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LIVY

IX

BOOKS XXXI-XXXIV

LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

IX

BOOKS XXXI-XXXIV

TRANSLATED BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

I REGRET—though I have good ancient precedent—that my first volume must begin with an explanation which is at the same time a warning and an apology. There is at the present no critical edition of the Fourth Decade. Only a beginning has been made in the investigation of such questions as the interrelationships of the minor MSS. or their relations to *B*, or the history and character of the lost MSS. like *M* which were used by sixteenth-century scholars. All this must precede a sound critical text. The situation offers an unusual temptation to conjecture and an unusual opportunity, in the absence of precise and complete information about the manuscripts, to introduce subjective changes. Scholars have shown commendable restraint, and I trust that I have at least done no harm to the text.

We may judge the state of our text by the proper nouns it contains. There are few proper names in this volume which are printed as they appear in the manuscripts; few on which the manuscripts generally agree. In this respect our text is due mainly to Sigonius, who employed the various forms in which the names are found in Livy and external aids to recover the correct names. I have not sought either consistency or completeness in recording these facts, but content myself with a few specimens and a general reference to Weissenborn-Müller for further details.

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It must be granted that not a few local and personal names are still uncertain.

A critical edition, based on new collations of all the manuscripts and on studies of their interrelations, was not to be thought of under existing conditions. I have therefore made use of the best and most convenient text, that of the latest Weissenborn-Müller printing (Teubner, 1930). The critical notes are drawn entirely from secondary sources, such as the same edition, without personal examination of the MSS. I have, however, introduced changes of three kinds: (1) I have restored some readings of *B*, and, less frequently, of *M*, without remark. Variations from the Weissenborn-Müller text, if not reported, are of this type, and I have not taken advantage of this to include conjectures of my own; (2) I have sometimes replaced conjectures with readings of ζ ; these are reported; (3) I have re-punctuated the text to secure a higher degree of conformity with Anglo-Saxon practice.

With the exception of proper nouns, already mentioned, and of certain minor differences (I suspect that in some of these *B* has been misread), I have tried in the critical notes to indicate all readings which lack the authority of *B* or *M*, that is, all readings derived from ζ or from conjecture. This seems to me especially important when we consider the probable relationship of *B* ζ . It will be seen that the contribution of ζ to the text is large. I have no doubt that *B* is more frequently right than we now recognize, and I shall at least have provided the information now available regarding the manuscripts. I may add that my own contribution to the textual criticism of Livy is negative: I have not replaced readings of *B*

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with those even of ζ without trying to find an explanation of the text of *B*.

The foundation of the text of the Fourth Decade is *B* (Bambergensis *M*, IV. 9, s. 11), which is a direct and faithful descendant of *F* (Bambergensis *Q*, IV. 27, Theol. 99), an uncial fragment containing parts of Books XXXIII, XXXV and XXXIX; from *F* was derived also, through a lost intermediate, the codex Spirensis, and from another copy of the same intermediate, the minor MSS. (ζ). A codex Moguntinus, not descended from *F*, and assigned to the ninth century, was used in sixteenth-century editions, notably the Moguntina of 1518 and the Frobenianae of 1531 and 1535. An additional fifth-century fragment, containing a small part of Book XXXIV, and representing a different tradition, has been found in Rome (Vaticanus Lat. 10696). The beginning of a textual criticism of these MSS. was made by Traube (see the Bibliography; there is a stemma on p. 27), but relatively little has been done on the manuscripts, and the details of the interrelations are still uncertain.

I need hardly say that I have tried in the translation to preserve Livy's meaning and as much of his stylistic quality as my own limitations and the differences in our idiom will permit. Livy was no statesman nor civil servant, and he did not always understand the institutions he was describing; he was no soldier, and the semi-technical language of his sources he did not always understand. In this respect I have been perhaps unfaithful to my task, for I have used at times a soldier's language to describe a soldier's actions, and while searching for the appropriate words I fear I have been more exact than Livy was. I have generally Latinized non-Latin proper nouns, except

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in those cases where the Greek forms are more familiar, such as "Delos"; Italian place-names are modern Italian or ancient Latin, and it would be mere pedantry to write anything but "Rome" and "Athens."

The narrative of the Fourth Decade is not always easy to follow. Livy did not understand it himself at every point, and his ignorance of foreign geography and local topography caused confusion in his descriptions; his lack of acquaintance with warfare made it hard for him to visualize battle scenes; his sources were not always in agreement, and Livy had no efficient protection in the form of tests for credibility. The artistic form which he selected was an additional handicap, for he had to transpose into annalistic form, modified, of course, by geographical, rhetorical and logical forces, events described by different men, following different chronological systems, all different from the calendar of Livy's own time. I have tried to furnish clues to his sequences, and these clues have been furnished mainly by Polybius, whom I believe to have been Livy's principal source.

The maps have been prepared for this Volume by Mr. Joseph A. Foster of the Department of Classics of the University of Pittsburgh. It has been our intention to show on them those sites mentioned by Livy which can be located with reasonable accuracy and to omit other geographical and topographical details. The map of Cynoscephalae is adapted from the plan in Kromayer (*Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland*, II, Karte 4, Berlin, 1907), and my gratitude is due the publisher, the Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, for permitting its use.

In the preparation of the Index I have enjoyed the

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competent assistance of two former students, Dr. Mildred Daschbach, of Immaculata Seminary, Washington, D.C., and Dr. Eugene W. Miller, of Thiel College, Greenville, Pa. To them I express my thanks, and I acquit them of all responsibility for imperfections: part of them are my fault, part Livy's.

I have paid relatively little attention to the troublesome question of Livy's sources, so violently debated since the time of Niebuhr. The numerous papers which belong to this controversy impress me as admirable in purpose and method, but, to judge from the contradictory character of their conclusions, somewhat futile in result. Livy's use of Polybius, especially for affairs in the East, seems to be universally accepted; I should be inclined to believe that Livy used Polybius freely in other parts of the text as well. The manner and extent of Polybius' use of Roman sources are likewise debatable. Livy's use of earlier Roman annalists may be assumed, although we can be less sure of details. I have not tried to reproduce the attempts of scholars to trace particular sections to particular annalists: their results seem from their inconsistency to be too precarious to warrant my adoption of any one scheme. The inquirer will find in the Bibliography below mention of some of the most important discussions, all of which contain additional references. To these should be added the standard histories which deal with the Second Macedonian War and the standard histories of Latin literature. All supplement the brief Bibliography which I give.

Probably, as an indication of my own point of view, I should state briefly my judgment of Livy and his

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work. I share with most scholars, I think, the belief that Livy is greater as a literary artist than as an historian. I believe further that Livy could have taken more pains than he did to learn and to state what happened: he had, I am sure, more tests of relative credibility than he employed. I recognize too that he sometimes obscured the truth behind a curtain of rhetoric. Yet even in his desire to reflect glory upon Rome or upon individuals whom he respected and admired, I cannot find signs of deliberate manipulation of facts to permit more favourable inferences. And finally—and this is purely subjective—I seem to see in him a growing dissatisfaction with the Romans, a growing feeling that even in the second century Roman character was degenerating, and that even their most distinguished men were at times petty, self-centred, and more considerate of their own advancement than of the good of Rome. He was appalled, as he says at the beginning of this volume, by the size of the task that remained, and, I think, saddened by the character of the events he had still to describe. It was not easy to translate, and it was not easy to compose, this narrative and to remain an optimist regarding Rome.

I would conclude with an expression of my deep gratitude to the Editors and Publishers of the Loeb Classical Library for their unchanging helpfulness.

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CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

B = Codex Bambergensis M. IV. 9, s. 11.

F = Codex Bambergensis Q. IV. 27 (Theol. 99), s. 6.

M = Codex Moguntinus deperditus, s. 9 (?).

ς = Codices deteriores et editiones veteres (the most important early editions are cited by name).

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

It is impossible to follow the narrative of the Macedonian Wars without some understanding of the political situation in the East, and equally impossible to describe that situation in a manner both brief and truthful.

The empire of Alexander had broken up into three major divisions, the parent kingdom of Macedonia, the Seleucid empire, and the kingdom of the Ptolemies. Macedonia had lost much of Greece in the century after Alexander, and Philip V, its ruler at this time, was trying desperately to regain it. The Seleucid ruler was Antiochus III, who controlled Syria and much of the interior of Asia Minor. Moreover, in 205 B.C. the death of Ptolemy Philopator and the accession of the young Ptolemy Epiphanes gave Philip and Antiochus the opportunity to make a treaty dividing his territory between them. The third division, the kingdom of the Ptolemies, included Egypt and certain coastal cities in Asia Minor.

In addition, there were, in Asia, the republic of Rhodes and the kingdom of Pergamum. Rhodes was small but respected and influential. Its commercial interests caused it to prefer peace to war, but its sympathies were Greek and democratic. Pergamum was small but rich and powerful.

Greece was controlled by four major powers: the young republic of Athens; the Aetolian League in central Greece; the Achaean League in the Peloponnese; and the cities garrisoned by Philip or in

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

sympathy with him. The peace of the Peloponnesus was constantly menaced by tyrants, especially in Sparta, and the cumbersome federal organization of the Achaean League was powerless to control them, especially since Corinth was in Macedonian hands. There were, furthermore, pro-Macedonian and anti-Macedonian factions in almost all the cities, and changes in political control, and so in international relations, were frequent.

This confusion is now increased by the intervention of Rome. The Second Macedonian War, with which this volume is mainly concerned, was fought in the council-chamber quite as effectively as on the battlefield. Yet Rome's policy was by no means obvious to her, and her motives for engaging in the war were uncertain even to the Romans who made the decision. They were just beginning to feel the charm of classical Greek culture, but their traditional policy of isolation drew them away. Their generals and statesmen were inexperienced in the diplomatic subtleties of the older world. The Greeks welcomed their military assistance, yet resented their presence in Greece as an independent power.

