sent with ten ships to settle their disputes, arrived off the island they entertained hopes of peace. There was only a six months' truce, however; after that a still more bitter conflict was kindled. The Lycians were being harassed at this time by the Rhodians. But it is not worth while to narrate in detail these wars which foreign nations waged with each other. The task before me is sufficiently and more than sufficiently heavy of describing the doings of the Romans.

In Spain the Celtiberi who, after their defeat, had submitted to Ti. Gracchus, remained quiet during M. Titinius' administration. On the arrival of Appius Claudius they resumed hostilities and began by a sudden attack on the Roman camp. The day had hardly dawned when the sentinels on the rampart and the men on outpost duty at the gates caught sight of the enemy advancing in the distance and gave the alarm. Appius Claudius hoisted the signal

for action and after addressing a few words to the soldiers made a simultaneous sortie from three gates. The Celtiberi met them as they emerged and for a short time the fighting was equal on both sides, because owing to the confined space the Romans could not all get into action. As soon as they got clear of the rampart they followed those in front of them in a compact mass in order to be able to deploy into line and extend their front to the same length as that of the enemy by whom they were being surrounded. Then they made a sudden charge which the Celtiberi could not withstand. In less than two hours they were defeated; 15,000 were either killed or taken prisoners; 32 standards were captured. The camp was stormed the same day and the war brought to an end. The survivors from the battle dispersed to their various towns. After that they submitted quietly to the authority of Rome.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus were elected censors this year and revised the roll of the senate. M. Aemilius Lepidus, the Pontifex Maximus, was chosen as leader of the House. Nine names were struck off the roll, the most important being those of M. Cornelius, Maluginensis, who had commanded as praetor in Spain two years before, L. Cornelius Scipio, who was at the time exercising the civic and alien jurisdictions, and L. Fulvius the censor's brother, and according to Valerius Antias, co−proprietor with him of the family estate. After the usual prayers and vows the consuls left for their provinces. M. Aemilius was charged by the senate with the task of suppressing the outbreak of the Petavines in Venetia, amongst whom, as their own envoys reported, the strife of rival factions had led to civil wars. The commissioners who had gone to Aetolia to put down similar disturbances brought back word that the frenzy of the nation could not be restrained. The consul's arrival was the salvation of the Petavines, and as he had nothing else to do in his province he returned to Rome.

These censors were the first to make contracts for paving the streets of the City with flints and the roads outside with gravel, and footpaths raised at the sides, and also for the construction of bridges at various points. They furnished the praetors and aediles with a stage, placed the barriers in the Circus and provided egg−shaped balls to mark the number of laps, turning−posts on the course and iron doors for the cages through which the animals were sent into the arena. They also undertook the paving of the ascent from the Forum to the Capitol with flint and the construction of a colonnade from the temple of Saturn to the Capitol, and then on to the senaculum, and beyond that to the senate−house. The market−place outside the Porta Trigemina was paved with stone slabs and enclosed by a palisading; they also repaired the Aemilian colonnade and made a flight of stone steps on the slope leading from the Tiber. Inside the same gate they paved the colonnade leading to the Aventine with flint and made a road from the temple of Venus by the Clivus Publicius. These censors also signed contracts for the erection of walls at Calatia and Auximium, and the money which they received from the sale of portions of the State domain was spent in building shops round the forums in both these places. Postumius gave out that without the orders of the Roman senate or people he would not spend their money, so Fulvius Flaccus, acting alone, built a temple to Jupiter at Pisaurum and at Fundi and brought water to Placentia. He also paved a street at Pisaurum with flint. At Sinuessa he added some suburban residences with aviaries, constructed sewers, enclosed the place with a wall, built colonnades and shops all round the forum, setting up three statues of Janus there. These works contracted for by one of the censors were greatly appreciated by the members of the colony. The censors were strict and painstaking in the regulation of morals; several of the equites were deprived of their horses.

Towards the close of the year there were thanksgivings for one day for the successes gained in Spain under the auspices and generalship of Appius Claudius, and twenty of the larger victims were offered in sacrifice. The next day special intercessions were offered up at the temples of Ceres, Liber and Libera, owing to a report which had come in of a violent earthquake in the Sabine country which had laid many buildings in ruins. On Appius Claudius' return from Spain the senate decreed that he should enter the City in ovation. The consular elections were now approaching and there was keen competition owing to the large number of candidates. L. Postumius Albinus and M. Popilius Laenas were elected. The new praetors were N. Fabius Buteo, M. Matienus, C. Cicereius, M. Furius Crassipes for the second time, A. Atilius Serranus for the second time, and C. Cluvius Saxula also for the second time. When the elections were over, Ap. Claudius celebrated his triumph over the Celtiberi by entering the City in ovation, and he brought into the treasury 10,000 pounds of silver and 5000 pounds of gold. Cnaeus Cornelius was inaugurated as Flamen Dialis.

During the year a tablet was placed in the temple of Mater Matuta with this inscription: "Under the auspices and command of the consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the legions of the army of Rome have subjugated Sardinia. In that province there have been 80,000 natives either killed or made prisoners. He was most happy in his administrations; he liberated the allies of Rome; he restored the revenues and brought his army safely home laden with enormous booty. For the second time he entered Rome in triumph. Because of this he has given this tablet as an offering to Jove." There was a representation of the island and pictures of the battles on the tablet. Several gladiatorial exhibitions were given this year, most of them on a small scale; the one given by T. Flamininus far surpassed the rest. On the occasion of his father's death he exhibited this spectacle for four days, and accompanied it with a distribution of meat, a funeral feast, and scenic plays. But even in this magnificent exhibition the total number of men who fought was only seventy−four.

Book 41. The Third Macedonian War

The first business of the new consuls was to consult the senate about their provinces and armies. It was decreed that they should both have Liguria for their province and they were each to raise two fresh legions for service in that province and also 10,000 infantry and 600 cavalry from the Latin allies. They were also required to call up 3000 Roman infantry and 200 cavalry to reinforce the army in Spain. A further force of 1500 infantry and 100 cavalry was to be raised for the operations in Corsica. M. Atilius was to remain in charge of Sardinia till his successor arrived. Then the praetors balloted for their provinces. A. Atilius Serranus received the civic and C. Cluvius Saxula the alien jurisdiction; Hither Spain fell to N. Fabius Buteo; Further Spain to C. Matienus; Sicily to M. Furius Crassipes; Sardinia to C. Cicereius. Before the magistrates left for their provinces the senate decided that L. Postumius should go into Campania to fix the boundaries between the State land and the land in private occupation. It was a matter of common knowledge that persons had appropriated a large part of the State domain by gradually advancing their boundaries. Postumius was angry with the Praenestines because when he had gone there in a private capacity to offer a sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, he had not received any marks of honour, either publicly or privately. So before he left Rome he sent a despatch to Praeneste ordering the chief magistrate to go out and meet him, to have a place prepared by the municipality where he could stay, and to see that pack animals were ready to carry his luggage when he left. No one before this consul had ever been a burden or expense to the allies. The magistrates were provided with mules and tents and all other requisites simply that they might not requisition anything of the kind from the allies; they enjoyed the hospitality of private citizens whom they treated with courtesy and consideration; and their own houses in Rome were open to those with whom they were accustomed to stay. When officials were despatched to some place on a sudden emergency they only demanded one mule apiece from the towns through which their journey lay. No other expense was incurred by the allies in the case of Roman magistrates. The vindictiveness of the consul, even if justifiable, ought not in any case to have appeared while he was in office. The Praenestines unfortunately, whether through modesty or timidity, allowed the matter to pass without protest, and this silence furnished the magistrates with a legal colouring, as though following an unquestioned precedent, to demands which became continuously more burdensome.

At the beginning of the year, the commissioners who had visited Aetolia and Macedonia brought back word that no opportunity had been afforded them of meeting Perseus. Some made out that he was ill; others that he was away from home; both stories being equally false. It was, however, quite clear that warlike preparations were on foot, and that it would not be long before Perseus resorted to arms. In Aetolia intestine quarrels were increasing in violence day by day, and the leaders of the opposing factions refused to be kept in check by their authority. As it was fully expected that there would be war with Macedonia, it was decided that portents should be expiated and prayers offered to win "the peace of the Gods," of those deities, namely, who were mentioned in the Books of Fate. At Lanuvium the sight of a great fleet had been witnessed in the heavens; at Privernum the earth had brought forth dark−coloured wool; at Remens in the Veientine district there had been a shower of stones; the whole of the Pomptine country had been covered with clouds of locusts; in a field in Gaul where the plough was at work, fishes emerged from the turned−up clods. In consequence of these portents the Books of Fate were consulted, and the Keepers announced to what deities and with what victims sacrifices were to be offered; they further ordered

special intercessions for the expiation of the portents, and also others in fulfilment of the vow taken by the people the previous year on the occasion of the pestilence. All was done as the Sacred Books ordered.

It was in this year that the temple of Juno Lacinia was unroofed. Q. Fulvius Flaccus, the censor, was building the temple of Fortuna Equestris and was quite determined that there should be no larger or more magnificent temple in Rome. He had vowed this temple during the Celtiberian war, whilst acting as praetor in Spain. The beauty of the temple would be enhanced, he thought, if it were roofed with marble tiles, and with this object he went down to Bruttium and stripped off half the roof from the temple of Juno Lacinia, as he considered this would furnish sufficient tiles to cover his temple. Ships were in readiness to transport them, and the natives were deterred by the authority of the censor from any attempt to prevent the sacrilege. On the censor's return the tiles were unloaded and carried to the new temple. Although no hint was dropped as to where they came from, concealment was impossible. Protests were heard in the House, and there was a general demand that the consuls should bring the matter before the senate. The censor was summoned, and his appearance called forth still more bitter reproaches from all sides. Not content, he was told, with violating the noblest temple in that part of the world, a temple which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated, he did not rest till he had cruelly defaced it and almost destroyed it. With its pediment gone and its roof stripped off, it lay open to moulder and decay in the rain. The censor is appointed to regulate the public morals; the man who had, following ancient usage, been charged to see that the buildings for public worship are properly closed in and that they are kept in repair−this very man is roaming about amongst the cities of our allies ruining their temples and stripping off the roofs of their sacred edifices. Even in the case of private buildings such conduct would be thought disgraceful, but he is demolishing the temples of the immortal gods. By building and beautifying one temple out of the ruins of another he is involving the people of Rome in the guilt of impiety, as though the immortal gods are not the same everywhere, but some must be honoured and adorned with the spoils of others. It was quite clear what the feeling of the House was even before the question was put, and when it was put they were unanimous in deciding that those tiles should be carried back to the temple and that expiatory sacrifices should be offered to Juno. The religious duty was carefully discharged, but the contractors reported that as there was no one who understood how to replace the tiles they had been left in the precinct of the temple.

One of the praetors, N. Fabius, whilst on his way to take charge of the province of Hither Spain, died at Marseilles. On receiving the information of his death, the senate decreed that P. Furius and Cn. Servilius, whose successors had been already appointed, should decide by ballot which of them should have his command extended and administer Hither Spain. It fell to P. Furius, fortunately, who had been in the province, to retain it. There was a quantity of land taken in the wars with the Ligurians and the Gauls which was lying unappropriated, and the senate passed a resolution that it should be distributed amongst individual holders. In pursuance of this resolution the City praetor appointed ten commissioners to supervise the allotment, M. Aemilius Lepidus, C. Cassius, T. Aebutus Carus, C. Tremellius, P. Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus and Lucius Apuleius, M. Caecilius, C. Salonius, and C. Menatius. Each Roman citizen received ten jugera, each of the Latin allies, three. During this time a delegation from Aetolia went to Rome with an account of their party factions and fights; others from Thessaly to report on the state of things in Macedonia.

Perseus was revolving in his mind the war which he had been meditating in his father's life−time, and by promises more than by performance was trying through his agents to enlist the sympathies not only of the Greek States as a whole, but of the separate cities also. There was, however, a large party in his favour and much more inclined to support him than Eumenes, though Eumenes had by his munificent liberality laid all the cities of Greece and most of their leaders under personal obligations to him. His kingly rule, too, had been such that not one of the cities which owned his sway would have changed their condition with that of any autonomous community. On the other hand, there were rumours that Perseus had killed his wife with his own hand, and had put Apelles to death. Apelles had been his instrument in getting rid of his brother and had fled the country to escape the punishment which Philip sought to inflict on him. After his father's death Perseus had by lavish promises of rewards for his share in the murder enticed him back and then had him assassinated. Although he was notorious for many other murders, both of his own subjects and of foreigners, and although he did not possess a single commendable

quality, the cities generally preferred him to a king who had shown such affection towards his kindred, such justice towards his subjects and such bountiful generosity towards all men. Either they were so impressed with the prestige and greatness of Macedonia as to look with contempt on a newly−founded kingdom, or they were eager for a revolutionary change, or else they did not wish to be at the mercy of Rome.

It was not in Aetolia only that disturbances had arisen through the heavy pressure of debt; the Thessalians were in the same condition, and the mischief had spread like an epidemic to Perrhaebia also. When news came that the Thessalians were in arms, the senate at once sent Ap. Claudius to examine the situation and allay the excitement. He severely censured the leaders on both sides. The debt was swollen by illegal interest, and he reduced the amount with the consent of those who had made it so heavy, and then arranged that the amount legally owing should be paid off by equal instalments in ten years. Affairs in Perrhaebia were settled in the same way. Marcellus attended the session of the Aetolian council at Delphi and heard the arguments of both sides, who carried on the dispute in the same temper they had shown in the civil war. He saw that it was a competition in recklessness and audacity, and not wishing to lighten or to aggravate the grievances of either side, he made the same demand on both and asked them to abstain from war and bury their old quarrels in oblivion. This reconciliation was mutually guaranteed by the exchange of hostages, and Corinth was agreed upon as the place where the hostages were to reside.

Leaving Delphi and the Aetolian council Marcellus proceeded to the Peloponnese, where he had called a meeting of the Achaean council. Here he commended them for having firmly retained the old decree forbidding the Macedonian kings any approach to their territories, and he made it quite clear that the Romans regarded Perseus as an enemy. To precipitate hostilities Eumenes went to Rome, taking with him the notes he had made during his enquiry into the warlike preparations going on. Five commissioners were at the same time sent to the king to see for themselves the state of things in Macedonia, and were instructed to visit Alexandria as well and renew the friendly relations between Ptolemy and Rome. The members of the mission were C. Valerius, Cn. Lutatius Cerco, Q. Baebius Sulca, M. Cornelius Mammula, and M. Caecilius Denter. Envoys from Antiochus arrived about the same date. Their leader, Apollonius, when introduced to the senate, alleged many valid reasons why the king was paying his tribute after the appointed day. He had, however, brought the whole amount, so that no favour need be shown to the king beyond excusing the delay. He had, in addition, brought a present of golden vases weighing 500 pounds. The king asked that the friendship and alliance which had been formed with his father might be renewed with him, and that the people of Rome would look to him for all that a friendly monarch could supply; he would never be lacking in any service he could render them. During his stay in Rome, he reminded the House, it was due to the kindness of the senate and the friendliness of the younger men that he was treated as a prince more than as a hostage. The deputation received a gracious reply and the City praetor, A. Atilius, was ordered to renew the alliance with Antiochus which had existed with his father. The tribute was given into the charge of the City quaestors, and the golden vases were handed to the censors with instructions to deposit them in whatever temples they thought fit. The leader of the deputation received a present of 100,000 ases, and free quarters and hospitality were decreed to him as long as he remained in Italy. The commissioners who had been in Syria had reported that he held the highest place of honour with the king and was a devoted friend to Rome.

The principal incidents in the provinces this year were the following: C. Cicereius fought a regular engagement in Corsica; 7000 of the enemy were killed and over 1700 made prisoners. During the battle the praetor vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. After this the Corsicans begged for peace, which was granted to them on condition of their paying a tribute of 200,000 pounds of wax. After the subjugation of Corsica, Cicereius sailed across to Sardinia. There was a battle also in Liguria at the town of Carystum in the Statellate country. A large force of Ligurians had concentrated there. After the consul M. Popilius reached the place they at first kept within their walls, but when they saw the Romans preparing to attack, they formed their line of battle in front of their gates. This had been the consul's object in threatening an attack and he lost no time, therefore, in commencing the action. They fought for more than three hours without any certain prospect of victory on either side. When the consul found that in no part of the field were the Ligurians giving way, he ordered the cavalry to mount and deliver as fierce a charge as possible on the front and flanks of the enemy's line. A good many broke through the

enemy's centre and got behind the fighting line. This created a panic amongst the Ligurians; they broke and fled in all directions, very few reached the town, the cavalry mostly intercepting them. The obstinacy of the fighting proved costly to the Ligurians; 10,000 men are said to have been killed and more than 700 prisoners taken; 82 standards were carried off the field. The victory was not a bloodless one for the Romans: they lost more than 3000 men; the loss fell mainly on the front ranks owing to both sides refusing to give ground.

After the battle the Ligurians rallied from their scattered flight and collected together. When they became aware that the number of those lost was greater than that of the survivors−there were not more than 10,000 men−they made their surrender and made it unconditionally in the hope that the consul would not treat them with greater severity than former generals had done. However, he deprived them all of their arms, sacked their town and sold them and their property. He forwarded a report of what he had done to the senate. As the other consul, Postumius, was occupied with the survey of the fields in Campania, the despatch was read in the House by A. Atilius. The senators regarded it as an act of gross cruelty that the Statellati, who alone of all the Ligurians had refused to take up arms against Rome, should actually have been attacked without any provocation, and after trusting themselves to the good faith of the Roman people have been tortured to death with every form of cruelty. That so many thousands of freeborn persons, guiltless of any crime, should have been sold into slavery, in spite of their appeals to the honour of Rome, is a terrible example and warning against any one henceforth making a surrender, and sharing the fate of those who have been dragged off to various places to be the slaves of men who were formerly the enemies of Rome and are hardly even now at peace with her. Moved by these considerations the senate determined that M. Popilius should restore the Ligurians to liberty and return the purchase−money, and see that as much of their property as could be recovered should be given back to them; their arms also were to be restored. All this was to be done as soon as possible; the consul was not to leave his province till he had replaced the surrendered Ligurians in their homes. He was reminded that the glory of victory was won by overcoming the enemy in fair fight, not by cruelty to those who cannot defend themselves.

The same ungovernable temper which the consul had displayed towards the Ligurians he now showed in refusing to obey the senate. He at once sent the legions into winter quarters at Pisae and returned to Rome angry with the senate and furious with the praetors. Immediately on his arrival he convened the senate in the temple of Bellona, where he delivered a long an bitter harangue against the praetor. He ought, he said, to have asked the senate to decree honours to the immortal gods for the successes he had won, instead of which he had induced the senate to pass a resolution in favour of the enemy by which he transferred his (the speaker's) victory to the Ligurians and practically ordered the consul to surrender to them. He therefore imposed a fine on him and asked the senators to make an order rescinding the resolution against him and also to do, now that he was in Rome, what they ought to have done when he was away, immediately they received his despatch, namely, to decree a solemn thanksgiving, first as honouring the gods and then as showing at least some regard for him. Some of the senators attacked him to his face quite as severely as they had done in his absence, and he returned to his province without either of his demands being conceded. The other consul, Postumius, spent the summer in surveying the fields and returned to Rome for the elections without even having seen his province. The new consuls were C. Popilius Laenas and P. Aelius Ligus. The new praetors were C. Licinius Crassus, M. Junius Pennus, Sp. Lucretius, Sp. Cluvius, Cn. Sicinius, and C. Memmius for the second time.

This year the lustrum was closed. The censors were Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus; Postumius closed the lustrum. The number of Roman citizens as shown by the census was 269,015, a somewhat smaller number than the previous one. This was owing to the fact that, as the consul explained to the Assembly, all those who had to return to their own cities in compliance with the consul's edict were registered in their own places of residence, none of them in Rome. The censors had discharged their functions in perfect harmony and in the best interests of the commonwealth. All those whom they struck off the senatorial roll, or degraded from the order of the equites, they placed amongst the aerarii and expelled from the tribes, and neither of them retained any name which the other censor had rejected. Fulvius dedicated the temple of Fortuna Equestris, which he had vowed six years previously when fighting with the Celtiberi. He also exhibited the Scenic Games for four days and those in the Circus Maximus for one day. L. Cornelius Lentulus, one of the Keepers of the Sacred Books, died this year,

and A. Postumius Albinus was appointed in his place. Such clouds of locusts invaded Apulia from the sea that they covered the fields far and wide with their swarms. To get rid of this destruction to the crops Cn. Sicinius was sent with full powers into Apulia and spent a considerable time in getting together an enormous number of men to collect them.

The following year in which C. Popilius and P. Aelius were the consuls began with the dispute left over from the year before. The senators wanted to discuss the question of the Ligurians and to reaffirm their resolution. The consul Aelius brought the matter up for discussion; Popilius, on his brother's behalf, tried to dissuade both his colleague and the senate from taking any further action and publicly gave out that if they made any decree he should oppose it. He deterred his colleague from going any further; the senate were all the more incensed against both consuls and insisted on carrying the matter through. So when the allocation of provinces came up and the consuls were anxious to have Macedonia, as a war with Perseus was now imminent, the senate decreed Liguria as the province for both consuls. They refused to decree Macedonia unless the case of M. Popilius was gone into. The consuls then demanded to be allowed to raise fresh armies or else reinforcements for the old armies. Both requests were refused. Two of the praetors asked for reinforcements: M. Junius for Hither Spain and Sp. Lucretius for Further Spain. Their request was also refused. C. Licinius Crassus had received the civic and Cn. Sicinius the alien jurisdiction; C. Memmius had Sicily allotted to him, and Sp. Cluvius Sardinia. The consuls were angry with the senate for the course they had taken, and after fixing the Latin Festival at the earliest possible date, gave notice that they should leave for their province and would transact no public business beyond what was connected with the administration of the provinces.

Valerius Antias writes that Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, went to Rome at this time to lay charges against Perseus and to describe his preparations for war. The majority of annalists, and certainly those whom you would prefer to believe, state that Eumenes came in person. When he arrived in Rome he was received with all the honours which the people of Rome considered due to his own merits and quite as much so to the kindnesses which they had heaped upon him in such profusion. After being introduced to the senate he said that he was visiting Rome for two reasons. One was his great desire to make acquaintance with the gods and men to whose beneficence he owed his present prosperity, which was such that he did not venture even to wish for anything beyond it. The other reason was that he might warn the senate of the necessity of thwarting the projects of Perseus. Beginning with a review of Philip's policy he narrated the circumstances of the death of Demetrius, who was opposed to war with Rome. "The Bastarnae," he continued, "were induced to leave their homes that he might have their assistance in the invasion of Italy. Whilst revolving these schemes in his mind he was surprised by death and left the crown to one whom he knew to be Rome's greatest enemy. The war had thus been left as a heritage to Perseus by his father, bequeathed to him together with the crown, and from the first day of his rule all his plans were laid to feed and foster it. He has abundant resources; the long years of peace have produced a numerous progeny of men of military age; moreover he is in the prime of life, in the full strength of manhood, and with a mind strengthened and disciplined in the science and practice of war. From his boyhood he has shared his father's tent and has thus gained experience not only in border wars, but even in the wars with Rome in the various expeditions on which he has been sent. From the day he ascended the throne he has been marvellously successful in accomplishing many things which his father, after trying every means, was unable to effect either by force or craft; and his power is enhanced by a personal authority such as is only gained by great and numerous merits in a long course of time.

"For throughout the cities of Greece and Asia all stand in awe of his greatness. I do not see for what merits or munificence such a tribute is paid him, nor can I say for certain whether this is due to the good fortune which attends him or whether, though I shrink from saying it, it is ill−feeling towards Rome that places him so high in their favour. Even with monarchs he possesses great influence; he married the daughter of Seleucus, and did not ask for her hand; on the contrary, he was invited to make the match; he gave his sister to Prusias in response to his earnest solicitations. At the celebration of both these marriages congratulations and wedding presents were offered by deputations from numberless States, and the proudest nations joined in the processions to bring good luck to the brides. The Boeotians, in spite of all Philip's persuasions, could never be brought to make a formal

league of friendship and commit it to writing; today the terms of a league with Perseus are recorded in three inscriptions: one at Thebes, another in the venerable world−famed shrine in Delos, and the third at Delphi. And, as a matter of fact, unless a small section of the Achaean council had threatened the rest with the power of Rome, matters would have gone so far that the way into Achaia would have been open to him. After all the services I have rendered to that nation−and it is difficult to say whether those to the nation or those to individuals were the greater−the statues set up in my honour have either fallen into decay through neglect, or else have been done away with through hostile malice. Who does not know that in their party conflicts the Aetolians appeal for help not to the Romans, but to Perseus? Though he had these friendships and alliances to lean upon, he has made such ample preparations for war at home that he has no need of outside help. He has stored corn for 30,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry which will last for ten years, so that he can leave the harvests of his own and of the enemy's fields untouched. He is now in possession of so much money that he has a reserve sufficient to pay 10,000 mercenary troops, in addition to his Macedonian force, for the same period. This is irrespective of the revenue from the royal mines. In the arsenals, arms have been accumulated for three armies each as large. Thrace is open to him as a never−failing source from which he can draw fighting men, supposing that the supply from Macedonia should fail."

He closed with an earnest appeal. "I am not, senators, laying these facts before you as bruited in vague rumours, or because I wished such charges against an enemy to be true, and therefore was the more eager to credit them; I am stating the results of my investigations and disclosures just as though you had sent me on a mission of enquiry and I were reporting what I had actually seen. I would not have left my kingdom, to which you have given such extension and prestige, and undertaken so long a voyage merely to destroy all faith in me by telling you idle tales. I saw the greatest cities in Greece and Asia unveiling their designs day by day, and soon, were they allowed, they will have gone so far that there will be no room left for repentance. I have watched Perseus, not confining himself within his own borders, taking armed possession of some places, and where others could not be seized by force, winning them by a show of favour and goodwill. I observed how unequal the conditions were; he preparing for war against you and you making peace secure for him, though it seemed to me as if he were not so much preparing for war as actually commencing it. Abrupolis, your friend and ally, he has expelled from his kingdom. Arthetaurus, the Illyrian, also your friend and ally, he caused to be put to death because he discovered that he had written to you. Euersas and Callicritus, leading men in Thebes, he managed to get put out of the way because they spoke too frankly against him in the council of Boeotia and declared that they should inform you about what was going on. He sent help to the Byzantines in violation of the treaty; he levied war on Dolopia; he marched his army through Thessaly and Doris in order that, should civil war break out, he might smash the more respectable party by the means of the more disreputable one. He brought about universal confusion in Thessaly and Perrhaebia by holding out the prospect of a cancellation of all debts, so that he might crush the aristocracy by a body of debtors bound by their obligations to him. As you have remained quiet and allowed him to do all this, and as he sees that, as far as you are concerned, Greece has been handed over to him, he takes it for granted that he will meet with no armed opposition before he has landed in Italy. How far this is an honourable or safe policy for you to pursue, it is for you to consider. I, at all events, felt that it would be disgraceful on my part if Perseus came and carried war into Italy before I, your ally, had warned you to be on your guard. I have discharged the duty incumbent upon me and have relieved myself of what was a burden on my loyalty. What can I do more, except to pray heaven that you may consult the true interest of your commonwealth and of us, your allies and friends, who depend on you?"

This speech made a great impression on the House, but for the time no one outside could learn anything beyond the fact of the king's presence in the House, in such silence were the proceedings veiled. Only when the war was over did what the king said and what the senate replied leak out. A few days later the envoys of King Perseus were admitted to an audience. But the minds, no less than the ears, of the senators had been captured by Eumenes, and all that the Macedonian envoys alleged in justification or apology found no hearing. The effrontery of Harpalus, the leader of the embassy, created still more exasperation. He said that the king was anxious that when he declared that he had neither said nor done anything of a hostile character, his statement should be believed. If, however, he saw that they were obstinately bent upon finding some excuse for war, he should depend upon himself with resolution and courage; the chances of war were the same for both sides and the issue was uncertain.

All the cities of Greece and Asia were much concerned about the reception which Eumenes and the envoys of Perseus had met with in the senate. Most of them on learning of the arrival in Rome of the man who, in their opinion, would influence the Romans in the direction of war, sent deputations, ostensibly to discuss other questions. One of these was from Rhodes, and its leader had no doubt whatever that Eumenes had included his city in the indictment against Perseus. Consequently he made every effort through his friends and patrons to get an opportunity of meeting the king in argument before the senate. As he did not succeed he denounced the king in unmeasured invective, declaring that he had stirred up the Lycians against the Rhodians and was much more oppressive to Asia than Antiochus had ever been. This language pleased the populace whose sympathies were with Perseus, but it was resented by the senate and did no good either to himself or his fellow−countrymen The hostility shown towards Eumenes by the different States made the Romans all the more determined to show him favour; all honours were heaped upon him and most valuable gifts presented to him, including a curule chair and an ivory sceptre.

After the deputations were dismissed, Harpalus returned to Macedonia as speedily as possible and informed the king that he had left the Romans not indeed actually preparing for war, but so embittered against him that any one might see they would not long delay. Perseus himself believed that events would take this turn and now he even wished that they would, as he believed himself to be at the height of his power. Eumenes was the man he hated most of all, and he determined to begin the war by shedding his blood. He suborned Euander of Crete, a leader of mercenaries, and three Macedonians who were accustomed to lend their services for crimes of this nature, and gave them a letter for Praxo, a friend of his, the wealthiest and most influential woman in Delphi. It was generally understood that Eumenes would go up to Delphi to sacrifice to Apollo. The only thing the assassins needed for executing their project was a suitable spot, and they and Euander traversed the neighbourhood to find one.

On the ascent to the temple from Cirrha, before reaching the part covered with buildings, the path, which is so narrow that passengers can only go in single file, has a wall running close to it on the left hand, and on the right a landslip has left an abrupt descent of some depth. Behind this wall the conspirators concealed themselves and built steps up against it, so that they might hurl missiles on the king as he passed under it. As he came up from the sea he was surrounded by a crowd of friends and by his bodyguard, but as the road became narrower, fewer could walk side by side. When they reached the place where they had to go in single file, Pantaleon, one of the Aetolian leaders, was in front, and the king was engaged in conversation with him. At this moment the assassins appeared above the wall and rolled down two huge stones, one of which hit the king on the head and the other fell on his shoulder. Stunned by the blow he fell down the steep descent, after many stones had been flung upon him as he lay. All the friends and guards fled except Pantaleon, who fearlessly remained to protect the king.

The assassins could easily have run round the wall to finish off the wounded king, but instead of this they fled up to the ridge of Parnassus as though they had completed their task, and in such haste that one of them, not being able to keep up with them, retarded their flight, and to prevent his being caught and turning informer against them, they killed their comrade. The king's friends ran to where his body lay, followed by the guards and slaves. They lifted him, still stunned by the blow and unconscious, but they found from the warmth of the body and the breath still remaining in the lungs, that he was still alive, but they had little or no hope of his recovery. Some of the guards followed in the track of the assassins and climbed as far as the top of Parnassus, but their labour was in vain and they returned from their fruitless search. The Macedonians had set about the crime with as much deliberation as daring; they abandoned it with as much haste as cowardice. The next day the king had recovered consciousness and was carried down to the ship. They first made for Corinth, then the ships were drawn across the neck of the Isthmus and the voyage was continued to Aegina. Here so much secrecy was observed regarding his progress towards recovery, none being admitted to his room, that a report of his death travelled through Asia. Even Attalus believed it, somewhat more readily indeed than was consistent with harmony between the brothers, for he talked to his brother's wife and to the commandant of the citadel as if he were the undoubted heir to the crown. Eumenes did not forget this, and though he had determined to dissemble his resentment and preserve silence, he could not restrain himself the first time they met from reproaching him for his premature haste in wooing his wife. The rumour of his death even reached Rome.

Just after this incident C. Valerius, who had been sent to Greece to examine the state of the country and discover the designs of Perseus, returned with a report which agreed in all points with the charges brought by Eumenes. He had brought back with him from Delphi the woman Praxo, whose house had been the meeting−place of the assassins, and also L. Rammius, a native of Brundisium, who laid the following information before the senate. Rammius was the chief person in Brundisium, and he used to entertain the Roman generals and distinguished ambassadors from foreign nations, especially those who represented monarchy. Through this he became known to Perseus, though he was in a different part of the world, and when he received a letter holding out the prospect of more intimate friendship, and consequently of high fortune, he paid a visit to the king. In a short time he found himself on very familiar terms with him, and drawn more often than he could have wished into confidential talks. The king pressed a proposal upon him and promised him a huge bribe if he would consent to it. As all the Roman generals and ambassadors usually accepted his hospitality, Perseus suggested that he should arrange for poison to be administered to those whose names he should give him. He knew that the preparation of poison was extremely difficult and dangerous, as so many must know of its preparation and, besides that, there is uncertainty as to its working, whether it will be strong enough to accomplish its task or safe as against any discovery. He would therefore give him a poison which could not be detected by any indication, either whilst being given or afterwards. Rammius was afraid that, if he refused, he might be the first on whom the poison would be tried, so he promised to do what the king asked, and started for home. He did not, however, want to return to Brundisium before he saw C. Valerius, who was reported to be in the neighbourhood of Chalcis. He laid the facts before him, and acting on his instructions came with him to Rome. Introduced into the senate he narrated what had taken place.

This information added to that which Eumenes had given hastened their decision to declare Perseus a public enemy; they recognised that he was not meditating an honourable war in the spirit of a king, but was winding his way through every criminal method of assassination and poisoning. The conduct of the war was left to the new consuls. For the present, however, it was decided that Cn. Sicinius should raise a force, which was to be taken to Brundisium and sail across as soon as possible to Apollonia and Epirus and occupy the cities on the coast, where the consul to whom Macedonia should be allotted could find safe anchorage and disembark his men without trouble. Eumenes had been detained a considerable time at Aegina, as the dangerous nature of his wounds made his recovery slow and difficult. As soon as it was safe for him to move, he went on to Pergamum and began to make energetic preparations for war. This fresh crime of Perseus intensified his old enmity towards him and proved a powerful incentive. Delegates from Rome went to congratulate him on his escape from such great peril to his life. The Macedonian war was put off for the year, and nearly all the praetors left for their provinces, with the exception of M. Junius and S. Lucretius. They had received Spain as their province, and after repeated requests they at length prevailed on the senate to allow their army to be reinforced. They were, empowered to raise 3000 infantry and 150 cavalry for the Roman legions, and for the allied contingent 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry. This force was transported to Spain with the new praetors.

During this year a large part of the Campanian district, which had been in many places appropriated by private individuals, was by the survey of the consul Postumius recovered for the State, and M. Lucretius, one of the tribunes of the plebs, gave notice of a proposal that the censors should let out the Campanian land for cultivation, a thing that had not been done through all the years since the fall of Capua, and as a consequence, the greed of private citizens took its course in the unoccupied land. War had now been determined upon, though not yet declared; the senate were waiting to see which of the monarchs would befriend Perseus and who would support them. Just at this time a mission from Ariarathes arrived, bringing with them the king's young son. They explained that the king had sent his son to be brought up in Rome, so that he might from his boyhood become familiar with Roman manners and Roman men. He asked that they would allow him to be not only under the charge of personal friends but also under the care and guardianship, so to speak, of the State. The senate were highly pleased with the proposal, and made a decree that Cn. Sicinius should hire a furnished house where the king's son and his suite could live. Envoys also from Thrace, with the Maedi and Astii, came to ask for alliance and friendship. Their request was granted and each received a present of 2000 ases. The Romans were especially glad that these peoples had been received into alliance, because Thrace lay at the back of Macedonia. But that the whole situation in Asia

and the islands might be thoroughly investigated, Tiberius Claudius Nero and M. Decimius were sent with instructions to visit Crete and Rhodes, to renew friendly relations, and at the same time to find out whether the allies of Rome had been tampered with by Perseus.

Whilst the citizens were in a state of tense expectancy of a fresh war, the column erected on the Capitol during the Punic war by the colleague of Ser. Fulvius was shattered from top to bottom by a stroke of lightning. This accident was regarded as a portent and reported to the senate. The Keepers of the Sacred Books announced that the City must undergo a lustration; that intercessions and special prayers must be offered; and that animals of the larger size must be sacrificed both at Rome in the Capitol and in Campania at the Promontory of Minerva. Games were also, as soon as possible, to be celebrated for ten days in honour of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The reply of the augurs was to the effect that the portent would prove to be favourable, for it portended the widening of frontiers and the destruction of enemies; those ships' beaks which the storm had thrown down had been taken as spoils from the enemy. Other incidents increased the religious terrors. It was reported that showers of blood had been falling for three days at Saturnia; an ass was foaled with three legs, and a bull with five cows had been destroyed by a single flash of lightning at Calatia; at Auximium there had been a shower of earth. In expiation of these portents, sacrifices were offered and special intercessions for one day, which was observed as a solemn holiday.

Up to this time the consuls had not left for their province. They did not comply with the desire of the senate to bring up the question of Popilius, and the senators were determined not to make any decrees till this was settled. The feeling against Popilius was intensified by a despatch received from him in which he stated that he had fought another battle with the Statellati and had killed 6000 of them. This iniquitous proceeding of his drove the rest of the Ligurians to arms. Now, however, it was not only the absent Popilius who was attacked in the senate for having, in defiance of all law, human and divine, commenced an aggressive war upon a people who had made their submission; the consuls also were severely censured for not having gone to their province. This attitude of the senate determined two of the tribunes of the plebs−M. Marcius Sermo and Q. Marcius Scylla−to warn the consuls that if they did not go to their province they should impose a fine on them. They also read to the senate the terms of a proposal which they intended to bring forward regarding the treatment of the Ligurians after they had made their submission. It was to the effect that where any of the Statellati who had made their surrender had not been restored to liberty by August 1, the senate should on oath empower a magistrate to seek out and punish the persons through whose criminal act they had passed into slavery. This order, thus sanctioned by the senate, was announced to the Assembly. Before the consuls left the City the senate gave an audience to C. Cicereius in the temple of Bellona. He gave an account. of what he had done in Corsica, but his request for a triumph was refused, and he celebrated his triumph on the Alban Mount, without the sanction of the senate, a thing which had become quite customary. Marcius's proposal about the Ligurians received the hearty assent of the plebs, and was carried. Acting on this plebiscite, C. Licinius consulted the senate as to whom they would choose to conduct the enquiry, and the senators ordered him to conduct it himself.

Now at last the consuls went to their province and took over the army from M. Popilius. He did not venture to return to Rome, where the senate were hostile, and the people still more so, for fear of having to stand his trial before the praetor who had submitted to the senate the resolution against him. His refusal to appear was met by the tribunes of the plebs with the menace of a second resolution to be submitted to the effect that if he had not entered the City of Rome by November 13, Licinius should judge and determine his case in his absence. Dragged home by this chain he found himself the object of universal odium in the senate. After many of the senators had lashed him with bitter invectives, the House passed a resolution that the praetors C. Licinius and Cn. Sicinius should make it their business to restore to liberty all Ligurians who had not been in arms against Rome since the consulship of Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius, and that the consul C. Popilius should make them a grant of land on the other side of the Po. By this resolution many thousands recovered their freedom and they were transported across the Po where land was assigned to them. M. Popilius, under the Marcian Decree, appeared on two occasions before C. Licinius. On the third day of his trial the praetor, out of regard for his brother the consul, and yielding to the entreaties of the Popilian family, ordered the defendant to appear again on March 15, the day on which the

new magistrates would enter upon office, so that he might not have to adjudicate, being no longer a magistrate. In this way the decree respecting the Ligurians was evaded by a subterfuge.

A deputation from Carthage was in Rome at that time, as was also Gulussa, Masinissa's son. There was a hot dispute between them in the senate−house. The grievance of the Carthaginians was that in addition to the territory which had been adjudicated on the spot by the Roman commissioners, Masinissa had during the last two years taken forcible possession of more than seventy towns and forts standing on Carthaginian soil; an easy matter for a man who had no scruples. As the Carthaginians were bound by their treaty they took no action, for they were forbidden to carry their arms outside their frontiers, though they knew quite well that if they were to drive the Numidians out, they would be warring within their own frontiers. They were, however, deterred by a clear clause in the treaty, which expressly forbade them to engage in war with the allies of Rome. But the Carthaginians declared that they could no longer endure his insolence and cruelty and avarice; and they explained that they were sent to implore the senate to grant them one of three things, either themselves to decide, as between a king and a people, both of whom were their allies, what belonged to each; or to leave the Carthaginians at liberty to defend themselves against unjust attacks in a just and righteous war; or, finally, if personal bias rather than truth swayed the senate, that they should settle once for all how much of other people's property they wished to make a present of to Masinissa. The senate would at all events make their gift a more moderate one if they were to know what they had given, whereas Masinissa would fix no limits other than what his greed and ambition might determine. If they were not to obtain any of these requests, and if they had in any way given offence since Scipio granted them peace, then let the Romans themselves punish them; they preferred the security of servitude under Roman masters rather than a liberty exposed to Masinissa's lawlessness. It would, in fact, be better for them to perish at once than to draw their breath at the will of a tyrant and a butcher. At these words they burst into tears and fell on their faces, and as they lay there prostrate they aroused not more pity for themselves than displeasure against the king.

The senate decided to ask Gulussa what answer he had to make to these charges, or whether he preferred to state first his object in coming to Rome. Gulussa said that he was in a difficulty in having to deal with matters about which he had received no instructions from his father, nor would it have been easy for his father to give him instructions, for the Carthaginians had given no indication of the question they were going to raise or even of their intention to visit Rome. For several nights their Inner Council had been meeting in secret conclave in the temple of Aesculapius, and in addition to other steps envoys were despatched to Rome with sealed instructions. This was his father's reason for sending him to Rome, to ask the senate not to give any credit to the charges which their common foe was bringing against him; the only reason for their hatred was his unswerving loyalty to the people of Rome. After giving both sides a hearing the senate debated the requests of the Carthaginians and ordered the following reply to be given: "It is the pleasure of the senate that Gulussa sets out at once for Numidia and announces to his father that he must send envoys to the senate as soon as possible to deal with the complaints of the Carthaginians; he must also warn the Carthaginians to appear and state their case. The senate is prepared to accord to Masinissa all possible honours in the future as they have done in the past, but they cannot let personal regard take the place of justice. They wish every man to remain in possession of his own land; it is not their intention to fix new boundaries, but to preserve the old ones. When the Carthaginians were vanquished they allowed them to retain their city and their land; but this was not that they might rob them in a time of peace of what they had not taken from them by the rights of war." So the young prince and the Carthaginians were dismissed, the customary presents were given to each party and in other ways they were hospitably and courteously treated.