It may seem clear to us that Rome had only two courses of action open to her: to allow the eastern states to destroy one another without interference, or to assume complete control of the eastern Mediterranean. Yet Rome could not see the situation so simply, and if she seems to have no clearly conceived policy, we should attribute the fact to her sudden precipitation into eastern politics, to her inexperience in foreign relations of this kind, to her physical and spiritual exhaustion after the war with Hannibal, and to her national tradition.

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XXXI

T. LIVI
AB URBE CONDITA
LIBER XXXI

A.U.C.
553

I. ME quoque iuvat, velut ipse in parte laboris ac periculi fuerim, ad finem belli Punici pervenisse.
2 Nam etsi profiteri ausum perscripturum res omnes Romanas in partibus singulis tanti operis fatigari minime conveniat, tamen, cum in mentem venit
3 tres et sexaginta annos—tot enim sunt a primo
4 Punico ad secundum bellum finitum—aeque multa volumina occupasse mihi quam occupaverint quadringenti octoginta septem¹ anni a condita urbe ad Ap. Claudium consulem, qui primum bellum Carthaginiensibus intulit, iam provideo animo, velut qui
5 proximis² litori vadis inducti mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quidquid progredior, in vastiorem me altitudinem ac velut profundum³ invehī, et crescere

¹ Accepting Weissenborn's correction of the numeral LXXVIII of *B*; Livy's chronology is three years behind the ordinary reckoning by which dates A.U.C. are calculated from 754 B.C.

² proximis *ed. Moguntina* 1518: proximi *B*.

³ profundum *Ascensius*: profundam *B*.

¹ The dates of the events referred to are, respectively, 267 B.C. and 204 B.C., by Livy's reckoning, or, according to

LIVY
FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY
BOOK XXXI

I. I ALSO am relieved, just as if I myself had shared B.C. 201 the labour and the peril, that I have come to the end of the Punic War. For while it is not at all fitting that one who has ventured to promise to write the whole history of Rome should grow wearied in dealing with the single portions of so great a task, nevertheless, when I reflect that sixty-three years—the space between the outbreak of the First and the end of the Second Punic War¹—have filled as many books² for me as were required for the four hundred and eighty-seven years from the founding of the city to the consulship of Appius Claudius (who began the first war with the Carthaginians), already I see in my mind's eye that, like men who, attracted by the shallow water near the shore, wade out into the sea, I am being carried on, whatever progress I make, into depths more vast and, as it were, into the abyss, and that the task almost waxes greater

the usual chronology (which is retained in the marginal dates), 264 B.C. and 201 B.C.

¹ Books I–XV contained the narrative of the earlier period; Books XVI–XXX covered the First and Second Punic Wars.

LIVY

A. U. C.
553

paene opus, quod prima quaeque perficiendo minui videbatur.

- 6 Pacem Punicam bellum Macedonicum excepit, periculo haudquaquam comparandum aut virtute
7 ducis aut militum robore, claritate regum antiquorum vetustaque fama gentis et magnitudine imperii, quo multa quondam Europae, maiorem partem Asiae obtinuerant armis, prope nobilior.
8 Ceterum coeptum bellum adversus Philippum decem ferme ante annis triennio prius depositum erat, cum
9 Aetoli et belli et pacis fuissent causa.¹ Vacuos deinde pace Punica iam Romanos et infensos Philippo cum ob infidam adversus Aetolos aliosque regionis

¹ causa *Heinsius* : causai *B* : causae ζ .

¹ Philip V, king of the Macedonians, was not to be compared with the Carthaginian Hannibal.

² Livy thinks especially of Philip II, founder of Macedonian power, and of Alexander the Great, who had conquered an empire greater than that of Carthage.

³ Philip V had come to the Macedonian throne in 217 B.C. at the age of 17, and had continued the aggressive policy of his regent, Antigonus. As an ally of the Achaean League, the Macedonians had fought a successful war against the Aetolian League (see Introductory Note), and in 216 B.C. concluded an alliance with Hannibal by a treaty of which Polybius (VII. xix) preserves some clauses. Meanwhile Philip was pursuing an ambitious policy towards Athens and other Greek states. By 214 B.C., Rome seems to have recognized that something like a "state of war" existed (XXIV. xl. 1), but in this passage Livy dates the actual hostilities from 211 B.C., when Rome made a treaty with Philip's old enemies, the Aetolians (XXVI. xxiv. 10). Philip's treaty of peace with the Aetolians is dated 205 B.C. by Livy (XXIX. xii. 1), but we may perhaps explain his "three years" on the assumption that it was not ratified until the next year.

BOOK XXXI. I. 5-9

which, as I finished each of the earlier portions, B.C. 201 seemed to be growing smaller.

The Punic peace was followed by the Macedonian war, which, although in no wise comparable as regards its danger, or the prowess of the leader,¹ or the strength of the military forces employed, yet, because of the fame of Macedonia's ancient kings² and the ancient glory of the nation and the vast extent of its empire, in which it had at one time gained by its arms dominion over large portions of Europe and the greater part of Asia, was almost more celebrated. Now the war with Philip,³ begun about ten years before this time, had some time before been laid aside for a period of three years, the Aetolians being the cause of the truce as they had been of the beginning of hostilities. Then later the Romans, being at last unoccupied by any war, as a result of the peace with Carthage, and being indignant with Philip both because of the treacherous peace which he had concluded with the Aetolians⁴ and the other allies in that region, and because of Livy's chronology is often confused, as a result of unskilful handling of annalistic sources.

The so-called Second Macedonian War, the account of which begins here, was practically ended by the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C. (XXXIII. vi-x; Polyb. XVIII. xx-xxvii), but lasted diplomatically until 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxxii). Thereafter Philip pursued a policy of alternating friendship and hostility towards Rome until his death in 179 B.C.

⁴ See the preceding note for the peace of 205 B.C., which might seem due to the treachery of the Aetolians rather than of Philip. Rome was so occupied by the war against Hannibal that the Aetolians had to bear all the burden of keeping up the war against Philip. The failure of the Romans to aid them is frequently mentioned in the diplomatic conferences of the next years.

LIVY

A. U. C.
553

10 eiusdem socios pacem, tum ob auxilia cum pecunia
nuper in Africam missa Hannibali Poenisque, preces
Atheniensium, quos agro pervastato in urbem com-
pulerat, excitaverunt ad renovandum bellum.

II. Sub idem fere tempus et ab Attalo rege et
Rhodiis legati venerunt nuntiantes Asiae quoque
2 civitates sollicitari. His legationibus responsum est
curae eam rem senatui fore; consultatio de Mace-
donico bello integra ad consules, qui tunc in pro-
3 vinciiis erant, reiecta est. Interim ad Ptolomaeum
Aegypti regem legati tres missi, C. Claudius Nero,
M. Aemilius Lepidus, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, ut
nuntiarent victum Hannibalem Poenosque et gratias
4 agerent regi, quod in rebus dubiis, cum finitimi
etiam socii Romanos desererent, in fide mansisset,
et peterent ut, si coacti iniuriis bellum adversus
Philippum suscepissent, pristinum animum erga
populum Romanum conservaret.

5 Eodem fere tempore P. Aelius consul in Gallia,
cum audisset a Bois ante suum adventum incursiones
6 in agros sociorum factas, duabus legionibus subitariis
tumultus eius causa scriptis additisque ad eas quat-
tuor cohortibus de exercitu suo C. Ampium,¹ prae-

¹ appium, the reading of *B*, is corrected from sect. 7 below.

¹ Livy (XXX. xxvi. 3) reports the rumour that troops had been sent to Hannibal, and in XXX. xxxiii. 5 lists Macedonians among his allies. See also XXX. xlii. 4 and XLV. xxii. 6. Polybius does not mention them.

² They were Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Aelius Paetus.

³ Ptolemy Epiphanes, now nine years old and on the throne for the past four years. His father and the regents,

BOOK XXXI. I. 9-II. 6

the military assistance and money which he had recently¹ sent to Hannibal and the Carthaginians in Africa, were aroused by the prayers of the Athenians, whom Philip had driven into the city by the ravaging of their fields, into renewing the war. B.C. 201

II. At about the same time, ambassadors both from King Attalus of Pergamum and from the Rhodians arrived in Rome and brought word that the cities of Asia also were being stirred up to discontent. To these embassies the senate replied that they would look into the matter, and the whole question of the Macedonian war was referred to the consuls² who were then in the provinces. Meanwhile three ambassadors, Gaius Claudius Nero, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, were sent to King Ptolemy³ of Egypt, to announce the defeat of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, to thank the king because, in a critical time, when even allies nearer home had revolted, he had remained loyal, and to ask that if the Romans, compelled by their wrongs, should declare war on Philip, he should preserve his ancient attitude toward the Roman people.

At about the same time the consul, Publius Aelius, who was in Gaul, having learned that before his arrival the Boi had been raiding the fields of the allies,⁴ enrolled an emergency force of two legions, to deal with this uprising, and adding to them four cohorts from his own army, he ordered Gaius Ampius,

rather than the boy-king himself, were obviously responsible for Egypt's fidelity to Rome.