Just about this time Cn. Servilius Caepio, Ap. Claudius Centho, and T. Annius Luscus, the three commissioners who had been sent to Macedonia to demand satisfaction and break off friendly relations with Perseus, returned from their mission. The report of what they had seen and what they had heard inflamed the minds of the senators still more against Perseus. They reported that they had witnessed the most energetic preparations for war being made throughout all the cities in Macedonia. When they went to see the king there was no opportunity granted them of seeing him for many days; at last, looking upon the prospect of an interview as hopeless, they started for home; only then were they recalled and admitted to the king's presence. The sum and substance of their address to

him was that a treaty had been concluded with Philip and, after his father's death, renewed with him; that in it were clauses expressly forbidding him to carry his arms beyond his frontiers or to make hostile aggression upon the allies of Rome. Then they repeated to him what they had heard Eumenes stating to the senate, all of which was found to be true. And in addition they reminded the king that he had for several days been having secret interviews at Samothrace with delegates from the cities in Asia. The senate thought it right that satisfaction should be made for this wrongful act and that they and their allies should have restored to them whatever the king was holding in defiance of treaty rights.

The king was furious and his language intemperate. He accused the Romans of greed and arrogance, and loudly protested against their sending one mission after another to spy upon his words and actions, because they thought it right that he should say and do everything in obedience to their orders. At last, after a long and violent harangue, he told them to return on the following day as he wished to give them a written reply. In this he is said to have declared that the treaty concluded with his father had nothing to do with him; he had consented to its renewal not because he approved of it, but because having just come to the throne he had to submit to everything. If they wanted to make a fresh treaty with him they must come to an understanding as to its terms. If they could bring themselves to conclude a treaty on equal terms for both parties, he would see what he had to do and he was sure they would be acting in the best interests of their commonwealth. With this he hurried off and they were all beginning to leave the audience−chamber, but not before the commissioners replied that they formally renounced his alliance and friendship. At these words he stopped and in a towering rage shouted out a warning to them to leave his dominions within three days. Under these circumstances they left the country without having received any attention or hospitality during the whole of their stay. The Thessalian and Aetolian envoys were the next to be admitted to audience. In order that the senate might know as soon as possible what generals the State would employ, they sent written instructions to the consuls that whichever of them was able to do so should go to Rome to elect the magistrates.

During the year the consuls did nothing worth recording, the interests of the republic seemed to be best served by quieting the exasperated Ligurians. Whilst war with Macedonia was anticipated, Gentius, King of the Illyrians, also fell under suspicion. Envoys from Issus laid complaints before the senate about his ravaging their borders and asserted that he and Perseus were living on the most perfect understanding with each other and were planning war with Rome in close co−operation. Illyrian spies had been sent to Rome at the instigation of Perseus, ostensibly as envoys, really to find out what was going on. The Illyrians were summoned before the senate. They said, that they had been sent by the king to clear him of any charges which the Issaeans might bring against him. They were then asked why in that case they had not reported themselves to the proper magistrates so that they might be assigned furnished quarters and their arrival and the object of their coming might be publicly known. As they were at a loss for a reply, they were told to leave the senate−house, and it was agreed that no reply should be made to them as envoys, since they had made no formal request to appear before the senate. It was resolved that envoys should be sent to Gentius to inform him of the complaints made against him and to make him understand that the senate regarded him as acting wrongfully in not abstaining from injuring his neighbours. The envoys were A. Terentius Varro, C. Plaetorius, and C. Cicereius. The commissioners who had been sent to interview the friendly monarchs returned from Asia and reported that they had visited Eumenes, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy at Alexandria; that they had all been approached by Perseus, but were keeping perfectly true to their engagements with Rome, and they pledged themselves to carry out all that the people of Rome required. They had also visited the friendly cities and with one exception they were satisfied as to their fidelity. The one exception was Rhodes, where they found the citizens wavering and imbued by Perseus' ideas. A deputation had arrived from Rhodes to clear the citizens from charges which they knew were being generally made against them; the senate, however, decided not to grant them an audience till the new consuls had entered upon office.

They felt that the preparations for war ought not to be delayed. The praetor C. Licinius was instructed to select out of the old quinqueremes laid up in the dockyards in Rome all that could be made use of, and to repair and fit out fifty vessels. If he was unable to make up that number he was to write to his colleague, C. Memmius, commanding in Sicily, and direct him to refit and get ready for service the ships which were in Sicilian waters, so

that they could be sent as soon as possible to Brundisium. C. Licinius was to enlist crews for twenty−five ships from Roman citizens of the freedman class, and Cn. Sicinius was to requisition the same number from the allies, and also obtain from them a force of 8000 infantry and 500 cavalry. A. Atilius Serranus, who had been praetor the year before, was selected to take over these soldiers at Brundisium and convey them to Macedonia. In order that Cn. Sicinius might have an army ready to sail, C. Licinius was authorised by the senate to write to the consul C. Popilius, requesting him to issue orders for the second legion, most of whom had seen service in Liguria, and an allied contingent of 4000 infantry and 200 cavalry, to be at Brundisium by February 13. With this fleet and army Cn. Sicinius was ordered to hold the province of Macedonia until his successor arrived, his command being extended for a year. All the measures which the senate decided upon were energetically carried out. Thirty−eight quinqueremes were launched from the naval arsenal, and L. Porcius Licinius was placed in command to take them to Brundisium; twelve were sent from Sicily. Sextius Digitius, T. Juventius, and M. Caecilius were sent into Apulia and Calabria to purchase corn for the fleet and army. When all the preparations were completed, Cn. Sicinius left the City, wearing the paludamentum, en route for Brundisium.

Towards the end of the year the consul C. Popilius returned to Rome much later than the senate considered he ought to have done, in view of the urgency of electing fresh magistrates and the imminence of such a serious war. He did not receive a very favourable hearing when, in the temple of Bellona, he gave an account of his doings in Liguria. There were frequent interruptions and questions as to why he had not restored the Ligurians to liberty after his brother's iniquitous treatment of them. Notice of the consular elections was duly given, and they were held February 18. The new consuls were P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus. The praetors elected on the following day were C. Sulpicius Galba, L. Furius Philus, L. Canuleius Dives, C. Lucretius Gallus, C. Caninius Rebilus, and L. Villius Annalis. The provinces assigned to these praetors were the two jurisdictions in Rome, civic and alien, Spain, Sicily and Sardinia, and one praetor was exempted from the ballot, to be employed as the senate should decide. The senate ordered the consuls elect to offer due sacrifices of the larger victims, with prayers that the war, which it was in the mind of the Roman people to wage, should have a prosperous issue. At the same sitting the senate decreed that the consul C. Popilius should make a vow pledging the republic that if it should remain without loss or change for ten years, Games should be held in honour of Jupiter Optimus Maximus for ten days and offerings made at all the shrines. In accordance with this decree the consul made a vow in the Capitol that the Games should take place and the offerings be made at all the shrines, at such a cost as the senate should determine in a session at which not less than 150 were present. Lepidus, the Pontifex Maximus, dictated the words of the vow. Two members of the State priesthood died this year−L. Aemilius Papus, a Keeper of the Sacred Books, and the pontiff Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who had been censor the year before. He met with a tragic death. His two sons were serving in Illyria, and he received intelligence that one had died and that the other was dangerously ill. Between grief and anxiety his mind gave way; the slaves, on entering his room in the morning, found that he had hanged himself. He was considered to be out of his mind at the close of his censorship, and there was a general belief that he had been driven mad by Juno Lacinia, in her anger at his spoliation of her temple. M. Valerius Messala was appointed Keeper of the Sacred Books in place of Aemilius, and C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a young man, was chosen to succeed Fulvius as pontiff.

When P. Licinius and C. Cassius began their consulship, not only the City of Rome, but all kings and commonwealths throughout Europe and Asia, were preoccupied by the approaching war between Rome and Macedonia. Eumenes had long regarded Macedonia as his enemy, and now he had a fresh incentive to his hostility in his narrow escape from being slaughtered like a victim at Delphi, through the king's foul treachery. Prusias, the king of Bithynia, had decided to take no part in the conflict, but quietly to wait on events. He felt sure that the Romans could not possibly think it right for him to bear arms against his brother−in−law, and if Perseus were victorious he knew that he could secure his favour through his sister. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had already promised to assist the Romans on his own account, and now that he was connected by marriage with Eumenes, he associated himself with all their policy, both in peace and war. Antiochus was threatening Egypt, and in his contempt for the boy−king and his unenterprising guardians he thought that, by raising the question of Coelo−Syria, he would have a good pretext for war, and be able to prosecute it without hindrance while the Romans were occupied with the Macedonian war. He had, however, made all sorts of promises to the senate in

view of the war both by his own legations to Rome and personally to the envoys whom the senate had sent to him. Owing to his age. Ptolemy was under tutelage; his guardians were preparing for war with Antiochus to keep their hold on Coelo−Syria, and were at the same time promising to give the Romans all assistance in their war with Macedonia. Masinissa gave assistance by supplying corn, and was preparing to send a force with elephants and also his son, Misagenes, to the war. He had, however, laid his plans to meet any turn of fortune; if victory fell to the Romans, matters would remain as they were, nor could he make any further advance since the Romans would not allow any aggression on the Carthaginians. If the power of Rome−the sole protection of the Carthaginians−was broken, all Africa would be his. Gentius, king of the Illyrians, had brought himself under suspicion, but had not gone so far as to decide for certain which side he should support; it seemed as though whichever he supported, it would be more from impulse than policy. The Thracian Cotys, king of the Odrysae, had already declared for Macedonia.

Such were the views which monarchs took of the war. Amongst the free nations and communities the common people were, as usual, almost to a man in favour of the worse side, and supported the king and the Macedonians. You would see great diversity amongst the views and sympathies of the ruling classes. One party went so far in their admiration of the Romans that they impaired their influence by their excessive partiality; some, attracted by the justice of Roman rule, a more numerous body, by the prospect of gaining power in their own cities if they rendered conspicuous service. The other side were sycophants and flatterers of the king; the pressure of debt and the hopelessness of their condition, if things remained as they were, drove many in sheer desperation into revolutionary projects; others supported Perseus from sheer caprice because he was popular. A third party, comprising the most respectable and sensible men, if they had in any case to choose a master, would have preferred the Romans to Perseus. If they had been free to choose their condition, they would have had neither side made more powerful through the overthrow of the other, but would have preferred that the strength of both being equally balanced, a lasting peace on equal terms might be established. In this way the cities, placed between the two, would be under the best conditions, for one would always protect the helpless from injury at the hands of the other. Holding these sentiments they watched in safety and in silence the rivalries of those who supported the two parties.

On the day they entered office the consuls, in pursuance of the senate's resolution, visited all the shrines in which there was usually a lectisternium for the greater part of the year, offered sacrifices of the larger victims and learned from the omens given by them that their prayers were accepted by the gods. They then reported to the senate that the prayers and sacrifices had been duly offered. The augurs made the announcement that if any fresh enterprise was undertaken it ought to be begun without delay; all the portents pointed to victory, triumph and the widening of frontiers. Good fortune and success being thus promised to Rome, the senate ordered the consuls to summon a meeting of the Assembly in their centuries and submit the following order of the day: "Whereas Perseus, the son of Philip and King of Macedonia, has broken the treaty made with his father and renewed with him, by bearing arms against the allies of Rome, devastating fields and occupying their cities; and whereas he has formed plans for levying war on the people of Rome, and has to this end got together arms, soldiers and ships; be it resolved that war be made upon him unless he gives satisfaction for all these things." This resolution was put to the Assembly.

Then the senate decided that the consuls should come to a mutual arrangement about their provinces of Italy and Macedonia; failing that, to have recourse to the ballot. The one to whom Macedonia fell was to seek redress by force of arms from Perseus, and those of his party, unless they gave satisfaction to Rome. Four fresh legions were to be called up, two for each consul. A special provision was made for Macedonia. For the other consul each of the two legions consisted, according to ancient precedent, of 5200 infantry; those for Macedonia were each raised to 6000 infantry, and the four legions had each the same complement of 300 cavalry. The numbers of the allied contingent were also raised for this consul; he was to transport to Macedonia 16,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, in addition to the 600 cavalry whom Sicinius had commanded. A force of 12,000 allied infantry and 600 cavalry was considered sufficient for Italy. The consul who was to command in Macedonia was specially empowered to enrol as many veteran centurions and private soldiers as he desired up to fifty years of age. In view of the Macedonian

war, an innovation was made this year in the case of the military tribunes. The consuls received instructions from the senate to propose to the Assembly that they should for that year forgo their claim to elect the military tribunes and leave the consuls and praetors free to appoint them. The commands were allocated to the praetors as follows: The praetor to whose lot it fell to be at the senate's disposal without an assigned province was to inspect the crews in the fleet at Brundisium, and after removing all who were unfit for service, to select freedmen to take their place, with the proviso that two−thirds should consist of Roman citizens, the remainder to be drawn from the allies. Supplies for the fleet and the legions were to be furnished by Sicily and Sardinia, and the praetors in charge of those islands were charged to requisition a second tenth from the natives, the corn to be carried to the army in Macedonia. Sicily fell to C. Caninius Rebilus; Sardinia to L. Furius Philus; Spain to L. Canuleius; the civic jurisdiction to C. Sulpicius Galba; the alien to L. Villius Annalis. The praetor who remained at the disposal of the senate was C. Lucretius Gallus.

The consuls had a disagreement−not a serious dispute−about their province. Cassius said that he was ready to choose Macedonia without a ballot, as his colleague could not ballot with him without violating his oath. When he was made praetor he took an oath before the Assembly that he could not go to his province as he had sacrifices to perform at an appointed place and on stated days, and they could not be duly offered in his absence, when he was consul, any more than when he was praetor. Even should the senate not consider P. Licinius' wishes now that he was consul more deserving of censure than the oath which he had taken as praetor, he would bow to their authority. When the matter was put to the vote, the senators thought it would be a high−handed proceeding to refuse a province to the man to whom the people of Rome had not refused the consulship, and ordered the consuls to proceed to ballot. P. Licinius obtained Macedonia, and C. Cassius, Italy. They then drew lots for the legions; the first and third were to be taken to Macedonia; the second and fourth to remain in Italy. The consuls carried out the mobilisation with much more care than at other times. Licinius called up the old soldiers and centurions, and many volunteers gave in their names because they saw that those who had served in the former Macedonian war or against Antiochus were rich men. The military tribunes were choosing the centurions, not in order of precedence, but picking out the best men, and twenty−three centurions of the front rank appealed to the tribunes of the plebs. Two members of the tribunitian college were for referring the matter to the consuls, on the ground that the decision ought to rest with those to whom the mobilisation had been entrusted. The rest said they would go into the reasons of the appeal, and if an injustice had been done, they would come to the aid of their fellow−citizens.

The case was argued before the tribunes in their chairs; M. Popilius and the consul were present with the centurions. The consul demanded that the matter should be tried before the Assembly, and the Assembly was accordingly convened. M. Popilius, who had been consul two years previously, spoke on behalf of the centurions. He reminded the Assembly that these men had completed their term of military service, and were worn out by age and incessant toil. Still, they in no way objected to give their services to the State, only they protested against being assigned a position inferior to the one they held when on active service. The consul P. Licinius ordered the resolutions passed by the senate to be read, first the one in which the senate decided upon war with Perseus, then the one in which it was determined that as many of the veteran centurions as possible should be called up for the war, and that there should be no exemption for any man who was not over fifty years of age. He strongly deprecated any step being taken which would hamper the military tribunes in their task of raising troops for a fresh war, so close to Italy and against an extremely powerful monarch, or which would prevent the consul from assigning to each man the rank which, in the best interests of the commonwealth, ought to be assigned to him. If any doubt was still felt in the matter, let it be referred to the senate.

After the consul had said what he wanted to say, one of those who were appealing to the tribunes−Sp. Ligustinus−begged the consul and the tribunes to allow him to say a few words to the Assembly. They all gave him permission, and he is recorded to have spoken to the following effect: "Quirites, I am Spurius Ligustinus, a Sabine by birth, a member of the Crustuminian tribe. My father left me a jugerum of land and a small cottage in which I was born and bred, and I am living there today. As soon as I came of age my father gave me to wife his brother's daughter. She brought nothing with her but her personal freedom and her modesty, and together with

these a fruitfulness which would have been enough even in a wealthy house. We have six sons and two daughters. Four of our sons wear the toga virilis, two the praetexta, and both the daughters are married. I became a soldier in the consulship of P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius. For two years I was a common soldier in the army, fighting against Philip in Macedonia; in the third year T. Quinctius Flamininus gave me in consideration of my courage the command of the tenth company of the hastati. After Philip and the Macedonians were vanquished and we were brought back to Italy and disbanded, I at once volunteered to go with the consul M. Porcius to Spain. Men who during a long service have had experience of him and of other generals know that of all living commanders not one has shown himself a keener observer or more accurate judge of military valour. It was this commander who thought me worthy of being appointed first centurion in the hastati. Again I served, for the third time, as a volunteer in the army which was sent against Antiochus and the Aetolians. I was made first centurion of the principes by Manius Acilius. After Antiochus was expelled and the Aetolians subjugated we were brought back to Italy. After that I twice took service for a year at home. Then I served in Spain, once under Q. Fulvius Flaccus and again under Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. I was brought home by Flaccus amongst those whom, as a reward for their courage, he was bringing home to grace his triumph. I joined Tiberius Gracchus at his request. Four times, within a few years, have I been first centurion in the triarii; four−and−thirty times have I been rewarded for my courage by my commanders; I have received six civic crowns. I have served for twenty−two years in the army and I am more than fifty years old. But even if I had not served my full time and my age did not give me exemption, still, P. Licinius, as I was able to give you four soldiers for one, namely, myself, it would have been a right and proper thing that I should be discharged. But I want you to take what I have said simply as a statement of my case. So far as anyone who is raising troops judges me to be an efficient soldier, I am not going to plead excuses. What rank the military tribunes think that I deserve is for them to decide; I will take care that no man shall surpass me in courage; that I always have done so, my commanders and fellow−campaigners bear witness. And as for you, my comrades, though you are only exercising your right of appeal, it is but just and proper that as in your early days you never did anything against the authority of the magistrates and the senate, so now, too, you should place yourselves at the disposal of the senate and the consuls and count any position in which you are to defend your country as an honourable one."

When he had finished speaking, the consul commended him most warmly and took him from the Assembly to the senate. There, too, he was thanked by the senate, and the military tribunes made him leading centurion in the first legion in recognition of his bravery. The other centurions abandoned their appeal and answered to the roll−call without demur. To enable the magistrates to start for their provinces at an earlier date, the Latin Festival was celebrated on June 1. When that function was over, C. Lucretius sent all that was required for the fleet on in advance and then left for Brundisium. In addition to the armies which the consuls were forming, C. Sulpicius Galba was commissioned to raise four City legions with the full complement of horse and foot, and to select from amongst the senators four military tribunes to command them. He was further to require the Latins and allies to furnish 15,000 infantry and 1200 cavalry, so that this army might be ready for service wherever the senate should decide. In addition to the force of Roman citizens and allied troops, the consul P. Licinius was supplied on his request with the following: 2000 Ligurian mercenaries, a body of Cretan archers−the number not specified−also Numidian cavalry and elephants. L. Postumius Albinus, Q. Terentius Culleo, and C. Aburius were sent to Masinissa and the Carthaginians to arrange this. A. Postumius Albinus, C. Decimius, and Aulus Licinius Nerva were also sent to Crete for the same purpose.

During this time envoys from Perseus arrived. It was decided that they should not be allowed to enter the town, as the senate and people had already determined on war with their king and the Macedonians. They were admitted to an audience in the temple of Bellona, and told the senate that Perseus was wondering why the armies had been sent to Macedonia. If he could induce the senate to recall them, he would give such satisfaction as the senate thought fit for any wrongs of which the allies of Rome complained. Spurius Carvilius had been sent back from Greece by Cnaeus Sicinius on this same business and was present at this session. He informed the senate how Perrhaebia had been taken by storm and other cities of Thessaly captured, and also what the king was actually doing and what preparations he was making. The envoys were told to answer these charges; they hesitated and said they had not received any further instructions. On thus they were ordered to carry back to their king the

announcement that in a short time the consul P. Licinius would be in Macedonia with his army; if the king really meant to give satisfaction, he might send envoys to him. It was useless for him to send any to Rome, as none of them would be allowed to pass through Italy. With this reply they were sent away, and P. Licinius was instructed to order them to quit Italy within ten days and send Sp. Carvilius to watch them till they went on board. Cnaeus Sicinius, who before quitting office had been sent to the fleet and army at Brundisium, had landed 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry in Epirus and was now encamped at Nymphaeum in the Apollonian district. From there he sent tribunes with 2000 men to occupy the forts of the Dassaretii and the Illyrians, as the people themselves were asking for troops to hold them so that they might be more secure against any attack from their Macedonian neighbours.

A few days later Q. Marcius, A. Atilius, the two Lentuli, Publius and Servius, and also L. Decimius were sent to Greece, and took with them 2000 men as far as Corcyra. There they arranged what districts to visit and what force each was to take with him. Decimius was sent to Gentius, the king of the Illyrians, to find out whether he still had any regard for his former friendship with Rome, and if so to induce him to take an active part in the war as an ally. The two Lentuli were sent to Cephallania that they might sail across to the Peloponnese and round the western coast before winter. The visitation of Epirus, Aetolia and Thessaly was assigned to Marcius and Atilius, after which they were ordered to survey the state of Boeotia and Euboea and then sail to the Peloponnese. There they arranged to meet the Lentuli. Before they separated at Corcyra, a despatch was received from Perseus in which he requested to know the reason for the Romans landing an army in Greece and occupying the cities. It was decided that no written reply should be sent, but that the bearer of the despatch should be told that the Romans were doing it for the protection of the cities themselves. The Lentuli in their visits to the different towns urged upon them all without distinction the duty of giving the Romans the same cordial and loyal assistance against Perseus which they had given in the war with Philip and then afterwards with Antiochus. During their meetings they heard murmurs of dissatisfaction amongst the Achaeans. They complained that while they had from the very beginning of the Macedonian war rendered every assistance to the Romans and in the war with Philip had been the declared enemies of the Macedonians, they were now put upon the same footing as the people of Messene and Elea who had fought for Antiochus against Rome, and after being incorporated into the Achaean council were handed over to their Achaean conquerors as the prize of war.

When Marcius and Atilius went up to Gitana in Epirus, about ten miles from the sea, where the national council of Epirus was being held, they received a most favourable hearing, and 400 of the younger men were sent as a protection to those Macedonians who had been freed by the senate. From there they went into Aetolia and stayed there a few days until a chief magistrate was elected in the place of the one who had died. Lyciscus, who was known to be a supporter of the Romans, was elected, and after his election they crossed over into Thessaly. Here they were visited by envoys from Acarnania and refugees from Boeotia. The envoys were told to announce to the Acarnanians that an opportunity was now offered of atoning for any faults which in reliance on the false promises of the king they had committed against Rome in the war with Philip and then in the war with Antiochus. If their bad behaviour had met with the forbearance, their good behaviour would win the generosity, of Rome. The Boeotians were severely censured for having formed an alliance with Perseus. They threw the blame on Ismenias, the leader of the opposite faction, and declared that some cities had been brought over against the majority of the citizens. Marcius replied that this would be cleared up as they would give every city the opportunity of deciding for itself.

There was a meeting of the national council of Thessaly at Larisa. The Thessalians had abundant material for thanking the Romans for the boon of liberty, and the Roman envoys for expressing their thanks for the whole−hearted assistance they had received from the Thessalians in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. This mutual recognition of services rendered made the assembled council eager to adopt every measure which the Romans wished for. Close on this meeting came a deputation from Perseus. Their hopes of success rested mainly on the personal tie of hospitality which Marcius had inherited from his father. After alluding to this the delegates asked that the king might be admitted to a personal interview. Marcius said that he heard from his father that friendly relations had existed with Philip, and bearing that fact in mind he had undertaken this mission. He would

not have put off a conference so long had he been well enough; now, as soon as he could manage it, they would go to the Peneus where the road crosses from Homolium to Dium and send to the king to announce their arrival.

On this Perseus left Dium and went back into Macedonia, cheered by a faint breath of hope because he had heard that Marcius had said it was for his sake that he had undertaken the mission. They met at the appointed place. The king was attended by a large suite consisting of his personal friends and his bodyguard, and the Romans appeared with quite as numerous an escort, many accompanying them from Larisa, as well as the delegations from the various cities who wanted to take trustworthy reports of what they heard. Men were naturally anxious to witness the meeting of a famous monarch with the representatives of the foremost people in the whole world. When they stood to view with only the river between them, there was a slight delay while it was being settled which party should cross the river. The one party thought that precedence ought to be given to royalty, the other considered that something was due to the great name of Rome, especially as it was Perseus who had sought the interview. While they were hesitating Marcius quickened their movements by a jest: "Let the younger come to the elder and"−his own cognomen was "Philippus"−"the son to the father." The king fell in with this at once. Then a fresh difficulty arose as to the number that should accompany him. The king thought that he ought to cross with the whole of his suite, but the Romans said he must cross with three attendants, or if all that number did cross he must give securities against any treachery during the conference. He gave as hostages Hippias and Pantauchus, chief among his friends whom he had formerly sent as envoys. The hostages were not so much needed to guarantee the king's good faith as to make the allies see that the king was by no means meeting the Romans on equal teems. They greeted one another not as foes but in a friendly and genial tone, and then sat down on the seats placed for them.

After a few moments' silence Marcius said: "I suppose you are expecting me to give you a reply to the letter which you sent to Corcyra in which you ask us why we who are envoys have come with soldiers and are distributing garrisons in the various cities. Not to give you any reply would, I fear, be thought arrogant, whilst a truthful reply would pain you whilst you listened to it. As, however, he who breaks a treaty must be chastised either by word of mouth or by force of arms, and much as I could have wished that war against you had been entrusted to another rather than to me, I will discharge my task of telling my guest−friend some unpleasant truths, however matters stand, like physicians who administer disagreeable remedies to restore a patient's health.

"As soon as you ascended the throne you did one thing which in the opinion of the senate you were right in doing, you sent an embassy to Rome to renew the treaty, but they hold that it would have been better not to renew it than to violate it after it was renewed. You drove Abrupolis, an ally and friend of Rome, out of his kingdom. You sheltered the assassins of Arthetaurus, showing that you were glad−I will not say more−that he was murdered. The man whom they killed was of all the Illyrian princes the most loyal to the cause of Rome. You marched with an army through Thessaly and the district of Malis up to Delphi, against the provisions of the treaty, and you also sent assistance to the Byzantines. You made a secret and separate treaty, ratified by an oath, with the Boeotians, our allies, which was forbidden. As for the Theban envoys, Euersas and Callicritus, who were murdered on their way to Rome, I prefer to enquire who killed them rather than to charge anyone with it. Who could possibly be considered responsible for the civil war in Aetolia, and the deaths of the leaders, unless it were your party? The devastation of Dolopia was your own doing. When Eumenes was returning from Rome to his kingdom he narrowly escaped being butchered at Delphi, like a victim on consecrated ground before the altar. I shrink from saying whom he accuses of this. I have certain proof that the secret crimes of which your friend at Brundisium gave us information were all communicated to you in writing by your friends in Rome and reported to you by your envoys. My saying all this might have been avoided by you, had you taken a different course and not asked us why the armies were coming into Macedonia and why we are stationing garrisons in the different cities. Had we kept silent, we should have shown you less consideration than we have done by a statement of facts. Out of regard for the friendship which we have inherited from our fathers I shall give you a favourable hearing, and I only wish that you may furnish me with some grounds for my pleading your cause before the senate."

The king replied: "A defence which before impartial judges would be a good one, I have now to make before judges who are also accusers. As to the charges brought up against me, some of them I rather think I ought to be proud of, others I am not ashamed to admit, others again, which are simply assertions, it is enough for me simply to deny. If I were standing my trial under your laws, what evidence could either the Brundisian informer or Eumenes bring against me which would make their accusations appear true rather than false and malicious? Eumenes, who oppresses so many of his subjects both in his public and private life, has had, I suppose, no other enemy but me, and I have, it seems, been unable to discover a more capable agent for criminal deeds than Rammius, a man whom I had never seen before, and was never to see again. I have also to account for the deaths of the Thebans, who everybody knows were drowned at sea, and for the death of Arthetaurus; here, however, no charge is brought against me beyond the fact that his murderers found refuge in my dominions. I will not protest against the unfairness of this argument, if you in your turn allow that if any refugees have escaped to Italy or to Rome you were the authors of the crimes of which they have been found guilty. If you, in common with all other nations, refuse to admit this, then I shall be with the rest of the world. Good heavens! what boots it for a man to be free to go into exile, if there is nowhere a place where an exile can go? Nevertheless, as soon as I was advised by you and ascertained that these men were in Macedonia, I ordered that search should be made for them, and that they should quit the kingdom, and I forbade them ever to cross my frontiers.

"These charges have been brought against me as though I were a defendant in a criminal trial, but those others touch my conduct as king, and depend upon the interpretation of the treaty which is in force between us. If that treaty expressly says that not even if anyone levies war against me am I allowed to defend myself and my realm, then I must admit that I have violated the treaty by defending myself in arms against Abrupolis, an ally of Rome. If, however, it is allowed by treaty and established as a rule of international law that arms may be repelled by arms, what ought I to have done after Abrupolis had devastated the frontiers of my kingdom right up to Amphipolis, and carried off many freeborn persons, a large body of slaves, and many thousand head of cattle? Was I to keep quiet and let him go on till he had carried his arms into Pella and taken possession of my palace? Yes, but granting that I was justified in opposing him by force, it is said that he ought not to have been vanquished or suffer all the evils which befall the vanquished. Since it was I who was attacked and ran the risk of all these evils, how can he complain of their happening to him who was the cause of the war? I am not going to defend my coercion of the Dolopians on the same grounds, Romans, because whatever they may have deserved, I exercised my sovereign rights; they were my subjects, a part of my dominions, assigned by your own decree to my father. Seeing that they put to death Euphranor, whom I had appointed governor, with such cruelty that death was the lightest of his sufferings, I cannot possibly be thought to have exercised undue or unjust severity−I do not say by you and your federal allies, but−by those who disapprove of cruelty and injustice even towards slaves.

"But when I left Dolopia to visit the cities of Larisa, Antron and Pteleon, as I was in the neighbourhood of Delphi I went up there for the purpose of offering sacrifice in discharge of vows taken long before. And to make this charge still more serious it is asserted that I went with an army to do, of course, what I now complain of your doing, to occupy the cities and station garrisons in the citadels. Summon those Greek cities through which I marched, and should anyone, I do not care who complain of any ill−treatment from my soldiery, I will allow it to be said that under the presence of offering sacrifice I had another object in view. We sent troops to assist the Aetolians and the Byzantines, and we established friendly relations with the Boeotians. In whatever light these measures are regarded, they were not only made known to you through my envoys, but were even on several occasions defended in your senate, where I had some critics not so fair or just as you, Q. Marcius, my hereditary friend and guest. But my accuser, Eumenes, had not yet arrived.

"This man, by misrepresenting and distorting all my actions, has made them appear suspicious and treacherous, and he tried to persuade you that Greece could not be really free or enjoy the boon of liberty which you have conferred as long as the kingdom of Macedonia remained intact. Well, the wheel will come round full turn: somebody will soon be saying that it was to no purpose that Antiochus had been removed beyond the Taurus. Eumenes is a much greater oppressor of Asia than Antiochus ever was, your allies can have no rest as long as the kingdom of Pergamum exists, it stands like a citadel to command all the States round it. I am quite aware that the

charges which you, Q. Marcius and A. Atilius, have brought against me, and the replies which I have made to them, are just what the minds and ears of those present choose to make of them, and that it is not my conduct or my motives that are important, but the light in which you view them. I am not conscious of having committed any fault knowingly: whatever lapse I may have been guilty of through imprudence can, I am sure, be corrected and amended through these stern admonitions of yours. At all events I have done nothing which cannot be remedied, nothing for which you should think it necessary to seek redress by force of arms. Otherwise the fame of your clemency and magnanimity has been carried through the world in vain, if for reasons which are hardly worth discussion you take up arms and levy war upon monarchs who are your allies."

Marcius listened to his speech approvingly and advised him to send an embassy to Rome. The friends of Perseus thought that every possible means should be tried and that nothing that promised hope should be left undone. The only thing left for discussion was how to secure the envoys a safe journey. It was deemed necessary to ask for an armistice; this was what Marcius particularly wished for, it had been his main object in granting the interview, but he raised difficulties and made a great favour of consenting to it. The fact was the Romans were at the moment quite unready for war−no army, no general−whilst Perseus had made all his preparations and was completely equipped for war and, had he not been blinded by hopes of peace, would have commenced hostilities at the best time for himself and the worst for his enemies. After the armistice was declared the Roman commissioners decided to go to Boeotia. There was much unrest there owing to the action of certain communities. On learning what the Roman commissioners had said, "that it would soon appear which States disapproved of the secret league with the king," they seceded from the national council of Boeotia. First delegates from Chaeronea, and then some from Thebes, met the commissioners while they were still on their journey, and assured them that they were not present at the meeting of the council when that league was formed. The commissioners gave them no reply at the time and told them to follow them to Chalcis.

There had been a violent quarrel at Thebes about another matter. The election of the magistrates for Boeotia had taken place, and the defeated party in revenge got the population together and passed a decree that the Boeotarchs should not be admitted into any of the cities. They went in a body to Thespiae where they were admitted without any hesitation. The Thebans changed their minds and recalled them; a decree was then made that the twelve who had without any authority convened the assembly and held a council should be sent into exile. Then the new magistrate, Ismenias, a man of noble family and great influence, issued a decree condemning them to death. They had fled to Chalcis, and from that city they went to the Roman commissioners at Larisa and threw the whole responsibility for the secret understanding with Perseus upon Ismenias. This led to a party war, delegates from both sides came to the Romans−the exiles, the accusers of Ismenias and Ismenias himself.

After their arrival in Chalcis the first magistrates of the different cities, in accordance with the decrees of their respective councils, denounced the league with Perseus, to the great gratification of the Romans, and declared themselves on the side of Rome. Ismenias thought that the right course to adopt would be for the Boeotian nation as a whole to place itself under the suzerainty of Rome. This led to a quarrel, and if he had not taken refuge at the commissioners' tribunal he would have had a narrow escape from being killed by the exiles and their supporters. Thebes, the capital of Boeotia, was itself in a state of great excitement, one faction trying to bring the city over to the king, the other to the Romans. People from Coronea and Haliartus had flocked in crowds to Thebes to defend the decree for alliance with the king. But the magistrates were firm, they pointed to the final defeats of Philip and Antiochus as proving the power and good fortune of the Roman government, and the citizens were at last convinced. They decreed that the alliance with the king should be put an end to, and sent those who had advocated friendship with Perseus to make their peace with the commissioners, and ordered the citizens to place themselves at the disposal of the commissioners. Marcius and Atilius were glad to hear this decision of the Thebans, and advised them and the other cities to send each their own envoys to renew friendly relations with Rome. They insisted on the restoration of the exiles as the first thing, and issued a decree condemning the authors of the alliance with Perseus. Thus, what they wanted most of all, the dissolution of the Boeotian League, was effected. They then left for the Peloponnese and sent for Ser. Cornelius to Chalcis. A council was summoned to meet them at Argos. They only asked the Achaeans to furnish them with 1000 soldiers. These were sent to

garrison Chalcis until the Roman army landed in Greece. Having thus completed their business in Greece, Marcius and Atilius returned to Rome at the commencement of winter.

A commission was sent about the same time to visit Asia and the islands adjoining. The commissioners were Tiberius Claudius, Sp. Postumius and M. Junius. As they went about amongst the allies they urged them to join the Romans in the war against Perseus, and the wealthier and more powerful the state the greater attention they paid to it, since the smaller ones would be led by the greater. The Rhodians were regarded as the most important of all, because they were in a position to give not only moral support but material assistance. They had, acting on the advice of Hegesilochus, got forty ships ready for service. When he was acting as supreme magistrate−"prytanis" they call him−he had, after many speeches, induced the Rhodians to abandon all those hoses of support from monarchs, which had so often proved vain, and hold to the alliance with Rome, the only one in the whole world which they could depend on for strength and fidelity. A war with Perseus was imminent, the Romans would look for the same naval armament that they had seen lately in the war with Antiochus and in the previous war with Philip. Unless they began at once to refit their ships and provide them with crews, they would be in all the hurry and confusion of making their fleet ready for sea when it was to be actually sent off. It was all the more important that this should be done that they might give a practical proof of the falseness of the charges which Eumenes had brought against them. These arguments had their effect and when the Roman commissioners arrived they were shown a fleet of forty vessels quite ready for sea, a clear proof that they had not waited for the Romans to spur them on. The work of these commissioners in securing the support of the cities in Asia was of the utmost importance. Decimius alone returned without any success; he was widely suspected of having received bribes from Gentius and the Illyrian princes.

On his return to Macedonia, Perseus sent envoys to Rome to carry on the peace negotiations which he had begun with Marcius, and he gave them letters to take to Byzantium and Rhodes. The purport of the letters was the same for all, he had had an interview with the Roman commissioners. What he had heard and said was put in such a way as to make it appear that he had the best of the argument. In their address to the Rhodians, his envoys said that they were confident that there would be peace, for it was on the advice of Marcius and Atilius that they were sent to Rome. If the Romans in violation of the treaty proceeded to war, then the Rhodians must use all their influence and all their power to restore peace, but if their appeals proved fruitless, then they must make it their business to prevent the power and authority over the whole world from passing into the hands of one single nation. That was the concern of all the nations, but especially of the Rhodians, by how much the more they surpassed other nations in greatness and prosperity, but they would be enslaved and helpless if they paid no regard to any but the Romans. The letter and the address of the envoys received a favourable hearing, but they did not avail to make the Rhodians change their minds; the influence and authority of the better citizens prevailed. The answer which they decided to give was to the effect that the Rhodians wanted peace; if there was war, the king need not expect or ask for anything from them, since he was trying to break up the long−standing friendship between them and the Romans, a friendship which was the fruit of many valuable services rendered in both peace and war.

On their way back from Rhodes they visited some of the cities of Boeotia−Thebes, Coronea and Haliartus−which it was supposed had been forced against their will to abandon their alliance with Perseus and join the Romans. They made no impression on the Thebans, although there was a strong feeling amongst them against the Romans owing to the severe sentences passed on their leaders and the restoration of the exiles. But at Coronea and at Haliartus there was a kind of inborn affection for the dynasty, and they sent to Macedonia to ask for a garrison that they might protect themselves against the wanton aggression of Thebes. The king told them in reply that as there was an armistice between him and the Romans, he could not send any troops to them; still, he advised them to revenge any wrongs that the Thebans might inflict on them, but in such a way as not to give the Romans any pretext for venting their wrath on him.

On their return to Rome, Marcius and Atilius reported the results of their mission to the senate in the Capitol. The thing for which they took most credit to themselves was the way in which they had hoodwinked the king by

holding out hopes of peace. He was so fully provided with all the means of war, whilst they themselves had nothing ready, that all the strategic positions could have been occupied by him before their armies had landed in Greece. The interval of the armistice, however, would place them on equal terms, he would no longer have the advantage of preparation, the Romans would begin the war better equipped in every way. They had also succeeded by a clever stroke in breaking up the national council of Boeotia, they could never again be united in support of the Macedonians. A good many of the senators approved of these proceedings as showing very skilful management. The elder senators, however, and others who had not forgotten the moral standards of earlier days, said that they failed to recognise anything of the Roman character in these negotiations. "Our ancestors," they said, "did not conduct their wars by lurking in ambush and making attacks at night, nor by feigning flight and then turning back upon the enemy when he was off his guard. They did not pride themselves on cunning more than on true courage, it was their custom to declare war before commencing it, sometimes even to give the enemy notice of the time and place where they would fight. This sense of honour made them warn Pyrrhus against his physician, who was plotting against his life, it made them hand over to the Faliscans as a prisoner the betrayer of their children. This is the true Roman spirit, there is nothing here of the cunning of the Carthaginians or the cleverness of the Greeks, who pride themselves more in deceiving an enemy than in overcoming him in fair fight. Occasionally more can be gained for the time being by craft than by courage, but it is only when you have forced your enemy to confess that he has been overcome not by cleverness nor by accident, but after a fair trial of strength where the rules of war are properly observed−it is only then that his spirit is broken and his defeat a lasting one." Such were the views of the older senators, who regarded the new policy with disfavour, but the majority preferred expediency to honour and signified their approval of what Marcius had done. It was decided that he should be sent back to Greece with the fifty quinqueremes, and should be at full liberty to act as he thought best in the interest of the republic. A. Atilius was also sent to occupy Larisa in Thessaly, as there was the danger of Perseus sending a garrison there on the expiration of the armistice, and so keeping the capital of Thessaly under his power. Atilius sent for 2000 infantry from the army of Cnaeus Sicinius to hold the city. P. Lentulus, who had returned from Achaia, was supplied with 300 Italian troops to look after Thebes and overawe Boeotia.

These preliminary measures carried out, it was agreed that the senate should give audience to the king's envoys, although war was now definitely resolved upon. The envoys repeated almost the same arguments which the king had used in his conference with Marcius. Their answer to the charge of plotting against the life of Eumenes was the most laboured part of their speech and the one which made the least impression, for the facts were beyond dispute. The rest of their speech was apologetic and deprecatory, but their hearers refused to be either convinced or persuaded. They were warned to leave Rome at once and Italy within thirty days. The consul, P. Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, was warned to fix as early a day as possible for the assembling of his army. C. Lucretius, who had been put in command of the fleet, sailed from Rome with only forty quinqueremes, as it was decided that some of the refitted ships should be kept at the City for different purposes. He sent his brother Marcus with one quinquereme to take up the ships which the allies were bound by treaty to furnish and join the main fleet at Cephallania. One trireme was provided by Rhegium, two by Locri, and four came from the Sallentines of Uria. Sailing along the coast of Italy and round the furthest headland of Calabria, he crossed the Ionian Sea to Dyrrhachium. Here he obtained ten vessels from Dyrrhachium itself, twelve from Issa and fifty−four light vessels which belonged to Gentius and which M. Lucretius affected to believe had been got together for the use of the Romans. Carrying them all off, he reached Corcyra after a three days' voyage, and then went direct to Cephallania. C. Lucretius sailed from Naples and reached Cephallania in five days. Here the fleet anchored, waiting till the land army had crossed and the transports which had fallen out had rejoined.

It was now that the consul, P. Licinius, after offering up the prayers in the Capitol, rode out of the City wearing the paludamentum. This departure of the commander−in−chief was always invested with dignity and grandeur, but now especially all eyes and hearts were turned to the consul as they escorted him on his way to meet a powerful enemy whose reputation for courage and success was spread far and wide. It was not only to honour their chief magistrate that the citizens had collected together, but also to see the leader to whose wisdom and authority they had entrusted the supreme defence of the commonwealth. They thought of the chances of war, the caprice of Fortune, the risks and uncertainty of battle the defeats and successes of the past−defeats often incurred

by the ignorance and rashness of commanders, successes again won by skill and courage. Who of mortal men could know the capability of the consul whom they were sending to war or the fortune which would attend him? Would they presently see him with his victorious army going up to the Capitol in triumphal procession to do homage to those deities from whom he is now departing, or are those deities going to allow that happiness to the enemy? The enemy, again, whom he was going to meet was the far−famed Perseus, the king of the Macedonians, a nation distinguished in war, and the son of Philip, who amongst his many victories had even in the war with Rome added to his reputation. Ever since he ascended the throne, the name of Perseus was continually on men's lips as they spoke of the coming war. With these thoughts in their minds men of all sorts and conditions attended the departure of the consul. C. Claudius and Q. Mucius, ex−consuls and now military tribunes, were sent with him, and three young nobles, P. Lentulus, and the two Acidini, one the son of Marcus and the other the son of Lucius Manlius. The consul joined his army at Brundisium and sailing with his whole force to Nymphaeum fixed his camp in the neighbourhood of Apollonia.

A few days before this, after the return of his envoys had dashed his hopes of peace, Perseus held a council of war. Opposing views led to considerable discussion. Some thought that they ought to consent to pay an indemnity if it was imposed upon them, or cede a portion of their territory if this were insisted on; in fact, whatever sacrifice was necessary for the sake of peace ought to be made, and no step taken which would expose the king and his subjects to the hazard of fortune where such vital issues were involved. If he were left in the certain possession of the crown, many things might happen in the future which would enable him not only to recover what he had lost, but even to become formidable to those of whom he now stood in fear. The majority, however, were much more defiant. Any concessions made, they declared, would involve the loss of the kingdom. The Romans were not in need of money or territory, but this they knew, that while all human affairs were liable to many accidents, kingdoms and empires were especially so. They had shattered the power of the Carthaginians and saddled them with a very powerful monarch to keep them down. They had sent Antiochus and his posterity into banishment beyond the Taurus mountains. The kingdom of Macedonia alone remained, a near neighbour and ready, whenever Rome lost the good fortune she once enjoyed, to animate the kings of Macedonia with their ancient courage. Whilst, therefore, his realm was still intact, Perseus must decide between two alternatives. Either he must be prepared to strip himself of all his power, by making one concession after another, and, driven from his kingdom into exile, must beg the Romans to allow him Samothrace or some other island, where, having outlived his kingship, he might grow old in privacy, disgrace and poverty; or else vindicate his fortunes and his dignity in arms, and confront as a brave man ought to do all that the chances of war can bring, and if victorious, deliver the world from its subjection to Rome. The expulsion of the Romans from Greece would not be a more wonderful thing than the expulsion of Hannibal from Italy. They could not see how he who had resisted his brother to the uttermost in his unlawful attempt to seize the crown could with any consistency resign it to men of alien blood. The question between peace and war can only arise so far as all are agreed that as there is nothing more disgraceful than to surrender the throne without striking a blow, so there is nothing more glorious than for a king to face all risks in defence of his sovereign dignity and majesty.

This council was held at Pella, the capital of Macedonia. "Let us then," said Perseus, "wage war with the help of the gods, since thus you decide." Written orders were despatched to all his generals and he assembled the whole of his forces at Citium, a town in Macedonia. After sacrificing in regal style one hundred victims to Minerva, whom they call Alcidemos, he set out for Citium, accompanied by a number of court nobles and his bodyguard. The whole of the army, both Macedonians and auxiliaries, were assembled there. The camp was fixed in front of the city and he drew up all his soldiers in the plain. The total number of those who bore arms was 43,000, nearly half of whom formed the phalanx; Hippias of Beroea was in command. Out of the whole force of caetrati, 2000 men in the prime of strength and manhood were selected to form a body known as the "agema," their commanders were Leonnatus and Thrasippus. Antiphilus of Edessa was in command of the rest of the caetrati, numbering about 3000 men. The Paeonians and the contingents from Paroria and Parstrymonia, places in the lowlands of Thrace, and the Agrianes, including some Thracian immigrants, made up a force of about 3000. They had been armed and mustered by Didas the Paeonian, the murderer of the young Demetrius. There were also 2000 Gauls under Asclepiodotus, a native of Heraclea in Sintice. Three thousand "free" Thracians had their own leader, and

about the same number of Cretans followed their own generals, Susus of Phalasarna and Syllus of Gnossus. Leonides the Lacedaemonian was at the head of a mixed force of Greeks. He was said to be of royal blood, and after his letter to Perseus had been seized, had been sentenced to banishment in a full council of the Achaeans. The Aetolians and Boeotians, who, all told, did not amount to more than 500 men, were under the command of Lyco, an Achaean. Out of these contingents drawn from so many people and tribes, a force of about 12,000 men was formed. Perseus had collected 3000 cavalry out of the whole of Macedonia. Cotys, the son of Suthis and king of the Odrysae, had come in with a picked force of 1000 horse and about the same number of infantry. Thus the total number of the army was 39,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. It was generally admitted that, next to the army which Alexander the Great had led into Asia, no Macedonian king had ever possessed so large a force.

It was six−and−twenty years since the peace which Philip sought had been vouchsafed to him. During all that time Macedonia had been undisturbed and a new generation had grown up, ripe for military service, and in the small wars with their Thracian neighbours, which exercised rather than exhausted them, they had been constantly trained and disciplined. The prospect of a war with Rome, which had during the whole period been cherished by Philip and then by Perseus, had led to everything being in a state of readiness and efficiency. The army performed a few movements, not as regular maneuvers, but simply in order to avoid the appearance of only standing under arms. Perseus then called them, armed as they were, to stand round on parade, and ascended the tribunal with his two sons by his side; the elder one, Philip, his brother by birth, his son by adoption, the younger one, Alexander, his son by birth. He exhorted his soldiers to show their courage in the war, and enumerated the injuries which the Romans had inflicted on his father and on himself. His father had been compelled by all the indignities he had suffered to resume hostilities; in the midst of his preparations he had been struck down by fate. The Romans sent envoys to him (Perseus) to open negotiations and at the same time sent soldiers to occupy the cities of Greece. Then the winter was wasted over a conference, ostensibly to bring about a peaceful settlement, but really to give them time to make their preparations. Now the consul was coming with two Roman legions, each with its complement of 300 cavalry and contingents furnished by the allies of about the same strength. Even if the troops sent by Eumenes and Masinissa were counted in, there would not be more than 7000 infantry and 2000 cavalry. The king proceeded: "You have heard what the strength of the enemy is; now look at your own army, its superiority in numbers and in the quality of the soldiers as compared with the raw conscripts hastily embodied for this war, soldiers who have from their boyhood been trained in the school of war, disciplined and hardened by so many campaigns. Lydians, Phrygians and Numidians are furnishing troops for the Romans; we have on our side the Thracians, and the most warlike of all nations the Gauls. Their arms are just what each poverty−stricken soldier has provided himself with; you Macedonians are supplied from the royal arsenal with arms manufactured through all those years under my father's direction and at his cost. Their supplies will have to be brought from a distance and will be exposed to all the chances and accidents of the sea; we have for ten years been storing up money and corn in addition to the revenue from the mines. Everything which has been provided by the kindness of heaven or by the care and forethought of their king, the Macedonians have in full and overflowing measure. You must have the courage which your ancestors had when after subjugating the whole of Europe they crossed over to Asia and opened up by their arms an unknown world, and never ceased to conquer until they were hemmed in by the purple ocean and there was nothing more to conquer. Ay, but now it is not for the remotest shores of India but for the possession of Macedonia that Fortune has called us to this contest. When the Romans were at war with my father they put forward the specious pretext that they were liberating Greece, now they are openly aiming at the enslavement of Macedonia in order that Rome may have no monarch on its borders, no nation glorious in war retaining possession of its arms. These must be surrendered to your haughty and domineering masters, and your king and kingdom as well, if you are willing to lay aside all thoughts of war and execute their commands."

There had been frequent bursts of applause all through the speech, but at this point such a shout of indignation and defiance arose, and encouraging cheers for the king, that he brought his speech to a close, only adding that they must be prepared to march, as there was a report that the Romans were already advancing from Nymphaeum. When the troops were dismissed he proceeded to give audience to the deputations from the Macedonian cities who had made offers of money and corn, each according to their ability. He thanked them all, and excused them

from making any contribution as the royal stores were sufficient for all requirements. He only requested them to furnish wagons to carry the artillery, the enormous quantity of missiles that had been got ready, and other apparatus of war. He now set forward with the whole of his army in the direction of Eordaea, and encamped by Lake Begorritis. The next day he reached the Haliacmon in Elimea. From there he crossed the Cambunian Mountains through a narrow pass and came down to Azorus, Pythoum and Doliche; the natives call these three towns the Tripolis. Here he met with a short delay because they had given hostages to the Larisaeans; in face, however, of the danger threatening them, they made their surrender. He accepted their submission graciously, feeling quite sure that Perrhaebia would do the same. The inhabitants made no show of resistance and he captured the city as soon as he arrived there. Cyretia he was forced to attack, and was actually repulsed in the first day's assault by a vigorous charge of armed men from the gates. The next day he attacked in full strength, and before night received the submission of the entire population.

Mylae, the next town he came to, was so strongly fortified that confidence in the impregnability of their walls made the townsmen defiant; they were not content to close their gates to the king, they even hurled taunts and insults upon him and the Macedonians. This made their enemy all the more furious in the assault, and the citizens, despairing of pardon, were all the more resolute in their defence. So for three days the city was attacked, with the utmost determination on both sides. The vast numbers of the Macedonians made it easy for them to take their turn in the fighting; the same defenders had to guard the walls night and day, and were becoming exhausted not only by their many wounds, but also by want of sleep and incessant exertion. On the fourth day, while the scaling−ladders were being raised against the walls and the gate was being attacked with greater violence than usual, the townsmen, after driving the danger from the walls, ran down to defend the gate and made a sudden sortie. This was due more to impetuosity and rage than to any well−grounded confidence in their strength and, reduced as they were in numbers and with weary and worn−out bodies, they were repulsed by the enemy who was fresh and vigorous. They turned and fled, and in their flight through the open gate let in the enemy. In this way the city was taken and sacked; even the free population, as many as survived, were sold as slaves.

After wrecking and burning most of the city, Perseus marched on to Phalanna, and on the following day arrived at Gyrto. On learning that T. Minucius Rufus and the Thessalian captain−general Hippias had entered this place with a body of troops he did not even attempt an assault, but marched past it and captured Elatia and Gonnus, the inhabitants being utterly dismayed by his unlooked−for appearance. Both towns are situated at the entrance to the Vale of Tempe, Gonnus lying further within. He garrisoned it with a strong force of infantry and cavalry, and in addition left it defended with a triple moat and rampart. Marching on to Sycurium he decided to await the enemy there and ordered the army to collect corn in all parts of the hostile territory. Sycurium is at the foot of Mount Ossa on the south side, it overlooks the plains of Thessaly; behind it lie Macedonia and Magnesia. In addition to these advantages it possesses a perfectly healthy climate and a perennial supply of water which flows in abundance from the many springs round.

During this time the Roman consul was on his way with his army to Thessaly. Whilst marching through Epirus he found the country clear and open, but when he had crossed the frontiers of Athamania he had to advance over rough and almost impassable ground. It was with the utmost difficulty and by short marches that he struggled through to Gomphi. If with horses and men knocked up and an army of recruits he had been met by the king with a couple of hundred men in order of battle, at a time and place of his own choosing, the Romans themselves do not deny that they would have suffered a terrible defeat. After Gomphi was reached without any fighting, there was not only rejoicing at having surmounted a dangerous pass, but also a feeling of contempt for an enemy who was so blind to his advantages. After duly performing the sacrifices and giving out corn to the soldiers, the consul stayed there a few days to rest both man and beast. On learning that the Macedonians were dispersed far and wide devastating the fields of his allies, he led his soldiers, who were now sufficiently refreshed, towards Larisa. When about three miles from the place he fixed his camp at Tripolis−the natives call it Scaea−on the Peneus. Eumenes arrived at this time with his ships at Chalcis. He was accompanied by his brothers Attalus and Athenaeus, the other brother, Philetaerus, being left at Pergamum to protect the kingdom. From Chalcis he went with Attalus and a force of 4000 infantry and 1000 cavalry to join the consul, 2000 infantry being left in Chalcis under the

command of Athenaeus. Other contingents came in from all the Greek States, most of them so small that they have passed into oblivion. Apollonia sent 300 cavalry and 100 infantry; the cavalry from the whole of Aetolia made up one division, and the Thessalians, who it was hoped would send their entire force, had not more than 300 cavalry in the Roman camp. The Achaeans furnished 1500 fighting men, mostly armed in the Cretan fashion.

C. Lucretius, commanding the fleet at Cephallania, sent instructions to his brother Marcus to take his ships past the Malean promontory to Chalcis. He himself went on board a trireme and made for the Gulf of Corinth with the view of controlling the position in Boeotia. His progress was somewhat slow owing to the state of his health. When M. Lucretius brought up at Chalcis he learnt that Haliartus was being attacked by P. Lentulus, and he sent a message ordering him in the praetor's name to raise the siege. He had commenced operations with those Boeotian troops who were on the side of the Romans, and now he retired from the walls. The abandonment of this attack left the ground free for another; M. Lucretius at once invested the place with a force of 10,000 marines and 2000 of the troops under Athenaeus. Whilst they were getting ready for the assault the praetor appeared on the scene from Creusa. The ships furnished by the allies were now assembled at Chalcis−two Punic quinqueremes, two triremes from the Pontic Heraclea, four from Chalcedon, the same number from Samos and also five Rhodian quadriremes. As there was no naval war, the praetor sent the vessels back to the various allies. Q. Marcius also arrived at Chalcis with his fleet, after capturing Alope and storming Larisa Cremaste. While this was the position of affairs in Boeotia, Perseus, as stated above, was encamped at Sycurium. After he had collected corn from all the country round he sent a detachment to ravage the fields of Pherae, in the hope that as the Romans were drawn further from their base to help the cities of their allies he might be able to surprise them. As, however, he found that they were in no way disturbed by his sudden movements, he distributed the plunder, including some prisoners, amongst the soldiers; as it consisted mainly of cattle it provided them with a feast.

The consul and the king both held councils of war at the same time, to decide where to commence operations. The Macedonians had grown bolder after they found that the enemy allowed them to ravage the Pheraean country without offering any resistance, and they thought they ought to go straight up to the Roman camp and give their enemy no room for further delay. The Romans, on the other hand, felt that their inactivity was damaging their prestige with their allies, and they were particularly disgusted at no help having been given to the Pheraeans. Whilst they were deliberating what steps to take−Eumenes and Attalus were both present−a messenger came in hot haste to say that the enemy were approaching in great force. The council at once broke up and the signal was given for the soldiers to arm. A hundred cavalry and the same number of slingers were in the meanwhile sent forward to reconnoitre. It was about the fourth hour of the day, and when he was little more than a mile distant from the Roman camp, Perseus ordered the infantry to halt whilst he himself rode forward with the cavalry and light infantry; Cotys also and the commanders of the other auxiliaries rode forward with him. They were within half a mile of the camp when they caught sight of the enemy cavalry. There were two troops, largely made up of Gauls, under Cassignatus, and about 150 light infantry, partly Mysian, partly Cretan. The king halted, uncertain as to the enemy's strength. Then he sent on from the main body two squadrons of Thracian and two of Macedonian horse, together with two Cretan and two Thracian cohorts. As the two sides were equal in point of numbers, and no fresh troops came up on either side, the engagement ended in a drawn battle. About thirty of Eumenes' men were killed, amongst them Cassignatus, the Gaulish commander. Perseus then took his force back to Sycurium. The next day the king marched them to the same spot, and at the same hour. This time they were followed by water carts, for on their twelve miles' march they were without water and smothered in dust; it was quite clear that if they had to fight as soon as they came in view of the enemy, they would do so whilst suffering from thirst. The Romans retired their outposts within their lines and remained quiet, whereupon the king's troops returned to camp. They did this for several days, hoping that the Roman cavalry would attack their rear during their withdrawal, whilst they were at a considerable distance from their own camp) then the king's troops, who were superior in cavalry and light infantry, would turn and face the enemy wherever they were.

As he had not succeeded in his attempt to draw the Romans, the king moved his camp to within a distance of five miles from the enemy. At dawn the infantry were drawn up on the same ground as before and the whole of the cavalry and light infantry marched towards the Roman camp. The sight of a cloud of dust, larger and nearer than

usual, created some excitement amongst the Romans. At first the news was hardly credited because on all previous occasions the enemy had never appeared before the fourth hour of the day, and now it was sunrise. When all doubt was dispelled by the many shouts and men running from the gates there was great confusion. The military tribunes, the officers of the allied troops and the centurions hurried to the headquarters tent; the soldiers ran to their own tents. Perseus had drawn up his men less than a mile and a half from the Roman lines round a hill called Callinicus. Cotys commanded the left wing with the whole of his native troops, the light infantry being disposed between the ranks of the cavalry. On the right were the Macedonian cavalry, the Cretans being intermixed with them in the same way. This body was under the command of Midon of Beroea; the supreme command of the whole cavalry force was in the hands of Meno of Antigonea. Flanking the two wings were the king's cavalry and a mixed body of auxiliaries drawn from different nationalities. Patrocles and Didas were in charge of these troops. In the centre of the whole line was the king surrounded by the "agema" and the troops of the "sacred" cavalry. In front of these he posted the slingers and javelin men, 400 in all, under the command of Ion and Neoptolemus. The consul formed his infantry into line inside the rampart, and sent out the whole of the cavalry and light infantry; they were drawn up in front of the rampart. The right wing was commanded by the consul's brother Caius, and comprised the whole of the Italian cavalry with the velites interspersed among them. On the left M. Valerius Laevinus had the cavalry and light infantry from the various cities in Greece. The centre was held by Quintus Mucius with a picked body of volunteer cavalry. On their front were posted 200 Gaulish troopers and 300 Cyrtians from the auxiliary troops brought by Eumenes; 400 Thessalian cavalry were drawn up a short distance beyond the Roman left. Attalus and Eumenes took ground with the whole of their force in the rear between the hindmost rank and the rampart.

In this formation the two armies, almost equally matched in the numbers of their cavalry and light infantry, engaged. The battle was begun by the slingers and javelin men, who were in front of the whole line. First of all the Thracians, like wild beasts kept in cages and suddenly released, set up a deafening roar and charged the Italian cavalry on the right wing with such fury that, in spite of their experience of war and their native fearlessness, they threw them into disorder. The infantry on both sides snapped the lances of the cavalry with their swords, cut at the legs of the horses and stabbed them in the flanks. Perseus, charging the centre, dislodged the Greeks at the first onslaught, and pressed heavily upon them as they fell back. The Thessalian cavalry had been in reserve, a little distance from the extreme left, outside the fighting and simply watching it, but when the day began to go against them they were of the greatest use. For by slowly retiring, and keeping their ranks unbroken, they formed a junction with Eumenes' troops, and so afforded a safe retreat within their united ranks to the allied cavalry as they fled in disorder. As the enemy slackened in the pursuit they even ventured to advance and protected many of the fugitives whom they met. The king's troops, separated by the pursuit in all directions, did not venture to come to close quarters with men who were keeping their formation and advancing in a steady line. The king, victorious in this cavalry action, shouted to his men that if they gave him a little more help the war would be over, and very opportunely for his own encouragement and that of his men, the phalanx appeared on the scene. Hippias and Leonnatus, hearing of the success of the cavalry, had hastily brought it up on their own initiative, that they might take their part in an action so daringly begun. The king was hovering between hope and fear at attempting so great a task, when Euander the Cretan, who had been his instrument in the attempt upon Eumenes' life at Delphi, ran up to him. He had seen the massed infantry advancing with their standards, and he solemnly warned the king not to be so elated by his good fortune as to stake everything upon a chance which there was no necessity for him to risk. If he would be contented with what he had gained and kept quiet for the day he would have peace with honour, or if he preferred war, he would have very many allies who would follow his fortunes. The king was more inclined to this course, so after thanking Euander for his advice, he ordered the standards to be reversed, the infantry to march back to camp and the "retire" to be sounded for the cavalry.

On that day there fell on the side of the Romans 200 cavalry and not less than 2000 infantry; about 600 were made prisoners. Out of the king's army 20 cavalry and 40 infantry were killed. On their return to camp the victors were all in high spirits, but the Thracians surpassed all in the insolence of their joy. They returned to camp singing and carrying the heads of their enemies fixed on their spears. Amongst the Romans there was not only grief at their defeat, but a fear lest the enemy should make a sudden attack on the camp. Eumenes urged the consul to

transfer the camp to the opposite bank of the Peneus, that they might have the protection of the river until the shaken soldiers could recover their morale. The consul felt bitterly the disgrace of admitting that he was afraid, but yielding to reason, he took the troops across in the dead of night and entrenched himself on the further bank. The next day the king marched up to provoke his enemy to battle. When he noticed their camp safely fixed across the river he owned that he was wrong in not pressing upon his foe the day before, but still more so in remaining inactive through the night, for had he sent only his light infantry against the enemy during the confusion caused by the passage of the river, their force would to a large extent have been wiped out. Now that their camp was in a safe position the Romans were relieved from the danger of an immediate attack, but they were much depressed, especially at their loss of prestige. In the council at the headquarters tent, each in turn threw the blame on the Aetolians, it was with them that the panic and flight began, and the rest of the Greek contingents followed the example of the Aetolians. Five Aetolian officers, said to have been the first who were seen to turn their backs on the enemy, were sent to Rome. The Thessalians were commended before the whole army and their leaders were rewarded for their bravery.

The spoils taken from the fallen were brought to the king. These he gave to his soldiers; to some splendid armour, to others horses, and to some prisoners. There were over 1500 shields, the cuirasses and coats of mail numbered more than 1000, the helmets, swords, and missiles of all kinds were much more numerous. The value of these gifts, ample and welcome as they were, was enhanced by the speech which the king made to his army. "You have pronounced," he said, "upon the issue of the war. The best part of the Roman army, their cavalry, who used to boast that they were invincible, have been routed by you. Their cavalry are the flower of their youth, the nursery of their senate, the men whose fathers are chosen as consuls, from whom their commanders are selected; these are the men whose spoils we have now distributed amongst you. And no less a victory have you won over their infantry, those legions who, withdrawn from your reach in a nocturnal flight, filled the river with confusion and disorder like shipwrecked men swimming for their lives. The passage of the Peneus will be easier for us, the pursuers, than it was for them in their haste to get away, and as soon as we have crossed we shall attack their camp, which we should have taken today if they had not fled. Or if they are willing to fight in the open field, look for the same result in an infantry battle which you have seen in the cavalry action." Those who had taken part in the victory and were carrying the enemy's spoils on their shoulders listened eagerly to the recital of their exploits and formed their hopes of the future from what had already happened. The infantry, too, especially the men of the phalanx, were fired by the glory which their comrades had won, and looked forward to the opportunity of doing their king signal service and winning equal glory from their vanquished foe. The soldiers were dismissed, and the next day he marched away and fixed his camp at Mopselus. This is a hill situated at the entrance of the Vale of Tempe and commands a wide view of the plain of Larisa.

The Romans without quitting the river moved their camp into a safer position. Whilst they were there Misagenes the Numidian came in with 1000 cavalry, the same number of infantry and 22 elephants. The king was holding a council to decide upon the future conduct of the war, and as his exultation over his victory had cooled down, some of his friends ventured to give him advice. They argued that it would be better for him to take advantage of his good fortune by securing an honourable peace than to buoy himself up with idle hopes and so expose himself to chances that might be irrevocable. To set a measure to one's prosperity and not to place too much confidence in the smiling fortune of the hour is the part of a wise man who has achieved a deserved success. Let him send men to the consul with powers to make fresh proposals for peace on the same terms on which his father Philip had accepted peace from the victorious T. Quinctius. There could be no grander close to the war than the late memorable battle and no surer grounds for hopes of a lasting peace than those which would make the Romans, disheartened as they were by their defeat, ready to come to terms. If the Romans should then, with their inbred stubbornness, reject fair terms, gods and men would alike bear witness to the moderation of Perseus and the invincible arrogance of the Romans.

The king never disliked advice of this character, and this policy was approved by the majority of the council. The deputation to the consul were received in audience in a full council. They asked for peace, and promised that Perseus would give the Romans the amount of tribute which had been agreed upon with his father. Such were

their instructions. In the discussion which followed on their withdrawal Roman firmness won the day. It was the custom in those days to wear the look of prosperity in adverse circumstances, and to curb and restrain the feelings in a time of prosperity. The reply decided upon was that peace would be granted only on the condition that the king placed himself entirely in the hands of the senate and allowed it the unrestricted right of determining his future and that of Macedonia. When the report of the deputation became known, those who were unacquainted with the Roman character regarded it as an astounding exhibition of obstinacy and any further allusion to peace was generally forbidden. Those, they said, who spurn the peace now offered will soon come to ask for it. It was this very obstinacy that Perseus was afraid of; he looked upon it as due to a confidence in their strength, and on the chance of being able to purchase peace at a price, persisted in his attempts to bribe the consul by constantly increasing the sum offered. As the consul adhered to his first reply Perseus despaired of peace and returned to Sycurium, prepared to face the hazards of war once more.

The news of the battle spread through Greece, and in the way it was received the hopes and sympathies of men were disclosed. Not only the open supporters of Macedonia, but most of those who were under the greatest obligations to Rome, some having experienced the violence and tyranny of Perseus, were delighted at hearing it for no other reason than that morbid eagerness which a mob watching gymnastic contests displays in favour of the weaker and more disreputable competitor. In Boeotia meanwhile Lucretius was pressing the siege of Haliartus with the utmost vigour. Although the besieged neither had nor hoped for any outside help beyond the troops from Coronea who had entered the walls at the beginning of the siege, they kept up their resistance more by courage and resolution than by actual strength. They frequently made sorties against the siege works and when a battering−ram was brought up they at one time . . . at another they forced it to the ground by lowering a mass of lead upon it. If they were unable to divert the blows they replaced the old wall by a new one which they hastily built up with the stones of the fallen wall. As the progress of the siege works was too slow, the praetor ordered the scaling−ladders to be distributed among the maniples as he intended to deliver a simultaneous assault all round the walls. His numbers, he considered, would suffice for this, as there would be no advantage in attacking that side of the city which was surrounded by a swamp, nor would it be possible to do so. At a point where two towers and the wall between them had been battered down he brought up a picked force of 2000 men in order that while he was forcing his way through the breach, and the defenders were massing together to oppose him, some portion of the walls might be left unmanned and so successfully scaled. The townsmen were not slow in preparing to meet him. On the ground covered by the ruins of the wall they heaped up faggots of brushwood, and standing on these with burning torches in their hands they were preparing to set the mass on fire in order that, shut off from the enemy by the conflagration, they might have time to throw up another wall inside. They were accidentally prevented from executing this plan. Such a heavy shower of rain suddenly fell that it was hardly possible to kindle the brushwood, and when it was alight the fire was extinguished. A passage was effected by dragging the smoking faggots out of the way, and as all had turned their attention to defending this one spot, the walls were scaled in many places. In the first confusion of the captured city the old men and boys whom they chanced to meet were killed. The combatants took shelter in the citadel, and as all hope was now lost they surrendered, and were sold as slaves. There were about 2500 of them. The adornments of the city, the statues and paintings and all the valuable plunder were placed on shipboard and the place was razed to its foundations. From there the army marched to Thebes, which was captured without any fighting, and the consul handed the city over to the refugees and the Roman party. The households and property of the other party, who had worked in the interests of the king and were Macedonian sympathisers, were sold.

During these incidents in Boeotia, Perseus remained for several days in camp at Sycurium. Here he heard that the Romans were busy cutting and carrying off the corn from the fields and that the men were all in front of their tents cutting off the ears with their sickles that they might rub the corn cleaner, and littering all the camp with great heaps of straw. This seemed to him a good opportunity for firing the camp, and he gave orders for torches of pinewood and bundles of tow covered with pitch to be got ready. He started at midnight, intending to take the enemy unawares at daybreak. All to no purpose. The advanced posts were surprised and their shouts and tumult gave the alarm to the rest. The signal was given to arm instantly for battle and the soldiers were immediately formed up at the gates and on the rampart. His design on the camp having failed, Perseus countermarched his

army and directed the baggage to lead the way, and the standards of the infantry to follow. He himself waited with his cavalry and light infantry to close the column, expecting, as proved to be the case, that the enemy would follow and harass his rear. There was some desultory fighting on the part of the light infantry, mainly with the skirmishers; the cavalry and infantry returned to camp without disorder.

When the standing corn was cut all round their camp, the Romans moved on to Crannon, where the fields were yet untouched. Here they remained encamped for some time as they were secure against attack, owing partly to the distance from Sycurium and partly to the difficulty of obtaining water on the road from that place. Suddenly, one morning at daybreak, they were greatly excited at seeing the king's cavalry and light infantry on a range of hills overlooking the camp. These had started from Sycurium at noon the day before, and just before dawn left the infantry behind on the nearest level ground. Perseus halted for some time on the hills, thinking that the Romans might be drawn into a cavalry action. As they made no movement, he sent a trooper with orders to the infantry to march back to Sycurium, and in a short time rode after them. The Roman cavalry followed at a moderate interval to pick up stragglers. When they saw the massed infantry marching off in unbroken ranks, they too returned to camp.

The distance he had to march annoyed the king and he advanced his camp to Mopselus. The Romans, having cut all the standing corn round Crannon, moved into the district of Phalanna. The king learnt from a deserter that the Romans were dispersed over the country, cutting the corn, without any remaining on guard. He started off with 1000 cavalry and 2000 Thracian and Cretan light infantry. Marching with the utmost possible speed he attacked the Romans when they were least expecting it. Nearly 1000 carts most of them loaded, were captured with their teams, and also 600 prisoners taken. He gave the plunder to the Cretans to escort back to their camp. Then he recalled the cavalry and the rest of the infantry, who were everywhere slaughtering the enemy, and led them against the nearest detachment who were on guard, thinking to overwhelm them without much trouble. A military tribune, L. Pomponius, was in command of the detachment and withdrew his men, who were dismayed by the sudden appearance of the enemy, to a hill near by, to serve as a defensive position since he was inferior in numbers and strength. Here he made his soldiers close up in a circular formation, with their shields touching one another, so that they might be protected from the arrows and javelins.

Perseus surrounded the hill with his troops and ordered one body to attempt the ascent of the hill and come to close quarters with the enemy, whilst the others discharged their missiles from a distance. The Romans were in very great danger, for they could not fight in close order against those who were struggling up the hill, and if they left their ranks and ran forward they were exposed to the javelins and arrows. They suffered mainly from the cestrosphendons, a novel kind of weapon invented during the war. It consisted of a pointed iron head two palms long, fastened to a shaft made of pinewood, nine inches long and as thick as a man's finger. Round the shaft three feathers were fastened as in the case of arrows, and the sling was held by two thongs, one shorter than the other. When the missile was poised in the centre of the sling, the slinger whirled it round with great force and it flew out like a leaden bullet. Many of the soldiers were wounded by these and by missiles of all kinds, and they were becoming so exhausted that they were hardly capable of holding their weapons. Seeing this, the king urged them to surrender and pledged his word for their safety and promised to reward them. Not a single man had any thought of surrender. They had made up their minds to die, when an unlooked−for gleam of hope appeared. Some of the foragers, who had fled to the camp, informed the consul that the detachment on guard was surrounded. Alarmed for the safety of so many fellow−citizens−there were about 800, all Romans−he sallied forth from the camp with a force of cavalry and infantry, including the new reinforcement of Numidian horse and foot, as well as the elephants. The order was given to the military tribunes to follow with the legionaries. Bringing up the velites to stiffen the auxiliary light infantry, he went forward to the hill. Eumenes, Attalus and Misagenes, the Numidian leader, rode by his side.

As soon as they caught sight of the leading files of their comrades, the spirits of the Romans revived from the depths of despair. Perseus should have made up his mind after capturing and killing several of the foragers to content himself with this chance success, and not wasted time in beleaguering the detachment. Or if he did

attempt that he ought to have left the field while he could do so safely, as he knew he had no heavy infantry with him. Elated with his success he waited till the enemy appeared, and then sent a hurried message to bring up the phalanx. It was too late to do this now. The phalanx, hastily brought into action and disarranged by the speed of its advance, had to meet troops in proper formation and ready for battle. The consul, who was first on the ground, at once engaged the enemy. For a short time the Macedonians held their own, but they were completely outmatched, and with a loss of 300 infantry and 24 of the select cavalry of the "sacred cohort," including their commander Antimachus, they attempted to leave the field. But there was almost more turmoil on their return march than in the battle itself. The phalanx, called up so hurriedly, marched off with equal haste, but where the road narrowed they met the troop of prisoners and the carts loaded with corn, and were brought to a standstill. There was great excitement and uproar; no one would wait until the troops of the phalanx could make their way through; the soldiers threw the carts over the cliff, the only way of clearing the road, and the animals were lashed till they charged madly among the crowd. Hardly had they got clear of the column of prisoners when they met the king and his discomfited cavalry, who shouted to them to face about and march back. This created a commotion almost as great as the crash of a falling house; if the enemy had continued the pursuit and ventured into the pass, there might have been a terrible disaster. The consul, satisfied with this slight success, recalled the detachment from the hill and returned to camp. According to some authorities, a great battle was fought that day, 8000 of the enemy slain, amongst them two of the king's generals, Sopater and Antipater, 2800 made prisoners, and 27 military standards captured. Nor was the victory a bloodless one. Above 4300 fell in the consul's army, and 5 standards belonging to the left wing lost.

This day revived the spirits of the Romans and depressed Perseus, so much so that after staying a few days longer at Mopselus, mainly to see to the burial of the men he had lost, he placed a sufficiently strong garrison in Gonnus and withdrew his troops into Macedonia. One of the royal governors, Timotheus, was left with a small force at Phila with instructions to try and win over the Magnetes whilst he was in their neighbourhood. On reaching Pella, Perseus sent his army into winter quarters and then went with Cotys to Thessalonica. News reached him there that Autlebis, a Thracian chief, and Corragus, an officer of Eumenes, had invaded the dominions of Cotys and occupied a district called Marene. He felt that he ought to release Cotys and let him go and defend his kingdom. On his departure he bestowed valuable presents on him. To his cavalry he only doled out 200 talents, half a year's pay, though at first he had agreed to give them a year's stipend.

When the consul heard that Perseus had gone he marched up to Gonnus on the chance of getting possession of the town. This place lies at the entrance to the Vale of Tempe, and forms a secure barrier against the invasion of Macedonia from that side, while it affords a convenient descent for the Macedonians into Thessaly. As the citadel, owing to its position and the strength of its garrison, was impregnable, the consul abandoned the attempt. Turning his route towards Perrhaebia he took Malloea at the first assault and sacked the town. After securing Tripolis and the other places in Perrhaebia he returned to Larisa. Eumenes and Attalus went home, and the consul settled Misagenes and his Numidians in the nearest cities of Thessaly. Part of his army he distributed amongst all the cities of Thessaly, that they might have comfortable winter quarters and serve as garrisons for the cities. Q. Mucius was sent with 2000 men to hold Ambracia, and the consul disbanded all the troops from the friendly States of Greece, except the Achaeans. Advancing with a part of his army into Achaean Phthiotis he razed to its foundations the city of Pteleum, from which the inhabitants had fled, and accepted the voluntary surrender of Antronae. Then he brought his army up to Larisa. The city was empty; all the population had taken refuge in the citadel, and he commenced an attack upon it. The king's garrison of Macedonians had first left the place through fear, and the townsmen, thus deserted, at once surrendered. He now hesitated whether to attack Demetrias or examine the position in Boeotia. The Thebans, owing to the trouble given them by the Coronaeans, were asking hum to come to their assistance. In compliance with their request and also because it was more suitable for winter quarters than Magnesia, he led his army into Boeotia.

Book 42. The Third Macedonian War−Continued

During this summer the commander whom the consul had sent into Illyria attacked two wealthy and prosperous towns. Cerenia was forced into surrender and he allowed the inhabitants to retain their possessions, hoping by this example of his clemency to induce the people of the strongly fortified city Carnuns to go over to him. He was unable, however, either to compel them to surrender or to take the place by siege, and in order that the fatigues which his men had undergone in the two sieges might bring them some return, he sacked the city which he had previously left unmolested. The other consul, who had had Gaul assigned to him, C. Cassius, did nothing worth mentioning there and tried, unsuccessfully however, to lead his legions through Illyria into Macedonia. The senate heard of his proposed expedition through a deputation sent from Aquileia. They explained that theirs was a new colony and not yet in a satisfactory state of defence, lying as it did between two hostile nations, the Histri and the Illyrians. They asked the senate to consider how the colony could be protected. On the question being put to them whether they would like that matter to be entrusted to the consul C. Cassius, they replied that he had ordered his army to Aquileia and had started through Illyria for Macedonia,−the thing was at first thought incredible, and the senators all supposed that he had probably commenced hostilities against the Carni or the Histri. Then the Aquileians observed that they knew nothing further and would not venture to assert anything more than that corn for thirty days had been given to the soldiers and that guides who knew the routes from Italy to Macedonia had been found and taken with the army. The senate were intensely indignant at the consul's having dared to take so much upon him as to abandon his own province and trespass upon that of another, leading his army by an unknown and perilous route through strange tribes, and opening up the way for so many nations into Italy. They made a decree in a crowded House that the praetor C. Sulpicius should select three members of the senate who were to start that very day and, making their way as speedily as possible, find the consul wherever he was, and warn him not to make a hostile move against any nation without the authorisation of the senate. The commissioners selected were M. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Fulvius and P. Marcius Rex. Fears for the consul and the army prevented for the time any attention being given to the fortification of Aquileia.

After this a deputation from the natives of both the provinces of Spain were admitted to an audience of the senate. They complained of the rapacity and oppression of the Roman magistrates, and falling on their knees, begged the senate not to suffer the allies of Rome to be robbed and ill−treated in a more shameful manner than even their enemies were treated. There were other indignities that they complained of, but the evidence bore chiefly upon the illegal seizure of money. L Canuleius, to whom Spain had been allotted, was instructed to appoint five recuperatores drawn from the senatorial order to try each of the individuals from whom the Spaniards demanded redress, and also to give the complainants permission to take whomsoever they pleased as counsel. The deputation were called into the senate−house and the decree was read over to them, and they were told to nominate their counsel. They named four−M. Porcius Cato, P. Cornelius Scipio, L. Aemilius Paulus, and C. Sulpicius Gallus. The recuperatores commenced with the case of M. Titinius, who had been praetor in Hither Spain during the consulship of A. Manlius and M. Junius. The case was twice adjourned, at the third sitting the defendant was acquitted. There was a difference between the deputies, those from Hither Spain chose M. Cato and Scipio as their counsel, those from Further Spain, L. Paulus and Gallus Sulpicius. The former brought P. Furius Philus, the latter M. Matienus before the recuperatores. Philus had been praetor three years previously and M. Matienus in the following year. Both were charged with very serious offences; the proceedings were adjourned and when the whole case was to be gone into again it was pleaded on behalf of the defendants that they had gone into voluntary exile, Furius to Praeneste and Matienus to Tibur. There was a rumour that the complainants were prevented by their counsel from summoning members of the nobility and men of influence, and these suspicions were increased by the action of Canuleius. He dropped the business altogether and began to levy troops, then he suddenly went off to his province to prevent any more people from being worried by the Spaniards. Although the past was thus silently effaced, the senate provided for the future by acceding to the demand of the Spaniards and making a regulation that the Roman magistrate should not have the valuing of the corn, nor compel the Spaniards to sell their twentieths at whatever price he chose, and also that officers should not be forced upon their towns for the collection of taxes and tribute.

Another deputation from Spain arrived, who represented a new race of men. They declared themselves to be sprung from Roman soldiers and Spanish women who were not legally married. There were over 4000 of them, and they prayed that a town might be given them to live in. The senate decreed that they should send in their own names and the names of any whom they had manumitted to L. Canuleius, and they should be settled on the ocean shore at Carteia, and any of the Carteians who wished to remain there should be allowed to join the colonists and receive an allotment of land. This place became a Latin colony and was called the "Colony of the Libertini." The African prince Gulussa, Masinissa's son, arrived in Rome simultaneously with a deputation from Carthage. Audience was granted to Gulussa first. He described the nature of the force that his father had sent for the Macedonian war and promised, should the senate require anything more, that he would supply their demands, out of gratitude for the kindness which the people of Rome had shown towards him. He then warned the senate to be on their guard against the bad faith of the Carthaginians; they had formed the design of fitting out a great fleet, ostensibly to assist the Romans against the Macedonians. When this fleet was equipped and manned they would have it in their power to choose whom they would as an enemy or an ally . . . .

They entered the camp displaying the heads and created such a panic that if the army had been brought up at once the camp might have been taken. Even as it was, there was a general flight, and some thought that envoys ought to be sent to beg for peace. A large number of communities when they heard what had happened made their surrender. They tried to clear themselves by throwing all the blame on the madness of two men who had voluntarily offered themselves for punishment. The praetor pardoned them and immediately set out to visit other cities. Everywhere he found his orders were being carried out and his army was unmolested. The country through which he passed, and which had been so shortly before seething with unrest and turbulence, was now quiet and peaceable. This gentleness on the part of the praetor, who had curbed the temper of a most warlike nation without bloodshed, was all the more welcomed by the senate and the plebs as the war in Greece had been conducted in a most ruthless and rapacious spins both by the consul Licinius and the praetor Lucretius The tribunes of the plebs were perpetually holding up to odium the absent Lucretius in their speeches, though it was pleaded on his behalf that he was absent in the service of the republic. But people in those days were so ignorant of what was going on in their vicinity that he was actually at that very time residing on his estate at Antium, and was bringing water to that town from the Loracina from his share of the spoils of the war. It is said that this work cost 130,000 ases. He also decorated the shrine of Aesculapius with pictures which had formed part of the plunder.

The general odium and disgrace which Lucretius had incurred were diverted from him to his successor, Hortensius. A deputation from Abdera arrived in Rome, and stood weeping in the porch of the senate−house and protesting that their town had been stormed and sacked by Hortensius. He had ordered them to supply 100,000 denarii and 50,000 modii of wheat, and they asked for time to send to the consul Hostilius and to Rome. Hardly had they reached the consul when they heard that their town had been taken by storm, their leaders beheaded and the rest of the population sold into slavery. The senate regarded this as a disgraceful proceeding and they made the same decree in the case of the Abderites that they had made the previous year in the case of the Coronaeans, with instructions to the praetor to announce the decree to the Assembly. Two commissioners, C. Sempronius Blaesus and Sextius Julius Caesar, were sent to restore the Abderites to freedom, and to inform Hostilius and Hortensius that the senate considered the attack upon Abdera as utterly unjustifiable, and demanded that search should be made for all who were enslaved in order that they might be set free.