⁴ Many of the tribes of Cisalpine Gaul had joined Hannibal (XXI. xxv. 2, etc.), and the subjugation of the region had begun anew.

fectum socium, hac tumultuaria manu per Umbriam, qua tribum Sapiniam vocant, agrum Boiorum invadere iussit; ipse eodem aperto itinere per montes
 7 duxit. Ampius ingressus hostium fines primo populationes satis prospere ac tuto fecit; delecto deinde ad castrum Mutilum ¹ satis idoneo loco ad demetenda frumenta—iam enim maturae erant segetes—profectus neque explorato circa nec stationibus satis
 8 firmis, quae armatae inermes atque operi intentos tutarentur, positis improvise impetu Gallorum cum frumentatoribus est circumventus. Inde pavor fugae
 9 que etiam armatos cepit. Ad septem milia hominum palata per segetes sunt caesa, inter quos ipse C. Ampius praefectus; ceteri in castra metu compulsi.
 10 Inde sine certo duce consensu militari proxima nocte relictis magna parte rerum suarum ad consulem per
 11 saltus prope invios pervenere. Qui, nisi quod populatus est Boiorum finis et cum Ingaunis Liguribus foedus icit, nihil quod esset memorabile aliud in provincia cum gessisset, Romam rediit.

III. Cum primum senatum habuit, universis postulantis ne quam prius rem quam de Philippo ac sociorum querellis ageret, relatam extemplo est;

¹ Mutilum *edd.*: militum *B*: mutillum ζ .

¹ A local name for a district south of Ravenna. *Sapinia* is not the name of one of the Roman political divisions known as tribes.

² The Ingauni seem to have been a Ligurian tribe living to the south-west of the modern Genoa.

BOOK XXXI. II. 6—III. 1

the commander of the allied forces, to take this B.C. 201
 improvised force and with it to invade the territory of the Boi, marching by way of Umbria, through the district known as the *tribus Sapia*.¹ Aelius himself led his forces thither by the open road over the mountains. Ampius, after entering the enemy's country, at first conducted raids with considerable success and without losses; then, choosing, near the fortified town of Mutilum, a camp-site suitable for reaping the crops—for the grain was now ripe—he set out without reconnoitring the neighbourhood or establishing sufficiently strong posts of armed men to protect the unarmed parties who were intent upon the work, and, when the Gauls made an unexpected attack, he and his foragers were surrounded. Thereupon terror and panic laid hold even of those who were under arms. About seven thousand men, scattered through the grain-fields, were killed, among them Gaius Ampius himself, the officer in command; the rest were driven by terror into the camp. Thence, on the next night, there being no one definitely in command, the soldiers by general consent abandoned most of their possessions, and travelling through well-nigh impassable forests rejoined the consul. He, having in his province accomplished nothing worth mentioning, except that he had ravaged the fields of the Boi and had made a treaty with the Ingauni Ligures,² returned to Rome.

III. At the first meeting of the senate, when all the members insisted that no business should have precedence over the question of Philip and the allies' complaints, the matter was at once taken up for consideration and a motion passed in a full

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A.U.C.
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2 decrevitque frequens senatus ut P. Aelius consul
quem videretur ei cum imperio mitteret, qui classe
accepta quam ex Sicilia Cn. Octavius reduceret, in
3 Macedoniam traiceret. M. Valerius Laevinus pro-
praetor missus circa Vibonem duodequadrage-
navibus ab Cn. Octavio acceptis in Macedoniam
4 transmisit. Ad quem cum M. Aurelius legatus
venisset edocuissetque eum quantos exercitus, quan-
5 tum navium numerum comparasset rex, quem ad
modum circa omnes non continentis modo urbes sed
etiam insulas partim ipse adeundo, partim per
6 legatos conciret homines ad arma: maiore conatu
Romanis id capessendum bellum esse, ne cunctanti-
bus iis auderet Philippus quod Pyrrhus prius ausus
ex aliquanto minore regno esset, haec scribere eadem
Aurelium consulibus senatuique placuit.

IV. Exitu huius anni cum de agris veterum militum
relatum esset, qui ductu atque auspicio P. Scipionis

¹ The *imperium* was that aspect of official authority which conferred the right of life and death and the right of exercising military command. At this period ordinary magistrates within the city of Rome could not possess *imperium*, and so their attendants carried the fasces without the axe which symbolized this power.

² This fleet had been on guard in Sicilian waters during the war with Hannibal (XXX. xli. 7).

³ Laevinus had served in Greece for a long time during the recent war (XXIII. xxiv. 4, etc.), but was at this time a private citizen.

⁴ Marcus Aurelius Cotta had been sent on an embassy to Philip in 203 B.C. (XXX. xxvi. 4). Macedonian ambassadors at the peace conference in 201 B.C. complained of his conduct, alleging that he had attacked Philip in contravention of the treaty (XXX. xlii. 3).

⁵ *Legati* were either commissioners sent out by the senate to conduct diplomatic negotiations, to deliver messages to

BOOK XXXI. III. 2-IV. 1

session, that Publius Aelius the consul should send B.C. 201
a suitable person of his own selection, vested with
military authority,¹ to take over the fleet which
Gnaeus Octavius was bringing from Sicily, and
then cross over to Macedonia.² Marcus Valerius
Laevinus³ was sent with the rank of propraetor,
and receiving thirty-eight ships from Gnaeus Octavius
in the neighbourhood of Vibo, he took them across
to Macedonia. There Marcus Aurelius⁴ the com-
missioner⁵ met him and informed him what mighty
armies, what a great number of ships the king had
assembled, and in what fashion he was rousing
men to armed revolt, not only in all the cities of the
mainland but in the islands as well, partly by visit-
ing them in person, partly through his agents; and
the two agreed that the Romans must undertake
the war with greater vigour, lest while they delayed
Philip should venture to do what Pyrrhus⁶ before
him had done, with a considerably less powerful
empire, and that Aurelius should forward this
information in writing to the consuls and senate.

IV. At the end of this year, when a proposal was
made for a distribution of land⁷ to the veterans

independent states, to determine the form of government of
a new province, etc., or military assistants to commanders in
the field. Aurelius belonged to the former class, but had
either assumed or been assigned military duties as well.

⁶ King Pyrrhus of Epirus had been summoned to aid
Tarentum during the war between that city and Rome (281-
272 B.C.) and had invaded Italy.

⁷ At this time only landowners served in the army, but
some of these soldiers had been under arms for sixteen years
and had lost all their property. This is, according to Livy,
the first such measure to aid veterans, but in the later Republic
such distributions were common. See also xlix. 5 below.

LIVY

A.U.C.
653

in Africa bellum perfecissent, decreverunt patres
 2 ut M. Iunius praetor urbanus, si ei videretur, decem-
 viros agro Samniti Apuloque quod eius publicum
 populi Romani esset, metiendo dividendoque crearet.
 3 Creati P. Servilius, Q. Caecilius Metellus, C. et M.
 Servilii—Geminis ambobus cognomen erat—L. et
 A. Hostilii Catones, P. Villius Tappulus,¹ M. Fulvius
 Flaccus, P. Aelius Paetus, T. Quinctius Flamininus.
 4 Per eos dies P. Aelio consule comitia habente
 creati consules P. Sulpicius Galba, C. Aurelius Cotta.
 Praetores exinde facti Q. Minucius Rufus, L. Furius
 5 Purpurio, Q. Fulvius Gillo,² C. Sergius Plautus.
 Ludi Romani scaenici eo anno magnifice apparatusque
 facti ab aedilibus curulibus L. Valerio Flacco et

¹ Tappulus *Gelenius*: t. apuleius B.

² cilo, the reading of B, is corrected from chap. vi, sect. 2 below.

¹ Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who had brought the war to a successful conclusion.

² One of the four praetors was at this time assigned by lot as *praetor urbanus*, in charge of judicial administration. He ranked next after the consuls and administered affairs in the city in their absence.

³ Such boards usually consisted of three members only. This task seemed especially difficult or important.

⁴ These districts had revolted to Hannibal, and part of their land was taken from them in punishment.

⁵ Apparently a fragmentary quotation from the law itself.

⁶ The *ludi Romani*, of great antiquity, and the *ludi plebei*, dating from the period of the Second Punic War, were celebrated in September and November respectively. In the later Republic each festival lasted two weeks. The object

BOOK XXXI. IV. 1-5

who had brought to an end the war in Africa under B.O. 201 the leadership and auspices of Publius Scipio,¹ the Fathers voted that Marcus Junius, the praetor of the city,² should, if it seemed advisable to him, appoint a board of ten³ to survey and assign such lands in Samnium and Apulia⁴ as were the public property of this the Roman people.⁵ The board selected consisted of Publius Servilius, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, Gaius and Marcus Servilius (both having the surname Geminus), Lucius and Aulus Hostilius Cato, Publius Villius Tappulus, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, Publius Aelius Paetus, and Titus Quinctius Flaminius.

At this time, the consul Publius Aelius holding the elections, Publius Sulpicius Galba and Gaius Aurelius Cotta were chosen consuls, and later Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpurio, Quintus Fulvius Gijlo, and Gaius Sergius Plautus were elected praetors. Dramatic performances at the Roman Games⁶ in that year were given with splendour and magnificence by the curule aediles,⁷ Lucius Valerius

of each was the worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and in his especial honour a banquet was held on the thirteenth of the month. Performances were supervised by the curule and plebeian aediles respectively, the cost being paid by the state, though private funds were contributed in addition, and lavish expenditures of this sort were considered necessary for an aspirant to political distinction. As early as the middle of the fourth century B.C., dramatic performances were added to the other spectacles, at least in the *ludi Romani*. Since these were religious ceremonies, admission was free.

⁷ The office of plebeian aedile was created with the tribunate in 494 B.C., and that of curule aedile, reserved to patricians, in 366 B.C. By this time both were open to patricians and plebeians alike. The supervision of the games was one of their chief functions.