At the same time complaints were laid against C. Cassius, who had been consul the year before and was now serving as military tribune in Macedonia with A. Hostilius. The brother of the king of the Gauls, Cincibilus, headed the deputation, and charged Cassius before the senate with devastating the fields of Alpine tribes who were friendly to Rome, and carrying off many thousands into slavery. They were followed by deputations from the Carni, the Histri and the Iapydes. They informed the senate that in the first instance Cassius required them to furnish guides to direct his route while he was leading his army into Macedonia. He left them quite peaceably, his intention being apparently to make war elsewhere, and then in the middle of his march he turned back and invaded their territory, spreading everywhere bloodshed, rapine and fire, nor did they up to that moment know the consul's reason for treating them as enemies. The reply which the senate made to these deputations and to the

Gaulish prince, who had left Rome, was to the effect that with regard to the subjects of complaint, they were quite unaware that such things would happen, and if they had happened they did not sanction them. It would, however, be unjust for a man of consular rank to be indicted and condemned in his absence, when he was absent in the service of the commonwealth. When C. Cassius had returned from Macedonia, the senate would, if they wished to bring their charges against him in his presence, investigate the facts and make it their business to give them satisfaction. They did not confine themselves to a verbal reply; it was decided that two commissioners should be sent to the prince beyond the Alps and to the three surrounding tribes to make known the senate's decision. They also agreed that presents ought to be made to each of the envoys to the value of 2000 ases. To the two princes were given two gold chains five pounds in weight, five pieces of silver plate twenty pounds in weight, two horses caparisoned and their grooms with them, outfits of cavalry armour and military cloaks, and for their suites, including the slaves, wearing apparel. They requested and were allowed to purchase each ten horses and to take them out of Italy. The commissioners who accompanied the Gauls beyond the Alps were C. Laelius and M. Aemilius Lepidus; to the other communities C. Sicinius, P. Cornelius Blasio, and T. Memmius.

There was a gathering of numerous deputations from Greece and Asia in Rome. The Athenians were the first to obtain an audience. They explained that they had sent to the consul and the praetor what ships and soldiers they had. They had, however, made no use of them, but demanded 100,000 modii of corn. Though the soil which they tilled was unproductive and even the cultivators themselves had to be fed on corn from abroad, they had nevertheless made up the amount that they should not fail in their duty, and they were prepared to supply other things which might be required. The people of Miletus mentioned that they had not furnished anything, but expressed their readiness to carry out any orders the senate might wish to give with regard to the war. The people of Alabanda stated that they had built a temple to "The City of Rome" and had instituted annual Games in honour of that deity. They had also brought a golden crown weighing fifty pounds to be placed in the Capitol as an offering to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and 300 cavalry shields which they would hand over to whomsoever the senate might name. They requested to be allowed to place the gift in the Capitol and to offer sacrifices. The deputation from Lampsacus, who had brought a crown eighty pounds in weight, made the same request. They explained that though they had been under the rule of Perseus and of his father Philip before him, they had revolted as soon as the Roman army appeared in Macedonia. In consideration of this and of their having given all possible assistance to the Roman commanders they made this one request that they might be admitted amongst the friends of Rome and if peace were made with Perseus they might be left out of the conditions so as not to fall again under the power of the king. A gracious answer was vouchsafed to the other deputations; in the case of the Lampsacans the praetor Q. Mucius was instructed to enrol them amongst the allied States. Each of the delegates received a present of 2000 ases. The Alabandians were told to take the shields to A. Hostilius in Macedonia.

Legates from Carthage and from Masinissa arrived simultaneously in Rome. The Carthaginians reported that they had taken down to the coast one million modii of wheat and half a million of barley, to be transported wherever the senate should order. They knew, they said, that this gift, which they regarded as a duty, was not adequate to the services which the Roman people had rendered, nor was it what they would have wished to give, but on other occasions, when both nations were in a prosperous condition, they had fulfilled the duty of loyal and grateful allies. Masinissa's representatives promised to furnish the same amount of wheat, 1200 cavalry and 12 elephants, and asked the senate to say if anything else was required, as he would supply that just as readily as what he had voluntarily offered Thanks were accorded to the Carthaginians and to the king, and they were asked to forward the supplies they had promised to the consul Hostilius in Macedonia. Each member of the legations received a gift of 2000 ases.

The Cretan delegates assured the senate that they had sent into Macedonia as large a body of archers as the consul had demanded. When questioned, they did not deny the number of their archers serving with Perseus was greater than that serving with the Romans. The senate, in reply to this, told the Cretans that if they were earnest and resolute in their determination to prefer the friendship of Rome to that of Perseus, the Roman senate would treat them as faithful allies. Meantime, they were to take back word to their people that it was the senate's wish that the Cretans should see to it that as many as possible of the soldiers serving with Perseus should be recalled. With this

reply the Cretans were dismissed and the Chalcidians were called in. The entrance of this deputation caused a sensation, for Micion, their leader, was brought in on a litter as he had lost the use of his feet. It was at once recognised that the business on which he had come must be of vital importance, for, afflicted as he was, he either had not thought it right to ask to be excused on the ground of health, or if he had done so, he had met with a refusal. He began by saying that there was nothing alive in him except his tongue to deplore the calamities of his native land, and then went on to enumerate the services that Chalcis had rendered to the Roman generals and their armies in the past and now in the war with Perseus. He then described the tyrannical, rapacious and brutal treatment which the Roman praetor C. Lucretius had meted out to his countrymen and the way in which L. Hortensius was actually behaving at the present moment. Though they thought it better to suffer even worse things than these, rather than abandon their allegiance, they were convinced, so far as Lucretius and Hortensius were concerned, that it would have been safer to close their gates than to admit them into the city. The cities which had shut them out were unharmed; in their own case the temples had been despoiled of their adornments and the sacrilegious plunder had been carried off by Lucretius in his ships to Antium; the persons of freemen had been hurried away into slavery; the property of the allies of Rome had been plundered and was being plundered every day. Following the precedent set by C. Lucretius, Hortensius kept his crews in billets winter and summer alike; their homes were filled with rowdy sailors, these men were living amongst them, their wives and their children, men who did not in the least care what they said or did.

The senate decided to send for Lucretius, that he might meet his accusers and clear himself from their charges. When, however, he put in an appearance he had to listen to many more accusations than those made in his absence, and accusers now came forward of greater weight and authority in the persons of two tribunes of the plebs, M. Juventius Thalna and Cnaeus Aufidius. They not only handled him very severely in the senate, they compelled him to appear before the Assembly, and after he had been exposed to much vituperation and obloquy a day was fixed for his trial. The senate gave the following reply to the Chalcidians through the praetor Q. Maenius: "With regard to the services which they say they have rendered to Rome, the senate is aware that they are stating what is true, and they are duly grateful to them. As to the complaints of the conduct of C. Lucretius and L. Hortensius, no one who knew that the war with Perseus and his father before him was entered upon by the people of Rome on behalf of the liberty of Greece and not that their friends and allies should suffer at the hands of their magistrates−no one who knew this could possibly imagine that such conduct was in accordance with the wish or had the concurrence of the senate. They would send a letter to L. Hortensius informing him that the acts which the Chalcidians complained of were displeasing to the senate, and whatever freemen had gone into slavery he was to make it his care that they were discovered as soon as possible and restored to freedom. The senate insisted that no member of the crews, with the exception of the captains, should be billeted in private houses." Such was the gist of the despatch sent to Hortensius. Each of the delegates received a present of 2000 ases, and carriages were hired at the public cost to convey Micion in comfort to Brundisium. When the day of trial came, the tribunes indicted Lucretius before the Assembly and demanded a fine of 100,000 ases. When the votes were taken it was found that the thirty−five tribes had unanimously found him guilty.

In Liguria nothing of any importance took place, the enemy made no hostile movement and the consul did not take his legions into their country. As he was tolerably certain that there would be peace for that year, he demobilised the men of the two Roman legions within two months of his coming into the province. The army of the Latin allies went early into winter quarters at Luna and Pisae, and he with his cavalry visited most of the towns in his province of Gaul. Nowhere but in Macedonia was there a state of war. Gentius, however, the king of Illyria, had fallen under suspicion. The senate accordingly made an order that eight ships fully fitted out and manned should be sent from Brundisium to C. Furius, who with two ships furnished by the inhabitants was in charge of the island of Issa. Two thousand soldiers were placed on board the eight ships; they had been raised by M. Raecius, on instructions from the senate, in that part of Italy which lies opposite to Illyria. The consul Hostilius sent Appius Claudius with 4000 infantry into Illyria to protect the adjacent population. Not feeling satisfied with the troops he had brought with him, Claudius made the friendly cities furnish him with troops, and he succeeded in arming a mixed force of 8000 men. After marching through the whole of that district he fixed his headquarters at Lychnidus, a town in Dassaretia.

Not far from there lay the town of Uscana; its territory mostly lay in Perseus' dominions. It had a population of 10,000 and a small detachment of Cretans was garrisoned there to protect it. A secret message was sent to Claudius assuring him that if he would approach the city there were men ready to betray it to him, and it would be worth his while to do so, as he would be able to enrich not only himself and his friends but his soldiers also with the plunder. The prospect thus held out to his avaricious disposition so blinded him that he did not detain a single person amongst those who came with the message, nor did he demand hostages as a security against treachery, nor did he send anyone to ascertain the facts, nor did he insist upon an oath to guarantee the good faith of those who made the offer. He simply advanced upon the appointed day to a spot within twelve miles of the city where he encamped. At the first watch he went forward, leaving about 1000 men to guard the camp. His troops reached the city in no proper formation, spread out in a long column, and few in number, having become separated from one another through losing their way in the darkness of the night. Their carelessness increased when they saw no armed men on the walls. As soon, however, as they came within range, a sortie was made simultaneously from two gates. Above the shouts of those who were sallying forth a horrible din arose from the walls, women yelling and banging brazen vessels, whilst the air resounded with the discordant cries of a rabble of townsfolk and slaves. These appalling sights and sounds, multiplied in all directions, so unnerved the Romans that they could not withstand the first onset which burst upon them like a storm. More were killed in flight than in actual fighting, barely 2000 men, including Claudius himself, gained their camp. The distance they had to cover made it all the easier for the enemy to overtake them, wearied as they were. Appius did not even stay in his camp to rally the fugitives as they came in, though this would have saved many who were straggling through the fields. He at once took the remnant of his force back to Lychnidus.

These and other unsuccessful operations in Macedonia were ascertained from Sextus Digitius, a military tribune who had come to Rome to offer sacrifices. The senators were afraid that still deeper humiliation might be incurred, and they sent M. Fulvius Flaccus and M. Caninius Rebilus into Macedonia to find out what was going on and to report. The consul A. Atilius was requested to give notice that the consular elections would be held in January, and to return to the City as soon as he possibly could. In the meantime, M. Raecius was instructed to recall all the senators in Italy to Rome, except those on business of the State, and to prohibit any who were in Rome from going more than a mile from the City. All these measures were carried out. The consular elections were held on January 28, the new consuls being Q. Marcius Philippus, for the second time, and Cnaeus Servilius Caepio, and two days later the following praetors were elected: C. Decimius, M. Claudius Marcellus, C. Sulpicius Gallus, C. Marcius Figulus, Ser. Cornelius Lentulus, and P. Fonteius Capito. Four provinces in addition to the civic jurisdiction were assigned to them, viz. Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and the command of the fleet.

Towards the end of February the commission returned from Macedonia. They described the successes which Perseus had gained and the serious alarm felt by the allies of Rome at so many cities being secured by the king. The consul's army was much reduced in numbers owing to the indiscriminate granting of furloughs in order to curry favour with the soldiers, the consul threw the blame for this on the military tribunes, the military tribunes threw it back on the consul. The senate were given to understand that they made light of Claudius' ignominious defeat; amongst those lost, it was explained, were very few Italian troops, they were mostly those who had been conscripted for the irregular force. As soon as the new consuls entered upon office they were instructed to bring up the question of Macedonia; Macedonia and Italy were assigned as their provinces. This year (B.C. 170) was an intercalary one, the additional days being intercalated two days after the Terminalia. During its course some members of the priesthood died, L. Flamininus . . . Two of the pontiffs passed away, L. Furius Philus and C. Livius Salinator. The pontiffs elected T. Manlius Torquatus in place of Furius and M. Servilius in place of Livius.

When at the beginning of the new year the consuls consulted the senate about their provinces, it was decided that as soon as possible they should come to an agreement or else ballot for Macedonia and Italy. Before the ballot gave its decision and the question was still undecided so that personal bias could not influence the senate, they decreed the necessary reinforcements for each province; for Macedonia, 6000 Roman infantry and 6000 raised from the Latin allies, 250 Roman and 300 allied cavalry. The old soldiers were discharged, so that for each of the Roman legions there were not more than 6000 infantry and 300 cavalry. In the case of the other consul no definite

number of Roman citizens was fixed for him from which to select reinforcements, he was only ordered to raise two legions, each to consist of 5200 infantry and 300 cavalry. A larger proportion of Latin and allied troops was decreed to him than to his colleague−10,000 infantry and 600 cavalry. Four additional legions were to be raised for service wherever they were wanted. For these legions the consuls were not allowed to select the military tribunes, the people elected them. The Latin allies were required to supply 16,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry. It was intended that this force should only be in readiness to go wherever circumstances demanded its presence. Macedonia was the main cause of anxiety. To man the fleet 1000 Roman citizens of the status of freedmen and 500 from the rest of Italy were impressed; the same number was to be raised in Sicily, and the magistrate to whom that province was allotted received instructions to see that they were shipped to wherever the fleet was stationed off Macedonia. Three thousand Roman infantry and 300 cavalry were despatched to reinforce the troops in Spain. There also the number of soldiers in each legion was fixed at 5200 infantry and 300 cavalry. The praetor who was to command in Spain was instructed to demand from the allies 4000 infantry and 300 cavalry.

I am quite aware that the spirit of indifference which in these days makes men in general refuse to believe that the gods warn us through portents, also prevents any portents whatever from being either made public or recorded in the annals. But as I narrate the events of ancient times I find myself possessed by the ancient spirit, and a religious feeling constrains me to regard the matters which those wise and thoughtful men considered deserving of their attention as worthy of a place in my pages. At Anagnia two portents were announced this year: a fiery torch had been seen in the sky and a cow had spoken; the cow was being fed at the public cost. At Menturnae also the appearance of the sky was as though it was on fire. At Reate there was a shower of stones. At Cumae the Apollo in the citadel shed tears for three days and three nights. Two temple custodians in the City of Rome announced portents; one stated that a crested snake had been seen by several persons in the Temple of Fortune; the other declared that two distinct portents had appeared in the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Quirinal, a palm tree sprang up in the temple precinct and a rain of blood had fallen in the daytime. There were two portents which were not taken into consideration, one because it occurred on private, the other on foreign soil. The former was reported by T. Marcius Figulus, a palm tree had sprung up in the inner court of his house; the latter by L. Atreus who stated that in his house at Fregellae a spear which he had bought for his soldier son was in flames for more than two hours in broad daylight, but no part of it was consumed by the fire. The Keepers consulted the Sacred Books about those portents which affected the State and gave the names of the deities to be propitiated. They directed that the expiatory sacrifices should consist of forty of the larger victims and be performed by the consuls; all the magistrates were to join in offering similar sacrifices at every shrine; there were to be special intercessions and the people were to wear chaplets of bay. These directions were carefully carried out.

Then notice was given of the election of censors. Some of the leading men in the commonwealth were candidates, such as C. Valerius Laevinus, L. Postumius Albinus, P. Mucius Scaevola, M. Junius Brutus, C. Claudius Pulcher, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The two latter were elected censors by the people of Rome. Though, owing to the Macedonian war, greater care than usual was being shown in the raising of new troops, the consuls complained of the plebs in the senate, the younger men were avoiding enlistment. The two praetors C. Sulpicius and M. Claudius put forward the case for the plebs. The difficulty was due to the consuls, not because they were consuls, but because they were popularity−hunting consuls, they made no man a soldier against his will. That the senate might see how true this was, they, the praetors, though they had less power and authority, were prepared, if the senate approved, to carry the enlistment through. The senate quite approved and the praetors were entrusted with the task, not without some insulting remarks from the consuls. In order to help them the censors announced in a meeting of the Assembly that they should make it a rule in their assessment that in addition to the oath taken by all the citizens, the following questions must be answered: "Are you under 46 years of age? Have you come forward to be enrolled as required by the edict of the censors, C. Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius? As long as these censors are in office, will you, whenever troops are being raised, come forward to be enrolled if you have not already been made a soldier?" Moreover, owing to a report that many men in the legions in Macedonia were absent from the army, the commanders having granted furloughs for all sorts of reasons, that they might be popular, they issued an edict requiring all soldiers who had been conscripted in the consulship of P. Aelius and C. Popilius or subsequently, and were at the time in Italy, to return to Macedonia within thirty days after making

their returns to the censors. Those who were under the guardianship of father or grandfather must give in the names of these to the censors. The censors would investigate the reasons for discharge, and where men had been discharged before serving their time simply as a favour they should order them to resume their place in the ranks. This notice of the censors was published in all the towns throughout Italy, and such a multitude of men of military age flocked to Rome that the City was inconveniently crowded by the unusual influx.

In addition to the troops which had to be raised as reinforcements, four legions were enrolled by the praetor C. Sulpicius and the enrolment was completed within eleven days. The consuls now balloted for their provinces; the praetors had already done so, on account of the jurisdiction. The civic jurisdiction fell to C. Sulpicius, the alien to C. Decimius, Spain to M. Claudius Marcellus, Sicily to Ser. Cornelius Lentulus, Sardinia to P. Fonteius Capito, the command of the fleet to C. Marcius Figulus. Of the two consular provinces, Italy fell to Cn. Servilius and Macedonia to Q. Marcius, and he started as soon as the Latin Festival was over. On Caepio's consulting the senate as to which two out of the four newly−raised legions he should take with him into Gaul, the senate decreed that C. Sulpicius and M. Claudius should give the consul what legions they thought fit out of those they had raised. The consul was highly indignant at being thus subjected to the will of the praetors, and after dismissing the senate stood at the praetors' tribunal and demanded that in accordance with the senate's resolution they should give him two legions. The praetors left the consul at liberty to select them. The censors next revised the roll of the senate. They chose M. Aemilius Lepidus as leader of the House, and they were the third censors who did so. Seven names were removed from the roll. In revising the assessment of the citizens they discovered from the returns how many men from the army in Macedonia were absent from the standards and they compelled them to return to duty. They investigated the grounds of dismissal and in all cases where there did not appear so far any just reason for it they required the following question to be answered on oath: "Will you pledge yourself without reserve or evasion to return to Macedonia in obedience to the edict of the censors, C. Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius?"

The revision of the register of the equites was strict and drastic. Many were degraded from the order, and this action was resented by the whole body of the equites. The ill−will thus evoked was further aggravated by an edict which the censors published forbidding anyone who had leased the public taxes or private contracts from the censors C. Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius from attending the present sale or becoming partner or associate in any transaction there. In spite of their frequent protests, the former tax−farmers had been unable to induce the senate to place any restrictions on the censorial powers. At last they got a tribune of the plebs, P. Rutilius, who was hostile to the censors on personal grounds, to champion their cause. The censors had ordered a client of his, a freedman, to pull down a wall which faced a public building in the Via Sacra, because it had been built on ground belonging to the State. The owner appealed to the tribunes. As no one but Rutilius interposed his veto the censors sent men to distrain his goods and imposed a fine. A sharp dispute arose, and when the former tax−farmers had recourse to the tribune, a measure was suddenly brought forward by this one tribune providing that the public and private contracts which had been leased out by C. Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius should be cancelled and all the business done over again, so that everybody might have an equal chance to tender for and work the lease. The tribune fixed a day for the discussion of this proposal in the Assembly. When he appeared, the censors stood forward to oppose the measure. There was silence while Gracchus was speaking, but Claudius met with interruptions and disturbance, and he ordered the usher to call for silence that he might be heard. The tribune declared that by doing this he had withdrawn the Assembly from his control and impugned his authority, and at once left the Capitol where the Assembly had met. The next day he created a serious disturbance. First of all, he pronounced the property of Tiberius Gracchus to be forfeited to the gods because in fining and distraining upon a man who had appealed to a tribune, he had not yielded to his veto and had impugned his authority. He formally impeached C. Claudius because he had withdrawn the Assembly from his control, and he declared that he should bring both censors to trial for high treason, and requested C. Sulpicius to convene the citizens in their centuries to hear and adjudicate on the case. The censors offered no opposition to the people passing judgment on them as soon as possible, and September 24 and 25 were fixed upon as the days for the trial. On this they went up to the Hall of Liberty, sealed up the civic registers, closed the office, dismissed their staff and gave out that they would not deal with any public business whatever until the people had given their verdict. The case of Claudius was taken first. Eight out of the twelve centuries of equites and several other centuries of the first class sentenced him

to a fine. No sooner was this known than the leading patricians put off their gold rings in the sight of the people and laid aside their robes, so that they might make a suppliant appeal to the plebs. It is said, however, that the change of mind was mainly due to Tiberius Gracchus. When shouts arose from the plebs on all sides that "Gracchus was in no danger," he took a solemn oath and declared that if his colleague were condemned he would not wait for his own trial, but would be his companion in exile. So little hope, however, had Claudius of acquittal that only eight centuries were wanted to secure his condemnation. Claudius was acquitted, and then the tribune said that he would not keep Gracchus waiting any longer.

The Aquileians sent to Rome during the year to ask that the number of colonists might be augmented, and the senate ordered a list to be made of 1500 households. The commissioners who were to settle these colonists were T. Annius Luscus, P. Decius Subulo, and M. Cornelius Cethegus. The two members of the mission sent to Greece, C. Popilius and Cnaeus Octavius, published, first at Thebes and then through all the cities of the Peloponnese, the order of the senate that no one should make any contribution to the Roman commanders other than what the senate had fixed. This order created confidence for the future, for people knew that they were relieved from the incessant drain of the burdens and expenses which had been imposed upon them. They then addressed the council of the Achaeans which had assembled to meet them at Aegium in a most friendly spirit, and met with an equally friendly reception, and they left that loyal and faithful nation completely reassured as to their future position. From there they passed on to Aetolia. Though there was as yet no actual fighting, there was an atmosphere of universal mistrust and mutual recrimination. Under these circumstances they demanded hostages, but were unable to effect a settlement. From there they proceeded to Acarnania; a council was assembled at Thyrium to meet them. There, too there was a party conflict; some of their leaders asked that garrisons might be introduced into their cities to check the madness of those who were trying to draw them to the side of Macedonia; others objected that it would be a disgrace for peaceable and friendly cities to be subjected to the same humiliation as those captured in war. This objection was considered a reasonable one. The commissioners returned to Hostilius at Larisa; Octavius he kept with him, Popilius he sent with 1000 soldiers into winter quarters in Ambracia.

(B.C. 170−69) In the early days of winter Perseus did not venture beyond his frontiers for fear of the Romans attempting an invasion while he was absent from his kingdom. About mid−winter, however, when snow had blocked the mountain passes on the side of Thessaly, he thought it a good opportunity for crushing the hopes and spirits of his neighbours, so that there might be no danger from them while his attention was wholly devoted to the war with Rome. Cotys was a guarantee of peace on the side of Thrace, and Cephalus, since his sudden defection from Rome, on the side of Epirus, and the late war had tamed the courage of the Dardanians. Macedonia, as Perseus saw, was only open to attack from Illyria. The Illyrians were becoming restless themselves and they were allowing a passage to the Romans; Perseus thought, therefore, that if he crushed their next neighbours, King Gentius, who had long been wavering, might become his ally. Accordingly he marched to Stuberra with a force of 10,000 infantry, some of whom belonged to the phalanx, 2000 light−armed troops and 500 cavalry. Having taken up corn enough to serve for several days and leaving orders for the siege engines to follow, he encamped after a three days' march near Uscana−the largest city in the land of Penestia. Before he had resort to force, however, he sent emissaries to tamper with the loyalty of the officers of the garrison−this was a Roman detachment with some Illyrian troops−or failing that, to work on the feelings of the townsmen. They brought back word that there was no thought of peace, so he began the attack and tried to capture the place by a close investment. Day and night, without any intermission, the troops relieved each other, some bringing up scaling−ladders to the walls, others applying fire to the gates. The defenders, however, held out against this storm of assailants; they expected that the Macedonians would not be able much longer to stand the winter in the open, and they hoped that the exigencies of the war with Rome would make it impossible for them to linger there. When, however, they saw the vineae brought up and the movable towers in motion their resolution gave way. Apart from the fact that their strength was no match for that of the enemy, they had not sufficient supplies either of corn or anything else, for they had not expected a siege. As further resistance was now hopeless, C. Carvilius Spoletinus and C. Afranius were sent by the Roman garrison to ask Perseus to allow them to depart with their arms and belongings; if this were refused, they were to ask him to guarantee them their life and liberty. The king's promise was more generous than his performance, for after telling them to depart and take what they possessed

with them, the first thing he did was to deprive them of their arms. After the departure of the Romans the Illyrian cohort, 500 strong, and the Uscanians all surrendered themselves and their city. Perseus posted a garrison there and removed the whole of the population, almost equal in numbers to an army, to Stuberra. The Roman troops, numbering 4000, with the exception of their officers were distributed amongst different cities for safe−keeping; the Uscanians and Illyrians were sold as slaves to the Penestae.

After this he led his army back to Oaeneus with the intention of becoming master of the place, as its situation would be a convenience to him as affording amongst other things a passage to Libeates, where Gentius had his seat of government. Whilst he was marching past a strongly held fort called Daudracum, some who knew the country assured him that nothing would be gained by the capture of Oaeneus if Daudracum was not in his power; its position was more advantageous in every way. When he had brought up his army, the whole of the garrison surrendered. He was much elated at gaining the place so much more quickly than he had expected, and as he saw what terror the approach of his army created, he went to reduce eleven other fortified posts in the same way. Very few had to be stormed; the rest surrendered voluntarily, and 1500 Roman soldiers who were stationed in these forts were made prisoners. Carvilius Spoletinus had been most useful to him in negotiating the surrenders by asserting that he and his men had not been treated cruelly or harshly. Then he arrived before Oaeneus. This place could only be taken by a regular siege; it was considerably stronger than the other places both in the number of its defenders and in the strength of its fortifications. It is encircled on one side by the river Artatus, and on the other by a very lofty and almost impassable mountain. These advantages gave the townsmen courage to resist.

Perseus completely invested the town and began to construct a raised way against the upper part of it which was to overtop the walls. While this work was being completed there was continual fighting and sorties in which the townsmen tried to defend their own walls and at the same time impede the progress of the enemy's siege−works. A large part of the population were carried off by the various accidents of war, and the survivors were rendered useless through their wounds and the incessant toil and exertions by day and night alike. As soon as the raised way was connected to the walls the king's cohort, who bear the title of "nicatores," passed over it, and at the same time the walls were scaled at many points and a simultaneous assault was delivered on all sides of the city. All the adult males were put to the sword, their wives and children were placed under guard and the rest of the booty went to the soldiers. After this victory he returned to Stuberra and sent Pleuratus, the Illyrian, who was a refugee in his suite, and Adaeus, a Macedonian from Beroea, on a mission to Gentius. Their instructions were to give an account of Perseus's summer and winter campaigns against the Romans and the Dardanians, and also the results of his winter expedition in Illyria. They were to urge Gentius to form a league of friendship with him and the Macedonians.

These envoys crossed the summit of Mount Scordus and made their way through the desert solitudes in Illyria, which the Macedonians had created in their systematic devastations to prevent the Dardanians from finding an easy passage into either Illyria or Macedonia. It was with the utmost difficulty that they at last reached Scodra. The king was at Lissus. He invited them there and lent a favourable ear to what they had been instructed to say. His reply, however, was one of noncommittal; he said that it was not the will to join in the war against Rome that was lacking; the greatest lack of all was the lack of money; this prevented him from attempting what he wished. This reply was brought to the king just when he happened to be selling the Illyrian prisoners. He at once sent the negotiators back again, together with Glaucias, one of his bodyguard, but without a mention of money; though without this the needy barbarian could not have been dragged into the war. After devastating Ancyra, Perseus led his army into Penestia and secured Uscana, and all the fortified places in its neighbourhood which he had captured, with garrisons, after which he returned into Macedonia.

L. Coelius was commanding in Illyria. He did not venture to make any movement while the king was in those parts, but after his departure he attempted to recover Uscana from the Macedonians who were garrisoned there. He was, however, repulsed, and a large number of his men were wounded, and he led his force back to Lychnidus. A few days afterwards he sent M. Trebellius Fregellanus with a fairly strong force into Penestia to receive the hostages from those cities which had remained loyal, and then to go on to the Parthini; they, too, had undertaken

to furnish hostages. He obtained them from both nations without trouble. Those from the Penestae were sent to Apollonia; those from the Parthini to Dyrrhachium, better known to the Greeks of that day as Epidamnus. Appius Claudius was eager to wipe out the disgrace of his defeat in Illyria and proceeded to attack a stronghold in Epirus. He had with him contingents of Chaonians and Thesprotians, which with his Roman army amounted to 6000 men. The attempt was a complete failure, as Clenas who had been left there by Perseus had a strong force for defence.

Perseus advanced to Elimea and offered the purificatory sacrifices for his army in its neighbourhood. He then marched to Stratus at the call of the Epirots. Stratus was at that time the strongest city in Aetolia. It lies beyond the Ambracian Gulf near the Inachus. Owing to the narrowness and roughness of the roads, Perseus took a comparatively small force with him−10,000 infantry and 300 cavalry. In a three days' march he reached Mount Citium which, owing to the deep snow, he had great difficulty in crossing, and only after much trouble was he able to find a position for his camp. Resuming his march, more because he could not stay where he was than because the road or the weather made progress tolerable, he encamped the next day, after much hardship and suffering, especially among the animals, at a temple sacred to Jupiter, called Nicaeum. From there he made a very long march to the River Arathus. The depth of the river necessitated his remaining there until a bridge could be built. After his troops had crossed the river he advanced a day's march and met Archidamus, an Aetolian magnate, through whom Stratus was to be betrayed.

He encamped on the frontier of Aetolia and the following day appeared before Stratus. Forming his camp near the Inachus, he waited in the expectation that the Aetolians would come in crowds from all the gates and make terms with him. He found the gates shut, and on the very night of his arrival a Roman detachment under C. Popilius had been admitted within the city. As long as Archidamus was in the city he had sufficient influence to compel the aristocratical party to invite the king, but after he had left to meet him, they showed less activity and gave the opposite party an opportunity of calling in Popilius from Ambracia with 1000 infantry. Dinarchus, too, the commandant of the Aetolian cavalry, came in just at the right moment with 600 infantry and 100 cavalry. It was clear that he had gone to Stratus with the intention of supporting Perseus and then changing his mind with the change of circumstances joined the Romans whom he had come to oppose. Surrounded by such fickle people, Popilius neglected no proper precaution. He at once took into his own hands the keys of the gates and the defence of the walls; he removed Dinarchus and his Aetolians and also the fighting force of Stratus into the citadel ostensibly to defend it. Perseus attempted to hold conversations from the hills which looked down on the upper part of the city, but when he found that their determination was unshaken, and that they even prevented his nearer approach by hurling missiles at him, he withdrew to a spot five miles from the city on the side of the River Petitarus where he fixed his camp. Here he held a council of war. Archidamus and the Epirot refugees were for his staying there, but the Macedonian leaders gave it as their opinion that he ought not to fight against the inclemency of the season, with no reserve of supplies, for the besiegers would suffer from the effects of scarcity sooner than the besieged. What alarmed Perseus most was that the enemy's winter quarters were not far away, and he shifted his camp to Aperantia. Archidamus had great weight and influence with that nation and Perseus's presence among them was universally welcomed. Archidamus himself was appointed their governor and furnished with a force of 800 men.

The king's return to Macedonia inflicted as much suffering on both man and beast as they had endured in the advance upon Stratus. However, the report of Perseus's march to that city was sufficient to make Appius abandon the siege of Phanote. On his retreat he was followed up by Clenas with a body of vigorous and untiring troops to the almost impassable spurs of the mountain range, and 1000 of his men were killed and 200 made prisoners. Appius struggled through the pass, and remained for a few days in camp in what is known as the Plain of Meleon. Meanwhile Clenas, who had been joined by Philostratus commanding a force of Epirots, invaded the district round Antigonea. The Macedonians went out to devastate the country and Philostratus with his cohort formed an ambush in a darkly overshadowed spot. When the troops in Antigonea hurried out to attack the scattered plunderers, the latter fled and carried their pursuers headlong into the hollow where the ambush was set; 1000 were killed and about 100 made prisoners. As they had been everywhere successful, they moved their camp near to Appius's permanent encampment, to prevent the Roman army from inflicting any injury on the cities which

were friendly to them. Appius had been wasting his time in this locality; he sent home the Chaonians and all the Epirots who were with him; returned to Illyria with his Italian soldiers; sent his men into winter quarters in the different cities, and then returned to Rome to offer sacrifices. Perseus recalled 1000 infantry and 200 cavalry from Penestia and sent them to garrison Cassandrea. The envoys who had been sent again to Gentius returned with the same reply, but Perseus persisted in sending fresh envoys time after time; he quite saw what a valuable support he would be to him, but he could not bring himself to spend money over a thing which was in every way of the utmost importance.

Book 43. Pydna and the Fall of Macedonia

At the beginning of the following spring, the consul Q. Marcius Philippus arrived in Brundisium with the 5000 men who were to reinforce his legions. M. Popilius, an ex−consul, and a number of young men of equally noble birth, followed the consul as military tribunes for the legions in Macedonia. C. Marcius Figulus, who was to command the fleet, reached Brundisium at the same time, and he and the consul left Italy together. The following day they made Corcyra, the next day Actium, the seaport of Acarnania. The consul landed at Ambracia and proceeded by land to Thessaly. Figulus sailed past Leucatas and entered the Gulf of Corinth. Leaving his ship at Creusa he hurried on through the middle of Boeotia−a one day's march for a lightly−equipped soldier−to join the fleet at Chalcis. A. Hostilius was at the time in a camp near Palaepharsalus in Thessaly. He had not fought any important action but he had checked the licence and disorder of his soldiers and brought them up to a state of complete military efficiency, and he had been consistently honourable in his conduct towards the allies and protected them from all injustice and oppression. On hearing of the arrival of his successor he made a careful inspection of the arms, the men and the horses, and went to meet the consul with his army in complete equipment. Their first meeting was quite in accord with their rank and their character as Romans, and subsequently they worked in perfect harmony as long as the proconsul stayed with the army.

A few days later the consul addressed his troops. He first alluded to Perseus's contemplated assassination of his father, and his actual murder of his brother, and then went on to describe how, after his crimes had secured him the crown, he had recourse to poisoning and bloodshed; how he laid an infamous plot against Eumenes, inflicted injuries against the people of Rome, and plundered the cities of the allies of Rome in violation of the existing treaty. He would find out in the ruin of his fortunes how hateful all this conduct was to the gods, for the gods bestowed their favour on natural affection and honourable dealing; it was by these that the Roman people gained their lofty position in the world. He next drew a comparison between the strength of Rome, embracing as she does the world, and the strength of Macedonia, army against army. "How much greater," he exclaimed, "were the forces of Philip and Antiochus, and yet they were shattered by armies no stronger than ours today."

After kindling the spirits of his men by speeches of this kind, he consulted his staff on the strategy of the war. C. Marius, the praetor, who had taken over the command of the fleet, was also present. They decided not to waste any more time in Thessaly, but to go forward at once into Macedonia, and the praetor was to make a naval attack on the enemy's coast at the same time. The consul issued orders for the soldiers to take a month's supply of corn. Ten days after taking over the command of the army he broke up the camp, and at the end of the first day's march he called the guides together and told them to explain to the council what route each of them would choose. After they had withdrawn he asked the council to say which they thought best. Some preferred the route through the Pythian Pass; others were in favour of the road over the Cambunian Range which the consul Hostilius had taken the previous year; others again chose the road by Lake Ascuris. All these routes had a considerable section in common; the further discussion was therefore adjourned until they reached the point where they began to diverge. From there he marched into Perrhaebia and went into camp between Azorus and Doliche, to hold a second consultation as to the best route to take. During this time Perseus had heard that the enemy were approaching, but did not know which route they were taking. He decided to occupy all the passes, and sent 10,000 light infantry under Asclepiodotus to hold a peak in the Cambunian Range−its local name is Volustana. At a fortified place above Lake Ascuris, called Lapathus, Hippias with 12,000 Macedonians was posted to defend the pass. Perseus

himself with the rest of his force formed an entrenched camp at Dium. And here it would almost seem as if his reasoning faculties were benumbed and he was destitute of all resource, for he used to start from his camp at Dium with an escort of light cavalry, and gallop to Heraclea or to Phila, returning at the same speed to Dium.

In the meanwhile the consul had made up his mind to march through the pass near Ottolobus, where as already stated the king's forces were; 4000 men were nevertheless sent on in advance to occupy suitable positions. They were under the command of M. Claudius and Q. Marcius, the consul's son. The whole of the force followed very soon afterwards. The road, however, was so steep and rough and stony that the light troops in advance had, with great difficulty, covered only fifteen miles when they formed their camp and rested at a place called Dierum. On the following day they advanced seven miles and after seizing some rising ground not far from the enemy's camp, they sent word to the consul that they had reached the enemy, and had established themselves in a safe and extremely advantageous position, so that he might follow at such speed as he could. The messenger found the consul at Lake Ascuris in a state of anxiety about the difficulties of the route upon which he had entered and also about the fate of those few troops whom he had sent in advance to the positions occupied by the enemy. He was greatly relieved at hearing the message sent him, and marching on with his main body reunited the whole of his force and encamped in an admirable position on the slopes of the hill already occupied. Its height was such that it commanded a view not only of the enemy's camp, which was not more than a mile distant, but of the whole of the country up to Dium and Phila and the far−extended line of the sea coast. The soldiers' spirits rose when they saw the whole weight of the war, the entire military strength of the king and the hostile country so near them. They pressed the consul to lead them at once against the enemy, but he allowed them one day's rest after the toils of the march. The next day, leaving a detachment to guard the camp, he led them out to battle.

Hippias had recently been sent by the king to guard the pass, and as soon as he caught sight of the Roman camp on the hill he prepared his men for battle and marched to meet the enemy's column as it advanced. The Romans went into the fight in light equipment; the enemy force, too, consisted of light infantry; these troops are the readiest to commence an action. When the two bodies met they at once discharged their missiles; many wounds were inflicted in their random charges, a few were killed. The following day they engaged in a more exasperated temper and in great strength, and had there been more space in which to deploy their lines a decisive action might have been fought. The summit of the mountain narrows into a wedge−shaped ridge which hardly allows a front to be formed of three men abreast. So while the actual fighting was carried on by a few, the rest, especially the heavy infantry, stood and watched it. The light infantry were able to run forward through the dips in the ridge and attack the flanks of the enemy's light infantry, both where the ground was favourable and where it was not. Night put an end to the battle in which more had been wounded than killed.

The next day the Roman commander was at a loss what to do. To stay on the bare mountain height was impossible; it was equally impossible for him to retreat without loss of honour and even without danger should the enemy attack him from the higher ground. There was only one course left, to carry through the adventure with the same rashness with which he had entered upon it; a policy which the result sometimes proves to be a wise one. Matters had come to this−if the consul had had an enemy like the old kings of Macedonia he might have incurred a crushing defeat. Whilst, however, Perseus was riding with his cavalry along the coast at Dium and heard twelve miles away the noise and clamour of the fighting, he did not strengthen his line by sending fresh men to replace those who had borne the burden of the combat, nor, what was most important of all, did he himself appear on the field. And yet the Roman commander, more than sixty years old and very stout, was discharging personally all the duties of a soldier with unflagging energy. To the very last he showed the same splendid audacity as he had at the beginning. Leaving Popilius to hold the summit he made preparations to cross the ridge and sent men to clear a way where before there was not even a track. Attalus and Misagenes with their two contingents were told off to protect the pioneers. The cavalry and baggage formed the front part of the column, the consul with his legions followed.

It is impossible to describe the toil and difficulty they experienced in descending the mountain, with the baggage and animals and their packs perpetually falling. They had hardly gone four miles when the one thing they desired

above all else was to return if possible to their starting point. The elephants caused almost as much confusion in the line as the enemy might have done; when they came to places which could not be crossed they flung their drivers off and created great alarm, especially among the horses, by their appalling roar, until a plan was devised for getting them across. The steepness of the slope was measured and two long stout poles were firmly fastened in the ground at the bottom of it somewhat wider apart than the breadth of the animal. On the top of the poles a cross−beam was fastened and with their ends resting on this beam, balks 30 feet long were fastened together so as to form a bridge, and then covered with earth. A short distance away another similar bridge was constructed, and then a third, and so on wherever the descent was precipitous. The elephant went from the solid ground on to the bridge, and just before he reached the lower end of it the poles were cut away and the bridge subsided down to the beginning of the next bridge below it. The elephants were thus compelled to slide quietly down, some on their feet, some on their haunches. When the level of the next bridge was reached. the lower end was made to fall in the same way and the elephants were carried down until they reached more level ground.

The Romans advanced little more than seven miles that day. Very little of this was done on their feet; their mode of progression was for the most part to roll down with their arms and the other things they had to carry in a most uncomfortable and painful manner; so much so indeed that even their general himself who was responsible for the expedition admitted that the entire army could have been annihilated by a small body of assailants. At nightfall they came to a small plain shut in on all sides. They had at last reached a place which afforded them a sure foothold, but they had not much time for looking round and seeing how exposed the position was. The next day they had to wait in this valley for Popilius and the detachment left with him, and these men, though the enemy nowhere threatened them, found a most troublesome enemy in the difficulties of the descent. The army, once more united, marched the next day through the pass called by the natives Callipeuce. From there the march was as rough and difficult as before, but they had learnt by experience and were in a more hopeful mood because the enemy nowhere showed himself, and they were approaching the sea. When they had descended into the level country between Heracleum and Libethrum, they formed their camp. The greater part of the infantry were on rising ground; that part of the plain where the cavalry had their tents was enclosed with the rest by the rampart.