LIVY

A.U.C.
553

6 L. Quinctio Flaminino; biduum instauratum est; frumentique vim ingentem, quod ex Africa P. Scipio miserat, quaternis aeris populo cum summa fide et
7 gratia dividerunt. Et plebei ludi ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus plebi L. Apustio Fullone et Q. Minucio Rufo, qui ex aedilitate praetor creatus erat. Et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

A.U.C.
554

V. Anno quingentesimo quinquagesimo¹ primo² ab urbe condita, P. Sulpicio Galba C. Aurelio consulibus, bellum cum rege Philippo initum est, paucis mensibus post pacem Carthaginiensibus datam.
2 Omnium primum eam rem idibus Martiis, quo die
3 tum consulatus inibatur, P. Sulpicius consul rettulit senatusque decrevit, uti consules maioribus hostiis rem divinam facerent quibus diis ipsis³ videretur
4 cum precatatione ea: "Quod senatus populusque Romanus de re publica deque ineundo novo bello in animo haberet, ea res uti populo Romano sociisque ac nomini Latino bene ac feliciter eveniret;" secundum rem divinam precatationemque ut de re publica
5 deque provinciis senatum consulerent. Per eos dies

¹ quinquagesimo *Glareanus*: *quadragesimo B.*

² primo *edd.*: uno *B.*

³ diis ipsis *edd.*: ipsis diis *B.*

¹ Religious flaws in the performance, unfavourable omens, and similar occurrences might cause the partial or total repetition of the games. The aediles might also desire to gain increased prestige by expenditures on a grand scale, and so find or manufacture causes for their renewal: this may have been the case on this occasion.

² See note on "Roman Games" above.

³ i.e. March 15, on which date, after 217 B.C., the new magistrates assumed office. Beginning with 153 B.C., inauguration day was January 1.

BOOK XXXI. iv. 5-v. 5

Flaccus and Lucius Quinctius Flaminius; the performance of two days was renewed; ¹ a huge quantity of grain, sent from Africa by Publius Scipio, they sold to the populace at four *asses* a measure, with the most scrupulous fairness and to the great satisfaction of the people. Also the Plebeian Games, entire, were thrice repeated by the plebeian aediles, Lucius Apustius Fullo and Quintus Minucius Rufus; the latter was chosen praetor at the close of his term as aedile. A banquet to Jupiter ² was likewise held in connection with the games. B.C. 201

V. In the five hundred and fifty-first year from the founding of the city, in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius Galba and Gaius Aurelius, war was declared against King Philip, a few months after peace had been granted to the Carthaginians. On the Ides ³ of March, the day on which the new magistrates were inaugurated at that period, the consul Publius Sulpicius first of all offered a motion, which the senate passed, that the consuls should perform a sacrifice of full-grown victims to whatever gods should seem best to them, and should at the same time make this prayer: "Whatever the senate and the Roman people shall resolve for the common good and with reference to beginning a new war, may this decision turn out well and happily for the Roman people, the allies, and the Latin name;" ⁴ that after the sacrifice and prayer they should lay before the senate the question of the public weal and of the provinces. In these days two things B.C. 200

⁴ Used collectively for the Latin colonies, privileged self-governing communities, which furnished complete military units to Rome.

LIVY

A.U.C.
654

opportune irritandis ad bellum animis et litterae ab M. Aurelio legato et M. Valerio Laevino propraetore
6 adlatae et Atheniensium nova legatio venit, quae regem appropinquare finibus suis nuntiaret, brevique non agros modo sed urbem etiam in ditione eius
7 futuram nisi quid in Romanis auxilii foret. Cum renuntiassent consules rem divinam rite peractam esse et precationi annuisse deos haruspices respondere laetaque exta fuisse et prolationem finium victoriamque et triumphum portendi, tum litterae Valerii Aureliique lectae et legati Atheniensium
8 auditi. Senatus inde consultum factum est, ut sociis gratiae agerentur, quod diu sollicitati ne obsidionis
9 quidem metu fide decessissent; de auxilio mittendo tum responderi placere cum consules provincias sortiti essent atque is consul cui Macedonia provincia evenisset ad populum tulisset, ut Philippo, regi Macedonum, indiceretur bellum.

VI. P. Sulpicio provincia Macedonia sorti evenit, isque rogationem promulgavit, vellent iuberent Philippo regi Macedonibusque qui sub regno eius essent, ob iniurias armaque illata sociis populi Romani bellum indici. Alteri consulum Aurelio Italia pro-

¹ While the senate at this time practically controlled the government at Rome, the formal act of declaring war required affirmative action by the *comitia centuriata*, the ancient assembly organized along military lines by Servius Tullius. The senate's selection of Macedonia as a consular province, although Rome had no jurisdiction over that territory, indicated clearly its intention to aid the Athenians against Philip, but it lacked the authority to begin the war on its own initiative. The details of the procedure in the assembly are given in the following sections.

BOOK XXXI. v. 5-VI. 1

occurred opportunely for arousing popular senti- B.C. 200
ment in favour of the war: the arrival of the dis-
patches from the commissioner Marcus Aurelius and
Marcus Laevinus the proprætor, and the coming
of a new embassy from the Athenians, which brought
word that the king was approaching their borders
and that in a short time not only their farms but
Athens itself would be in his power unless there
should be some assistance from the Romans. When
the consuls had reported that the sacrifices had been
duly performed and that the gods had given approval
to their prayers, that the soothsayers had given
answer that the entrails were propitious and por-
tended an extension of territory, victory, and a
triumph, then the letters of Valerius and Aurelius
were read and the Athenian embassy given audience.
The senate next decreed that the allies should be
thanked because, though long harassed, they had
not been led even by fear of siege to break their
faith; with regard to sending aid, it was the senate's
intention to answer their appeal when the consuls
had been allotted their provinces and that consul to
whom the province of Macedonia had fallen had
proposed to the people a declaration of war upon
Philip, King of the Macedonians.¹

VI. Macedonia was assigned by lot to Publius
Sulpicius as his province, and he submitted to the
popular assembly the question whether they wished
and ordered that war be declared upon King
Philip and the Macedonians over whom he ruled,
on account of the injuries he had inflicted and the
war he had made on the allies of the Roman people.
To the other consul, Aurelius, the province of Italy

LIVY

A.U.C.
554

2 vincia obtigit. Praetores exinde sortiti sunt C. Sergius Plautus¹ urbanam, Q. Fulvius Gillo Siciliam, Q. Minucius Rufus Bruttios, L. Furius Purpurio
3 Galliam. Rogatio de bello Macedonico primis comitiis ab omnibus ferme centuriis antiquata est. Id cum fessi diurnitate et gravitate belli sua sponte homines taedio periculorum laborumque fecerant,
4 tum Q. Baebius tribunus plebis, viam antiquam criminandi patres ingressus, incusaverat bella ex
5 bellis seri, ne pace umquam frui plebs posset. Aegre eam rem passi patres, laceratusque probris in senatu tribunus plebis, et consulem pro se quisque hortari ut de integro comitia rogationi ferendae ediceret
6 castigaretque segnitiam populi atque edoceret quanto damno dedecorique dilatio ea belli futura esset.

VII. Consul in campo Martio comitiis, priusquam

¹ *plancus*, the reading of *B*, is corrected from chap. iv, sect. 4 above.

¹ The praetorship had been established in 366 B.C.; a second praetor was added in 242 B.C. (Per. XIX), and two more in 227 B.C. (XXII. xxxv. 5). One of them, the *praetor urbanus* (see note to iv. 1 above), tried cases in which only Roman citizens were involved; a second was frequently assigned to to preside over cases between citizens and aliens (*praetor peregrinus*); the rest were given the less important territorial provinces.

² The *comitia centuriata* consisted of units of (theoretically) one hundred men each, each century having one vote.

³ The tribunate was originally created to provide protection for the plebeians against aristocratic injustice. The tribunes, however, had gradually been converted into agents of the aristocracy, since the senate learned that their power could be used against, as well as for, the commons. Baebius has resumed the original policy of opposition to and obstruction of senatorial measures.

was assigned. Next the praetors¹ received their assignments, Gaius Sergius Plautus the praetorship of the city, Quintus Fulvius Gillo the governorship of Sicily, while Bruttium fell to Quintus Minucius Rufus and Gaul to Lucius Furius Purpurio. The motion regarding the Macedonian war was defeated at the first meeting of the assembly by the votes of almost all the centuries.² This action was taken spontaneously by men who were worn out by a war of long duration and great severity, so weary were they of hardships and perils; furthermore, Quintus Baebius, the tribune of the plebs, pursuing the once-usual course³ of attacking the Fathers, had taunted them with sowing the seeds of war upon war, that the common people might never enjoy peace. The senate was annoyed at this; the tribune was assailed with abuse in the senate, and each member independently urged the consul to summon the assembly again to consider the motion, to upbraid the people for its supineness, and to make clear what danger and disgrace such postponement of the war would cause.

VII. The consul therefore, at the meeting in the Campus Martius,⁴ calling an informal meeting⁵

⁴ The *comitia centuriata* had once been practically identical with the army, and since the holding of the *imperium* (cf. the note on iii. 2) was forbidden within the *pomerium*, or religious limits of the city, this assembly met outside those limits, in the plain formed by the swing of the Tiber river to the right.

⁵ The *comitia* voted, but did not debate. If there was to be discussion—in any case only those spoke who were invited to do so by the presiding officer—it took place in an informal *contio* held prior to the meeting of the formal *comitia*. The membership and place of meeting of a *contio* were identical with those of the *comitia* which it preceded.