The king was having his bath when news was brought of the approach of the enemy. On hearing it he sprang in a panic from his seat and rushed out, exclaiming that he was conquered without a battle. Amidst distracted plans and contradictory orders he sent two of his "friends", the one to Pella to throw into the sea the treasures that were stored at Phacus, the other to burn the fleet. He recalled Asclepiodotus and Hippias and their troops from the places they were occupying, and left all the approaches to Macedonia open to the enemy. All the gilded statues were carried off from Dium to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and the inhabitants were forced to remove to Pydna. Thus what might have been thought recklessness on the part of the consul in advancing to a place from which he could not retreat, had the enemy chosen to stop him, was actually made to look like a carefully−planned−out act of daring. The Romans had two passes through which they might emerge from their present position: one through Tempe into Thessaly, the other past Dium and into Macedonia; and both were held by the king's troops. If, therefore, there had been an intrepid general who could have held out for ten days against what at first sight looked like a steadily advancing danger, there would have been no retreat open to the Romans through Tempe into Thessaly, nor any possibility of carrying supplies through; for the pass of Tempe is a difficult one to traverse, even if it is not occupied by an enemy. In addition to the narrowness of the road which for five miles affords scanty footing for a loaded animal, there are on both sides sheer cliffs, so precipitous that you cannot look down without feeling dizzy. The noise and depth of the Peneus flowing through the middle of the ravine adds to the stern and forbidding effect. This district, so strong by nature, was held by detachments of the king's troops at four different places. One was posted at the mouth of the pass at Gonnus; a second in Condylus, an impregnable stronghold; a third at Lapathus, which they call Charax; a fourth on the road itself in the middle of the narrowest part of the valley. where ten men could easily make a successful defence.

The conveyance of supplies and their own return through Tempe were thus alike cut off, and they would have had to make their way back to the mountains over which they had come. They had escaped the observation of the enemy before; they could not do so now with his troops posted on the commanding heights, and the difficulties

they had experienced destroyed all hopes. There was no course left in this rash adventure but to go through the midst of the enemy and enter Macedonia by way of Dium, and this, if the gods had not deprived the king of his reason, would have been a task of enormous difficulty. The spurs of Mount Olympus leave only a width of a mile between the mountain and the sea. Half this space is filled by the broad marshes at the mouth of the Baphyrus, the rest of the ground is taken up either by the temple of Jupiter or the town itself. The little bit that is left could be blocked by a small fosse and rampart, and there was such a quantity of stones and growing timber at hand that a wall might have been thrown up and turrets raised. Blinded by the suddenness of the danger, the king took none of these things into consideration; he withdrew his garrisons, leaving every place open and defenceless, and fled to Pydna.

The consul saw in the foolish and cowardly conduct of his enemy the strongest assurance of safety for himself and his army, and the bright prospect of final victory. Orders were despatched to Sp. Lucretius at Larisa to seize the strongholds round Tempe which the enemy had abandoned and Popilius was sent forward to reconnoitre the passes round Dium. When he found that the country was clear in every direction he made an advance, and after marching for two days arrived at Dium. He ordered the site for the camp to be marked out just under the temple in order that the sanctity of the place might in no way be violated. On entering the place he found that though it was not large, it was, nevertheless, so adorned by public buildings and a whole multitude of statues, and so strongly fortified, that it was difficult to believe there was not some sinister motive behind the purposeless abandonment of so much wealth and splendour. After spending a day in thoroughly exploring the neighbourhood, he resumed his advance, and in the belief that there would be an abundant supply of corn in Pieria, he marched as far as the River Mitys, and the next day to Agassae. The population surrendered this city to him, and with the view of making a favourable impression on the rest of the Macedonians, he contented himself with demanding hostages, and left the city without stationing a garrison and promised that the citizens should be exempt from tribute and live under their own laws. Another day's march brought him to the River Ascordus, where he encamped. As he found that the further he advanced from Thessaly the greater was the difficulty of obtaining any supplies whatever, he returned to Dium, and there was no doubt in any one's mind as to what they would have had to endure had they been cut off altogether from Thessaly, seeing that it was not safe to march any distance from it. Perseus assembled all his troops together with their generals and severely censured the commandants of the garrisons−Asclepiodotus and Hippias most of all. He declared that they had handed over the keys of Macedonia to the Romans, but no one could more justly be charged with this than he himself. When the consul descried the fleet out at sea, he quite hoped that the ships were bringing supplies, for provisions were extremely dear and the supply almost exhausted. But from those who had already entered the harbour he learnt that the cargo ships had been left behind at Magnesia. Whilst he was quite undecided what to do−for he had to contend with the difficulties of the situation quite apart from anything the enemy might do to aggravate them−a despatch was handed to him from Sp. Lucretius stating that he had discovered that the strongholds commanding the Vale of Tempe, and those in the neighbourhood of Phila, all held abundance of corn and of other necessary supplies.

The consul was highly delighted at receiving this information and marched from Dium to Phila that he might strengthen the garrison there, and at the same time distribute the corn to his men, as the supplies were being so slowly brought up. This movement provoked comments that were anything but favourable. Some said he retreated through fear of the enemy, because had he remained in Pieria he would have had to give battle. Others held that unaware of the perpetual changes of fortune, he had thrown away the opportunities which presented themselves, and let slip through his fingers what it would very soon be impossible to recover. For the evacuation of Dium woke up his enemy, who then for the first time realised the necessity of recovering what had been previously lost through his own fault. When he heard of the consul's withdrawal he returned to Dium, repaired what had been shattered and devastated by the Romans, replaced the battlements which had been shaken down, strengthened the walls in all directions, and finally fixed his camp on the other bank of the Elpeus. This river is an extremely dangerous one to cross, and it served to protect his camp. It rises on Mount Olympus; in summer it is a narrow brook, but when swollen by winter storms it rushes over the boulders in enormous eddies and washing out the earth at the bottom and carrying it down to the sea, it forms whirlpools of great depth, and the continual hollowing out of the channel leaves the banks precipitous on both sides. As Perseus believed that the advance of the enemy

would be arrested by this river, it was his intention to spend the rest of the summer there. The consul meanwhile sent Popilius with 2000 men from Phila to Heracleum. This place is about five miles distant from Phila, midway between Dium and Tempe, and is situated on a cliff which overhangs the river.

Before Popilius commenced the assault he tried to induce the magistrates and chief men to test the good faith and clemency of the Romans rather than their strength. His appeal made no impression on them, for they saw the fires in the distance of the king's camp by the Elpeus. Then the attack began in earnest, by land and also by sea−for the fleet was moored off the shore−by direct assault as well as by the employment of siege engines and artillery. Some young Romans turned their training in the Circus games to purposes of war and in this way seized the lowest portion of the wall. Before the extravagant habit came in of filling the Circus with animals from all parts of the world, it was the practice to devise various forms of amusement, as the chariot and horse races were over within the hour. Amongst other exhibitions, bodies of youths, numbering generally about sixty, but larger in the more elaborate games, were introduced fully armed. To some extent they represented the maneuvers of an army, but their movements were more skilful and resembled more nearly the combat of gladiators. After going through various evolutions, they formed a solid square with their shields held over their heads, touching one another; those in the front rank standing erect; those in the second slightly stooping; those in the third and fourth bending lower and lower; whilst those in the rear rank rested on their knees. In this way they formed a testudo, which sloped like the roof of a house. From a distance of fifty feet two fully armed men ran forward and, pretending to threaten one another, went from the lowest to the highest part of the testudo over the closely locked shields; at one moment assuming an attitude of defiance on the very edge, and then rushing at one another in the middle of it just as though they were jumping about on solid ground.

A testudo formed in this way was brought up against the lowest part of the wall. When the soldiers who were mounted on it came close up to the wall they were at the same height as the defenders, and when these were driven off, the soldiers of two companies climbed over into the city. The only difference was that the front rank and the files did not raise their shields above their heads for fear of exposing themselves; they held them in front as in battle. Thus they were not hit by the missiles from the walls, and those which were hurled on the testudo rolled off harmlessly to the ground like a shower of rain from the roof of a house. Now that Heracleum was taken, the consul encamped there, apparently with the intention of marching to Dium and, after driving the king from there, on to Pieria. But he was already making his preparations for wintering, and ordered roads to be constructed for the transport of supplies from Thessaly, suitable places for storing corn to be selected and houses to be built where those who brought up the supplies could be lodged.

When Perseus had recovered from his panic, he began to wish that his commands had not been obeyed, when in his hurry he ordered his treasure at Pella to be thrown into the sea and the naval arsenal at Thessalonica to be burnt. Andronicus, who had been sent for that purpose to Thessalonica, had delayed carrying out his orders and, as it happened, left the king time for repentance. Nicias was not so cautious and had thrown that part of the money which was lying at Phacus overboard, but the mistake proved to be not irremediable, for almost the whole was fished up by divers. The king was so ashamed of his fright that he ordered the divers to be secretly put to death, and the same fate overtook Andronicus and Nicias, in order that no one alive might know anything about his insane orders. C. Marcius sailed with his fleet from Heracleum to Thessalonica and disembarking armed forces on many points along the coast devastated the country far and wide. He engaged successfully the troops who hurried out of the city and drove them back in hasty flight to the shelter of their walls. He was now creating alarm in the city itself, but the citizens placed artillery of all kinds on the walls, and not only those who ventured near the walls but even the men on board were hit by the stones which hurtled from their engines. The troops were accordingly ordered again on board and the siege of Thessalonica was abandoned. They sailed thence to Aelia, about fifteen miles distant, lying opposite to Pydna, and possessing a fertile soil. After devastating this district they coasted along as far as Antigonea. Here they went ashore and carried off a considerable amount of plunder to the ships. While thus engaged they were attacked by a composite force of Macedonian infantry and cavalry, who put them to flight and pursued them down to the shore, killing some 500 of them and taking quite as many prisoners. Finding themselves prevented from gaining the safe shelter of their ships, the very necessity of their situation

rekindled the courage of the Romans, and under the incentives of shame and despair they renewed the fight on the beach. The men in the ships helped them and about 200 Macedonians were slain and an equal number were taken prisoners.

The fleet sailed on to the territory of Pallene where they went ashore to plunder. This district, by far the most fertile of all those on the coast along which they had sailed, belonged to Cassandrea. Here Eumenes, who had sailed from Elaea, met them with twenty decked ships, and five had also been sent by Prusias. This accession of strength emboldened the praetor to attempt the capture of Cassandrea. This city was built by Cassander on the narrow isthmus which connects the district of Pallene with the rest of Macedonia, and is washed on one side by the Toronaic Gulf and on the other by the Gulf of Macedonia. The tongue of land on which it stands projects into the sea, forming a promontory equal in extent to the towering Mount Athos. In the direction of Magnesia it has two headlands; the larger one is called the Posideum, the smaller the Cape of Canastra. The attack was commenced on two sides. The Roman commander, at a place called Clitae, carried his lines through from the Macedonian to the Toronaic Gulf and hedged them with forked poles to cut off all communication with the north. On the other side there was a canal, and here Eumenes was operating. The Romans had a very heavy task in filling up a fosse which Perseus had recently excavated for the defence of the town. The praetor, seeing no heaps lying about anywhere, enquired where the earth out of the fosse had been carried. Some arches were pointed out to him which had been built, not up to the thickness of the old wall, but to that of a single brick. The consul formed the design of breaking through these and penetrating into the city, and he thought he might do this unobserved, if the scaling parties assaulted the walls elsewhere and called off the defenders to these threatened points. The garrison of Cassandrea consisted of a far from contemptible force of able−bodied townsmen, and in addition 800 Agrianes and 2000 Illyrians sent by Pleuratus from Peneste, all keen fighters. Whilst these were defending the walls where the Romans were doing their utmost to surmount them, the brickwork of the arches was broken down in a moment and the city laid open. If those who had made the breaches had been armed, they would have taken the place at once. When the soldiers heard that this had been effected, they were so delighted that they raised a sudden cheer and prepared to break into the city at various points.

For a moment the enemy wondered what this sudden cheer meant. Then, on learning that the city lay open, the commandants of the garrison, Pytho and Philip, thinking that this would be an advantage to whichever side was the first to attack, made a sortie with a strong body of Agrianes and Illyrians and charged the Romans who were coming up from all sides and were massing with the intention of entering the city in regular formation. Unable to present a firm front or proper line of battle, they were routed and pursued as far as the fosse, into which they were driven headlong, and lay in heaps. Nearly 600 were killed there, and almost all who were caught between the wall and the fosse were wounded. His attempt thus recoiling on himself made the praetor somewhat slow in forming other plans. Eumenes, too, who was making a combined attack by land and sea, was equally unsuccessful. It was decided therefore to post strong detachments on both sides of the city to prevent any succour being introduced from Macedonia, and then, as direct assault had failed, to commence a regular siege. Whilst they were preparing for this, ten swift ships belonging to Perseus's fleet were sent up from Thessalonica with a picked force of Gaulish mercenaries on board. When they caught sight of the Roman fleet standing out to sea, they waited till the depth of night, and then sailing in single line they made for the nearest point on which to disembark, and so entered the city. The news of this addition to the defence compelled Eumenes and the Romans to raise the siege. Sailing round the promontory they brought up at Torone. This place, too, they prepared to attack, but on finding that there was a strong body of defenders they gave up the attempt and shaped their course to Demetrias. On approaching the walls they saw that they were fully manned, so they sailed on to Iolcus, intending after devastating the district to attack Demetrias from that side.

In order that he might not remain perfectly inactive in the enemy's country, the consul sent M. Popilius with 5000 men to attack Meliboea. This city lies on the lower spurs of Ossa, looking towards Thrace and in a position to command Demetrias. At first the appearance of the enemy dismayed the inhabitants, but on recovering from their alarm, they flew to arms and ran to the gates and walls, wherever they suspected that an entrance might be forced, and in this way put an end to any hopes that the city might be taken at the first assault. Preparations were

accordingly made for a regular siege and the construction of the necessary works was commenced. Perseus heard that Meliboea was being attacked by the consul's army and that the fleet was lying off Iolcus, preparatory to an attack on Demetrias. He sent one of his generals, a man called Euphranor, with a picked force of 2000 men to Meliboea. This officer was ordered, in case he cleared the Romans away from Meliboea, to make a secret march to Demetrias and enter the city before the Romans advanced against it from Iolcus. His sudden appearance on the ground above the Roman lines created great alarm amongst the besiegers of Meliboea; their works were abandoned and burnt. The siege of the one city being raised, Euphranor hurried on to Demetrias. In the night . . . not only the walls . . . but even their fields they felt sure could be protected from ravages. They made sorties and attacked the scattered groups of plunderers, not without wounding many of them. However, the praetor and Eumenes rode round the walls, examining the situation of the city, to see if they could not make an attempt somewhere, either by siege−works or by storm. There was a rumour that negotiations for the establishment of friendly relations between Perseus and Eumenes had been carried on by Cydas of Crete and Antimachus, the governor of Demetrias. At all events, the Romans withdrew from Demetrias. Eumenes sailed away to visit the consul, and after congratulating him upon his successful invasion of Macedonia, went home. The praetor sent part of his fleet to Sciathus to lie up for the winter; with the rest of his ships he steered for Oreum in Euboea, as he considered that city the most suitable base from which supplies could be sent to the armies in Macedonia and Thessaly. Very different accounts are given of Eumenes. If you are to believe Valerius Antias, the praetor received no assistance from his fleet, though he had often written for his co−operation, and further, when he left for Asia, he was not on good terms with the consul, nor could the consul induce him to leave behind the Gaulish cavalry whom he had brought with him. Valerius goes on to say that Eumenes's brother Attalus remained with the consul, was unswervingly loyal to him and rendered splendid service in the war.

Whilst the Macedonian war was going on, envoys from a Transalpine Gaulish chieftain Balanos−his name is given but not that of his tribe−went to Rome with promises of assistance in the war. Thanks were accorded to them by the senate, and presents sent to their chief−a golden chain, two pounds in weight, and four golden bowls, each weighing one pound, a horse with all its trappings, and a complete set of equestrian armour. The Gauls were followed by a deputation from Pamphylia, who brought into the senate−house a golden crown made out of 20,000 "philippei," and begged that they might be allowed to place it as an offering in the shrine of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the Capitol. Permission was granted, and the senate also acceded to their request for a renewal of the league of friendship with Rome; they each received a present of 2000 ases. An audience was then granted to envoys from Prusias, and shortly afterwards to those from Rhodes. Both embassies dealt with the same subject, but on very different lines; they both pleaded for peace with Perseus. The tone of Prusias's representatives was one of entreaty rather than demand. Prusias declared that he had stood by the Romans up to that time, and would continue to do so as long as the war lasted, but when envoys from Perseus approached him with the object of bringing the war with Rome to an end he had promised to intercede for him with the senate. He begged them, if they could make up their minds to lay aside their resentment, to look favourably upon him as the instrument of procuring peace. Such was the appeal which the king's envoys made.

The Rhodians were far less deprecatory. They enumerated the services they had rendered to the people of Rome, and practically claimed the greater share in the victory over Antiochus at all events. Whilst there was peace between Macedonia and Rome, friendly relations were formed between them and Perseus. Much against their will they had broken off that friendship, without his having done anything to deserve such treatment, because the Romans had thought good to draw them as allies into the war. For three years they had been suffering many of the evils of war; the sea had been closed to them, and without supplies by sea their island was in a state of destitution. They could not put up with this state of things any longer, and had therefore sent to Macedonia to inform Perseus that the Rhodians wished him to come to terms with Rome, and they had sent their envoys on a similar mission to Rome. The Rhodians would consider how they would have to act against those who prevented the war from being brought to a close. I am quite certain that even today such language cannot be read or heard without a deep feeling of indignation. It can then be imagined what the state of mind of the senators was as they listened to it.

According to Claudius no reply was vouchsafed to them, but the decree of the senate was read over, in which the people of Rome made an order that Caria and Lycia should be free States, and it was decided that this decree should be at once transmitted to both nations. On hearing this the leader of the legation, whose boastful language the House had a few moments before hardly been able to endure, fell down in a state of collapse. Other writers assert the reply they received was to the following effect: At the outset of the war the Roman people had ascertained on trustworthy evidence that the Rhodians had been forming secret designs in conjunction with Perseus against the Republic, and if there had been any doubt as to this before, the language of the envoys had now reduced it to a certainty. Dishonest dealing, even if at the beginning it has been somewhat cautious, generally betrays itself in the long run. The Rhodians were now acting as arbitrators of peace and war over the whole world; the Romans were to take up and lay down their arms at the beck and nod of Rhodes; it was no longer the gods who were to be invoked as the witnesses and guardians of treaties, but the Rhodians. Was this really so? Unless they obeyed the orders of Rhodes and withdrew their armies from Macedonia, were the Rhodians going to consider what steps to take? What steps they would take the Rhodians knew best, but the people of Rome would consider, after Perseus had been crushed, and they hoped that time was not far off, what recompense they should make to each State according to its deserts in that war. However, a present of 2000 ases was sent to each of the delegates, but they refused to accept it.

The next thing was a despatch from the consul Q. Marcius, which was read in the senate, describing his march over the mountains and his invasion of Macedonia. Supplies had been accumulated there and drawn from other places against the winter, and he had received from the Epirots 20,000 modii of wheat and 10,000 of barley on the understanding that the money for that corn should be paid to their agents in Rome. Clothing for the soldiers would have to be sent from Rome; about 200 horses were needed, mainly for the Numidians; he had no chance of getting them in the country where he was. The senate made an order that everything should be carried out in accordance with the consults requirements. The praetor C. Sulpicius contracted for the supply of 6000 togas, 30,000 tunics and 200 horses to be transported to Macedonia and delivered to the consul, subject to his approval. He also paid the Epirot representatives for the corn and introduced to the senate Onesimus the son of Pytho, a Macedonian of high rank, who had always urged peaceful counsels on the king and advised him to keep up the custom, which his father Philip had observed to the last days of his life, of reading over twice daily the text of his treaty with Rome, or if he could not always do so, to do it frequently. When he saw that he could not deter him from war, he gradually withdrew himself on various pretexts from attendance on the king so that he might not be involved in proceedings which he did not approve of. At last, when he found that he had aroused suspicion and that now and again charges of treason were brought against him, he went over to the Romans and became extremely useful to the consul.

On his introduction to the senate he mentioned these circumstances, and the senate made an order for him to be formally enrolled amongst the allies, quarters and free hospitality to be provided for him, 200 jugera of the State domain in the Tarentine district to be allotted to him, and a house to be purchased for him in Tarentum. The praetor C. Decimius was charged with the execution of this order. On December 13 the censors revised the roll of burgesses more strictly than on the last occasion. Many of the equites were degraded; amongst them P. Rutilius who, as tribune of the plebs, had shown so much bitterness in prosecuting them. He was now expelled from his tribe and registered among the aerarii. On a resolution of the senate, half the proceeds of the year's revenue was assigned to them by the quaestor for the construction of public works. Out of the sum allotted to him Tiberius Sempronius purchased for the State the dwelling−house of P. Africanus behind the "Old Shops" by the statue of Vertumnus, together with the butchers' stalls and the booths adjoining. He also signed a contract for the construction of the building afterwards known as the Basilica Sempronia.

It was now near the end of the year and as men's thoughts were mainly preoccupied with the Macedonian war, there was much discussion as to whom they were to choose as consuls for the year to bring the war to a close. The senate accordingly passed a resolution that Cneius Servilius should come to hold the elections as soon as possible. The praetor Sulpicius forwarded the resolution to the consul and a despatch was received from him a few days later which he read to the senate, in which he said that he would come to the City on . . . The consul arrived in

good time and the elections were held on the day fixed. The new consuls were L. Aemilius Paulus for the second time, fourteen years after his first consulship, and C. Licinius Crassus. The election of praetors followed. Anxiety about the Macedonian war stimulated the senate to expedite all their business. They desired the consuls designate to ballot for their provinces immediately, so that as soon as it was known to which consul Macedonia was allotted, and which praetor was to command the fleet, they might at once form their plans and make every preparation for the war, and in case the necessity arose, refer any question to the senate. When they had entered upon office, the magistrates were to celebrate the Latin Festival at the earliest date which the religious observances connected with it allowed, in order that nothing might detain the consul who was to go to Macedonia. Macedonia fell to Aemilius, the other consular province was Italy and that fell to Licinius. The praetors' provinces were assigned as follows: Cn. Baebius received the civic and L. Anicius the alien jurisdiction; the latter was to be at the disposal of the senate for any special service. Cn. Octavius took the command of the fleet, P. Fonteius went to Spain, M. Aebutius to Sicily, and C. Papirius to Sardinia.

It very soon became clear to everybody that L. Aemilius was not going to show any lack of energy in the prosecution of the war; amongst other proofs of this was the exclusive attention he gave night and day to everything that had to do with it. The very first thing he did was to ask the senate to send a commission to Macedonia to inspect the armies and the fleet and to report from their own personal knowledge what was required for the land and sea forces. They were also to find out what they could about the king's troops and how much of the country was under our control and how much under the king's, and whether the Romans were still encamped in mountainous and difficult country, or whether they had cleared all the passes and reached open country. Then with regard to our allies they were to ascertain who were still faithful, who were making their fidelity depend upon the issue of the war, and what States were openly hostile. They were further to find out what amount of supplies had been accumulated; from what sources further supplies could be brought by land or sea; and what were the results of the year's campaign by land and sea. When accurate information on these points had been received, it would be possible to form definite plans for the future. The senate authorised the consul Cn. Servilius to send as commissioners into Macedonia those whom L. Aemilius approved of. Those selected were C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Licinius Nerva, and L. Baebius. They started in two days' time. As the year was closing, reports came in of two showers of stones: one in the Roman district, the other on Veientine ground. Intercessions and sacrifices were offered for nine days on each occasion. Two members of the priesthood died this year: P. Quinctilius Varus, a Flamen of Mars, and M. Claudius Marcellus, a keeper of the Sacred Books. Cn. Octavius was appointed in his place. It has been noted as a sign of the increasing scale on which the Circus games were conducted that in those of the curule aediles P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and P. Lentulus, sixty−three African panthers and forty bears and elephants formed part of the show.

The new consuls, L. Aemilius Paulus and C. Licinius, entered on their duties at the beginning of the year, March 15. The senate were mainly anxious to know what the consul who was to command in Macedonia had to report about his province. Paulus said that he had nothing to lay before them, as the commissioners had not yet returned; after being twice driven out of their course back to Dyrrhachium they were now at Brundisium. When he had received the necessary information, which would be in a very few days. he would make his report. That nothing might delay his departure, he had fixed the Latin Festival for April 12. When the sacrifice had been duly performed, he and Cn. Octavius would go as soon as the senate authorised their departure. In his absence it would be his colleague's care to see that whatever had to be prepared or despatched to the war would be got ready and sent off. Meantime the foreign deputations could be received in audience.

The first to be called in were the envoys from the two monarchs, Ptolemy and Cleopatra. They were in mourning garb with beard and hair untrimmed, and when they entered the House holding the olive branch of supplication, they prostrated themselves to the ground. Their language was even more piteous than their dress. Antiochus, king of Syria, who had been in Rome as a hostage, was now, under the specious pretext of restoring the elder Ptolemy to his throne, waging war against his younger brother and was threatening Alexandria at the time. He had won a naval victory off Pelusium, and after hurriedly throwing a bridge over the Nile he had led his army across, and was terrifying Alexandria with the prospect of a siege, and it seemed almost certain that he would gain possession

of the powerful realm of Egypt. After stating these facts the envoys implored the senate, to come to the assistance of the kingdom and its rulers, who were friends of Rome. They urged that the kindness which the Roman people had shown to Antiochus and their authority amongst all kings and nations were such that if they sent word to him and informed him that the senate disapproved of war being levied against monarchs who were their friends, he would at once quit the walls of Alexandria and take his army back to Syria. If the senate hesitated to do this, they would soon have Ptolemy and Cleopatra coming as fugitives from their realm, and the Roman people would feel somewhat ashamed at not having sent them help in their extremity. The senators were much moved by the appeal of the Alexandrians, and at once sent C. Popilius Laenas, C. Decimius and C. Hostilius to put an end to the war between the monarchs. They were instructed to approach Antiochus first and then Ptolemy, and announce to them that if they did not abstain from war they should not regard the one who was responsible for its continuance as either a friend or an ally.

The Roman delegates accompanied by the Alexandrians left in three days' time. On the last day of the Quinquatrus the commissioners arrived from Macedonia. Their return had been so anxiously awaited that had it not been in the evening the consuls would at once have convened the senate. The next day the senate gave them audience. They reported that the passage of the army over pathless mountains had resulted in more peril than profit. They had advanced into Pieria, but the king was holding the country, and the armies were in such close contact that only the River Enipeus separated them. The king did not give any opportunity of fighting, nor were our men strong enough to force a battle; winter, too, had stopped active operations; our men were living in idleness, and had not corn for more than six . . . The Macedonians were said to number 30,000 fighting men. If Appius Claudius had had a strong enough army at Lychnidus, the king might have had his attention distracted between two fronts; at the present moment, Appius and such force as he had with him were in the utmost danger, unless either a regular army was sent there without delay, or they were withdrawn from their present position. On leaving the camp they proceeded to the fleet. Here they learnt that some of the crews had been carried off by disease, some, mostly the Sicilian seamen, had gone home, and the ships were undermanned; the men who were in them had not received their pay and were without proper clothing. Eumenes and his fleet had come and gone without any apparent reason, just as though they had been carried there by the wind; no dependence could be placed on that king. Whilst all Eumenes's movements were doubtful, Attalus was behaving with exemplary fidelity.

When the commissioners had been heard, L. Aemilius said that the question before the House was the conduct of the war. The senate decreed that the consuls and the people should each appoint an equal number of military tribunes for the eight legions, but they wished that none should be appointed that year who had not held high office; L. Aemilius was to choose out of the whole number those whom he wished for the two legions in Macedonia, and when the Latin Festival was over the consul and Cn. Octavius, the praetor who was to command the fleet, should leave for their respective commands. In addition to these, L. Anicius, who had the alien jurisdiction, was to go to Illyria and succeed Appius Claudius in command at Lychnidus. The task of raising fresh troops was imposed on the consul C. Licinius. He was ordered to enrol 7000 Roman citizens and 200 cavalry, and from the Latin allies 7000 infantry and 400 cavalry. He was also to send written instructions to Cn. Servilius in Gaul, requiring him to enrol 600 cavalry. He was to send this new army as soon as possible to his colleague in Macedonia. In that province there were not more than two legions: they were each to be brought up to the full strength of 6000 infantry and 300 cavalry; the rest of the infantry and cavalry were to be distributed amongst the various garrisons; those who were unfit for military service were to be discharged. There were, in addition, the 10,000 infantry and 800 cavalry furnished by the allies. This force was supplementary to the two legions, each consisting of 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry, which Anicius was ordered to transport to Macedonia; 5000 seamen were also conscripted for the fleet. Licinius was ordered to hold his province with the two legions and the 10,000 infantry and 800 cavalry from the allies.

After the senate had made all these arrangements, the consul L. Aemilius left the House and proceeded to the Assembly, where he delivered the following speech: "I think, Quirites, that my having received, through the ballot, Macedonia as my province has been greeted more warmly than when I was congratulated on my election

as consul, or on the day when I entered on office. And the sole reason for this, I believe, is that you thought I could be the means of bringing this long−protracted war to such a close as shall be worthy of the greatness of Rome. I hope that the decision of the ballot has been regarded with favour by the gods also, and that they will aid me in executing the task before me. Some things I can prognosticate, others I can feel hopeful about. This I venture to affirm with absolute certainty−I will strive to the utmost of my power, that the hopes you have formed of me shall not turn out to be vain. All measures necessary for the war the senate has already taken, and as they have decided that I must start immediately, and there is nothing to hinder me, my distinguished colleague, C. Licinius, will carry out those measures with as much energy as if he himself were going to conduct the war.

"What I write to the senate or to you, I ask you to believe, and not strengthen, by giving credence to them, the idle rumours of which no one will confess himself the author. For it is a common experience, and I have noticed it especially in this war, that no one can be so indifferent to public opinion as not to find his courage and energy influenced by it. In all public places where people congregate, and actually−would you believe it!−in private parties, there are men who know who are leading the armies into Macedonia, where their camps ought to be placed, what strategical positions ought to be occupied, when and by what pass Macedonia ought to be entered, where the magazines are to be formed, by what mode of land and sea transport supplies are to be conveyed, when actions are to be fought, and when it is better to remain inactive. And they not only lay down what ought to be done, but when anything is done contrary to their opinion they arraign the consul as though he were being impeached before the Assembly. This greatly interferes with the successful prosecution of a war, for it is not everybody who can show such firmness and resolution in the teeth of hostile criticism as Fabius did; he preferred to have his authority weakened by the ignorance and caprice of the people rather than gain popularity by disservice to the State. I am not one of those who think that generals are not to be advised; on the contrary, the man who always acts on his own initiative shows, in my judgment, more arrogance than wisdom. How then does the case stand? Commanders ought first of all to get the advice of thoughtful and far−seeing men who have special experience of military affairs; then from those who are taking part in the operations, who know the country and recognise a favourable opportunity when it comes, who, like comrades on a voyage, share the same dangers. If, then, there is any man who in the interests of the commonwealth feels confident that he can give me good advice in the war which I am to conduct, let him not refuse to help his country, but go with me to Macedonia. I will supply him with a ship, a horse, a tent, and with his travelling expenses as well. If anyone thinks this too much trouble, let him not try to act as a sea pilot whilst he is on land. The city itself affords plenty of subjects for conversation, let him confine his loquacity to these; he may rest assured that the discussions in our councils of war will satisfy us." After delivering this speech and offering the customary sacrifice on the Alban Mount at the Latin Festival on March 31, the consul left, in company with the praetor, for Macedonia. It is recorded that the consul was escorted by an unusually large crowd of well−wishers, and that people predicted with hopeful confidence the near close of the Macedonian war and the early return and brilliant triumph of the consul.

During these proceedings in Italy, Perseus could not make up his mind to carry out his project of gaining Gentius, king of the Illyrians, as an ally, as he would have to spend money in so doing. But when he found that the Romans had cleared the passes and that the supreme crisis of the war was at hand, he felt that this business ought not to be put off any longer. Through Hippias, who acted for him, he agreed to pay a sum of 300 silver talents on condition that hostages were exchanged on both sides. Pantauchus, one of his closest friends, was sent to complete the transaction. Pantauchus met the Illyrian king at Meteon in the district of Libea, and there he received the king's sworn word and the hostages. Gentius sent as his representative a man called Olympius to claim from Perseus his sworn word and the hostages. Men were sent with him to receive the money, and at the suggestion of Pantauchus, Parmenio and Morcus were selected to accompany them to Rhodes. Their instructions were not to go to Rhodes till they had received the king's sworn word and the hostages, as at the request of both kings the Rhodians might be induced to declare war against Rome. The adhesion of that nation, whose naval reputation was then at its height, would, it was supposed, leave the Romans no hope of victory either on sea or land. Perseus went from his camp by the Elpeus with all his cavalry, and met the Illyrians at Dium. There, with the cavalry drawn up all round them, the contracting parties ratified the covenant between them, Perseus thinking that their presence at this

solemn ratification would give them fresh courage. Then the hostages were exchanged in the sight of all; those who were to receive the money were then sent to the royal treasury at Pella; those who were to accompany the Illyrian envoys to Rhodes received instructions to embark at Thessalonica. Metrodorus, who had recently come from Rhodes, was there, and he asserted on the authority of Dinon and Polyaratus, leading men in the city, that the Rhodians were prepared for war. He was appointed head of the joint Macedonian and Illyrian legation.

At the same time some considerations, suggested by the political conditions of the time, were submitted in common to Eumenes and Antiochus. Perseus reminded them that free commonwealths and monarchs are in the nature of things antagonistic. Rome was attacking them one by one, and what was still worse, kings were using their power against kings. His own father had been crushed by the help of Attalus; the attack on Antiochus had been made with the assistance of Eumenes and, to some extent, of his own father Philip; now Eumenes and Prusias were in arms against himself. If royalty were abolished in Macedonia, Asia would be the next. They had already become masters of some parts of it under the pretext of making the cities free. Then Syria's turn would come. Prusias was now held in higher honour than Eumenes, and Antiochus was kept out of the Egypt which he had conquered−the prize of war. He urged them to reflect on these things, and either insist upon the Romans making peace with him, or else regard those who persisted in carrying on an unjust war as the common enemies of all kings. The communication to Antiochus was sent openly, the emissary to Eumenes was sent ostensibly to arrange for the ransom of the prisoners. As a matter of fact, more clandestine negotiations were going on, which for the time aroused suspicion and ill−will against Eumenes amongst the Romans, and still graver, though unfounded, charges were made against him, for he was regarded as a traitor and a declared enemy. There was a Cretan called Cydas, an intimate friend of Eumenes. This man went with a certain Chimarus, a country man of his, who was serving under Perseus, to Amphipolis, then afterwards to Demetrias, where he held conversations under the actual walls of the city, first with Menecrates and then with Antimachus, both of them generals of Perseus. Hierophon also, who was the emissary on this occasion, had previously been on two missions to Eumenes. These secret missions and colloquies were notorious, but what had actually taken place, or what agreement had been come to between the monarchs, was not known. The facts were these.

Eumenes was not eager for Perseus to be victorious, nor had he any intention of helping him in the war, not so much because of the differences he had with his father as because of personal aversion he and the son felt for each other. The jealousy of the two monarchs was such that Eumenes would not have seen with complacency Perseus winning such an accession of power and glory as would have awaited him had he defeated the Romans. He knew also that from the very beginning of the war Perseus had tried every means of gaining peace, and the nearer the danger the more his actions and thoughts were, day and night, turned to this object. As regarded the Romans, he believed that since the war had dragged on longer than they expected, both their generals and the senate would not be averse from bringing to a close such a tedious and difficult war. Having thus discovered what both sides wished for, he was all the more desirous of winning their good graces by offering for a consideration his assistance towards securing what he believed would come about of itself through the weariness of the stronger and the fears of the weaker side. He fixed his price in the one case for not lending assistance to the Romans either by land or sea, and in the other for mediating peace. For refusing assistance he asked 1000 talents, for bringing about peace, 1500. Impelled by his fears Perseus was very prompt in commencing negotiations and made no delay in discussing the question of hostages; it was settled that those whom he received should be sent to Crete. But when it came to the mention of money he drew back and said that a money payment for another object would, between monarchs of so great a name, be in any case sordid and unbecoming both to him who made it and him who accepted it. Still in the hope of obtaining peace with Rome he did not grudge the expense, though he would only hand over the money when the transaction was completed; meanwhile he would deposit it in the temple at Samothrace. As that island belonged to Perseus, Eumenes saw that it made no difference whether it were there or at Pella, and he proposed to carry away a portion at once. Thus after trying unsuccessfully to trick each other they gained nothing but an evil name.

This was not the only chance which Perseus threw away in his avarice. Had he paid the money, it is possible that he might have had peace through Eumenes's instrumentality, and this was worth purchasing even at the cost of a

part of his kingdom, or if Eumenes had played him false he could have held him up as his enemy loaded with his gold, and made the Romans regard him justly as their enemy. But the alliance with Gentius which had been already mooted and the invaluable support now offered of the Gauls who were pouring through Illyria, were both lost to him through his avarice. A body of 1000 cavalry came to offer their services, and with them the same number of foot soldiers. These latter used to run alongside the horses and when the trooper fell they seized the riderless horses and rode on them into the battle. These men had agreed to serve for ten gold pieces for each horseman and five for each footman; their leaders were to receive a thousand. Perseus went with half his whole force from his camp at the Elpeus and began to give notice through all the villages and cities adjoining their route that they were to prepare ample supplies of corn, wine and cattle. He took with him some horses with their trappings and some military cloaks as presents to their officers, and a small quantity of gold to be distributed amongst a few of the troops, trusting that the mass of the soldiery would be attracted by the hope of more. He went as far as the city of Almana and fixed his camp by the River Axius. The Gaulish army was lying in the neighbourhood of Desudaba in Maedica waiting for the stipulated pay. Perseus sent Antigonus, one of the nobles of his Court, to order the soldiers to shift their camp to Bylazora, a place in Paeonia, and their officers to go in a body to him. They were seventy−five miles distant from the king's camp on the Axius. After Antigonus had given them these orders and told them what an abundance of everything the king's care had provided for them on their line of march, and what presents of clothing and silver and horses the king had ready for the officers when they arrived, they replied that they would find out all about this on the spot. They then enquired whether they had brought the gold to be distributed according to the agreement amongst the horse and foot. To this there was no reply. Then their chief Claudicus said, "Go back! Tell the king the Gauls will not move a step further unless they receive the gold and the hostages." On this being reported to the king he held a council of war. When it became obvious what the unanimous decision would be, the king began to descant on the perfidy and savagery of the Gauls, vices which many had already experienced to their ruin. It was a dangerous thing to admit so vast a multitude into Macedonia; they might find them more troublesome as allies than the Romans as enemies; 5000 cavalry were quite enough to make use of in the war, and not too many to be dangerous.

It was quite clear to every one that the only thing the king was afraid of was having to pay such a large host, and as no one had the courage to attempt to dissuade him, Antigonus was sent back to say that the king would only employ 5000 of their cavalry and would not detain the rest. When the barbarians heard this, there were murmurs of indignation from the rest of the army at having been called away from their homes to no purpose. Claudicus again enquired whether he would pay the stipulated sum to the 5000. He detected something evasive in the answer and sent the crafty messenger back unhurt−treatment which the man himself hardly ventured to hope for. The Gauls returned to the Hister, devastating those parts of Thrace which lay near their line of march. This band might have been led against the Romans through the mountain pass of Perrhaebia into Thessaly while the king remained quiet at the Elpeus, and could not only have plundered and stripped the fields so that the Romans could have looked for no supplies from those districts, but also have utterly destroyed the cities to prevent their affording any assistance to their allies, while Perseus was holding the Romans at the Elpeus. The Romans would have had to think of their own safety, for they could not have stayed where they were when Thessaly which fed their army was lost, nor could they have made any advance with the camp of the Macedonians in front of them. By losing such an opportunity Perseus encouraged the Romans and discouraged to a great extent the Macedonians who had hung their hopes on his taking advantage of it.

The same niggardly conduct turned Gentius against him. After he had paid 300 talents to the emissaries of Gentius at Pella, he allowed them to seal the money up. Then ten talents were sent to Pantauchus with instructions that they were to be given to the king at once. He told his people, who were carrying the rest of the money sealed with the seal of the Illyrians, to make short journeys, and when they had reached the frontier, to wait there for his instructions. After Gentius had received that small portion of the money, he was constantly being urged by Pantauchus to provoke the Romans by some hostile act; accordingly he threw the two Roman envoys into prison, who happened to be with him at the time, M. Perpenna and L. Petilius. On hearing this, Perseus thought that Gentius was, in any case, driven by the force of circumstances into war with Rome, and in this belief he sent a message to have the money brought back, as though his one idea was that after his defeat as much spoil as

possible might be reserved for the Romans. Hierophon returned from Eumenes without any one knowing what secret understanding had been arrived at between them. They themselves gave it out in public that it had to do with the exchange of prisoners, and Eumenes sent the same explanation to the consul to allay his suspicions.

Seeing how his schemes had miscarried, Perseus sent his two naval commanders, Antenor and Calippus, with forty swift ships and five cutters to Tenedos to protect the corn ships which were making their way to Macedonia through the scattered groups of the Cyclades. The ships took the water at Cassandrea, in the two harbours under Mount Athos, and from there sailed to Tenedos in a calm sea. Some undecked vessels belonging to Rhodes were lying in the harbour and Eudamus, their commander, was allowed to take them away unharmed, as though they were friends. On learning that fifty of his transports on the other side of the island were blockaded by the war−galleys of Eumenes which were stationed at the entrance to the harbour, Antenor promptly sailed round and the enemy ships made off on his appearance. Ten swift ships were told off to escort the transports to Macedonia, and when they had seen them safe they were to return to Tenedos. Eight days afterwards they rejoined the fleet which was now anchored off Sigeum. From here they sailed to Sabota, an island situated between Elaea and Chios. The day after they arrived, thirty−five vessels called "hippagogi," carrying Gaulish horses and troopers, happened to be on their way from Elaea to Phanae, a headland in Chios, intending to sail from there to Macedonia. They were sent to Attalus by Eumenes. When Antenor received a signal that these ships were at sea, he started for Sabota and met them in the narrowest part of the channel between the headland of Erythrae and Chios. The last thing that Eumenes's officers expected was the appearance of a Macedonian fleet cruising in those waters. They first thought that they were Romans and then that it was Attalus or some that had been sent back by Attalus from the Roman camp and were on their way to Pergamum. But when the build of the approaching vessels could no longer be mistaken and the prows steering straight for them at increasing speed revealed the approach of an enemy, there was great alarm. The clumsy nature of their ships and the difficulty of keeping the Gauls quiet, destroyed all hope of resistance. Some of those who were nearer to the mainland swam to Erythrae; others crowded on all sail and ran their ships aground in Chios, and, abandoning the horses, fled in wild disorder towards the city. But the Macedonian vessels, taking a shorter course, landed their marines nearer the city and some of the Gauls were cut down as they fled along the road, others outside the city gate. The Chians had closed their gates, not knowing who were fleeing and who were pursuing. Nearly 800 Gauls were killed and 200 made prisoners. Some of the horses in the wrecked ships were drowned; others were hamstrung by the Macedonians on the beach. There were twenty horses of exceptional beauty, and Antenor gave orders for the ten vessels which he had previously sent to carry these and the prisoners to Thessalonica and return as soon as possible; he should wait for them at Phanae. The fleet lay off Chios for three days and then sailed to Phanae. The ten ships returned sooner than was expected; the whole fleet then put out to sea and sailed across the Aegean to Delos.

During these operations the Roman commissioners, C. Popilius, C. Decimius and C. Hostilius, left Chalcis with three quinqueremes and arrived at Delos. There they found the forty vessels belonging to the Macedonians and five quinqueremes belonging to Eumenes. The sanctity of the temple and the island prevented them from injuring one another. The Romans, the Macedonians and the crews from Eumenes' ships went about together in the city and the temple in the peaceful security of a locality sacred and inviolate. Antenor received a signal from the look−out that several transports were sailing past. He started in pursuit with some of his ships and dispersed the rest among the Cyclades. He either sunk or plundered them all, with the exception of those heading for Macedonia. Popilius tried to save all he could, both of his own ships and those of Eumenes, but the Macedonian barques sailed by night, two or three together, and so escaped observation. About this time the Macedonian and Illyrian envoys arrived in Rhodes. Their representations had all the more weight owing to the appearance of the Macedonian ships cruising amongst the Cyclades and in the Aegean, the united action which Perseus and Gentius were taking, and the rumour that the Gauls were coming with a large force of infantry and cavalry. Dinon and Polyaratus, the leaders of Perseus' faction, felt themselves now strong enough to send a favourable reply to the two monarchs, and even went so far as to proclaim publicly that they possessed sufficient authority to put an end to the war, the kings themselves therefore must resign themselves to the acceptance of peace terms.

It was now the beginning of spring, and the new generals had reached their provinces. The consul Aemilius was in Macedonia, Octavius with the fleet at Oreum, and Anicius was in Illyria to conduct the war against Gentius. The father of Gentius was Pleuratus, formerly king of Illyria; his mother's name was Eurydice. Gentius had two brothers, one named Plator, the other, a half−brother, named Caravantius. He felt no uneasiness about the latter, as the father was a man of low birth, but to make his throne more secure he put Plator to death, and two of his friends with him, Ettritus and Epicadus, both of them able and enterprising men. It was commonly said that his jealousy was aroused by Plator's betrothal to Etuta, a daughter of Monunus, the prince of the Dardani, as though by this marriage he would secure the whole nation to his interest, and the fact that after Plator's death his brother married the girl made this conjecture highly probable. When all fear of his brother was removed, Gentius began to harass and oppress his people, and his naturally violent temper was inflamed by excessive indulgence in wine. However, as I have said above, he was bent upon war with Rome, and assembled the whole of his forces at Lissus. They numbered 15,000 men. He sent his brother Caravantius with 1000 infantry and 500 horse to effect the subjugation of the Cavii, either by intimidation or force, whilst he himself advanced against Bassania, a city five miles distant from Lissus. The population were friendly to Rome, and when Caravantius sent a demand for submission they chose to stand a siege rather than surrender. One of the towns belonging to the Cavii, Durnium, opened its gates to Caravantius; another city, Caravandis, shut its gates against him, and when he began an extensive devastation of their fields the peasants rose and killed a considerable number of the scattered plunderers.

By this time Appius Claudius, who had strengthened the army he had with him by contingents from the Ballini, the Apolloniates and the Dyrrhachians, had left his winter quarters and was encamped near the River Genusus. The intelligence brought to him of the league between Perseus and Gentius, and the outrageous treatment of the Roman envoys, decided him to commence hostilities against him. The praetor Anicius, who was at this time in Apollonia, heard what was going on in Illyria, and sent a message to Appius requesting him to wait for him by the Genusus. In three days he arrived at the camp and brought with him in addition to his own force 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry, sent by the Parthini, the infantry under the command of Epicadus, the cavalry under that of Algalus. He was making preparations to march into Illyria, his principal object being the raising of the siege of Bassania. The projected invasion was delayed by a report that eighty pirate barques were ravaging the coast. They had been sent by Gentius on the advice of Pantauchus to devastate the fields of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. Then the fleet . . . they surrendered.

One after another the cities in that part of the country took the same course; their natural inclinations were strengthened by the clemency and justice with which the Roman praetor treated them all. He marched on to Scodra, the most important place in the war. Gentius had selected it as the stronghold, so to speak, of his kingdom, and it was by far the most strongly fortified and most difficult of access of any place in the country of the Libeates. It is surrounded by two rivers, the Clausal on the eastern side and the Barbanna, which rises in the Libeatus Lake, on the west. These two rivers meet and flow into the Oriundis, which rises in Mount Scordus and, augmented by many tributaries in its course, empties itself into the Hadriatic. Mount Scordus is quite the loftiest mountain in the country, and overlooks Dardania on the east, Macedonia on the south, and Illyria on the west. Although the town was protected by its situation and defended by the whole strength of Illyria under the king himself, the Roman praetor determined to attack it. His first operations had been successful, and he believed that the same good fortune would carry him through, and that the alarm created by his sudden appearance would have its effect. Had the gates been kept shut and the defenders stationed on the walls and towers, the attempt would have failed and the Romans would have been driven away from the walls. As it was, however, they made a sortie from the gate, and they began a battle on open ground with more courage than they kept it up. They were driven back, and more than 200 men were killed as they squeezed together in their flight through the confined space of the gate. This created such a panic that Gentius at once sent two of the foremost men in the country, Teuticus and Bellus, to the praetor to ask for a cessation of hostilities, to allow him time to consider his position. He was allowed three days−the Roman camp was only five miles away−and went on board ship and sailed up the Barbanna to Lake Libeatus as though in quest of a retired spot for reflection but, as it turned out, he had been misled by a false report that his brother Caravantius was approaching with several thousand men, whom he had

raised in the country to which he had been sent. After the rumour proved groundless he went down in the same ship to Scodra, and sent to ask for permission to interview the praetor. His request was granted and he went to the camp. He began his speech by blaming his own folly, and then, falling on his knees, amidst tears and supplications he placed himself entirely in the hands of the praetor. He was told to be of good courage, and even received an invitation to supper. He went back to the city to see his friends, and was for that day treated with all honour at the praetor's table. The next thing was his being handed over to the custody of C. Cassius, one of the military tribunes, after having, himself a king, received from a king a paltry ten talents−hardly as much as a gladiator earns−in order that he might sink into this condition.

After the capture of Scodra the first thing Anicius did was to order the two envoys, Petilius and Perpenna, to be found and brought to him. They were provided with the clothing and insignia of their rank, and Perpenna was at once sent to arrest the friends and kinsfolk of the king. He went to Metione and brought back to the camp at Scodra Etleva, the king's wife, and his two sons, Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus, and also Caravantius his brother. Anicius had brought the war in Illyria to a close in less than a month, and Perpenna was sent to Rome to announce his victory. A few days later he sent Gentius to Rome, together with his mother, his wife, his children and his brother, and also some of the principal men of Illyria. This is the only war the close of which was reported in Rome before they had heard that it had begun. All through this time, Perseus on his side was in a state of great alarm by the advance of the consul Aemilius who, he understood, was on the march in a most dangerous mood, and no less so by the forward movement of Octavius with the Roman fleet menacing the coast. Eumenes and Athenagoras were in command of Thessalonica with a small force of 2000 cetrati. He sent Androcles there also with orders to remain encamped close to the naval arsenal; 1000 cavalry under Creon of Antigonea were sent to Aenea to guard the coast, so that at whatever point they heard the hostile ships were threatening, they might at once go to the help of the country folk; 5000 Macedonians were sent to garrison Pytho and Petra under the command of Histieaus, Theogenes and Midon. After they had left, Perseus set himself to fortify the bank of the Elpeus, because, as the river−bed was now dry, it could easily be crossed. To allow of the whole army being free for this work, supplies of food were brought into the camp by women from the neighbouring cities. Out of the woods near the soldiers were ordered . . .

Lastly he ordered the water−carriers to follow him to the sea, which was less than 300 paces distant, and to dig at short intervals from each other on the shore. The towering height of the mountains led him to expect that as no rivulets flowed from above the ground they contained hidden streams which flowed as it were through veins into the sea and mingled with its waters. Hardly had the surface of the sand been removed when springs bubbled up, muddy at first and scanty, but they soon poured forth a clear and copious supply of water, as though it were a gift from the gods. This incident added much to their general's prestige and authority amongst the soldiers. Orders were then issued for the troops to get their arms ready, and the consul with the military tribunes and the centurions of the first rank went out to examine the place where they were to cross, where the men under arms could find an easy descent, and where the ascent of the opposite bank presented least difficulty. After satisfying himself on these points, the consul's first care was that everything should be done in an orderly fashion and without confusion, in obedience to the word of command. When an order was promulgated to all the troops at the same time, it was not distinctly heard by everybody, and in their uncertainty as to what had been said, some made additions for themselves and went beyond what had been ordered, while some did less than they were told to do. Then confused shouts arose throughout the column and the enemy knew the general's intentions before they did. He therefore gave directions for the military tribunes to communicate the order privately to the first centurion of the legion and he was to notify what was to be done to each of the centurions, rank by rank, whether the order was to be transmitted from front to rear of the column or from rear to front. He also forbade the sentinels to follow the new fashion of wearing their shields; a sentinel did not go into battle to make use of his arms; his duty was on becoming aware of the enemy's approach to retire and call the rest to arms. They used to stand, wearing their helmets and holding their shields in front of them, and then, when they were tired, they leaned on their spears, rested their heads on the rim of their shields and went to sleep as they stood, so that the glitter of their armour made them visible to the enemy while they themselves saw nothing in front of them. He also altered the regulations with regard to the outlying pickets. They used to stand all day under arms, the cavalry with their

horses bridled, and in the days of summer under a cloudless and scorching sun, the men themselves and their horses were so languid and exhausted by the heat after so many hours that often, when attacked by a small body of the enemy who were fresh and unwearied, they were discomfited, though greatly superior in numbers. He thereupon gave orders that those who were sent out in the morning should quit their posts at noon and be relieved by others who went on duty for the rest of the day. In this way it was never possible for a fresh and unwearied enemy to attack them when they were suffering from fatigue.

After Aemilius had paraded his troops and announced to them his intention of making these reforms, he went on to address them on very much the same lines as in his speech to the Assembly. He reminded them that it was the duty of the commander alone to provide for the welfare of his army and to advise as to what ought to be done, sometimes alone and sometimes in consultation with those whom he has called into council. Those who were not called into council had no right to ventilate their own opinions either publicly or privately. It was the soldier's duty to be careful about these three things: To keep his body as strong and agile as possible; to keep his arms in good order, and to have his food ready against any sudden order of his commander. All other matters, he must understand, are under the care of the gods and of his general. In an army where the soldiers take upon them to give advice and the general is swayed by the opinions of the multitude, there is no safety. He, as their commander, would do his duty and be on the watch to give them an opportunity of fighting a successful battle. It was not for them to ask what was going to happen, as soon as the signal was given, it was their duty to do all that a soldier could do.

With these instructions he dismissed the troops, and even the veterans generally confessed that on that day they had for the first time, as though they were raw recruits, learnt what military service meant. And it was not only by remarks of this kind that they showed how greatly they appreciated the consul's words−they began at once to act on them. In a short time you would see no one in the camp idle; some were sharpening their swords; others rubbing up their helmets and cheek−pieces and their cuirasses; others fastening on their armour and testing their agility under its weight; others poising their spears; others again making their swords flash with rapid thrusts and keeping their eyes on the point. So that anyone could easily see that on the very first opportunity of coming to close quarters with the enemy they would finish the war by a splendid victory or, in their own case, by a glorious death. Perseus, too, when he saw that after the consul's arrival−it was the beginning of spring as well−all was bustle and movement with the enemy as though for a fresh campaign, and that the camp was shifted from Phila to the bank of the river, and the consul was going on his rounds, at one time to inspect the works and evidently looking out for a place where he could cross the river; at another . . .

This incident raised the spirits of the Romans and produced considerable alarm amongst the Macedonians and their king. At first he tried to stifle the report by sending to Pantauchus, who was on his way to the camp, to forbid him from entering it; but some boys, who were being taken away amongst the Illyrian hostages, had been seen by their friends. So the greater the pains taken to conceal the details, the more easily did they leak out through the love of gossip in the king's Court. Just after this the envoys from Rhodes arrived at the Roman camp bringing with them the same demand for peace which had so roused the ire of the Roman senate. They received a much more hostile hearing from the council of war in the camp. Some thought they ought to be driven helter−skelter out of the camp; the consul said he would give them an answer in a fortnight's time. Meanwhile, to make it clear how far the influence of the Rhodians extended in their efforts to bring about peace, he began to discuss the plan of operations with his council. Some, mainly the younger officers, were for crossing the Elpeus and storming the opposite bank and the defensive works above it. After their expulsion the year before from their forts, which were on higher ground, better fortified and strongly held, they thought the Macedonians would be unable to stand a general attack made in full force. Others were of opinion that Octavius ought to take his fleet to Thessalonica and devastate the coast. By thus menacing his rear they would compel the king to divide his forces and march away to protect the interior of his kingdom, thus leaving the passage of the river in some direction open. The consul considered the river bank insurmountable, owing to its steepness and the works which defended it, especially as artillery was in position everywhere, and he had heard that the enemy used their missile weapons more skillfully, and with a surer aim.

The consul had quite made up his mind to adopt another course, and the council broke up. There were two Perrhaebian traders, Coenus and Menophilus, whose honesty and sagacity he knew he could trust. He sent for them and questioned them privately about the routes leading into Perrhaebia. They told him that the country was not difficult; it was held by detachments of the king's troops. Hearing this he thought that by a sudden night attack delivered in force, when the enemy were not expecting it, they could be dislodged and driven back. Javelins and arrows and other missiles were useless in the dark, when it was impossible to see what to aim at; it was in close hand−to−hand fighting with the sword, in the melee of battle, that the Roman soldier was victorious. He decided to take these men as guides, and sent for Octavius, to whom he explained his plans, and he gave him instructions to sail to Heracleum and have in readiness ten days' rations for 1000 men. P. Scipio Nasica and Q. Fabius Maximus, his own son, were sent overland to Heracleum with 5000 select troops, as though they were going on board the fleet to devastate the Macedonian coast−the scheme which had been advocated in the council. They were privately informed that, to avoid any delay, there was food ready for these troops on board the fleet. The two guides were then ordered so to regulate the length of each day's march as to allow of an attack being made on Pythium in the fourth watch of the third day.

To prevent the king from directing his attention elsewhere, the consul, at dawn on the following day, commenced an action with the enemy's outposts in the middle of the river−bed, and the fighting was kept up by the light infantry on both sides; heavier troops could not possibly fight on such uneven ground. From the top of each bank down to the river−bed was about 300 paces; the actual channel of the river between the banks, which varied in depth, was over a mile wide. There in mid−channel the fight went on, the king watching it from his intrenchments on the one side and the consul from the rampart surrounded by his legionaries on the other. As long as they were not in touch and could use their missiles the king's men fought at an advantage, but when it came to close fighting the Roman was more steady and better protected, whether by the shield or the Ligurian buckler. About noon the consul ordered the retreat to be sounded, so the action was broken off for that day with a not inconsiderable number killed on both sides. The next day the conflict was renewed at sunrise with even greater bitterness, as their passions had been roused by the previous contest. But the Romans were wounded, not only by those with whom they were actually fighting, but to a much greater extent by the missiles of every kind which were discharged by the multitude of assailants posted on the turrets, and especially by the huge stones from the ballistae. Whenever they got nearer to the bank held by the enemy the discharges from the catapults reached even the hindmost. After losing far more on that day, the consul recalled his men somewhat later than the day before. On the third day he abstained from fighting and went down to the lowest part of the camp, as if to attempt a passage through that part of the enemy's line, which was carried down to the sea. . . .

It was past the summer solstice and the time of day was approaching noon; the march had been made amidst clouds of dust and under a burning sun. Lassitude and thirst were already felt, and it was certain that both would be aggravated at high noon. The consul was determined not to expose his men while thus suffering to an enemy who was fresh and in full vigour. But such was the eagerness of the men for battle under any circumstances that it needed as much skill on the part of the consul to beguile his own men as to deceive the enemy. The battle line was not completely formed, and he urged the military tribunes to hasten its formation; he rode round the ranks and fired the spirits of the men by his words. On this they at first eagerly demanded the signal for battle; then under the increasing heat their faces showed less animation and their voices became weaker; some hung over their shields and propped themselves up with their spears. Now at last he gave the order to the centurions of the first rank to mark out the front line for a camp and to deposit the baggage. When the soldiers became aware of what was happening, some openly expressed their delight that he had not compelled them to fight, exhausted as they were with the toilsome march and the intense heat. The staff officers and the commandants of the foreign contingents, Attalus amongst them, were standing round the commander−in−chief and unanimously approving of what they thought was his decision, namely, to give battle. Not even to them had he disclosed his intention of delaying action. The sudden change of plan made nearly all of them silent. Nasica alone had the courage to admonish the consul not to do as former commanders had done, and by avoiding battle let the enemy slip through his fingers. If Perseus got away in the night, he was afraid that infinite trouble and danger would be incurred in following him into the heart of Macedonia, and they would spend the summer as previous generals had done, in

feeling their way through the passes and tracks of the Macedonian mountains. He strongly advised the consul to attack the enemy while he had him in level and open country, and not to lose the proffered chance of victory. The consul was not at all offended at the frank admonition of so distinguished a youth. "Nasica," he replied, "I, too, once felt as you do now, and one day you will feel as I do now. I have learnt, through the many accidents of war, when to fight and when to abstain from fighting. I have no time now, standing as I am at the head of the line, to explain to you why it is better to rest today. Ask me for my reasons some other time; for the time being you will be content to submit to the authority of a veteran commander." The young man was silent; he was sure that his general saw some impediments in the way of a battle which were not apparent to him.

When Aemilius Paulus saw that the site of the camp had been marked out and the baggage collected, he first quietly withdrew the triarii from the back of the line, then the principes, leaving the hastati standing in front, in case the enemy made any movement. Finally he retired these also, withdrawing those on the right first, maniple by maniple. In this way the infantry were withdrawn without creating any confusion, leaving the cavalry and light infantry facing the enemy. The cavalry were not recalled from their position until the rampart and fosse in front of the camp were carried their full length. The king was quite ready to give battle that day, but as his men were aware that the delay was due to the enemy he was quite content, and he too led his men back to camp. When the fortification of the camp was completed, C. Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune attached to the second legion, who had been a praetor the year before, obtained the consul's permission to call the soldiers on parade. He then explained that on the following night the moon would lose her light from the second hour to the fourth, and no one must regard this as a portent, because this happened in the natural order of things at stated intervals, and could be known beforehand and predicted. Just in the same way, then, as they did not regard the regular rising and setting of the sun and moon or the changes in the light of the moon from full circle to a thin and waning crescent as a marvel, so they ought not to take its obscuration when it is hidden in the shadow of the earth for a supernatural portent. On the next night−September 4−the eclipse took place at the stated hour, and the Roman soldiers thought that Gallus possessed almost divine wisdom. It gave a shock to the Macedonians as portending the fall of their kingdom and the ruin of their nation, nor could their soothsayers give any other explanation. Shouts and howls went on in the Macedonian camp until the moon emerged and gave her light. So keen had both sides been to encounter one another that on the morrow both Perseus and the consul were alike blamed by some of their own men for having retired without a battle The king was at no loss for his defence−the enemy had openly declined battle and was the first to withdraw his troops into camp; and, besides, the position which he had chosen was such that the phalanx could not be brought up to it, even a slightly uneven ground would make it useless. As to the consul, not only did it look as if he had let slip the opportunity of fighting the previous day and given the enemy a chance, if he wished, of going away in the night, but even now he seemed to be wasting time on the pretext of offering sacrifice, although the signal for battle had been hoisted at dawn and he ought to have taken the field. It was not till the third hour after the sacrifices had been duly performed that he summoned a council of war and even then he was thought by some to be wasting the time, which ought to have been spent on the battlefield, in unseasonable speeches and discussions.

The consul addressed the council as follows: "Out of all those who were in favour of my giving battle yesterday, P. Nasica, a most excellent young man, was the only one who disclosed his real thoughts to me, and after that he remained silent, so that it would seem that he has come over to my side. There are some others who preferred to find fault with their commander behind his back rather than offer their advice in his presence. I have no objection to giving my reasons for delaying battle to you, Nasica, and to all who entertain the same sentiments as you did, though less openly, for I am so far from regretting our inaction yesterday that I believe I have saved the army through it. If any of you think that I have no grounds for this belief, I ask him to consider with me, if he will, how many things there were in the enemy's favour and to our disadvantage. First of all, as to his superiority in numbers, I am perfectly certain that none of you were unaware how great that is and especially yesterday when you watched his men deploying into line. Out of our own scanty numbers one−fourth had been left to guard the baggage, and you know that it is not the least efficient who are left in charge of that. But supposing we had been in full force, are we to take no account of the fact that we have remained undisturbed in the camp last night, ready with the help of the gods to take the field this very day or, at the latest, tomorrow? Is it a matter of indifference

whether you order the soldier to take up his arms on a day when he has not been fatigued by a toilsome march and the labour of intrenching the camp, when he has been resting undisturbed in his tent, and so lead him into battle full of energy and vigorous in body and mind, or whether on the other hand you expose him fatigued by a long march and exhausted by the work of preparing the camp, with the sweat pouring from him and his jaws parched with thirst, his mouth and eyes full of dust, under a scorching noonday sun, to an enemy who is fresh, rested and bringing into battle a strength and energy which have not been used up beforehand? Who, in heaven's name, being thus prepared for battle, even though he were an utter coward, would not conquer the bravest of men? After the enemy had, quite at their leisure, formed their line, their minds prepared for battle, and all standing in their ordered ranks, do you suppose that we were then to form our line in haste and confusion and meet them when we were in disorder?

"Some might say: 'Even if we had not our battle line in proper formation, had we no fortified camp, no provision for water, no troops to guard the access to it? Had we nothing which we could call our own except the bare ground on which to fight?' Your ancestors looked upon a camp as a safe haven for the army against every mischance, from which they went out to battle, where, after being tossed in the storm of battle, they could find a safe retreat. It was for that reason that after they had fenced it with earthworks, they strengthened it with a powerful guard, for he who lost his camp, even if victorious on the field, was held to be defeated. A camp is a resting−place for the victor, a shelter for the vanquished. How many armies to whom the fortune of battle has proved unkindly have been driven inside their ramparts and then at their own time, sometimes almost immediately, have made a sortie and repulsed their victorious foe? Here is the soldier's second fatherland, here is his abode, with the rampart for its walls; here each finds in his tent, his home and his household gods. Ought we to have fought as homeless wanderers with no place to receive us after our victory?

"In reply to these difficulties and hindrances it is asked, 'What if the enemy had gone off last night?' How much exhausting toil should we have had to endure in following him into the heart of Macedonia! I am perfectly certain that if he had decided to depart he would not have awaited us, nor drawn up his troops on the field. How much easier would it have been for him to get away when we were at a distance, than it is now when we are close upon him and he cannot withdraw by day or night without our becoming aware of it! What could we wish for better than, instead of being obliged to attack their camp in its strong position on the bank of a river, fenced with a rampart and numerous towers, we attack them in the rear after they have left their intrenchments and are making their way in a straggling column through open country? These were my reasons for postponing the battle from yesterday to today, for it is my intention to give battle, and as the way to the enemy across the Elpeus has been blocked by him, I have opened up a fresh way by dislodging his men who were holding another pass, and I shall not stop till I have brought the war to a close."

When he had finished there was silence; some had been brought round to his view; others were afraid of giving needless offence by criticising the neglect of an opportunity which, to whatever it might be due, could not be remedied. Even on this day neither the consul nor the king was prepared to engage. The king would not be able to attack them as they were yesterday, wearied with their march, deploying hurriedly into line and not in battle order; the consul held back because neither wood nor fodder had been brought into the newly−formed camp, and a large proportion of his troops had left the camp to collect these from the fields near. Against the intention of both commanders Fortune, who overrides the plans of men, brought about a conflict. There was a river, not a large one, near the enemy's camp from which both the Romans and the Macedonians drew their water, protected by detachments stationed on either bank. On the Roman side were two cohorts, Marrucinians and Paelignians, and two squadrons of Samnite horse under the command of M. Sergius Silus. Another body was stationed in front of the camp under C. Cluvius; these consisted of Firman, Vestinian and Cremensian troops, and two squadrons of cavalry from Placentia and Aeserna. Whilst all was quiet at the river, neither side offering any provocation, a mule broke loose about three o'clock in the afternoon from the men in charge and escaped to the opposite bank. Three soldiers went after it through the water, which was up to their knees. Two Thracians were dragging the beast out of the river back to their own bank, when they were followed by some Romans, who killed one of them, recaptured the mule, and went back to their posts. There were 800 Thracians guarding the enemy's bank. A few of

these, enraged at seeing a comrade killed before their eyes, ran across the river in pursuit of those who slew him; then more joined in and at last the whole body, and with them the . . .

. . . led them into battle. His men were deeply impressed by reverence for his authority, the reputation he had acquired, and, above all, his age, for though more than sixty years old, he took upon himself to a large extent the duties and dangers which are usually the lot of younger men. The interval between the "caetrati" and the divisions of the phalanx was filled up by the legion, and thus the enemy's line was interrupted. The "caetrati" were in their rear; the legion were fronting the shieldmen of the phalanx, who were known as the "chalcaspides." L. Albinus, an ex−consul, was ordered to lead the second legion against the phalanx of "leucaspides"; these formed the centre of the enemy's line. On the Roman right, where the battle had begun, close to the river, he brought up the elephants and the cohorts of allied troops. It was here that the Macedonians first gave ground. For just as most new devices amongst men seem valuable as far as words go, but when they are put to a practical test and have to be acted upon they fail to produce results, so it was with the elephants; those of the Macedonians were of no use whatever. The contingents of the Latin allies followed up the charge of the elephants and repulsed the left wing. The second legion which had been sent against the centre broke up the phalanx. The most probable explanation of the victory is that several separate engagements were going on all over the field, which first shook the phalanx out of its formation and then broke it up. As long as it was compact, its front bristling with levelled spears, its strength was irresistible. If by attacking them at various points you compel them to bring round their spears, which owing to their length and weight are cumbersome and unwieldy, they become a confused and involved mass, but if any sudden and tumultuous attack is made on their flank or rear, they go to pieces like a falling house. In this way they were forced to meet the repeated charges of small bodies of Roman troops with their front dislocated in many places, and wherever there were gaps the Romans worked their way amongst their ranks. If the whole line had made a general charge against the phalanx while still unbroken, as the Paeligni did at the beginning of the action against the "caetrati," they would have spitted themselves upon their spears and have been powerless against their massed attack.

The infantry were being slaughtered all over the field; only those who threw away their arms were able to make good their escape. The cavalry, on the other hand, quitted the field with hardly any loss, the king himself being the first to flee. He was already on his way to Pella with his "sacred" cavalry, and Cotys and the Odrysaeans were following at his heels. The rest of the Macedonian horse also got away with their ranks unbroken, because the infantry were between them and the enemy, and the latter were so fully occupied in massacring the infantry that they forgot to pursue the cavalry. For a long time the slaughter of the phalanx went on in front, flank and rear. At last those who had escaped out of the hands of the enemy threw away their arms and fled to the shore; some even went into the water and, stretching out their hands in supplication to the men in the fleet, implored them to save their lives. When they saw boats from all the ships rowing to the place where they were they thought that they were coming to take them up as prisoners rather than slay them, and they waded further into the water, some even swimming. But when they found that they were being killed by the men in the boats, those who could swim back to land met with a more wretched fate, for the elephants, forced by their drivers to the water's edge, trampled on them and crushed them to death as they came out. It is universally admitted that never had so many Macedonians been killed by the Romans in a single battle. As many as 20,000 men perished; 6000 who had fled to Pydna fell into the enemy's hands, and 5000 were made prisoners in their flight. Of the victors not more than 100 fell, and of these the majority were Paelignians; the wounded were much more numerous. If the battle had begun earlier and there had been sufficient daylight for the victors to continue the pursuit, the whole force would have been wiped out. As it was, the approach of night shielded the fugitives and made the Romans chary of following them over unknown country.

Perseus fled to the Pierian forest, accompanied by his suite and a numerous body of cavalry. When he had entered the forest at a point where several roads diverged, as night was approaching he struck into a side−path with a very small body of those most faithful to him. The cavalry, left without a leader, dispersed to their various cities; and a few reached Pella in advance of Perseus himself, having gone by a straight road. Up to midnight the king had considerable trouble and anxiety in trying to find his way. Eulacus and Euctus and the royal pages were ready to

meet the king in the gloomy palace, but of all his friends who had lived through the battle and regained Pella, not one came to him in spite of his repeated invitations. There were only three who shared his flight, Euander of Crete, Neo a Boeotian, and Archidamus the Aetolian. Fearing that those who refused to go to him might soon venture upon a more serious step, he fled away at the fourth watch, followed by certainly not more than 500 Cretans. He was intending to go to Amphipolis, but he had left Pella in the night, anxious to cross the Axius before daylight, as he thought the difficulty of crossing that river might stop the Roman pursuit.

On his return to camp the consul's joy in his victory was damped by his anxiety about his younger son. This was P. Scipio, who had been adopted as grandson by Scipio Africanus, and himself received the title of Africanus, from the destruction of Carthage in after years. He was only seventeen at the time−a further cause for anxiety−and while he was in full pursuit of the enemy, he was carried away by the press into another part of the field. On his return late in the day to the camp, his father, finding him safe and sound, could at last feel unmixed joy in his great victory. The news of the battle had already been carried to Amphipolis, and the matrons flocked to the temple of Diana−the Tauropolon−to invoke her aid. Diodorus, the governor of the city, was apprehensive lest the Thracian garrison, some 2000 strong, should in the tumult and confusion plunder the city. He therefore hired a man to impersonate a letter−carrier, and received a pretended despatch from him in the middle of the forum. It stated that the Roman fleet had put in at Emathia, and the fields all round were being ravaged. The officers in charge of Emathia implored him to send the garrison to deal with the ravagers. After reading the despatch he urged the Thracians to go and defend the coast of Emathia; they would inflict great slaughter on the Romans while scattered through the fields, and would also secure large booty. At the same time he made light of the report of an unfavourable battle; if, he said, it were true, fugitive after fugitive would have come in fresh from the fight. In this way he got rid of the Thracians, and as soon as he saw that they had crossed the Strymon, he shut the gates.

Three days after the battle Perseus arrived at Amphipolis, and from that city he sent heralds with a caduceus to Paulus. In the meanwhile Hippias, Midon, and Pantauchus, the principal men among the king's friends who had fled from the field of battle to Beroea, went and made their surrender to the Roman consul. In the case of others also, their fears prompted them, one after another, to do the same. The consul sent his son Q. Fabius, together with L. Lentulus and Q. Metellus, with despatches to Rome announcing his victory. He gave the spoils taken from the enemy's army lying on the field of battle to the foot soldiers and the plunder from the surrounding country to the cavalry on condition that they were not absent from the camp more than two nights. The camp at Pydna was shifted to a site nearer the sea. First of all Beroea, then Thessalonica and Pella, and almost the whole of Macedonia, city by city, surrendered within two days. The people of Pydna, who were the nearest to the consul, had not yet sent envoys, for their citizens were prevented from coming to any decision in their council by the mixed population drawn from many nationalities and also by the crowd of fugitives from the battle. The gates were not only closed but walled up. Midon and Pantauchus were sent up to the walls to hold a parley with Solon, the commandant of the garrison; by his means the mob of fighting men was sent way. The surrendered town was given up to the soldiers to plunder. Perseus' one hope was in the help of the Bisaltians, but finding this hope vain he came before the assembled citizens of Amphipolis, with his son Philip, with the intention of kindling the courage of the Amphipolitans themselves and of the men, both infantry and cavalry, who had accompanied him or been carried there in their flight. But as often as he tried to speak he was prevented by his tears, and finding that he could not utter a word, he told Euander what he wanted to bring before the people and went down from the tribunal. The sight of the king and his distressful weeping moved the people themselves to groans and tears, but they would not listen to Euander. Some in the middle of the Assembly had the audacity to shout out, "Go away, both of you, lest we, the few survivors, perish on your account." Their daring opposition closed Euander's lips. Then the king retired to his house, and after placing an amount of gold and silver on board some boats lying in the Strymon, went down to the river. The Thracians would not venture on board and dispersed to their homes, so did the rest of the soldiers; the Cretans, attracted by the money, followed him. As the distribution of it amongst them would cause more jealousy than gratitude, 50 talents were placed on the bank to be scrambled for. Whilst they were going on board, after the scrambling, in wild confusion, they sunk a boat in the mouth of the river through overcrowding. That day they arrived at Galepsus and the day after they reached Samothrace, for which they were making. It is asserted that 2000 talents were conveyed there.

Paulus placed Roman officers in charge of the cities which had surrendered, so that the vanquished party might not be ill−treated now that peace was established. He kept the heralds from Perseus with him, and as he was unaware of the king's flight he sent P. Nasica with a small detachment of horse and foot to Amphipolis for the purpose of ravaging Sintice and frustrating any attempt which the king might make. At the same time Meliboea was taken and sacked by Cn. Octavius. Cn. Anicius was sent to Aegeum, but as the citizens did not know that the war was over they made a sortie from the town and the Romans lost 200 men. The following day the consul left Pydna with the whole of his army and formed his camp two miles distant from Pella. He remained there several days, surveying the city from every side, and he observed that it was not without good reason that it had been chosen as the royal residence. It is situated on the south−west slope of a hill and surrounded by a marsh too deep to be crossed on foot either in summer or winter. The citadel the "Phacus," which is close to the city, stands in the marsh itself, projecting like an island, and is built on a huge substructure which is strong enough to carry a wall and prevent any damage from the infiltration from the water of the lagoon. At a distance it appears to be continuous with the city wall, but it is really separated by a channel which flows between the two walls and is connected with the city by a bridge. Thus it cuts off all means of access from an external foe, and if the king shut anyone up there, there could be no possibility of escape except by the bridge, which could be very easily guarded. The royal treasure was kept there, but nothing was found there at that time beyond the 300 talents which had been sent to Gentius and then kept back. During the time the camp was at Pella numerous embassies of congratulation were received, mostly from Thessaly. On receiving intelligence that Perseus had sailed to Samothrace the consul left Pella, and after a few days' march arrived at Amphipolis. The fact of the whole population coming out to meet him was a sufficient proof that they were not mourning the loss of a good and just king.

Book 44. Rome stabilizes the East

The heralds of victory travelled to Rome with the utmost possible speed, but on their arrival they found that the rejoicings over it had forestalled them. Four days after the battle, while the Games were going on in the Campus Martius, a whispered rumour suddenly spread amongst the whole concourse of spectators to the effect that a battle had taken place in Macedonia resulting in the utter defeat of the king. Then the rumour grew louder until at last cheers and applause arose as though definite tidings of victory had been brought to them. The magistrates were taken by surprise and enquired who had started this sudden outburst of joy. As no one could be found the excitement produced by what they had taken for a certainty calmed down, but still they were convinced that it was a happy omen, which was subsequently verified by the arrival of the authentic messengers. They were delighted quite as much at their prognostications proving true as at the victory itself. A second outburst amongst the crowd in the Circus is recorded. On 17th September, the second day of the Roman Games, whilst the consul was mounting the stand to start the chariots, a despatch−bearer who said that he had come from Macedonia handed him a despatch wreathed in laurel. After the chariots were started he mounted his own and, riding across the course to the raised benches where the spectators were seated, held up the laurelled despatch for the people to see. On catching sight of it, the populace, regardless of the races, ran down into the middle of the Circus. The consul called the senate together there and after obtaining their sanction, read the despatch to the onlookers in their seats. He announced that his colleague Lucius Aemilius had fought a decisive battle with Perseus, that the Macedonian army had been routed and cut to pieces, that the king with a few of his followers was a fugitive, and that all the cities of Macedonia had passed under the power of Rome. On hearing this, cheers and frantic applause broke out; most of the men deserted the Games and went home to carry the joyful news to their wives and children. This was thirteen days after the battle had been fought in Macedonia.

The following day there was a meeting of the senate in the senate−house, and a decree was made ordering public thanksgivings. The senators also passed a resolution that, with the exception of the regular soldiers and the seamen of the fleet the consul should disband those who had taken the military oath to him. The question of the disbandment of the soldiers and seamen was postponed until the arrival of the deputation from L. Aemilius, by whom the despatch−bearer had been sent on in advance. On 25th September, about 8 A.M., they entered the City. A vast crowd had gone out to meet them at various points and accompany them back to the City. Carrying the

throng along with them they made their way to the Forum, and from there to the senate−house. The senate happened to be in session, and the consul brought them into the House. They were detained there for some time whilst they described the strength of the king's troops, both horse and foot, the numbers of those killed and those taken prisoners, the small cost at which such a slaughter of the enemy had been made, and the panic in which the king had fled. They thought he would probably make for Samothrace, and they informed the senate that the fleet was ready to take up the pursuit; he could not escape either by land or sea. Shortly afterwards they were conducted to the Assembly, where they made much the same statement, and the rejoicings were renewed on the consul giving notice that all the sacred buildings were opened, and every one was to go from the Assembly and offer, each for himself, his thanks to the gods. All the temples throughout the City were filled with crowds of women as well as men. The senators were recalled to the senate−house and made a decree that, in consideration of the glorious victory won by L. Aemilius, thanksgivings should be offered at all the shrines for five days, and the victims sacrificed were to be full−grown animals. Orders were given that the ships which were lying in the Tiber fully equipped for service, to be sent to Macedonia should occasion arise, were to be hauled up and placed in dock; the crews were to receive a year's pay and be discharged, as also all who had taken the military oath to the consul. In addition to these the troops in Corcyra, Brundisium and the coast of the Hadriatic, or in the district of Larinum−an army had been distributed in all these places as a reserve for C. Licinius to take to the support of his colleague, should it become necessary−were ordered to be disbanded. A five days' thanksgiving was proclaimed before the Assembly, to commence on 26th September.

The two commissioners who had been sent to Illyria reported on their return that the Illyrian army had been destroyed and Gentius taken prisoner, and that Illyria had made formal submission to Rome. For these successes, gained under the leadership and auspices of L. Anicius, the praetor, the senate ordered a three days' thanksgiving. A second celebration of the Latin Festival was proclaimed by the consul for 10th−12th November. Some writers assert that the envoys from Rhodes who were still in Rome were summoned before the senate after the announcement of the victory, as if to expose them and their stupid arrogance to ridicule. Agepolis, their leader, is reported to have declared that they had been sent by the government of Rhodes to make peace between Perseus and the Romans because that war was burdensome and hurtful to the whole of Greece and an expensive and unprofitable one to the Romans themselves. Now that the war had ended otherwise, the Fortune who presides over Rome had done well to give them an opportunity of congratulating the Romans on their splendid victory. So far the Rhodians. The senate's reply was to the effect that it was neither to promote the interests of Greece nor to save the Roman exchequer that the Rhodians had despatched that embassy, but solely in the interest of Perseus. Had they really felt as anxious about these two matters as they pretended to be, the envoys ought to have been sent at the time when Perseus led his army into Thrace and went on for two years attacking the cities of Greece, some by actual investment, others by intimidation; there was no mention of peace made by the Rhodians then. It was not till they learnt that the mountain defiles had been crossed and the Romans had invaded Macedonia that they sent their envoys, their only motive being to save Perseus from the dangers which were hanging over him. With this reply the envoys were dismissed.

About this time M. Marcellus, who was on his way home from Spain, captured the important city of Marcolica, and brought into the treasury 10 pounds' weight of gold and a quantity of silver amounting to one million sesterces. The consul Paulus Aemilius was, as I have already said, still in camp at Sirae, in the Odomantic country, when three persons of mean appearance brought him a letter from Perseus. On seeing the missive he is said to have shed tears over the fate that befalls men, for the man who a short time ago was not contented with his kingdom of Macedonia, but made an attack on the Dardanians and the Illyrians, and had called out the auxiliary levies of the Bastarnae−that man had now lost his army, was driven out of his kingdom a homeless wanderer into a small island where, as a suppliant, he was protected by the sanctity of the temple, not by any strength which he possessed. When, however, he read the salutation, "From King Perseus to the consul Paulus." the man's utter failure to realise his condition destroyed all feeling of compassion. Consequently, though in the body of the letter there were appeals for mercy which were anything but kingly, the messengers were dismissed without any reply either by word of mouth or in writing. Perseus saw that he must forget his royal title in his defeat, and a second letter was sent in which he described himself by his personal name. In this he begged most urgently that some

persons might be sent to him with whom he could confer as to his status and the circumstances in which he was placed. The three who were sent to him were P. Lentulus, A. Postumius Albinus and A. Antonius. Nothing resulted from this conference; Perseus clung desperately to his royal title, and Paulus was determined that he should place himself and all that he possessed at the mercy of Rome.

Meantime the fleet under Cn. Octavius had put in at Samothrace. Octavius thought that the presence of the fleet would intimidate Perseus, and he tried to induce him to surrender by appealing to his hopes and fears. An incident brought about either by accident or design assisted his efforts. A young man of distinction, L. Atilius, noticed that the people of Samothrace were holding an assembly, and he requested the magistrates to allow him to address a few words to the people. Permission being granted, he began: "My friends and hosts of Samothrace, is it true or false what we have heard, that this is a consecrated island and that its soil is everywhere sacred and inviolable?" There was a unanimous response in the affirmative, and he went on: "Why, then, is it polluted and violated by a murderer stained with the blood of King Eumenes? And whilst all approach to your sacred shrines is forbidden to those who do not come with clean hands before commencing any holy rite, will you allow them to be contaminated by the presence of a blood−stained assassin?" It was well known through all the cities of Greece that the murder of Eumenes at Delphi had been attempted and all but effected by Euander. They were aware that the temple and the whole of the island lay at the mercy of the Romans, and they felt, too, that they deserved the reproach. Theondas, their chief magistrate−they give him the title of "king"−was accordingly sent to Perseus to inform him that Euander was accused of murder and that courts were established after the manner of their ancestors to try those who were alleged to have entered the sacred boundaries with unholy hands. If Euander felt sure that he would be proved innocent of any capital crime let him appear to defend himself, but if he did not dare to stand his trial, let him deliver the temple from a curse end take measures for his personal safety. Perseus called Euander aside and advised him on no account to undergo a trial; he was no match for his accusers, either on the merits of the case or in the influence which he possessed. He was haunted by the fear that if Euander were found guilty he would bring him in as the instigator of that infamous crime. What was left for him to do but to die bravely? Euander raised no objection openly, but after saying that he would rather die by poison than by the sword, he made preparations for secret flight. On this coming to the king's ears he was afraid that Euander, by escaping punishment, might bring down the wrath of the Samothracians upon himself under the belief that he had connived at his escape. He therefore gave orders for Euander to be put to death. After the reckless perpetration of this murder he suddenly reflected that he had beyond any doubt brought upon himself the blood−guiltiness which had previously rested on Euander. Eumenes had been wounded by Euander in Delphi, and now he himself had put Euander to death in Samothrace. Thus he alone was responsible for the profanation of the two holiest temples in the world by human blood. He averted this terrible charge by bribing Theondas and inducing him to announce to the people that Euander had taken his own life.