LIVY

A.U.C.
554

centurias in suffragium mitteret, contione advocata
 2 "ignorare" inquit "mihi videmini, Quirites, non
 utrum bellum an pacem habeatis vos consuli—neque
 enim liberum id vobis Philippus permittet, qui terra
 marique ingens bellum molitur—sed utrum in
 3 Italiam accipiatis. Hoc quantum intersit, si num-
 quam alias, Punico proximo certe bello experti estis.
 Quis enim dubitat, quin, si Saguntinis obsessis
 fidemque nostram implorantibus impigre tulissemus
 opem, sicut patres nostri Mamertinis tulerant, totum
 in Hispaniam aversuri bellum fuerimus, quod
 cunctando cum summa clade nostra in Italiam
 4 accepimus? Ne illud quidem dubium est, quin
 hunc ipsum Philippum, pactum iam per legatos
 litterasque cum Hannibale, ut in Italiam traiceret,
 misso cum classe Laevino qui ultro ei bellum
 5 inferret, in Macedonia continuerimus. Et quod
 tunc fecimus, cum hostem Hannibalem in Italia
 haberemus, id nunc pulso Italia Hannibale, devictis
 6 Carthaginiensibus, cunctamur facere? Patiamur
 expugnandis Athenis, sicut Sagunto expugnando
 Hannibalem passi sumus, segnitiam nostram experiri
 7 regem: non quinto inde mense, quem ad modum ab
 Sagunto Hannibal, sed quinto inde die¹ quam ab
 8 Corintho solverit naves, in Italiam perveniet. Ne
 aequaveritis Hannibali Philippum nec Carthaginiensi-
 bus Macedonas; Pyrrho certe aequabitis. Aequa-
 bitis² dico? Quantum vel vir viro vel gens genti

¹ inde die *B*²: die inde *B*. ² Aequabitis *Jacobs*: *om. B*.

¹ These Italian mercenaries in Sicily appealed for aid to Rome against Syracuse and her Carthaginian supporters. The First Punic War was the result of Rome's decision to assist them (*Per. XVI*; *Polyb. I. vii. ff.*).

BOOK XXXI. VII. 1-8

before he put the question to the centuries, spoke B.C. 200
 thus: "It seems to me, citizens, that you do not realize that the question before you is not whether you will have peace or war—for Philip will not leave that matter open for your decision, seeing that he is preparing a mighty war on land and sea—but whether you are to send your legions across to Macedonia or meet the enemy in Italy. What a difference that makes, if you never knew before, you found out at least in the recent Punic war. For who doubts that if, when the Saguntines were besieged and were invoking our protection, we had promptly sent aid to them, as our fathers did to the Mamertines,¹ we should have diverted the whole war to Spain, whereas by our delay we admitted it to Italy, with infinite losses to ourselves? Nor is there any doubt in the case of this same Philip, when he had already bargained with Hannibal, through ambassadors and by means of letters, to invade Italy, that when we sent Laevinus with a fleet to begin an offensive campaign against him, we kept him in Macedonia. And that which we did then, when we had Hannibal fighting in Italy, do we hesitate to do now, when Hannibal has been driven out and the Carthaginians conquered? Let us permit the king by the capture of Athens, as we permitted Hannibal by the capture of Saguntum, to see how slow we are to act: not in five months, as when Hannibal came from Saguntum, but in five days after he sets sail from Corinth, Philip will arrive in Italy! You need not compare Philip with Hannibal nor the Macedonians with the Carthaginians; you will compare him at least with Pyrrhus.² Compare, did I say? How great is the superiority,

¹ Cf. the notes on i. 6 and iii. 6 above.

LIVY

A.U.C.
554

9 praestat! Minima accessio semper Epirus regno
Macedoniae fuit et hodie est. Peloponnesum totam
in ditione Philippus habet Argosque ipsos, non
vetere fama magis quam morte Pyrrhi nobilitatos.
10 Nostra nunc compara. Quanto magis florentem
Italiam, quanto magis integras res, salvis ducibus,
salvis tot exercitibus quos Punicum postea bellum
absumpsit, adgressus Pyrrhus tamen concussit et
11 victor prope ad ipsam urbem Romanam venit! Nec
Tarentini modo oraue illa Italiae quam maiorem
Graeciam vocant, ut linguam, ut nomen secutos
crederes, sed Lucanus et Bruttius et Samnis ab nobis
12 defecerunt. Haec vos, si Philippus in Italiam
transmiserit, quietura aut mansura in fide creditis?
Manserunt enim Punico postea bello. Numquam
isti populi, nisi cum deerit ad quem desciscant, ab
13 nobis non deficient. Si piguisset vos in Africam
traicere, hodie in Italia Hannibalem et Carthagini-
enses hostes haberetis. Macedonia potius quam
Italia bellum habeat; hostium urbes agrique ferro
14 atque igni vastentur; experti iam sumus foris nobis
quam domi feliciora potentioraque arma esse. Ite
in suffragium bene iuvantibus divis et quae patres
15 censuerunt vos iubete. Huius vobis sententiae non
consul modo auctor est sed etiam dii immortales, qui
mihi sacrificanti precantique ut hoc bellum mihi,

¹ Epirus, in north-western Greece and adjacent to Macedonia, was the home of Pyrrhus.

² The ancient city of Argos is less important, to Sulpicius, for the traditions that gathered around it than for the reason that Pyrrhus met his death in a street-fight there about 272 B.C.

³ For rhetorical effect Sulpicius magnifies somewhat the importance of Pyrrhus's early victories and neglects to mention the final Roman victory. Pyrrhus did defeat the Romans in

BOOK XXXI. VII. 8-15

man to man or nation to nation! Epirus¹ has always B.C. 200 been and is to-day a mere appendage to the Macedonian empire. Philip has under his control the whole of the Peloponnesus and Argos itself, famed not so much in ancient story as for the death of Pyrrhus.² Now compare our situation: How much more prosperous was Italy, how much greater her resources; her leaders alive, so many armies intact, which the Punic war later destroyed. Yet when Pyrrhus attacked he shattered her at a blow and came a conqueror almost to the gates of Rome!³ Not only the Tarentines and that part of the Italian coast which men call 'Greater Greece,' so that one would expect them to have followed the Greek language and name, but the Lucanian, the Bruttian, the Samnite revolted from us. Do you think that these peoples will remain quiet and steadfast if Philip invades Italy? 'Yes,' you say, 'for they did in the later Punic war.' Never will these peoples fail to revolt unless there is no enemy at hand for them to join. If you had been reluctant to invade Africa, you would have Hannibal and the Carthaginians fighting in Italy to-day. Let Macedonia, not Italy, have war; let it be the enemy's farms and cities that are laid waste with fire and sword. We have already learned from experience that our arms are more fortunate and powerful abroad than at home. Go to vote, then, with the blessing of the gods, and ratify what the senate has proposed. It is not the consul alone who supports this opinion before you: the immortal gods themselves favour it, for when I offered sacrifice and prayer that this war should turn out successfully for several battles and did win the support of the Greek south of Italy.

LIVY

A.U.C.
554

senatui vobisque, sociis ac nomini Latino, classibus exercitibusque nostris bene ac feliciter eveniret, laeta omnia prosperaque portendere."

VIII. Ab hac oratione in suffragium missi uti
2 rogarent, bellum iusserunt. Supplicatio inde a
consulibus in triduum ex senatus consulto indicta
est, obsecratique circa omnia pulvinaria dii ut, quod
bellum cum Philippo populus iussisset, id bene ac
3 feliciter eveniret, consultique fetiales ab consule
Sulpicio, bellum quod indiceretur regi Philippo,
utrum ipsi utique nuntiari iuberent, an satis esset in
finibus regni quod proximum praesidium esset, eo
nuntiari. Fetiales decreverunt, utrum eorum fecisset,
4 recte facturum. Consuli a patribus permissum ut
quem videretur ex iis qui extra senatum essent,
5 legatum mitteret ad bellum regi indicendum. Tum
de exercitibus¹ consulum praetorumque actum.
Consules binas legiones scribere iussi, veteres dimit-
6 tere exercitus. Sulpicio, cui novum ac magni
nominis bellum decretum erat, permissum ut de
exercitu quem P. Scipio ex Africa deportasset,
voluntarios quos posset duceret; invitum ne quem
7 militem veterem ducendi ius esset. Praetoribus
L. Furio Purpurioni et Q. Minucio Rufo quina milia
socium Latini nominis consules darent, quibus
praesidiis alter Galliam alter Bruttios provinciam
8 obtineret. Q. Fulvius Gillo ipse iussus ex eo exercitu

¹ exercitibus *edd.* : exercitu *B.*

² At the *lectisternium*, or feast of the gods, the images of the divinities were placed upon gaily-decorated couches (*pulvinaria*) and served with food : cf. XXII. i. 15, etc.

³ Members of a college of priests whose especial concern was the proper performance of the prescribed formalities involved in a declaration of war or the conclusion of a treaty.

BOOK XXXI. VII. 15-VIII. 8

me, the senate and for you, for the allies and the Latin confederacy, and for our fleets and armies, they gave all favourable and propitious signs." B.C. 200

VIII. After this speech they were dismissed to vote and ordered the war. A three-day period of supplication was then declared by the consuls on the authorization of the senate, and the gods were implored at all their seats,¹ that this war which the people had declared upon Philip might succeed and prosper. The fetials² were consulted by the consul whether they would direct that the declaration of war against King Philip be delivered to him in person, or whether it was sufficient to announce it at the first fortified post in his territory. The fetials replied that in whichever way he acted he would act correctly. The consul was permitted by the Fathers to send anyone he chose, other than a senator, to declare war upon the king. They then took up the question of armies for the consuls and praetors. The consuls were authorized to enrol two legions each and to discharge the veterans. Sulpicius, to whom had been assigned the command in a new and important war, was allowed to enlist volunteers, as he could, from the army brought back from Africa by Publius Scipio, but was permitted to enrol no veteran against his will.³ To each of the praetors, Lucius Furius Purpurio and Quintus Minucius Rufus, the consuls were to give five thousand allies of the Latin confederacy, and with these garrisons they were to guard their provinces of Gaul and Bruttium respectively. Quintus Fulvius Gillo likewise was authorized to draft soldiers from

³ This restriction was apparently disregarded; cf. XXXII. iii. 4.

LIVY

A.U.C.
564

quem P. Aelius consul habuisset, ut quisque minime
 multa stipendia haberet, legere, donec et ipse
 quinque milia socium ac nominis Latini effecisset:
 9 id praesidii Siciliae provinciae esset. M. Valerio
 Faltoni, qui praetor priore anno Campaniam provin-
 ciam habuerat, prorogatum in annum imperium est,
 10 uti propraeator in Sardiniam traiceret: is quoque de
 exercitu qui ibi esset, quinque milia socium nominis
 Latini, qui eorum minime multa stipendia haberent,¹
 11 legeret. Et consules duas urbanas legiones scribere
 iussi, quae, si quo res posceret, multis in Italia con-
 tactis gentibus Punici belli societate iraque inde
 tumentibus, mitterentur. Sex legionibus Romanis
 eo anno usura res publica erat.

IX. In ipso adparatu belli legati a rege Ptolomaeo
 venerunt, qui nuntiarent Athenienses adversus
 2 Philippum petisse ab rege auxilium; ceterum, etsi
 communes socii sint, tamen nisi ex auctoritate
 populi Romani neque classem neque exercitum
 defendendi aut oppugnandi cuiusquam causa regem
 3 in Graeciam missurum esse; vel quieturum eum in
 regno, si populo Romano socios defendere libeat, vel
 Romanos quiescere, si malint, passurum atque ipsum
 auxilia quae facile adversus Philippum tueri Athenas
 4 possent missurum. Gratiae regi ab senatu actae
 responsumque tutari socios populo Romano in animo
 esse; si qua re ad id bellum opus sit, indicaturos regi
 regnique eius opes scire subsidia firma ac fidelia suae
 5 rei publicae esse. Munera deinde legatis in singulos
 quinum milium aeris ex senatus consulto missa.

¹ haberent *Muretus*: haberet *B.*

the army which Publius Aelius had commanded as consul, choosing those who had been in the ranks for the shortest periods, until he too had made up the number of five thousand of the allies and the Latin confederacy; this force was to garrison the province of Sicily. The command of Marcus Valerius Falto, who, as praetor, had held the province of Campania the year before, was extended for a year, so that, as proprætor, he should cross to Sardinia; he too was to enlist, from the army there, five thousand of the allies and the Latin confederacy, choosing those who had served for the shortest periods. The consuls were authorized to enrol two city legions as well, to be sent wherever need arose, since many tribes of Italy had been affected by the contagion of the Punic war and were in a restless state. Thus Rome proposed to use six legions that year.

IX. In the midst of the preparations for the war, ambassadors arrived from King Ptolemy, to say that the Athenians had asked the king's aid against Philip, but that, although they were allies in common, the king would send no fleet or army to Greece to defend or attack anyone without the authorization of the Roman people; he would either remain quiet at home, if the Romans planned to defend their allies, or permit the Romans to stay at home, if they preferred, and himself send such forces as could easily defend Athens against Philip. The senate thanked the king, saying that it was the intention of the Roman people to defend its allies; if need of anything for this war arose, they would inform the king, knowing that the resources of his kingdom were firm and trustworthy supports of the republic. Gifts of five thousand *asses* each were then presented to the ambassadors by order of the senate.

LIVY

A.U.C.
554

Cum dilectum consules haberent pararentque quae ad bellum opus essent, civitas religiosa, in principiis
 6 maxime novorum bellorum, supplicationibus habitis iam et obsecratione circa omnia pulvinaria facta, ne quid praetermitteretur quod aliquando factum esset, ludos Iovi donumque vovere consulem, cui provincia
 7 Macedonia evenisset, iussit. Moram voto publico Licinius pontifex maximus attulit, qui negavit ex incerta pecunia vovere licere; ex certa voveri debere, quia ea pecunia¹ non posset in bellum usui esse seponique statim deberet nec cum alia pecunia misceri; quod si factum esset, votum rite solvi non posse.
 8 Quamquam et res et auctor movebat, tamen ad collegium pontificum referre consul iussus, si posset recte votum incertae pecuniae suscipi. Posse rectiusque etiam esse pontifices decreverunt. Vovit in eadem verba consul praeunte maximo pontifice quibus antea quinquennalia vota suscipi solita erant,
 9 praeterquam quod tanta pecunia quantam² tum cum solveretur senatus censuisset, ludos donaque facturum vovit. Octiens ante ludi magni de certa pecunia voti erant; hi primi de incerta.

¹ licere; ex certa voveri *add. Madvig*: ea *add. Bekker*: vovere debere quia pecunia *B (ex ras.)*.

² quantam *B²*: qua tamen *B*.

¹ The point which Licinius makes becomes clear when we recall the scrupulous exactness with which the Romans satisfied all their obligations to the gods. Licinius is responsible for the precision and propriety of the language used in the vow, and he fears that if the Romans make a vague and indefinite promise the gods will make a vague and indefinite response. Whatever the intention may have been, a vow of this sort inevitably assumes, to the outsider, the aspect of a bargain.

² The pontiffs as a body had final jurisdiction as interpreters of the *ius divinum*, or body of ordinances controlling the relations of men to gods.

BOOK XXXI. ix. 5-10

While the consuls were levying troops and prepar- B.C. 200
 ing what was needful for the war, the state, ever
 concerned with religion, especially at the outset of
 new wars, having held thanksgivings and offered
 prayers at all the seats of the gods, that nothing might
 be left undone which had ever been done before,
 ordered the consul to whom the province of Macedonia
 had been assigned to vow games and a gift to Jupiter.
 A delay in the matter of this public vow was caused
 by Licinius the pontifex maximus, who said that a
 vow for an indefinite sum was not allowable; that a
 specific sum¹ should be vowed, because this money
 could not be used for war, but should be set aside at
 once and not mixed with other moneys; if this
 happened, he said, the vow could not be fulfilled in
 strict conformity to its terms. Although the consul
 was moved both by the argument and its author, he
 was nevertheless directed to appeal to the college²
 of priests, to learn whether a vow for an indeterminate
 sum could properly be undertaken. The pontiffs
 replied that it was possible and even more correct.
 The consul, at the dictation of the pontifex maximus,
 recited his vow in the language formerly used in
 connection with the quinquennial games,³ with the
 exception that he promised games and a gift of an
 amount to be determined by the senate at the time
 the vow was paid.⁴ The great games had been
 vowed eight times before for definite sums; this was
 the first vow for an indefinite amount.⁵

¹ When the *ludi Romani* (cf. the note on iv. 5 above) became annual, special attention was devoted to those occurring every fifth year.

⁴ These games were held in 194 B.C.: cf. XXXIV. xliv. 6.

⁵ These statements cannot be verified.

LIVY

A. U. C.
654

X. Omnium animis in bellum Macedonicum versis repente, nihil minus eo tempore timentibus, Gallici tumultus fama exorta. Insubres Cenomanique et Boi excitis Celinibus Ilvatibusque et ceteris Ligustinis populis Hamilcare Poeno duce, qui in iis locis de Hasdrubalis exercitu substiterat, Placentiam invaserant; et direpta urbe ac per iram magna ex parte incensa, vix duobus milibus hominum inter incendia ruinasque relictis, traiecto Pado ad Cremonam diripiendam pergunt. Vicinae urbis audita clades spatium colonis dedit ad claudendas portas praesidiaque per muros disponenda, ut obsiderentur tamen prius quam expugnarentur nuntiosque mitterent ad praetorem Romanum. L. Furius Purpurio tum provinciae praeerat cetero ex senatus consulto exercitu dimisso praeter quinque milia socium ac Latini nominis; cum iis copiis in proxima regione provinciae circa Ariminum substiterat. Is tum senatui scripsit quo in tumultu provincia esset: duarum coloniarum, quae ingentem illam tempestatem Punici belli subterfugissent, alteram captam ac direptam ab hostibus, alteram oppugnari; nec in exercitu suo satis praesidii colonis laborantibus fore, nisi quinque milia socium quadraginta milibus hostium—tot enim in armis esse—trucidanda obicere velit,¹ et tanta sua clade iam inflatos excidio coloniae Romanae augeri hostium animos.

¹ velit *B*²: uenit *B*.

¹ The Latin colonies of Placentia and Cremona, in the valley of the Po, had been established in 218 B.C. to aid in subjugating and holding Cisalpine Gaul.

BOOK XXXI. x. 1-7

X. While the thoughts of all were concentrated B.C. 200 on the Macedonian war and fearful of nothing less at the moment, news came of an uprising in Gaul. The Insubres, the Cenomani, and the Boi had roused the Celines, the Ilvates and the other Ligustini, and these tribes, under the leadership of Hamilcar the Carthaginian, who had remained in that region, a survivor of Hasdrubal's army, had attacked Placentia.¹ After plundering the city and burning most of it in their fury, they had left barely two thousand men alive among the flames and ruins, and then had crossed the Po and gone to destroy Cremona. The news of the disaster to the neighbouring city gave the colonists time to close the gates and man the walls, so that, in spite of these measures, a siege began before the town was assaulted and before they could send messengers to the Roman praetor. Lucius Furius Purpurio was then governor of the province, and had discharged the rest of his army by order of the senate, retaining only five thousand of the allies and the Latin confederacy; with these troops he was encamped in the vicinity of Ariminum, in the part of the province nearest Rome. He thereupon sent a message to the senate, telling in what confusion the province was: one of the two colonies which had escaped the mighty storm of the Punic war had been captured and sacked by the enemy, the other was besieged; his own army would be too weak to assist the colonists in their need, unless the senate wishes to deliver five thousand allies to be butchered by forty thousand enemies—for so many were in arms—and the minds of the enemy, already puffed up by the destruction of a Roman colony, to be further encouraged by the slaughter of so many of his own men.