However, the commission of such a crime against his one remaining friend, who had been tested through so many misfortunes and who had been betrayed because he would not betray his master, alienated all men's sympathies from him. Each thinking only of himself went over to the Romans, and as he was left all but alone he was compelled to form plans for flight. There was a Cretan named Oroandas who was familiar with the coast of Thrace through his trading journeys. Perseus called upon him to take him on board with him to Cotys. There was a bay formed by one of the headlands of Samothrace, named from the adjacent temple of Demeter the Demetrium, and there the boat was lying. Just after sunset everything required for use, and as much of the money as could be carried without detection, was put on board. The king with three who shared his flight went out at midnight through a door at the back of the house into the garden which was close to his room, and after climbing the wall with considerable difficulty succeeded in reaching the shore. Oroandas had only waited till the money was on board, and as soon as it grew dark weighed anchor and put out to sea for Crete. As no ship was to be found in the harbour Perseus wandered about for some time on the shore. At last, dreading the approach of day, he did not dare to return to his quarters but hid himself in a dark corner on one side of the temple. The children of the Macedonian nobility who were chosen to wait on the king used to be known as "the royal pages." These boys had followed the king in his flight, and even now refused to desert him until a proclamation was published by order of Cnaeus Octavius, stating that the royal pages and any other Macedonians who were in Samothrace would, if they

went to the Romans, preserve their personal safety and liberty, and all their property, both what they had with them and what they had left in Macedonia. After this pronouncement all went over and reported themselves to C. Postumius, one of the military tribunes. Ion, the Thessalian, also gave up the king's little children to Octavius, and now no one was left with the king except his eldest son Philip. Then Perseus, inveighing against Fortune and the gods in whose temple he was for refusing all aid to their suppliants, surrendered himself and his son into the hands of Octavius. Orders were given for him to be put on board the commander's ship, together with what remained of the money. The fleet at once sailed back to Amphipolis. From there Octavius sent the king to the consul's camp, having previously advised him that the king was being brought to his camp as a prisoner.

Paulus regarded the capture of the king as a second victory, as it really was, and on receiving the news offered sacrifices. He then called his council together and read the praetor's despatch to them. Q. Aelius Tubero was sent to meet the king, the rest were ordered to remain together at the headquarters tent. Never has so great a crowd been brought together at any other sight. In the time of our fathers Syphax was brought as a captive monarch into the Roman camp. But he is not to be compared with Perseus in respect either of his own renown or that of his nation, and besides, he had only played a subordinate part in the Punic War, as Gentius had done in the Macedonian. Whereas Perseus was the head and supreme director of the war; and not only were all eyes drawn to him through his own reputation and that of his father and grandfather and others to whom he was allied by blood relationship, but he was heir to the glory of Philip and Alexander the Great, who raised the Macedonian Empire to a supreme position in the world. Perseus entered the camp in mourning garb without a single attendant to make him more pitiable by sharing his misfortunes. His only companion was his son. Owing to the crowd who surrounded him he was unable to make any progress until the consul sent his lictors to clear a passage for him to the headquarters tent. After asking the rest to keep their seats the consul went forward a few steps and held out his hand to the king as he entered, and when he was going to prostrate himself he raised him to his feet and would not allow him to embrace his knees as a suppliant. Once inside the tent, he bade him take his seat facing the members of the council.

The first question put to him was what wrongs had he suffered which compelled him to commence war against Rome in such an aggressive temper and so imperil his own existence and that of his kingdom? Whilst all were waiting for his answer, he kept his eyes fixed on the ground and wept for some time in silence. Then the consul continued: "Had you received the crown in your youth I should be the less surprised at your not knowing what weight Rome possesses either as a friend or an enemy. But now, after having been associated with your father in his war against us and in the peace which followed, and which you well remember we kept with perfect good faith towards him, what could have been your object in choosing war rather than peace with those whose strength you have felt in war and whose fidelity you have experienced in peace?" He made no reply to either the question or the charge. Then the consul said: "Well, however this may have been brought about, whether through the blindness of human nature or through chance, or through the decree of Fate, keep a stout heart. The clemency of the people of Rome, which has been shown in the misfortunes of many kings and nations, affords you not only a hope, but a tolerably certain guarantee of your personal safety." He said this in Greek to Perseus, and then turning to the council he said in Latin, "You see a striking example of the mutability of human affairs. Especially to you younger men am I now speaking−it does not become us, therefore, in the hour of prosperity to form any aggressive designs against anyone, or to trust the fortune of the moment, for it is uncertain what the evening will bring. He only will prove himself a man whose spirit is not elated by the breath of prosperity nor broken by the blasts of adversity." When the council had broken up, the custody of the king was entrusted to Q. Aelius. On that day he was invited to dine with the council, and every mark of honour was shown to him which could be shown to any one in his position.

After this the army went into winter quarters. Amphipolis took in the greater portion. The rest were disposed in the neighbouring cities. Such was the end of the war which had for four successive years been waged between the Romans and Perseus, and the end, too, of a kingdom long renowned through the whole of Asia and most of Europe. From Caranus, the first king, twenty monarchs are enumerated down to Perseus. He received the crown in the consulship of L. Fulvius and L. Manlius, and was recognised as king by the senate when M. Junius and A.

Manlius were the consuls. His reign lasted eleven years. The nation of the Macedonians was almost unknown to fame down to the time of Philip, the son of Amyntas. From that time it began to extend under his rule, but it still confined itself within the limits of Europe, embracing the whole of Greece and portions of Thrace and Illyria. Then it overflowed into Asia and during the thirteen years of Alexander's reign he first brought under his power the whole of the Persian dominions, the extent of which was almost illimitable, and then he traversed Arabia and India up to where the Red Sea washes the remotest frontiers of the world. In those days the empire of Macedonia was the greatest in the world, but after Alexander's death it was broken up into numerous kingdoms, each man grasping at power for himself until its strength was exhausted by internal conflicts, and it sank from the highest pinnacle of prosperity to its final disappearance. It stood for about 150 years.

When the news of the victory of Rome had spread into Asia, Antenor, who was lying with a fleet of swift ships at Phanae, left that place for Cassandrea. C. Popilius was at Delos to escort the supply ships destined for Macedonia, and when he learnt that the war in Macedonia was at an end and that the enemy vessels had left their station he sent home the ships of the allies which were under his command and set sail for Egypt to carry out the mission with which he was charged. He was anxious to meet Antiochus, if possible, before he approached the walls of Alexandria. Coasting along the shores of Asia the commissioners arrived at Loryma, a harbour little more than twenty miles from Rhodes and facing the city. Here some of the leading Rhodians had come to meet them−for by this time the news of the victory had been carried to Rhodes−and begged them to break their journey at Rhodes. They said that it deeply concerned the good name and safety of their city that the commissioners should find out for themselves what had been going on and what was going on at the time, and should carry back to Rome what they had personally ascertained and not simply empty rumours. For a long time they refused, but at last consented to a brief interruption of their voyage for the sake of an allied city. After they had entered Rhodes, these same men persuaded them to appear before their assembly. The appearance of the commissioners increased rather than allayed the fears of the citizens. Popilius brought up all the hostile speeches and acts of which they had been guilty during the war, whether individually or collectively. Being a man of fierce temper, he made the matters he spoke about appear still more heinous by his angry expression and the sternness of his voice. So though the citizens had given him no personal offence, they could gather from the embittered tone of one Roman senator what the feelings of the senate as a whole were towards them. The address of C. Decimius was much more moderate. With regard to most of the things that Popilius had mentioned, he said that the blame did not rest with the people, but with a few agitators who had stirred up the mob, and, winning their votes by bribery, had passed decrees filled with flattery of the king, and had been the means of those embassies being sent to him which had caused the Rhodians as much shame as regret. All this, if the people were sound at heart, would recoil on the heads of the guilty parties. His words were loudly applauded, for he not only exculpated the great body of the citizens, but he fastened the guilt on those who were really responsible for the mischief. When, therefore, their leaders spoke in reply, those of them who tried to explain away the charges which Popilius had made were not listened to with anything like the approval which greeted those who agreed with Decimius that the authors of the evil should be made to atone for the evil they had done. A decree was at once passed that those who were convicted of having spoken or acted in favour of Perseus against the Romans should be sentenced to death. Some had left the city before the Romans came, others took their own lives. The commissioners did not stay beyond five days in Rhodes, and then went on to Alexandria. Their departure did not make the Rhodians any the more slack in commencing the trials under the decree passed when the commissioners were present; the mildness of Decimius did quite as much to strengthen their resolution to see the thing through as the severity of Popilius.

(Livy takes up the history from Book) Antiochus was now master of the rest of Egypt, but after his check before Alexandria he retired from its walls. The elder Ptolemy, whose restoration to his throne Antiochus pretended was his sole object in invading Egypt was left at Memphis, and Antiochus withdrew his army into Syria, prepared to attack whichever brother should prove victorious. Ptolemy was quite aware of his intention, and hoped that by playing upon his brother's fears and holding out the prospect of a siege he might possibly, with the active assistance of his sister and the acquiescence of his brother's friends, be admitted into Alexandria. He began a correspondence with his sister and his brother's friends, and continued to write to them until he had come to terms with them. What made him suspicious of Antiochus was that after handing over the rest of Egypt he had left a

strong garrison in Pelusium. It was obvious that Antiochus was holding the key of Egypt in order to make a fresh invasion whenever he chose, and for Ptolemy to engage in intestine strife with his brother would prove to be his ruin, since, even if victorious, he would be no match for Antiochus after an exhausting war. These wise reflections met with the approval of his brother and his friends, and his sister helped him very largely by her advice and her appeals to the brother. So peace was made, and he was admitted into Alexandria with everybody's consent; even the populace manifested no opposition, though they had suffered severely both during the investment and after the retirement of the enemy, as no supplies were being brought in from the rest of Egypt. This ought to have given the liveliest satisfaction to Antiochus, had his motive for bringing his army into Egypt really been the restoration of Ptolemy. For this was the pretext he alleged in all his communications to the cities of Greece and Asia, and in his replies to their deputations. But he was so intensely annoyed at what had happened that he began to make preparations for war in a much more aggressive and ruthless temper against the two brothers than he had previously shown against the one. He at once sent his fleet to Cyprus, and in the first days of spring set his army in motion for Egypt and advanced into Coelo−Syria. When near Rhinocolura he was met by envoys from Ptolemy, who thanked him for the recovery of his ancestral crown and begged him to protect the boon he had conferred and to say clearly what he wanted rather than attack him as an enemy by force of arms after being his friend. Antiochus replied that he would not recall his fleet or withdraw his army on any other conditions than the cession of Cyprus and of Pelusium and the surrounding country at the mouth of the Nile. He further fixed a day by which he was to receive a reply stating the acceptance of the conditions.

When the time for the suspension of hostilities had elapsed he marched through the desert of Arabia, while his fleet was sailing up the mouth of the Nile to Pelusium. After receiving the submission of the inhabitants of Memphis and of the rest of the Egyptian people, some submitting voluntarily, others under threats, he marched by easy stages towards Alexandria. After crossing the river at Eleusis, about four miles from Alexandria, he was met by the Roman commissioners, to whom he gave a friendly greeting and held out his hand to Popilius. Popilius, however, placed in his hand the tablets on which was written the decree of the senate and told him first of all to read that. After reading it through he said he would call his friends into council and consider what he ought to do. Popilius, stern and imperious as ever, drew a circle round the king with the stick he was carrying and said, "Before you step out of that circle give me a reply to lay before the senate." For a few moments he hesitated, astounded at such a peremptory order, and at last replied, "I will do what the senate thinks right." Not till then did Popilius extend his hand to the king as to a friend and ally. Antiochus evacuated Egypt at the appointed date, and the commissioners exerted their authority to establish a lasting concord between the brothers, as they had as yet hardly made peace with each other. They then sailed to Cyprus and sent home the fleet of Antiochus which had defeated the Egyptian ships in a naval engagement. The work of the commissioners won great renown amongst the nations, for it was undoubtedly owing to this that Egypt had been rescued out of the hands of Antiochus and the crown restored to the Ptolemaic dynasty. Whilst one of the consuls for the year had signalised his consulship by a famous victory, the other remained in comparative obscurity because he had no opportunity of distinguishing himself. At the outset, in fixing the day for the muster of his legions, he did so in a place where the auspices had not been taken. The matter was referred to the augurs, who announced that the proceeding was invalid. After his departure into Gaul he selected a spot near the Macrian Plain at the foot of Mount Sicimina and Papinus for his standing camp and then went into winter quarters in the same neighbourhood with the troops of the Latin allies; the Roman legions owing to the informality in appointing the day for their assembling, remained in Rome. The praetors, with the exception of C. Papirius Corbo, went to their respective provinces. Sardinia had been allotted to him, but the senate decided that he should exercise the alien jurisdiction in Rome, for this, too, the ballot had assigned to him.

The commissioners who had been sent to Antiochus returned to Rome, and Popilius informed the senate that the differences between the kings had been adjusted and the army had returned to Syria. Afterwards envoys from the monarchs themselves arrived. Those from Antiochus assured the senate that their king regarded the peace which the senate had imposed as preferable to any victory, and had obeyed the instructions of the Roman commissioners just as though they had been the commands of the gods. They then offered their congratulations on the victory, which they said the king would have done his utmost to further had any orders been given him to that effect. The

envoys from Ptolemy returned thanks in the name of the king and Cleopatra; they were more indebted to the senate and people of Rome than to their parents or to the immortal gods, for it was through them that they had been delivered from the miseries of a siege and had recovered the throne when it was all but lost. The senate replied that Antiochus had done what was right and proper in obeying the commissioners, and this was a source of gratification to the senate and citizens of Rome; as regards the Egyptian monarchs, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, whatever benefit and advantage had been gained through their action was a cause of rejoicing to the senate, and they would make it their business to see that the two monarchs should always look upon the people of Rome as the most secure and trustworthy protectors of their kingdom. C. Papirius was charged with the task of sending the customary presents to the envoys.

Their departure was followed by the arrival of deputations from Pisae and Luna, who had a dispute. The Pisans complained that they had been expelled from their territory by the Roman colonists; those from Luna asseverated that the land in question had been assigned to them by the commissioners who settled the colony. The senate sent five commissioners to investigate the facts and fix the boundaries−namely, Q. Fabius Buteo, P. Cornelius Blasio, T. Sempronius Musca, L. Naevius Balbus and C. Apuleius Saturninus. A joint deputation from Eumenes and the brothers Attalus and Athenaeus also came to offer their congratulations on the victory. Masgaba, the son of Masinissa, had landed at Puteoli, and the quaestor L. Manlius was sent with a sum of money to meet him and conduct him to Rome at the expense of the State. Immediately on his arrival in Rome the senate granted him an audience. The young prince spoke in such a way as to make the matter of his speech still more welcome by the way he put it. He stated the force of cavalry and infantry, the number of elephants, the quantity of corn which his father had sent to Macedonia during the last four years. Two things made him blush; one was that the senate through their ambassadors had requested him instead of commanding him to furnish what was necessary for the war, the other was that they had sent money to pay for the corn. Masinissa, he said, had not forgotten that it was to the Romans that he owed his kingdom and the subsequent extension of it; he was quite contented with enjoying the usufruct of it and was fully aware that the proprietary remained with those who gave it to him. He thought it only right that they should take and not ask or pay for the produce of the soil which they had given. What was over and above the requirements of the people of Rome would be amply sufficient for him. He then informed the senate that after leaving his father with these instructions he was overtaken by mounted messengers who informed him of the final defeat of Macedonia and brought an order for him to offer his father's congratulations to the senate, and to say that he was so rejoiced at this that he wished to go to Rome and offer sacrifices and thanksgivings in the Capitol if the senate would give him permission.

In reply the prince was told that Masinissa had acted as became an honourable and grateful man in enhancing the value and dignity of benefits which were justly due to him. The people of Rome had received from him loyal and powerful assistance in the Punic War, and it was through their good offices that he had gained his crown. In this equal interchange of benefits he had subsequently rendered every possible assistance in the successive wars against three kings. It was not surprising that the victory of Rome should give the king pleasure, seeing how he had associated his own fortunes and those of his kingdom with the cause of Rome. Let him offer his thanksgivings for the victory to the gods at home; his son would do this for him in Rome. He had done quite enough in offering congratulations in his own and his father's name. The senate did not think it would be to the interest of Rome for him to leave his kingdom and come away from Africa, especially as he would gain no advantage by it. The quaestor received instructions to spend 100 pounds of silver in presents for the prince, to escort him to Puteoli and defray all his expenses as long as he was in Italy, and also to hire two vessels in which he and his suite were to be conveyed to Africa. Presents of apparel were made to all his attendants, including the slaves. Not long after a communication was received from Misagenes, the second son of Masinissa, stating that after Perseus' defeat he had been sent by L. Paulus with his cavalry back to Africa, that the fleet had been scattered during the voyage in the Hadriatic, and that he had been carried down to Brundisium and was ill. L. Stertinius was sent to Brundisium with presents of equal value to those given to his brother in Rome, and was instructed to place a house at his disposal.

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The freedmen had been distributed amongst the four City tribes, those being excepted who had a son of their own more than five years old, those they ordered to be registered where they had been assessed at the last census, and also all who possessed a farm or farms more than 30,000 sesterces in value, these were given the right of being registered in the local tribes. Notwithstanding these reservations Claudius insisted that without an order of the people the suffrage could not be taken away from an individual freedman, much less from the order as a whole. For though the censor could remove him from his tribe, which simply meant ordering him to change his tribe, he had no power to remove him from all the thirty−five tribes; that meant depriving him of his citizenship and personal freedom, not deciding where he was to be registered, but excluding him from the list of citizens altogether. This was the question at issue between them. At last they made a compromise. Out of the four City tribes they decided to choose one by lot, publicly in the Hall of Liberty, into which all who had ever been slaves should be incorporated. The lot fell upon the Esquiline tribe, and Tiberius Gracchus announced that it was decided that all the freedmen should be enrolled in that tribe. This action of the censors was greatly appreciated by the senate, and a vote of thanks was accorded to Sempronius for his perseverance in carrying so wise a measure and to Claudius for not opposing it. More names were struck off the senatorial roll than had been the case under former censors, and also off the register of the equites. Both censors concurred in removing them from their tribes, and no one who was branded by the one had the stigma effaced by the other. They requested that their term of office−eighteen months−might be extended to allow of the repair of buildings and the completion of the works for which they had placed contracts, but a tribune of the plebs, Cneius Tremellius, interposed his veto because he had been chosen for the senate. During this year C. Cicereius dedicated the temple of Monata on the Alban Mount, five years after he had vowed it, and L. Postumius Albinus was inaugurated as a Flamen of Mars.

When the new consuls, Q. Aelius and M. Junius, brought up in the senate the allocations of the provinces, the House decided that Spain should again form two provinces−during the Macedonian war it had only formed one−and that L. Paulus and L. Anicius should continue to hold Macedonia and Illyria until, in concert with the commissioners, they had settled the confusion caused by the war and given the disturbed countries a constitution other than the monarchical. Pisae and Gaul were allotted to the consuls, each to be held with two legions and 400 cavalry. The result of the balloting among the praetors was that the civic jurisdiction fell to Q. Cassius, the alien to M. Juventius Thalna, Sicily to Ti. Claudius Nero, Hither Spain to Cneius Fulvius, and Further Spain to C. Licinius Nerva. Sardinia had fallen to A. Manlius Torquatus, but he was unable to go to his province as he was detained by the enquiry into criminal cases which the senate had ordered. The senate was next consulted as to various portents which had been announced. The temple of the Penates in Velia had been struck by lightning, as had also the two gates and a portion of the wall at Minervium. At Anagnia there had been a shower of earth, and at Lanuvium a blazing torch had been seen in the heavens. M. Valerius, who was farming some of the State land at Calatia, reported that blood had trickled from his hearth for three days and two nights. Mainly on account of this latter portent the keepers were ordered to consult the Sacred Books, and they announced special intercessions for one day and a sacrifice of fifty goats in the Forum. In expiation of the other portents there were special intercessions at all the shrines for a second day, sacrifices of full−grown victims, and the lustration of the City. Further, with the purpose of doing honour to the immortal gods, the senate made the following decree: "Whereas our enemies have been overcome, and Macedonia and Illyria have passed under the power of the people of Rome, gifts should be presented at all the shrines equal to those which had been offered after the defeat of Antiochus in the consulship of Appius Claudius and M. Sempronius." Q. Cassius and M. Juventius were to see that these offerings were made.

Then the commissioners were appointed who were to advise L. Paulus and L. Anicius as to the settlement of the conquered provinces. The senate decreed ten for Macedonia and five for Illyria. Those for Macedonia were first selected. They were A. Postumius Luscus, C. Claudius (both of them had been censors), Q. Fabius Labeo, . . . C. Licinius Crassus, who had been Paulus' colleague in the consulship and was at the time in command of Gaul, his proconsulship having been extended. These were all ex−consuls, and there were added to their number Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Servius Cornelius Sulla, L. Junius, T. Numisius Tarquiniensis and A. Terentius Varro. The five who were to act as commissioners for the settlement of Illyria were P. Aelius Ligus (an ex−consul), C. Cicereius and Cnaeus Baebius Tamphilus−the latter had been praetor the last year, Cicereius several years

previously−P. Terentius Tuscivicanus and P. Manlius. The consuls were advised by the senate to arrange or ballot for their provinces as soon as possible, as one of them would have to succeed C. Licinius in Gaul, in consequence of his appointment as commissioner. They balloted, and Pisae fell to M. Junius. He decided before leaving for his province to introduce to the senate the various deputations who had come from all quarters to Rome to offer their congratulations. Q. Aelius had Gaul allotted to him. Although the fifteen commissioners were men of such standing that it could reasonably be hoped that the generals acting on their advice would form no decisions unworthy of the clemency or the honour of Rome, the main principles of the settlement were nevertheless discussed in the senate in order that the commissioners might carry them in outline to the commanders.

First of all it was resolved that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be free peoples, so that it might be clear to all the world that the arms of Rome did not carry slavery to the free, but on the contrary freedom to the enslaved; and also that amongst those nations which enjoyed liberty, the security and permanence of their liberty rested under the protection of Rome, whilst on the other hand those who lived under the rule of kings might be led to believe that their kings were all the more just and merciful through the respect they felt for Rome, and if ever their sovereigns began war, the issue of the war would bring victory to Rome and liberty to the people. It was also resolved to abolish all contracts for working the mines of Macedonia, which afforded a considerable revenue, and also all leases of the royal domains; these could not be carried on without the tax−farmer, and wherever the tax−farmer flourished either the law lost its authority or the subjects their liberty. Nor were the Macedonians able to work them themselves, for where those in charge found plunder ready to their hand there were never lacking causes for quarrels and riots. The national council was suppressed, lest some unprincipled flatterer of the mob should turn the safe and reasonable liberty which had been granted into a dangerous and fatal licence. Macedonia was to be divided into four cantons, each to have its own council, and the tribute to Rome was to be half what they had been accustomed to pay to the king. The same regulations were made in the case of Illyria. The other measures were left to the generals and commissioners, as they would be dealing with matters on the spot and would be able to make more definite arrangements.

Amongst the numerous deputations from kings and free States and communities Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, attracted all men's eyes and thoughts. He was received by the men who had taken part with him in the war with as hearty a welcome as though Eumenes himself had come. Two objects had brought him to Rome, to all appearance honourable ones; one was to offer congratulations on the victory which he had himself helped to win, the other was to complain of an inroad of the Gauls and a defeat which he had sustained and which seriously threatened his kingdom. But he was also cherishing secret hopes of receiving from the senate benefits and rewards which could hardly fall to his lot without injuring his relations with his brother. There were certain men in Rome, evil counsellors, who encouraged his ambitions. These men made him believe that the prevailing opinion in Rome with regard to Attalus and Eumenes was that the one was a sure friend to the Romans, the other was regarded as a man whom neither the Romans nor Perseus could trust as an ally. It was difficult, therefore, to decide whether the requests he made on his own behalf or those through which he might seek to damage his brother would be the more likely to gain the consent of the senate, so bent were they as a body on granting everything to Attalus and denying everything to Eumenes. Attalus, as the event showed, was one of those men who try to gain all that their hopes promise them; but in his case the wise admonitions of a friend put a curb, so to speak, on a temper which was becoming wanton through popularity. There was in his suite a physician called Stratus; Eumenes, who felt uneasy, had sent him specially to Rome to watch his brother's conduct, and if he saw him becoming disloyal to his brother, to give him sound and faithful advice. Stratus found that he had to deal with ears already preoccupied and feelings already tampered with, but he seized favourable moments for conversing with him, and in these interviews he restored a position which had become almost hopeless. He represented to him that different kingdoms had grown strong through different causes; their kingdom was a new one, not based upon age−long power; it stood through brotherly harmony; the royal title and the crown are borne by one, but all his brothers reign with him. Who would not regard Attalus, the next in age, as a king, not only because he sees him in such a powerful position now, but also because the day is near when he will ascend the throne owing to the age and weakness of Eumenes, who has no legitimate son? (He had not yet acknowledged the one who succeeded him.) What advantage would there be in trying to gain by violent means what would shortly come to him of its own

accord? A fresh storm had burst on the realm in an invasion of the Gauls which could with difficulty be withstood even by the combined and harmonious efforts of the two monarchs. "If, however, in addition to a foreign foe there was domestic strife, resistance would be impossible, and all that would be gained would be that your brother would lose the crown before his death and you would destroy all hopes of your succeeding him. Even assuming that to save the kingdom for your brother and to wrest it from him were both things you could boast about, still the preservation of the kingdom and the proof it would afford of your brotherly affection would be the more commendable and praiseworthy. But as a matter of fact the one alternative is detestable and is next door to parricide; why then should there be any doubt as to which course to take? Are you going to try and secure a part of the kingdom or deprive your brother of the whole? If the former, then, your power being divided, you would be both weakened and exposed to every possible injury and outrage. If the latter, are you prepared to send your elder brother into private life or into banishment, old and infirm as he is, and at last to a lonely exile's death? For, without recalling the legendary stories of unnatural brothers, what a signal warning is given in the fate of Perseus, who laid at the feet of his conqueror the diadem stained with his brother's blood which he had seized in the temple at Samothrace, as though the gods who witnessed the murder were now exacting the penalty. The very men who are goading you on, not because they are friendly to you, but because they are enemies to Eumenes, will themselves applaud your affection and constancy if you maintain your loyalty to your brother to the end."

These arguments prevailed with Attalus. Accordingly, when introduced to the senate he offered his congratulations on the victory, and alluded to the services, such as they were, which he and his brothers had rendered. He then described the serious unrest among the Gauls which had brought about a revolt and begged the senate to send envoys to them with sufficient influence and authority to induce them to lay down their arms. Having carried out his instructions so far as they affected the welfare of the kingdom, he asked that Aenus and Maronea might be assigned to him. So, to the disappointment of those who supposed that after bringing charges against his brother he would ask for the kingdom to be divided between them, he left the senate−house. Seldom at any time has either king or private citizen been listened to with such universal pleasure and approval; all honours and gifts were showered upon him during his stay, and his departure was witnessed by large crowds. Amongst the numerous delegations from Greece the one from Rhodes excited the greatest interest. They appeared in white garments as befitted their mission of congratulation, and indeed if they had shown themselves in mourning it might have looked as though they were lamenting the fall of Perseus. When the consul, M. Junius, consulted the senate as to whether they would grant them free quarters and hospitality and an audience, the House decided that the obligations of hospitality should not be discharged in their case. The envoys meanwhile were standing in the Comitium, and when the consul came out of the senate−house they told him that they had come to offer their congratulations on the victory and to rebut the accusations of treason, and they begged that the senate would grant them an audience. The consul told them plainly that it was to friends and allies that the Romans were wont to give a hospitable welcome and grant an audience of the senate. The conduct of the Rhodians during the war had not been such that they deserved to be counted amongst the friends and allies of Rome. On hearing this, they all prostrated themselves to the ground and implored the consul and all who were present not to think it just and right that the new charges which were falsely made against them should outweigh their services in the past, services to which the Romans themselves could testify. They lost no time in putting on mourning garments and visiting the residences of the principal men, whom they implored not to condemn them without a hearing.

M. Juventius Thalna, who was the praetor in charge of the alien jurisdiction, was inciting the populace against the Rhodians and had proposed a resolution that war should be declared against Rhodes, and that one of the magistrates for the year should be chosen to command the fleet, hoping that he himself would be appointed. Two of the tribunes of the plebs, M. Antonius and M. Pomponius, opposed this proceeding. The praetor himself had acted in defiance of precedent, for he was making the proposal on his own initiative without consulting the senate or informing the consuls of the question he was going to put, viz. whether it was the will and order of the people of Rome that war should be declared against Rhodes. Hitherto the senate had always been consulted on the question of war, and then, if the senate gave their sanction, the question was submitted to the popular Assembly. The tribunes of the plebs, too, were in the wrong, because the traditional usage was that no one should veto a measure until the citizens had had the opportunity of speaking for or against it. Hence it had very frequently

happened that those who had asserted that they would not interpose their veto did interpose after the opponents of the measure had made them aware of its defects, whilst on the other hand those who had come prepared to veto a measure were convinced by the arguments of its supporters and withdrew their veto. On this occasion the praetors and the tribunes vied with each other as to who could act most precipitately; the tribunes forestalled the praetor by interposing their veto before the right time . . .

". . . So far it is a question whether we have or have not been guilty of any offence; all the penalty, the humiliation we are suffering from already. In the past, when we visited Rome after the Carthaginians were defeated, after Philip and Antiochus had been overcome, we went from our quarters where we were the guests of the State to offer our congratulations in the senate house, and from there we went up to the Capitol with gifts for your gods. Now we have come away from a miserable inn where we could hardly get admittance, ordered as we are to remain outside the City almost as though we were enemies. In this squalid plight we have come into the Roman senate−house−we Rhodians to whom not long ago you granted the provinces of Lycia and Caria, and upon whom you have bestowed the greatest distinctions and rewards. According to what we hear, you are ordaining that the Macedonians and Illyrians shall be free peoples, though before they went to war with you they were in servitude−not that we envy any one's good fortunes, on the contrary we recognise the clemency of Rome−but the Rhodians simply remained quiet, and are you going to convert friends into enemies by this proposed war? Surely you are the same Romans who make it your boast that your wars are successful because they are just, and pride yourselves not so much upon bringing them to a close as victors as upon never beginning them without just cause. The attack on Messana in Sicily made the Carthaginians your enemy; his attack on Athens, his attempt to enslave Greece, the assistance rendered to Hannibal in money and troops made Philip your enemy. Antiochus, on the invitation of the Aetolians, who were your enemies, sailed in person with his fleet from Asia to Greece, seized Demetrias, Chalcis and the Pass of Thermopylae and tried to dispossess you of your empire. Your grounds for the war with Perseus were the attacks on your allies, or the murder of the princes and leading men in different communities and nationalities. What pretext or justification will there be for our ruin, if we are to perish? So far I do not make any difference between the case of our city as a whole and that of our fellow−citizens Polyaratus and Dino and the others whom we have brought with us to deliver up to you. Suppose all we Rhodians were equally guilty, what charge would be brought against us with regard to this war? You say we took the side of Perseus, and just as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus we stood by you against those monarchs, so now we stood by the king against you. Ask the commanders of your fleets in Asia, C. Livius, L. Aemilius Regillus, how we were wont to help our allies and with what energy we prosecuted the war. Your ships never fought without us to help you; we fought single−handed at Samos and a second time off Pamphylia against Hannibal, who was in command. And this victory was all the more glorious for us because after losing a large proportion of our ships and the flower of our youth in the defeat at Samos, we were not daunted even by that disaster, and we met the king's fleet on its way from Syria. I am not recounting these incidents in a spirit of boasting−our present circumstances forbid that−but to remind you how the Rhodians have been accustomed to help their allies.

"After the final defeat of Philip and of Antiochus we received the most splendid rewards from you. If the good fortune which, through the kindness of heaven and your own courage, is now yours had fallen to the lot of Perseus and we had gone to Macedonia to meet the victorious king and ask him for rewards, what could we possibly say for ourselves? That he had received assistance from us in money or corn? Or in naval and military contingents? Or that we had held any fortified position for him? Or that we had fought any battles for him either under his generals or on our own account? If he were to ask where our soldiers were supplying his garrison or our ships joining his fleet, we should, perhaps, make the same defence before the victor that we are now making before you. This is what we have gained by sending envoys to both parties to urge peace−we have won the gratitude of neither, and from one side we have incurred suspicion and danger. And yet Perseus truly might bring a charge against us which you, senators, cannot bring. At the outset of the war we sent a deputation to promise assistance with whatever was needful for the war, and to assure you that everything was in readiness, our naval forces, our munitions of war, our fighting men, just as in the former wars. It was owing to you that we did not supply them; whatever the reason was, you refused our assistance. So then not only did we show no hostility to you, but we were not lacking in our duty as faithful allies, though you prohibited us from discharging it.

"Some one may say, 'What then? Has nothing been done or said in your City which you disapproved of and which was such as to give just offence to the people of Rome?' I am not here now to defend what has been done−I am not so mad−but I shall draw a distinction between the cause of the State as a whole and the guilty conduct of individual citizens. There is no State which does not at some time possess bad citizens and at all times an ignorant populace. I have heard that even amongst you there have been men who made their way by flattering the mob, and that there have occasionally been secessions of the plebs when the government was no longer in your hands. If these things could happen in so well−ordered a State as this, can any one feel surprised that there have been amongst us a few men who in their desire to win the friendship of the king have led our plebs astray by their evil counsels? All the same, they did not effect anything more than make us slacken in our duty. I will not pass over what is the most serious charge brought against us with regard to this war. We sent embassies to you and to Perseus simultaneously to urge peace. This unfortunate policy has been, as we have heard, held up as abject folly by a furious orator, who it is admitted spoke in such a tone that he might have been C. Popilius, your envoy, whom you commissioned to dissuade Antiochus and Ptolemy from war. Still, whether we are to call it arrogance or folly, our policy towards you was the same as towards Perseus.

"States, like individuals, have their distinctive characters, some are hot−tempered, others bold and enterprising; some are of a timid disposition, others more prone to sensual indulgence. The people of Athens are generally reported to be quick and impulsive and venture upon enterprises beyond their strength: the Lacedaemonians are said to be slow in action and only with difficulty are they brought to engage in undertakings in which they feel perfectly safe. I quite admit that Asia as a whole produces somewhat empty heads and that the language of my countrymen is somewhat inflated because we fancy ourselves superior to our neighbours. This in itself is due more to the honours which you have judged us worthy to receive than to any strength which we ourselves possessed. Surely that embassy was sufficiently chastised when it was dismissed without any reply. If the humiliation then inflicted was not enough, this embassy, at all events, with its piteous and suppliant appeal will be an adequate atonement for an even more peremptory set of negotiators than that one was. Arrogance, especially in language, is bitterly resented by hot−tempered people and laughed at by sensible people, particularly when shown by inferiors towards a superior, but no one has ever regarded it as a capital offence. Possibly some one imagined that the Rhodians felt a contempt for the Romans. Some men even abuse the gods in presumptuous language, but we do not hear of any one being struck by lightning for it.

"If no hostile act can be imputed to us, if the pompous language of our envoy, offensive as it was to listen to, did not merit the destruction of our city, what is there left from which we have to clear ourselves? I hear, senators, that you are discussing the amount of the fine which is to be imposed upon us for our unspoken wishes. It is alleged that our sympathies were with the king and that we should have preferred to see him victorious, so, some of you think we ought to be punished by war, others hold that while that was our wish we ought not on that account to be punished. In no State has it been laid down either by traditional usage or by positive enactment that whoever wishes the destruction of an enemy, but does nothing to bring it about, shall still suffer capital punishment. To those of you who are for freeing us from the penalty though not from the charge we are grateful; we assert this principle for ourselves−if, as is alleged, this was the universal wish, we do not distinguish between will and deed, we are all involved. If some of our leaders were on your side and others on the side of the king, I do not ask that the supporters of the king should enjoy immunity on account of us who were on your side; what I do ask is that we should not perish on account of them. You are not more angry with them than our State itself is, and, knowing this, most of them have either fled or taken their own lives; others whom we have found guilty will be in your hands, senators. Though the conduct of the rest of us during the war has merited no gratitude, it certainly has not merited punishment. Let the accumulation of our former services outweigh this failure in our duty. During these late years you have been engaged in war with three kings; let not the fact that we gave no assistance in one war count more against us than the fact that we fought for you in two wars counts for us. Let Philip, Antiochus and Perseus stand for three separate verdicts; two acquit us, one is so doubtful as to be adverse. If they were our judges we should be pronounced guilty; you, senators, are now acting as judges as to whether Rhodes is to remain in the world or be utterly blotted out. The question before you is not one of war; you can commence one, but you cannot continue it, since not a single Rhodian is going to bear arms against you. If you

persist in nursing your wrath against us we shall ask for time to carry the tidings of this fatal embassy home. All of us every free person, every man and woman in Rhodes, will go on board our ships with all the money we possess, and bidding farewell to our national and our household gods, we shall come to Rome. All the gold and silver belonging to the State, all that individual citizens possess, will be placed in a heap on the Comitium, on the threshold of your senate−house, and we shall deliver up ourselves, our wives and children to you, prepared to suffer whatever may be in store for us. Far removed from our eyes, let our city be plundered and burnt. The Romans have it in their power to judge the Rhodians to be public enemies, we too can pass some judgment on ourselves; we shall never judge ourselves to be your enemies, nor will we commit a single hostile act, even if we have to suffer everything that you can inflict upon us."

Such was the speech. At its close they all again prostrated themselves, waving their suppliant olive branches to and fro. At last they rose and left the senate−house. Then the senators were asked to state their view. The bitterest opponents of the Rhodians were those who as consuls or praetors or staff officers had taken part in the war. The one who did most to help them was M. Porcius Cato, who though naturally stern and inflexible acted on this occasion the part of a lenient and conciliatory senator. I will not insert a specimen of his fluency and eloquence by transcribing his speech, it is extant in the Fifth Book of his Origines. The reply made to the Rhodians was to the effect that they would neither be declared enemies nor allowed to remain as allies. The leaders of the deputation were Philocrates and Astymedes. Some of the delegates decided to accompany Philocrates back to Rhodes with the report of the proceedings, others elected to remain in Rome with Astymedes so that they could find out what was going on and inform their countrymen. For the time being they were only required to withdraw their governors from Lycia and Caria. This would in itself have created a painful impression, but as they were relieved from the apprehension of a worse evil, that of war, the announcement was received with joy. They at once decreed a crown of 20,000 gold pieces in value and sent it to Theaetetus, the commandant of the fleet, for him to carry it to Rome. They wished him to press for an alliance with Rome, but in such a way that the terms would not be submitted to the people, nor reduced to writing, because in case he was unsuccessful the failure would be all the more humiliating. It was the sole prerogative of the commandant of the fleet to act in these matters without any formal decree being made. For all those years they had maintained friendly relations with Rome without binding themselves by an express treaty of alliance, their only reason being that they did not wish to preclude the kings from all hopes of their assistance should it ever be needed, nor themselves from the advantage to be derived from the bounty and good fortune of those monarchs. Under present circumstances it seemed especially desirable that an alliance should be formed, not to give them additional security against other nations−for they feared none but the Romans−but to make them less suspected by the Romans themselves. Just at this time the Caunians revolted from them and the Mylasensians seized the towns of the Euromensians. The Rhodian government was not so broken in spirit as not to become aware that if Lycia and Caria had been taken from them by Rome the other subject countries would either win their freedom by revolt or be seized by their neighbours, and they themselves would be shut up in a small and unfertile island which was quite incapable of supporting the population of so large a city. A body of troops was accordingly despatched to the disaffected districts and reduced the Caunians to submission, though they had summoned help from the Cibyratae. They also defeated in an action near Orthosia the Mylasensians and Alabandians who had joined forces to wrest from them the province of Euromos.

While these various events were taking place in Caria, Macedonia and Rome, L. Anicius was campaigning in Illyria. After receiving the submission of King Gentius, as stated above, he placed a garrison in Scodra, the capital, with Gabinius in command, and others in Rhizon and Olcinium, cities well adapted for the purpose, under C. Licinius. He then advanced with the rest of his army into Epirus. The first city to surrender to him here was Phanota, where the whole population streamed out to meet him with fillets of supplication round their brows. He garrisoned the place and marched into Molossia. All the towns with four exceptions made their surrender. Those who stood out were Passaron, Tecmon, Phylace and Horreum. The first to be attacked was Passaron. Antinous and Theodotus were the leaders in this city. They had distinguished themselves by their support of Perseus and their hatred of the Romans; it was through them that the whole nation had revolted from Rome. Knowing that the guilt rested on them personally and hopeless of obtaining pardon, they shut the gates that they might be buried in

the general ruin of their country, and appealed to the inhabitants to prefer death to servitude. No one ventured to open his lips against such powerful men. At last a certain Theodotus, a young man of noble birth, whose dread of the Romans proved stronger than his fear of his chiefs, exclaimed, "What madness possesses you that you should make the whole body of citizens accessories to the guilt of two men? I have often heard tell of men who have met death on behalf of their country; these are the first who have been found to think it right that their country should perish for their sake. Why do we not open our gates and accept the sovereignty which the whole world has accepted?" As he said this the whole multitude followed him, Antinous and Theodotus rushed against the nearest outpost of the enemy and died of the wounds they had invited, the city surrendered to the Romans. At Tecmon the chief magistrate was equally defiant and closed the gates. He was put to death and the place surrendered. Neither Phylace nor Horreum stood a siege.

When Epirus was finally pacified and the army distributed amongst the cities suitable for their winter quarters Anicius returned to Scodra, where the five commissioners had arrived from Rome. Here he summoned the chief magistrates from all parts of the province to a conference. Ascending the tribunal, he made the following announcement as agreed upon with the commissioners: "It is the order of the senate and people of Rome that the Illyrians shall be a free nation. I shall withdraw my garrisons from all your towns, citadels and forts. The Issenses, the Taulantii, the Pirustae of Dassaretia, the cities of Rhizon and Olcinium, shall be not only free politically, but exempt from all tribute, because they revolted to the Romans whilst Gentius was still in power. Similar exemption is also granted to the Daorsei, because they deserted Caravantius and went over fully armed to the Romans. The people of Scodra, Dassara, and Selepeta will have half the tribute imposed upon them that they paid to the king." He then announced a threefold division of Illyria. One has been mentioned already; the second comprised the whole country up to Lake Libeatus; the third included the Agravonites, the Rhizonites, the Olciniates and the settlers on their borders. After laying down this constitution for Illyria he returned to Passaron in Epirus for the winter.

During these proceedings in Illyria, Paulus, prior to the arrival of the ten commissioners, sent his son Q. Maximus, who had now returned from Rome, to sack the cities of Aeginium and Agassae, the latter because after surrendering to the consul Marcius and voluntarily asking for an alliance it had again revolted to Perseus. The offence of the people of Aeginium was of a novel character. They did not attach any credence to the report of the Roman victory, and killed some of the soldiers who had entered the town. L. Postumius was also sent to sack the city of Aeniae because the inhabitants had shown greater obstinacy than the surrounding cities. Autumn was approaching and the consul decided to utilise this season for making a tour through Greece and visiting objects to which the fame that reaches our ears lends a grandeur which the eye fails to discern. He placed C. Sulpicius Galbus in charge of the camp and set out with a small escort, his son Scipio and Athenaeus, Eumenes' brother, riding on either side of him. Passing through Thessaly he made his way to Delphi, the world−famed oracle. Here he offered sacrifices to Apollo and some unfinished columns in the vestibule on which it had been intended to place statues of Perseus he set apart for statues of himself in commemoration of his victory. He also visited the temple of Jupiter Trophonius at Lebadia and saw the mouth of the cavern into which those who consult the oracle descended. There is a temple here dedicated to Jupiter and Hercynna, and he offered sacrifices to these deities. He then went on to Chalcis to see the Euripus and the bridge which connects the large island of Euboea with the mainland. From there he crossed to Aulis, a distance of three miles, and viewed the harbour, famous as the anchorage of Agamemnon's thousand ships, and also the temple of Diana, at whose altar the renowned "king of kings" sacrificed his daughter that his fleet might have a favourable voyage to Troy. He then went on to Oropus, where an ancient bard is worshipped as a god and his venerable temple is delightfully situated amidst fountains and brooks. From there he proceeded to Athens. This city is full of the traditions of its ancient glory, but it nevertheless possesses many things worth seeing−the citadel, the harbour, the walls connecting the city with the Piraeus and the dockyards; memorials of great commanders, statues of gods and men, splendidly wrought in every kind of material and every form of art.

After sacrificing to Minerva, the tutelary deity in the Acropolis, he left for Corinth, which he reached on the following day. At that time, before its destruction, it was a glorious city. The citadel and the Isthmus presented a

striking spectacle−the citadel inside the walls rising to a great height, with streams flowing everywhere, and the Isthmus separating by a narrow belt of land two seas, one to the east and the other to the west. Sicyon and Argos were the next places visited, both of them famous cities; and next to them Epidaurus, not so wealthy as those, but celebrated for the splendid temple of Aesculapius, five miles distant from the city, filled at the present day with the relics and vestiges of the offerings which then enriched it, offerings made to the god by the sick as a grateful reward for their recovery. From there he went on to Lacedaemon, a city memorable, not for the magnificence of its buildings, but for its discipline and its institutions. Passing through Megalopolis he went up to Olympia. Here among the different objects which attracted his attention, he was deeply impressed as he gazed on Jupiter, standing as it were before him, and he gave orders for a sacrifice to be prepared on an ampler scale than usual, just as if he were going to sacrifice in the Capitol.

In this progress through Greece he was careful to avoid doing anything that might alarm those who were friends of Rome, and therefore he made no enquiry into the sentiments entertained by communities as a whole or by individual citizens during the war with Perseus. On his return to Demetrias he was met by a crowd of Aetolians dressed in mourning. On his asking with some surprise what the matter was, they told him that five hundred and fifty of their principal citizens had been put to death by Lyciscus and Tisippus, after they had placed round the senate−house a cordon of Roman soldiers sent by A. Baebius, the commandant of the garrison. Others they had sent into exile, and they were keeping the property of those who had been killed as well as of those who had been banished. He sent orders for those who were accused to await him at Amphipolis. He met Cnaeus Octavius at Demetrias, and while he was there a report reached him that the ten commissioners had landed in Greece, and laying aside all other business he proceeded to Apollonia. Through the slackness of his guard Perseus had been able to get away from Amphipolis and met Aemilius at Apollonia−it is only a day's journey. Aemilius is said to have spoken to him in a kindly tone, but when he arrived in the camp at Amphipolis he severely censured C. Sulpicius, in the first place because he had allowed Perseus to wander so far away in the province and secondly because he had shown such indulgence to his soldiers that he allowed them to remove the tiles from the city walls in order to roof their winter huts. He ordered the tiles to be taken back and the uncovered places to be restored to their former condition. Perseus and his elder son Philip were handed over to A. Postumius to be kept under guard; Aemilius treated the daughter and the younger son, who had been brought from Samothrace, with every mark of respect and kindness.

Aemilius gave notice for the councils of ten from all the cities to assemble at Amphipolis and to bring with them all archives and documents wherever they were deposited, and all the money due to the royal treasury. When the day arrived he advanced to the tribunal, where he took his seat with the ten commissioners, surrounded by a vast concourse of Macedonians. Though they were accustomed to the display of royal power, this novel assertion of authority filled them with fear; the tribunal, the clearing of the approach to it through the mass of people, the herald, the apparitor, all these were strange to their eyes and ears and might even have appalled allies of Rome, to say nothing of a vanquished enemy. After the herald had called for silence Paulus, speaking in Latin, explained the arrangements decided upon by the senate and by himself in concert with the ten commissioners; Cnaeus Octavius, who was also present, translated the address into Greek. First of all it was laid down that the Macedonians were to be a free people, possessing their cities and fields as before, enjoying their own laws and customs and electing their annual magistrates. They were to pay to Rome half the tribute which they had been paying to the king. Secondly, Macedonia was to be broken up into four separate cantons. The first would embrace the district between the Strymon and the Nessus, and in addition, beyond the Nessus to the east, the forts, towns and villages which Perseus had held, with the exception of Aenus, Maronea and Abdera, and beyond the Strymon to the west the whole of Bisaltica together with Heraclea, which district the natives call Sintice. The second canton would be bounded on the east by the Strymon, exclusive of Sintice, Heraclea and Bisaltica; and on the west by the Axius, including the Paeonians, who dwelt to the east of the Axius. The third division would be the district enclosed between the Axius on the east and the Peneus on the west; the Bora range shuts it in on the north. This canton was increased by the addition of the part of Paeonia which extends westwards beyond the Axius; Edessa and Beroea were assigned to this division. The fourth canton lay on the other side of the Bora range, bordering Illyria on the one side and Epirus on the other.

Aemilius then designated the capital cities where the councils were to be held in the different cantons; Amphipolis was fixed for the first, Thessalonica for the second, Pella for the third, and Pelagonia for the fourth. There the councils for each canton were to be summoned, the tribute deposited, and the annual magistrates elected. His next announcement was that all intermarriage between the inhabitants of the different cantons was forbidden, as also the possession of land or houses in more than one canton. The gold and silver mines were not allowed to be worked, but permission was given in the case of the iron and copper mines. Those working the mines would have to pay one half of the royalty which they had paid to the king. The use of imported salt was also forbidden. The Dardanians were laying claim to Paeonia on the ground that it once belonged to them, and they had a common frontier; the consul told them in reply that he was granting political liberty to all who had been under the rule of Perseus. As he had refused them Paeonia he granted them the right to purchase salt and ordered the third canton to carry its salt to Stobi, fixing, at the same time, the price at which it was to be sold. He forbade the Macedonians either to cut timber for ship−building themselves or to allow others to do so. He gave permission to those cantons whose frontiers were contiguous to those of the barbarians to maintain armed forces on their borders.

This pronouncement made on the first day of the conference called forth mixed feelings in the audience. The unhoped−for boon of political liberty and the lightening of the annual tribute were a great relief to them, but the prohibition of mutual intercourse between the different cantons seemed to them like the rending asunder of their country, like an animal deprived of its limbs, where each limb is necessary to all the rest so ignorant were they of the size of Macedonia, how easily it lent itself to division and how self−contained each part was in itself. The first section includes the Bisaltae, a nation of warriors living on the other side of the Nessus and around the Strymon and contains many special kinds of fruit and minerals and the city of Amphipolis, which is so conveniently situated, commanding as it does all approaches from the east. Then again, the second division comprises the populous cities of Thessalonica and Cassandrea and also the rich corn−growing district of Pallene. Facilities for sea−borne traffic are afforded by numerous harbours: some at Torone under Mount Athos, and at Aenea and Acanthus, others facing Thessaly and Euboea, and others again easily accessible from the Hellespont. The third canton includes the famous cities of Edessa, Beroea and Pella, the warlike tribe of the Vettii and also a large population of Gauls and Illyrians who are devoted to husbandry. The fourth canton is peopled by the Eordaei the Lyncestae and the Pelagones, and there are also the three cities of Atintania, Tymphaei, and Elimiotis. The whole of this strip of country is cold and unkindly and difficult of cultivation, and the character of the peasants corresponds to that of their country. Their barbarian neighbours make them still more ferocious by sometimes familiarising them with war, and in times of peace introducing their own rites and customs. In this division of Macedonia, therefore, each separate portion had its own distinctive advantages

After the constitution of Macedonia had been thus announced, and the consul had declared his intention of providing a code of laws, the Aetolians were summoned to appear. The enquiry was directed more to find out who had been in favour of the Romans and who in favour of the king than to discover which party had inflicted and which had suffered wrongs. The murderers were acquitted, the exiles and the slain were alike considered to have deserved their fate; the only one found guilty was A. Baebius because he had allowed his soldiers to be the instruments of the massacre. This result of the case of the Aetolians had the effect of inflating the adherents of the Roman party in all the communities and peoples of Greece to an insupportable pitch of insolence, and whenever there was any suspicion of having favoured the king their opponents were trampled in the dust. The leaders in the various cities fell into three classes; two of these consisted of men who, whilst insinuating themselves into the confidence of the Romans on the one hand or the king on the other, aggrandised themselves at the expense of their fellow−citizens, the third class sought to defend their liberties and their laws by opposing both the others. The greater the affection which their compatriots felt for them at home, the less were they appreciated abroad. Elated by the success of the Romans, the supporters of that party were in sole possession of the magistracies and the sole representatives of their States. Numbers of these men came from the Peloponnesus, from Boeotia, and the other national councils in Greece to be present at the congress, and they filled the ears of the commissioners with their charges. They averred that the supporters of Perseus included not only those who in a spirit of idle vanity openly boasted that they were his friends and intimates, but a far more numerous body who had secretly espoused his cause, and under the pretext of defending their liberties had everywhere induced the councils to act in direct

hostility to Rome. The loyalty of the different States could only be maintained by crushing these parties and strengthening the authority of those whose sole aim was to support the power of Rome. A list of names was furnished by these men, and letters from the commander were despatched to Acarnania, Aetolia, Epirus and Boeotia, ordering those named to follow him to Rome to make their defence. Two of the commissioners, C. Claudius and Cnaeus Domitius, went in person to Achaia to publish this order. There were two reasons for this. One was their belief that the self−confidence and high spirit of the Achaeans would prevent their obeying the order, and possibly Callicrates and the other informers might even be in danger of their lives. The other was that while letters from the leaders in other States had been discovered in the royal archives, none had been found from the Achaeans, and the charges against them lacked proof. After the Aetolians had withdrawn, the Acarnanian deputation was called in. In their case no change was made beyond the removal of Leucas as a member of their league. Then the commissioners extended the scope of this enquiry as far as Asia. Labeo was sent to destroy the city of Antissa in the island of Lesbos, and transfer the inhabitants to Methymna, the reason for this step being that they had admitted the king's naval commander, Antenor, into their harbour and helped him with supplies while he was cruising off Lesbos. Two of their leaders were beheaded: Andronicus, the son of Andronicus, an Aetolian, because he had followed his father and borne arms against Rome, and Neo, a Theban, who had been the prime agent in their forming an alliance with Perseus

The congress of the Macedonians which had been interrupted by these proceedings was again convened. First of all the status of Macedonia was defined. Senators, who were known as "synedri," were to be elected to form a council for the administration of government. Then a list was read out of the names of those Macedonian leaders who it was decided were to go in advance to Italy with all their children over fifteen years of age. At first glance this seemed a cruel measure, but it soon became apparent to the Macedonians that it was done to protect their liberties. The names on the list were those of the friends and court nobles of the king, the generals of his armies, the commanders of his ships and garrisons accustomed to servile submission towards him and dictatorial insolence towards others. Some were exceedingly wealthy others whose fortunes did not equal theirs lived quite as extravagantly; their table and dress were on a regal scale they had no idea of citizenship, and were incapable of submission to law or to a liberty equal for all. Every one, therefore, who had been employed in the king's service, even those who had been sent as envoys, were ordered to leave Macedonia and proceed to Italy, and whoever refused obedience was threatened with death. The laws which Aemilius gave to the Macedonians had been so carefully and considerately drawn up that he might be thought to be giving them not to vanquished enemies but to allies who had rendered good service, and not even after a long practical experience−the only safe guide in legislative reform−have they been found to need amendment. After attending to these more serious matters he celebrated the Games, for which preparations had been going on for a long time, with great splendour. Notice of them had been sent to the cities of Asia and to the kings, and during his tour in Greece Aemilius had informed the leading men about them. There was a gathering of artistes proficient in every kind of scenic display, a vast assemblage of athletes from all parts of the world, and horses that had won many races. There were also civic deputations with their animals for sacrifice; everything, in fact, which usually formed a part of these exhibitions in honour both of gods and men. The performances were so good that not only the magnificence of the spectacle but the skill shown in its display were universally admired; the Romans were not in those days adepts at these exhibitions. The same care was taken over the rich banquets which were prepared for the civic deputations. A remark of the consul's was often quoted, that, the man who knew how to win a war had also to furnish entertainment and prepare Games for the conquered.

When all the performances were ended and the bronze targes had been put on board the ships, the rest of the spoils were collected into enormous heaps. Then the commander offered up prayers to Mars and Minerva and Lua Mater and the other deities to whom the spoils taken from the enemy must be solemnly dedicated. He then applied a torch to the heap and the military tribunes standing round each cast a brand on the pile. It is a noteworthy fact that in this great meeting of Europe and Asia, where a multitude had been drawn together from every part of the world, some to offer congratulations, some to see the spectacle, where such great naval and military forces were assembled, there was nevertheless such abundance of everything and provisions were so cheap that the general out of this abundance made gifts to individuals, to cities, and even to whole nations, sufficient not only for their

use at the time, but enough for them to take home with them. The spectators were not more interested in the scenic representations and the athletic contests and chariot races than they were in the display of the spoils from Macedonia. These were all laid out to view−statues, pictures, woven fabrics, articles in gold, silver, bronze and ivory wrought with consummate care, all of which had been found in the palace, where they had not been intended, like those which filled the palace at Alexandria, for a moment's ornament but for constant and lasting use. They were all placed on board the fleet under the charge of Cnaeus Octavius to be transported to Rome. After taking a friendly leave of the various deputations Paulus crossed the Strymon and fixed his camp a mile distant from Amphipolis. A five days' further march brought him to Pella. Marching past the city he arrived at a place called Spilaeum, where he stayed two days. During his stay he sent P. Nasica and his son Q. Maximus to ravage that part of Illyria from which assistance had been sent to Perseus and afterwards to meet him at Oricum. He himself took the road to Epirus and after a fifteen days' march reached Passaron.

Anicius' camp was not far away, and the consul sent a letter telling him not to be disturbed at what was going on, for the senate had made a grant to his army of the plunder from those cities in Epirus which had gone over to Perseus. Centurions were sent to each of the cities to say that they had come to bring away the garrisons in order that the Epirots should be free as the Macedonians were free. The town councillors in each community were sent for and warned to have the gold and silver brought out into some public place, and cohorts were ordered to visit all the cities. Those who were to go to the more distant places started before those who were to go to the nearer ones, and they all reached their destination on the same day. The military tribunes had received instructions as to what they were to do. All the silver and gold had been collected together in the morning, and at ten o'clock the signal was given to the soldiers to sack the cities. So great was the amount of booty secured that 400 denarii were distributed to each cavalryman and 200 to each foot soldier, and 150,000 human beings were carried off. Then the walls of the plundered cities, some seventy in number, were destroyed, the booty sold and the proceeds furnished the above−mentioned sum for the troops. Paulus went down to the seaport of Oricum, but his soldiers were far from satisfied; they resented being excluded from all share in the plunder of the palace, as though they had not taken any part in the Macedonian war. At Oricum he found the troops which had been sent off with Scipio Nasica and Q. Maximus, and after seeing his army on board sailed back to Italy. A few days later Anicius, who had been meeting the representatives of the rest of the Epirots, ordered those of their leaders whose case he had reserved for the senate to follow him to Italy. He then waited for the ships which had been used to transport the army from Macedonia, and on their arrival he too returned to Italy.

During these occurrences in Macedonia and Epirus the mission which had been sent in company with Attalus to put a stop to the war between the Gauls and Eumenes landed in Asia. A truce had been arranged for the winter; the Gauls had gone home and the king had retired into winter quarters at Pergamum, where he had been seriously ill. The beginning of spring had drawn the Gauls from their homes and they had gone as far as Synnada, while Eumenes had assembled at Sardis an army drawn from every quarter of his kingdom. When the Romans who were there had ascertained that the Gauls were at Synnada they decided to proceed thither and interview Solovetius, the Gaulish leader; Attalus accompanied them, but they decided that he should not enter the Gaulish camp lest there should be an angry debate. P. Licinius had a conversation with their leader, and brought back word that all attempts to persuade him only made him more defiant; he expressed his astonishment that whilst the representations of the Roman commissioners succeeded in allaying the strife between such powerful monarchs as Antiochus and Ptolemy, they had no weight whatever with the Gauls.

The captive monarchs Perseus and Gentius, with their children, were the first to be brought to Rome as prisoners; a host of prisoners followed them. These were succeeded by the Macedonians and the leading men of Greece who had received orders to go to Rome. In the case of these latter the summons embraced not only those at home, but also any who were reported to be with Antiochus or Ptolemy. A few days later Paulus himself sailed up the Tiber to the City in the king's ship, a vessel of enormous size propelled by sixteen banks of oars and adorned with the spoils of Macedonia in the shape of glittering armour and embroidered fabrics which belonged to the king. The river banks were crowded with multitudes who had streamed out to greet his arrival. Anicius and Octavius, with their fleet, arrived shortly afterwards. A triumph for all three was decreed by the senate, and the praetor Q.

Cassius was instructed to arrange with the tribunes of the plebs that they should propose a resolution to the Assembly that on the day when they entered the City in triumph they should retain their full military powers. Men of mediocre ability escape envy, it generally aims its shafts at the highest. No hesitation was felt about allowing Anicius and Octavius a triumph; Paulus, with whom they would have blushed to compare themselves, was the mark for calumny. He had maintained the ancient discipline amongst his men; he had given the soldiers much less booty than they had hoped considering Perseus' immense wealth; had he satisfied their demands they would have left nothing for the treasury. The whole of the army in Macedonia were incensed against their commander, and intended to give very little support to the resolution. Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had served in Macedonia as military tribune in the second legion and who had a private grievance against his commander, had gone about personally amongst the men and through the soldiers of his own legion had solicited and spurred on the rest to come in force and vote against the resolution, they would then have their revenge upon their despotic and niggardly general. "The City plebs would follow the lead of the soldiers. He forsooth had not the power to give the soldiers money! The soldiers, however, had the power to confer honour. He must not hope to reap the fruit of a gratitude which he had not earned."

In this angry mood they assembled in the Capitol. When Tiberius Sempronius put the resolution and the citizens were at liberty to speak, not a single person came forward to support it, as though it was taken for granted that it would be carried. Suddenly Servius Galba came forward and said that it was now four o'clock in the afternoon and there was not sufficient time for him to give his reasons why they should refuse the order for P. Aemilius to enjoy a triumph; he requested the tribunes of the plebs to adjourn the Assembly to the following day and commence the discussion in the morning, as he would need an entire day to state his case. The tribunes told him to say what he wanted to say there and then. His speech lasted till nightfall. He reminded his audience how all military tasks had been ruthlessly imposed, how there had been more labour, more danger incurred than circumstances required; but on the other hand, when it came to rewards and distinctions everything was cut down; if such generals were to have their way warfare would become more rough and repulsive to those engaged in it, and even when victory came it would bring neither profit nor honour. The Macedonians were better off than the Roman soldiers were. If they came in force the next day to vote against the resolution the men in power would understand that the general has not everything in his own hands, the soldiers too have something in their hands. Excited by this language, the soldiers crowded into the Capitol in such numbers that there was no room for any one else to give his vote. When the tribes who were first called upon were beginning to vote against the proposal, the chiefs of the City hurried to the Capitol and exclaimed loudly against such an unworthy proceeding. Lucius Paulus, they said, the victor in so great a war, was being robbed of his triumph, the commanders were being placed at the mercy of a licentious and grasping soldiery. Political corruption had already been the cause of too many crimes; what would happen if the soldiers were made the lords and masters of their commanders? Each did his utmost to shower reproaches on Galba. The tumult was at last allayed, and M. Servilius who had been consul and Master of the Horse begged the tribunes to commence the proceedings afresh and give him an opportunity of addressing the people. The tribunes retired to deliberate, and out of deference to the authority of the leaders of the State, prepared to go through the business from the beginning, and announced their intention of calling upon the tribes who had already voted to vote again after M. Servilius and any other citizens had stated their views.

Then Servilius began: "How great a commander L. Aemilius has shown himself may be estimated, if by nothing else, at all events by this simple fact, that though he had in his camp such mutinous and fickle soldiers, and a man so notorious for his impulsiveness and power of rousing a multitude bent on mischief by his eloquence, yet he never had a mutiny in his camp. The same stern exercise of authority, which they now detest, kept them as a united body. Held fast by the ancient discipline, they neither uttered a seditious word nor acted in a seditious way. As to Servilius Galba, if he wished to make his first essay, and give us a specimen of his eloquence by accusing L. Paulus, he ought not to have stood in the way of his triumph, if for no other reason at least for this, that the senate had judged it just and right. He ought to have waited till the morrow of his triumph, when he would see him as a private citizen and would be able to indict him before a magistrate, or at a later time, as soon as he himself had taken up the duties of a magistrate, he could impeach his enemy and prosecute him before the Assembly. In that way Lucius Paulus would have been rewarded by a triumph for having done his duty in conducting a war so

gloriously, and would have been punished for anything he had done unworthy of his former reputation and his newly−acquired glory. But see! He could not say anything against his conduct as a citizen or his character as a man, so he tried to besmirch his reputation. Yesterday afternoon he asked for a whole day in which to bring his accusations against L. Paulus; he took up what was left of the day−four hours−with his speech. What man has ever been placed upon his trial, so steeped in guilt that the crimes of his life could not be recounted in that number of hours? What, however, did he bring up which L. Paulus, were he on his trial, would wish to deny?

"Let some one picture to himself for a moment two assemblies, the one made up of the soldiers who served in Macedonia, the other free from prejudice, with a judgment unwarped by either partiality or aversion−the whole of the people of Rome sitting as judges. Suppose the defendant were first brought before the assembly of civilians clad in their peaceful togas. What would you say, Servilius Galba, before the Quirites of Rome? You said yesterday: 'Your outpost duty was too arduous, too much of a strain; the inspection of the night watches was too inconsiderate and incessant; you did heavier fatigue duty than formerly, when the commander himself went round and inspected. You had a march, and then went straight into battle on the same day, and even after you had won the victory, you were not allowed any rest; you were instantly sent in pursuit of the enemy. It was within his power to make you rich by distributing the plunder; he is going to carry the royal wealth in his triumphal procession and then put it into the treasury.' This sort of talk has a certain sting in it to goad on men who think that sufficient deference has not been shown to their licence and avarice. But it would have no influence with the people of Rome. They might not remember the old−time stories, and those which they have heard from their fathers, the defeats incurred by commanders who wished to be popular, and the victories won by stern and strict discipline; but they have not at all events forgotten the last Punic war, the difference between M. Minucius, the Master of the Horse, and Q. Fabius Maximus, the Dictator. So it is quite clear that the accuser would not have had a word to say, and any defence by Paulus would have been superfluous. "Now let us pass to the other assembly. I think I shall call you 'soldiers,' and not 'Quirites,' if that title can at least call up a blush and evoke in you a feeling of shame for the way you have insulted your commander.

"While I fancy myself addressing the army, I am in a very different state of mind from what I was in a few moments ago, when my words were addressed to the citizens. What do you say, soldiers? Is there a single man in Rome besides Perseus who would object to a triumph over the Macedonians, and you do not tear him in pieces with the same arms with which you conquered the Macedonians? The man who prevents you from entering the City in triumph would have prevented you, had it been in his power, from winning the war. You are mistaken, soldiers, if you think that a triumph is an honour to the general alone, and not to the soldiers also, and to the whole people of Rome. It is not the glory of Paulus alone that is at stake here−many who failed to obtain the senate's sanction have triumphed on the Alban Mount; no one can snatch from Paulus the glory of bringing the Macedonian war to a close any more than he could deprive C. Lutatius of his glory in the first Punic war, or P. Cornelius of his glory in the second. A triumph will not diminish or enhance L. Paulus' greatness as a commander−it is the fair fame of the soldiers and the people of Rome that is in question. Take care that this action be not looked upon as an instance of jealousy and ingratitude towards all our noblest citizens, copying the example of the Athenians, who persecuted their foremost men because they were jealous of their greatness. Enough wrong was done by your ancestors in the case of Camillus, whom they treated with injustice−it was, however, before he rescued the City from the Gauls−enough, too, by yourselves in the case of P. Africanus. We must blush with shame when we remember that the domicile and home of the man who subjugated Africa was at Liternum; that it is at Liternum we are shown his tomb. If the glory of L. Paulus is on a par with theirs, do not let the injustice you are showing to him equal what was shown to them. Let us begin then by effacing this infamy so ugly in the eyes of other nations, so disastrous to our own people; for who would wish to resemble either Africanus or Paulus in a community which was ungrateful and hostile to its good citizens? If there were no question of disgrace, if it were only one of glory, what triumph, pray, does not bring with it a glory in which every Roman has a share? All those triumphs over the Gauls, all those over the Spaniards; all those over the Carthaginians, are they spoken of as the triumphs of the commanders only, and not rather of the people of Rome as a whole? As it was not over Pyrrhus or Hannibal personally but over the Epirots and the Carthaginians, so it was not Manlius Curius or P. Cornelius alone who celebrated them but the Romans. Especially is this true of the

soldiers. With their laurel wreaths, each wearing his decorations, they shout their 'Io Triumphe' and make their progress through the City, hymning their commander's praises. If at any time the soldiers have not been brought back from the province for their triumph they murmur, yet even then they consider that they are taking their part in it because it was by their hands that the victory was won. If any one were to ask you soldiers for what object you were brought back to Italy and not disbanded as soon as the province was brought into order; why you have come to Rome in your thousands and under your standards; why you remain here and do not disperse each of you to your homes; what answer would you give except that you want to appear in the triumph? You, at all events, ought to wish to be seen as victors.

"Triumphs have been celebrated over Philip, this man's father, and over Antiochus; both were on the throne at the time. Shall there be no triumph over Perseus carried off as a prisoner and brought here with his children? Now, if while Anicius and Octavius were ascending the Capitol in their chariot, clad in gold and purple, L. Paulus standing as an ordinary citizen in the crowd were to ask them: 'Whom do you, L. Anicius and Cn. Octavius, think more deserving of a triumph, me or yourselves?' I think they would for very shame descend from their chariot and hand over their insignia of triumph to him. Would you rather, Quirites, see Gentius led in triumph than Perseus? Would you rather see a triumph over an episode of the war than over the war itself? The legions from Illyria will enter the City in triumph wearing their laurel wreaths; so will the seamen of the fleet. Are the legions from Macedonia going to watch the triumph of others after their own has been denied? What will become of the royal booty, the spoils of such a rich victory? Where will the many thousands of arms and armour stripped from the bodies of the slain be stored? Are they to be sent back to Macedonia? Where are the statues of gold and marble and ivory to go, the paintings, the embroidery, the mass of gold and silver plate, the immense sum of money that belonged to the king? Will they be carried away to the treasury by night as though they were the proceeds of a robbery? Yes, and the greatest spectacle of all, a monarch once most famous and most wealthy, now a prisoner, where is he to be shown to the victorious people? Most of us remember the crowds that gathered to see the captive king Syphax, who played a subordinate part in the Punic war; Perseus, a captive monarch, and his sons Philip and Alexander−names borne by mighty monarchs−are they to be kept out of the sight of the citizens? All men's eyes are yearning to watch L. Paulus, consul now for the second time, the conqueror of Greece, entering the city in his chariot. It was for this that we made him consul that he might bring to an end a war which to our infinite shame had been dragging on for four years. Are we going to deny a triumph to the man to whom, when the ballot had allotted him the province, we destined with prescient minds victory and a triumph, as we watched him leave the City? Are we going to defraud not him alone but the gods as well? Your ancestors invoked them when they started upon any great enterprise, and they invoked them also when they had carried it through. When a consul or a praetor goes to his province with his lictors, wearing the paludamentum, he recites prayers in the Capitol; when the war is over and he returns as victor in triumph to the Capitol, he carries up the gifts which are their due to the same deities to whom he offered the prayers. Not the least important part of the procession is the victims which precede the chariot, so that all may see that the commander is coming back to offer thanks to the gods for the successes they have vouchsafed to the commonwealth. All those victims which he has destined for his triumphal procession you had better go and sacrifice for yourselves, each where and when he chooses. Are those solemn banquets to which the senators sit down, not in any private house nor in any unconsecrated public building, but in the Capitol itself−are they, I ask, intended to gratify men or to honour the gods, and are you going to interfere with them at the bidding of Servius Galba? Will the City gates be closed against L. Paulus' triumph? Is Perseus, the king of the Macedonians, with his children and all the other prisoners, the spoils of Macedonia, to be left in the Circus Flaminius? Is L. Paulus to go to his house like an ordinary citizen returning home from the country, whilst you, centurion and legionary, march wearing the decorations which Paulus has bestowed upon you?

"Listen to the decree of the senate, rather than to the romancing of Servius Galba. Listen to this that I am saying, rather than to him. He has learnt nothing but speech−making, and that only to insult and calumniate. I have fought three−and−twenty times in answer to challenges; from all whom I encountered I carried off the spoils. My body is covered with honourable scars, every one received in front." It is said that he then stripped himself and explained in what war each had been received. While making this display he uncovered what ought to be concealed, and a swelling in the groin evoked laughter amongst those nearest to him. He then continued: "This which you are

laughing at I got from sitting on horseback night and day, and I am no more ashamed of this than of my other scars; it has never hindered me from serving the commonwealth faithfully, either at home or on the field of battle. As an old soldier I have often shown this body of mine, hacked with the sword, to the young ones. Let Galba strip and show his smooth skin with not a scar upon it. "Tribunes, call back, if you please, the tribes to vote . . . ."

Valerius Antias states that all the gold and silver coinage carried in the procession amounted to 120,000,000 sesterces, but from his own account of the number of wagons and the weight carried in each, the amount must undoubtedly have exceeded this. It is also asserted that a second sum equal to this had been either expended in the war or dispersed by the king during his flight to Samothrace, and this was all the more surprising, since all that money had been accumulated during the thirty years from the close of the war with Philip either as profits from the mines or from other sources of revenue, so that while Philip was very short of money, Perseus was able to commence his war with Rome with an overflowing exchequer. Last of all came Paulus himself, majestic alike in the dignity of his personal presence and the added dignity of years. Following his chariot were many distinguished men, amongst them his two sons, Quintus Maximus and Publius Nasica. Then came the cavalry, troop after troop, and the legionaries, cohort after cohort. The legionaries were given 100 denarii each, the centurions twice as much, and the cavalry three times that amount. It is believed that he would have doubled these grants had they not tried to deprive him of the honour, or even if they had been grateful for the actual amount which he did give them.

Perseus, however, was not the only instance during those days of triumph of sudden changes in the fortunes of men. He, it is true, was led in chains through the city of his foes in front of his conqueror's chariot, but Paulus, resplendent in gold and purple, was suffering too. Of the two sons whom he kept with him as the heirs to his name and his house and to the sacred rites of his yens−he had parted with two who had been adopted−the younger one, a boy of about twelve, died five days before his triumph, and the elder, a boy of fourteen, died three days after it. They ought to have been riding with their father, wearing the praetexta and anticipating triumphs similar to his. A few days later M. Antonius, a tribune of the plebs, summoned a meeting of the Assembly that Aemilius might address it. Following the practice of other commanders, he gave an account of what he had done. It was a memorable speech worthy of a Roman leader.

"Although, Quirites, I do not suppose that you are unaware of the good fortune and success which have marked my administration, nor of the two thunderbolts which have within these last few days fallen upon my house, seeing that you were at one time spectators of my triumph, and at another were watching the obsequies of my children, still I ask you to allow me to make a comparison in a befitting spirit between the prosperity of the republic and my own private fortunes. "On my departure from Italy I ordered the fleet to leave Brundisium at sunrise. In nine days I brought up at Corcyra with all my ships. Five days later I offered sacrifice to Apollo at Delphi on behalf of myself and of your fleets and armies. Four days brought me from Delphi to the camp, where after taking over the army I made changes in certain matters that were seriously interfering with the chances of victory. As the enemy camp was unassailable, and the king could not be forced into an engagement, I advanced and cleared the pass in spite of the force posted to defend it, and advanced to Petra. Here I forced the king to give battle and defeated him. Macedonia submitted, and in a fortnight I finished a war which for four years the consuls before me had conducted in such a way that each handed on to his successor a more serious task than he had received. The fruits of that victory showed themselves in further successes; the cities of Macedonia made their surrender; the royal treasure fell into our hands; the king himself was captured with his children in a temple at Samothrace, almost as though the gods had delivered him into our power. Even I began to regard my good fortune as something too great, and therefore distrusted it. I began to fear the perils of the sea, whilst carrying the royal treasury into Italy and transporting my victorious army.

"We had a favourable voyage, and after all had reached Italy safely, and there was nothing more for me to pray for, my one ardent desire was that in the usual turn of Fortune's wheel the change might affect my house rather than the commonwealth. I hope, therefore, that its continued prosperity has been secured by the signal calamity which has overtaken me. As though in mockery of mortal grief, my triumph intervened between the death of my

two sons. Both Perseus and myself may now be regarded as noteworthy examples of the lot which awaits men. He, himself a captive, has seen his children led as captives before him, but still, he has them safe and sound; I, who have triumphed over him, went from the funeral of one of my sons in my chariot to the Capitol, and returned to find the other at the point of death. Out of all my sons, not one remains to bear the name of Lucius Aemilius Paulus. As though I had a large family, two have been adopted by the Cornelian and Fabian houses; there is not a Paulus left except myself. But your happiness and the good fortune of the republic are my consolation in this ruin of my house." The self−restraint which this speech evinced made a far greater impression upon his audience than if he had indulged in tearful laments over his bereavement.

On December 1, Cn. Octavius celebrated his naval victory over Perseus. That triumph was without prisoners and without spoil. He gave each member of the crews seventy−five denarii; to the pilots twice as much; and to the captains four times as much. A meeting of the senate was then convened, and the senators decided that Q. Cassius should conduct Perseus and his son Alexander to Alba to remain there under guard. The king was allowed to retain his suite, his money, his silver plate and his household effects. Bithys the son of Cotys, king of the Thracians was sent, together with the hostages, to Carseoli, to be interned there. The rest of the captives who had been led in the triumphal procession were to be shut up in prison. A few days later a deputation from Cotys arrived with a sum of money for the ransom of his son and the other hostages. They were admitted to an audience of the senate, and they especially urged that it was not of his own will that Cotys had assisted Perseus; he had been compelled to give hostages, and they implored the senate to allow them to be ransomed at such a figure as the senate should fix. The senate instructed the praetor to tell them in reply that the senate bore in mind the friendly relations which had existed between Rome and Cotys and the ancestors of Cotys and the Thracian nation. The giving of hostages was itself the offence, and could not be alleged as an excuse, for the Thracians had nothing to fear from Perseus, even had he kept the peace, much less when he was engaged in a war with Rome. However, though Cotys had preferred the favour of Perseus to the friendship of Rome, they would mete out their treatment of him by what was consistent with their own dignity more than by his deserts; they would send back his son and the hostages. The beneficent acts of the people of Rome were gratuitous; they preferred to leave the value of them in the hearts of those who received them rather than to exact a cash payment for them. Three commissioners were appointed−T. Quinctius Flamininus, C. Licinius Nerva and M. Caninius Rebilus−to conduct the hostages back to Thrace, and each of the Thracian envoys received a present of 2000 ases. Bithys was taken with the rest of the hostages from Carseoli and sent to his father. The king's ships, which were larger than had ever been seen before, were hauled up on to the Campus Martius.

Whilst the Macedonian triumph was still fresh in men's minds and almost before their eyes, L. Anicius triumphed on the day of the Quirinalia (Feb. 17) over Gentius and the Illyrians. The spectacle as a whole showed rather a general resemblance to the triumph of Paulus than a correspondence in details. The general himself was a smaller man, and people contrasted the position of the house of Anicius and his authority as praetor with the high lineage of Aemilius and his rank as consul, and there could be no comparison between Gentius and Perseus, or between the Illyrians and the Macedonians, or between the spoils and wealth carried in the two processions, or the amount of the donative to the soldiers in the two armies. But though the recent triumph eclipsed this one, it was clear to the onlookers that in itself it was by no means contemptible. The Illyrians were a nation formidable both by land and sea, who felt secure in their strong fortified positions, and Anicius had thoroughly subjugated them in a few days and captured their king and all his family. Many captured standards were carried in the procession, together with other spoils, and the furniture of the palace, 27 pounds of gold, and 19 of silver, besides 13,000 denarii and 120,000 silver pieces of Illyrian coinage. Before his chariot walked Gentius, with his wife and children, Caravantius his brother, and several Illyrian nobles. Out of the booty each legionary received 45 denarii, the centurions twice, and the cavalry three times as much. Anicius gave to the Latin allies as much as to the Romans, and to the seamen of the fleet as much as the soldiers received. The soldiers marched more joyously in this triumph, and the general himself was the subject of many laudatory songs. According to Antias, 200,000 sesterces were realised from the sale of that booty, besides the gold and silver deposited in the treasury, but as it is not clear to me how this sum was realised, I quote his authority instead of stating it as a fact. By resolution of the senate, Gentius, with his wife and children and brother, were interned in Spoletium; the rest of the captives were thrown

into prison in Rome. As the Spoletians refused to be responsible for their safe−keeping, the royal family were transferred to Iguvium. The remainder of the Illyrian spoils consisted of 220 swift barques. These Q. Cassius was ordered by the senate to distribute amongst the Corcyraeans, the Apolloniates and the Dyrrhachians.

The consuls for the year had done nothing worth recording in Liguria; the enemy never took the field, so they confined themselves to devastating the country. They returned to Rome for the elections, and on the first day M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Sulpicius Galba were elected consuls. On the following day the election of praetors took place. Those elected were L. Julius, L. Apuleius Saturninus, A. Licinius Nerva, P. Rutilius Calvus, P. Quinctilius Varus and M. Fonteius. The provinces assigned to them were the two home jurisdictions, the two Spanish provinces, Sicily and Sardinia. This year was an intercalary one, the additional day being the one following the Terminalia (Feb. 23). One of the augurs, C. Claudius, died this year; the augurs chose T. Quinctius Flamininus in his place; Q. Fabius Pictor, a Flamen Quirinalis, also died. During the year Prusias went to Rome with his son Nicomedes. He entered the City amid a large concourse, and proceeded through the streets to the tribunal of Q. Cassius the praetor, surrounded by a crowd of citizens. Addressing the praetor, he said that he had come to pay reverence to the gods of the City, to salute the senate and citizens of Rome, and to congratulate them on their victory over Perseus and Gentius, and the extension of their sway by the subjugation of the Macedonians and Illyrians. On the praetor informing him that the senate would grant him an audience on that day, if he wished it, he requested to be allowed two days in which to visit the temples of the gods and see the City and pay visits to his hosts and friends. L. Cornelius Scipio, the quaestor who had been sent to meet him at Capua, was appointed to take him round, and a house in which he and his suite could find ample accommodation was hired for him. Three days afterwards he attended a meeting of the senate. After congratulating them upon the victory, he enumerated his own services in the war, and asked permission to sacrifice ten full−grown victims in the Capitol in fulfilment of a vow, and one to Fortune at Praeneste; these vows had been made for the victory of Rome. He also requested that the alliance with him might be renewed, and that the district taken from Antiochus, which, as the Romans had not assigned it to any one, the Gauls had taken possession of, might be given to him. Lastly, he commended his son to the care and protection of the senate.

All who had commanded in Macedonia supported his requests, and, with one exception, they were all granted. With regard to the land, however, he was told that a commission would be sent to investigate the question of ownership. If the territory belonged to Rome, and had not been granted to any one, they should consider that no one was more deserving of the grant than Prusias. If, however, it should turn out not to have belonged to Antiochus and had, therefore, never been claimed by Rome, or should it prove to have been actually granted to the Gauls, Prusias must pardon them if the people of Rome were unwilling that anything should be granted to him to the injury of another. To no one can a gift be grateful when he knows that the giver can take it away whenever he pleases. The senate accepted the commendation of his son Nicomedes; the care with which the people of Rome protect the sons of friendly monarchs was shown in the case of Ptolemy, King of Egypt. With this reply Prusias was dismissed. Presents of . . . sesterces were ordered to he made to him and 50 pounds of silver plate. The senate also decided that presents should be made to Nicomedes of the same value as those made to Masinissa's son Masgaba, and that the victims for sacrifice and the other requisites, whether he wished to offer them at Rome or at Praeneste, should be supplied to the king at the public cost, as in the case of the magistrates. From the fleet at Brundisium twenty warships were assigned to him for his use. Till the king had reached the fleet thus presented to him, L Cornelius Scipio was to be his constant attendant, and was to defray all expenses incurred by him and his suite. They say that the king was wonderfully delighted with the kindness the people of Rome had shown towards him. He refused to have any presents purchased for himself, but he ordered his son to accept what the Roman people gave him. This is what our historians say about Prusias. Polybius alleges that the king was unworthy of his regal title; he was in the habit of meeting the ambassadors who were sent to him with his head shaved, and wearing a freedman's cap, speaking of himself as the manumitted slave of Rome, and wearing the distinctive dress of this class on that account. At Rome, too, when he entered the senate−house, he prostrated himself and kissed the threshold and called the senators his protecting deities, with other expressions more degrading to himself than complimentary to those who heard him. After a stay of not more than thirty days in the City and the neighbourhood he left for his kingdom. A war in Asia was begun (between Eumenes and the Gauls) . . .