LIVY

A.U.C.
554

XI. His litteris recitatis decreverunt ut C. Aurelius consul exercitum, cui in Etruriam ad conveniendum
 2 diem edixerat, Arimini eadem die adesse iuberet et aut ipse, si per commodum rei publicae posset, ad opprimendum Gallicum tumultum proficisceretur aut
 3 praetori¹ scriberet ut, cum ad eum legiones ex Etruria venissent, missis in vicem earum quinque milibus sociorum, quae interim Etruriae praesidio essent, proficisceretur ipse ad coloniam liberandam
 4 obsidione. Legatos item mittendos in Africam censuerunt, eosdem Carthaginem, eosdem in Numidiam ad Masinissam: Carthaginem, ut nuntiarent civem eorum Hamilcarem relictum in Gallia—haud satis scire ex Hasdrubalis prius an ex Magonis postea
 6 exercitu—bellum contra foedus facere, exercitus Gallorum Ligurumque excivisse ad arma contra populum Romanum; eum, si pax placeret, revocandum illis et dedendum populo Romano esse.
 7 Simul nuntiare iussi perfugas sibi non omnes redditos esse, ac magnam partem eorum palam Carthagini obversari dici; quos comprehendi conquirique debere ut sibi ex foedere restituantur. Haec ad
 8 Carthaginienses mandata. Masinissae gratulari iussi, quod non patrium modo recuperasset regnum,

¹ *B* reads *q. minucio praetori*, but Minucius was in Bruttium.

¹ Masinissa, king of the Massylii, had fought against the Romans in Spain, but had been won over by Africanus and had served effectively in the last campaigns of the war. His dominions were enlarged by the peace treaty (XXX. xlv. 12).

BOOK XXXI. XI. 1-8

XI. When this news came, the senate voted that B.C. 200
 Gaius Aurelius the consul should order that the army, for which he had designated a date on which to assemble in Etruria, should come together the same day at Ariminum, and that either Aurelius himself, if the interests of the state permitted, should set out to suppress the Gallic revolt, or else he should notify the praetor that when the legions from Etruria joined him he should send in their stead five thousand of the allies, to serve as a temporary garrison for Etruria, and that he himself should march to raise the siege of the colony. The senate also voted that ambassadors be sent to Africa on a mission to Carthage and likewise to Masinissa in Numidia.¹ Their message to the Carthaginians was that their fellow-citizen Hamilcar, left in Gaul—it was not certainly known whether he was from Hasdrubal's earlier army or the later expedition of Mago²—was making war contrary to the treaty and had raised armies of Gauls and Ligures against the Roman people; if they wanted peace they should recall him and surrender him to the Roman people. At the same time they were ordered to give notice that the Roman deserters had not all been restored to them, but that, according to report, many of them were openly living at Carthage; these were to be sought out and arrested, for return to Rome according to the treaty. Such was their mission to Carthage. As to Masinissa, they were ordered to congratulate him because he had not only recovered his ancestral possessions but had also en-

His friendship with the Scipios and his vigour in extreme old age made him a familiar figure in Latin literature.

¹ The two brothers of Hannibal, Hasdrubal and Mago, had invaded Italy in 207 B.C. and 205 B.C. (XXVII. xxxix. 2 ff.; XXVIII. xlvi. 7 ff.). Cf. x. 2 above.

LIVY

A. U. C.
651

sed parte florentissima Syphacis finium adiecta etiam
 9 auxisset. Nuntiare praeterea iussi bellum cum rege
 Philippo susceptum, quod Carthaginienses auxiliis
 10 iuvisset iniuriasque inferendo sociis populi Romani
 flagrante bello Italia coegisset classes exercitusque
 in Graeciam mitti et destinando copias causa in primis
 fuisset serius in Africam traiciendi; peterentque ut
 ad id bellum mitteret auxilia Numidarum equitum.
 11 Dona ampla data quae ferrent regi, vasa aurea
 12 argenteaque, toga purpurea et palmata tunica cum
 eburneo scipione et toga praetexta cum curuli sella;
 iussique polliceri, si quid sibi ad firmandum augen-
 dumque regnum opus esse indicasset, enixe id
 populum Romanum merito eius praestaturum.
 13 Verminae quoque, Syphacis filii, legati per eos dies
 senatum adierunt excusantes errorem adulescentiam-
 que et culpam omnem in fraudem Carthaginensium
 14 avertentes: et Masinissam Romanis ex hoste amicum
 factum; Verminam quoque adnisorum ne officiis in
 populum Romanum aut a Masinissa aut ab ullo alio
 vincatur; petere ut rex sociusque et amicus ab
 15 senatu appellaretur. Responsum legatis est, et
 patrem eius Syphacem sine causa ex socio et amico
 hostem repente populi Romani factum, et eum ipsum
 rudimentum adulescentiae bello lacescentem Romanos
 16 posuisse. Itaque pacem illi prius petendam ab

¹ Syphax, king of Numidia, had been a Roman ally but had gone over to Carthage and expelled Masinissa from his own kingdom. He died a prisoner in Italy, just before or just after Scipio's triumph (XXX. xlv. 4-5), leaving the remnants of his kingdom to Vermina.

larged them by the addition of the most prosperous B.C. 200
 part of the territory of Syphax.¹ They were also to say that war with King Philip had been begun, because he had sent aid to Carthage; because he had, by attacking the allies of the Roman people when Italy was being consumed by the flames of war, compelled the dispatch of fleets and armies to Greece, and, by dividing their forces, had been a chief cause of postponing the invasion of Africa. They were to ask that Masinissa send assistance in the form of Numidian cavalry. Ample gifts—vases of gold and silver, a purple toga, a tunic adorned with palms, an ivory sceptre, a robe of state and a curule chair—were given them to be presented to the king. The ambassadors were directed to promise him that if he pointed out anything he needed to strengthen and enlarge his kingdom, the Roman people would make every effort to secure it for him, in recognition of his services to them. At this time ambassadors to the senate came also from Vermina, the son of Syphax, who sought to make excuses for his mistakes, which were due to his youth, and placing all the blame for them on the bad faith of the Carthaginians: Masinissa, they said, had become a friend to the Roman people after having been their enemy; so Vermina too would strive earnestly not to be outdone by Masinissa or anyone else in services to the Roman people; they asked that he be named king and ally and friend by the senate. The senators replied to the ambassadors that his father Syphax, once an ally and friend, had suddenly and without cause become an enemy of the Roman people; that Vermina himself had spent the beginnings of his youth in harassing the Romans in war. Therefore he should seek peace from the

LIVY

A. U. C.
554

populo Romano esse, quam ut rex sociusque et amicus appelletur; nominis eius honorem pro magnis erga se regum meritis dare populum Romanum consuesse.

17 Legatos Romanos in Africa fore, quibus mandaturum senatum ut Verminae pacis dent leges, liberum arbitrium eius populo Romano permittenti;¹ si quid ad eas addi, demi mutarive² vellet, rursus ab senatu

18 ei postulandum fore. Legati cum iis mandatis in Africam missi C. Terentius Varro, Sp. Lucretius, Cn. Octavius. Quinqueremes singulis datae.

XII. Litterae deinde in senatu recitatae sunt Q. Minucii praetoris, cui Bruttii provincia erat: pecuniam Locris ex Proserpinae thesauris nocte clam sublatam, nec ad quos pertineat facinus vestigia

2 ulla extare. Indigne passus senatus non cessari ab sacrilegiis, et ne Pleminius quidem, tam clarum recensque noxae simul ac poenae exemplum, homines

3 deterrere. C. Aurelio consuli negotium datum ut ad praetorem in Bruttios scriberet senatui placere, quaestionem de expilatis thesauris eodem exemplo haberi quo M. Pomponius praetor triennio ante

4 habuisset; quae inventa pecunia esset, reponi; si quo minus inventum foret, expleri, ac piacularia, si videretur, sicut ante pontifices censuissent, fieri.

5 Curam expiandae violationis eius templi prodigia

¹ permittenti *Ruben*: permittente *B.*

² mutarive *edd.*: mutari *B.*

¹ Pleminius, while in command of the garrison at Locri in 204 B.C., had plundered this same temple, and had been severely punished. The story of his sacrilege and its penalty was related in XXIX. xviii-xxii incl.

² Pomponius, as governor of Sicily, had investigated the charges against Pleminius: cf. the preceding note.

BOOK XXXI. XI. 16-XII. 5

Roman people before asking for recognition as king B.C. 200 and ally and friend, the honour of which titles the Roman people usually conferred in return for conspicuous services towards themselves on the part of kings. Roman ambassadors, they said, would soon be in Africa, whom the senate would instruct to offer terms of peace to Vermina, who was to leave full discretion thereon to the Roman people; if he wished anything added to, taken from, or modified in, these terms, he should make a new request to the senate. The ambassadors sent to Africa with these instructions were Gaius Terentius Varro, Spurius Lucretius and Gnaeus Octavius. One quinquereme was assigned to each.

XII. A letter from Quintus Minucius, the praetor in charge of the province of Bruttium, was then read in the senate: money had been stealthily removed at night from the treasure-house of Persephone at Locri, nor were there any clues as to the perpetrators of the crime. The senate was indignant that such sacrileges should continue to be committed, and that even the case of Pleminius,¹ so recent an example of crime and its punishment, did not deter criminals. The consul Gaius Aurelius was directed to communicate to the praetor in Bruttium the senate's desire that the plundering of the treasury should be investigated in the manner adopted by the praetor Marcus Pomponius² three years before; that any money discovered be restored; that if there was any shortage, it should be made up, and that, if he saw fit, expiatory sacrifices should be performed as the priests had prescribed in the previous case. The concern to atone for the violation of this temple was increased by the prodigies which were reported in

LIVY

A. U. C.
554

etiam sub idem tempus pluribus locis nuntiata
accenderunt. In Lucanis caelum arsisse adferebant,
Priverni sereno per diem totum rubrum solem fuisse,
6 Lanuvi in ¹ templo Sospitae Iunonis nocte strepitum
ingentem exortum. Iam animalium obsceni fetus
pluribus locis nuntiabantur: in Sabinis incertus
infans natus, masculus an femina esset, alter sedecim
7 iam annorum item ambiguo sexu inventus; Frusinone
agnus cum suillo capite, Sinuessae porcus cum capite
humano natus, in Lucanis in agro publico eculeus cum
8 quinque pedibus. Foeda omnia et deformia errantis-
que in alienos fetus naturae visa; ante omnia
abominati semimares iussique in mare extemplo
deportari, sicut proxime C. Claudio M. Livio con-
9 sulibus deportatus similis prodigii fetus erat. Nihilo
minus decemviros adire libros de portento eo iusserunt.
Decemviri ex libris res divinas easdem quae proxime
secundum id prodigium factae essent imperarunt.
Carmen praeterea ab ter novenis virginibus cani per
urbem iusserunt donumque Iunoni reginae ferri.
10 Ea uti fierent, C. Aurelius consul ex decemvirorum
responso curavit. Carmen, sicut patrum memoria
Livius, ita tum condidit P. Licinius Tegula.

¹ Lanuvi in *Weissenborn*: lanuuii B.

¹ Consuls in 207 B.C. (XXVII. xxxvii. 6).

² A special college of priests entrusted with the guardianship and consultation of the ancient Sibylline Books, which were frequently appealed to for advice under circumstances like these.

³ The number three has, as often, a ritualistic significance. Juno is propitiated as a goddess concerned with birth.

⁴ Livius Andronicus, whose name stands at the head of the chronological list of Latin writers, wrote the earlier hymn referred to here (cf. XXVII. xxxvii. 7, 13, where Livy names

BOOK XXXI. XII. 5-10

numerous parts of the country at the same time. In B.C. 300 Lucania, flames in the sky were reported; at Privernum, the sun shone red throughout the day in clear weather; at Lanuvium, in the temple of Juno Sospita, a mighty noise was heard during the night. Further, dread forms of animals were reported in several places: among the Sabines, a child of uncertain sex was born, while another was found whose sex, at the age of sixteen, could not be determined. At Frusino there was born a lamb with a pig's head, at Sinuessa a pig with a man's head, on the public land in Lucania, a colt with five feet. All these disgusting and monstrous creatures seemed to be signs that nature was confusing species; but beyond all else the hermaphrodites caused terror, and they were ordered to be carried out to sea, as had been done with a similar monstrosity not long before in the consulship of Gaius Claudius and Marcus Livius.¹ Nevertheless, the decemvirs² were ordered to consult the Books regarding the portent. They, as a result of the investigation, ordered the same rites that had been performed when such a prodigy had appeared before. In addition, they directed that a hymn be sung throughout the city by thrice nine maidens, and that an offering be made to Queen Juno.³ Gaius Aurelius the consul saw to the performance of these rites in accordance with the answer of the decemvirs. The hymn, composed in the memory of our fathers by Livius, was on this occasion written by Publius Licinius Tegula.⁴

the poet and criticizes his style). The Licinius here named may be the same as the Licinius Imbrex who is said by Gellius (XIII. xxiii (xxii). 16) to have been a writer of comedies.

LIVY

A.U.C.
554

XIII. Expiatis omnibus religionibus—nam etiam
 Locris sacrilegium pervestigatum ab Q. Minucio
 erat, pecuniaque ex bonis noxiorum in thesauros
 reposita—cum consules in provincias proficisci vellent,
 2 privati frequentes, quibus ex pecunia quam M.
 Valerio M. Claudio consulibus mutuam dederant,
 tertia pensio debebatur eo anno, adierunt senatum,
 3 quia consules, cum ad novum bellum, quod magna
 classe magnisque exercitibus gerendum esset, vix
 aerarium sufficeret, negaverant esse unde iis in
 4 praesentia solveretur. Senatus querentes eos non
 sustinuit: si in Punicum bellum pecunia data in
 Macedonicum quoque bellum uti res publica vellet,
 aliis ex aliis orientibus bellis, quid aliud quam
 publicatam pro beneficio tamquam noxia¹ suam pecu-
 5 niam fore? Cum et privati aequum postularent,
 nec tamen solvendo aere alieno res publica esset,
 6 quod medium inter aequum et utile erat decreverunt,
 ut, quoniam magna pars eorum agros volgo venales
 esse diceret et sibimet emptis opus esse, agri publici
 qui intra quinquagesimum lapidem esset, copia iis
 7 fieret: consules agrum aestimaturos et in iugera asses
 vectigal testandi causa publicum agrum esse imposi-
 8 turos, ut si quis, cum solvere posset populus, pecuniam

¹ noxia *Weissenborn*: noxiam *B.*

¹ These citizens, in 210 B.C. (XXVI. xxxvi. 8), loaned money to the state for the prosecution of the war with Hannibal, although from Livy's account they gave rather than loaned the money. In 204 B.C. (XXIX. xvi. 1) an arrangement was made for repayment in three biennial instalments, the third of which would be due in 200 B.C. Nevertheless, a final payment (perhaps to those who did not accept the arrangement described in sects. 6–9 below) was made in 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xlii. 2).

² Since the value of the *as* was about two cents, or one penny, and the *iugerum* was about three-fifths of an acre, the

BOOK XXXI. XIII. 1-8

XIII. When all these scruples had been allayed— B.C. 200
 for the sacrilege at Locri had been investigated by Quintus Minucius and the money replaced in the treasury out of the property of the guilty—and the consuls were on the point of leaving for their provinces, many private citizens, to whom was due this year the third payment on the loans made in the consulship of Marcus Valerius and Marcus Claudius,¹ appealed to the senate because the consuls had declared that, since the treasury hardly sufficed for the new war, which was to be waged with a great fleet and large armies, there was no money at their command with which to make the payment. The senate could not resist their complaints: If the state wished to use for the Macedonian war, the petitioners argued, the money loaned for the Punic war, since one conflict followed hard upon another, what else would be the result than the confiscation of their property in return for an act of generosity, as if it had been a crime? Since the request of these citizens was reasonable, and since nevertheless the state could not repay the loan, the senate took an action which was midway between justice and expediency, namely, that, since many of the creditors said that there was much land for sale, to purchase which cash was needed, the opportunity should be given them to receive public land lying within the fiftieth milestone; the consuls were to appraise this land and to impose an annual rental of one *as* per *iugerum*² by way of attesting that this was public land; consequently, if anyone, when the state should be in funds,

rental was purely nominal and was imposed to prevent the transfer of the title to this land to the individual; this permitted the later optional settlement described below.

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habere quam agrum mallet, restitueret agrum populo.
 9 Laeti eam condicionem privati acceperere; trientibusque is ager, quia pro tertia parte pecuniae datus erat, appellatus.

XIV. Tum P. Sulpicius secundum vota in Capitolio nuncupata paludatis lictoribus profectus ab urbe
 2 Brundisium venit et veteribus militibus voluntariis ex Africano exercitu in legiones discriptis navibusque ex classe Cn. Cornelii electis altero die quam a
 3 Brundisio solvit in Macedoniam traiecit. Ibi ei praesto fuere Atheniensium legati orantes ut se obsidione eximeret. Missus extemplo Athenas est C. Claudius Cento cum viginti longis navibus et mille
 4 militum. Neque enim ipse rex Athenas obsidebat; eo maxime tempore Abydum oppugnabat, iam cum Rhodiis et Attalo navalibus certaminibus, neutro
 5 feliciter proelio, vires expertus; sed animos ei faciebat praeter ferociam insitam foedus ictum cum Antiocho, Syriae rege, divisaeque iam cum eo Aegypti opes, cui morte audita Ptolomaei regis ambo imminebant.

¹ One might expect *paludatus cum lictoribus*; I have however retained the reading of the MSS.: cf. XLI. x. 5; 7; 13; XLV. xxxix. 11 (in the first of these Gronovius conjectured *paludatus sine lictoribus*), in which the same phrase occurs.

² Livy's elliptical *neque enim* suggests that if Philip had been before Athens a larger relief expedition would have been necessary.

³ Livy here summarizes the activities of Philip during the campaign of 200 B.C. before the arrival of Sulpicius in the late summer or early autumn of that year. He resumes the narrative dealing with Sulpicius in xxii. 4 below.

⁴ Philip's attack upon this famous city on the Hellespont was part of the aggressive campaign against the Greek cities on

BOOK XXXI. XIII. 8-XIV. 5

should prefer money to the land, he could restore the B.C. 200
land to the people. The creditors gladly accepted this offer, and the land was called "trientabulum" because it was allotted in discharge of one-third of the debts.

XIV. Thereupon Publius Sulpicius, after the announcement of the vows on the Capitoline, left the city with his lictors in uniform,¹ arrived at Brundisium and there, enrolling in the legions veteran volunteers from the African army and selecting ships from the fleet of Gnaeus Cornelius, he arrived in Macedonia the second day after he set sail from Brundisium. There Athenian ambassadors met him, begging that he release them from siege. He at once sent to Athens Gaius Claudius Cento with twenty warships and a thousand soldiers. For² the king³ himself was not conducting the siege of Athens, but was principally occupied with the attack on Abydus,⁴ and was now trying his strength in naval battles with the Rhodians and Attalus, in neither case with conspicuous success; however, his spirits were kept up, partly by his naturally impetuous disposition, partly by a treaty⁵ which he had concluded with Antiochus, king of Syria, according to which the wealth of Egypt, which both coveted when they heard of the death of King Ptolemy, was soon to be divided between them.

the islands and in Asia Minor, some of which were free, while others belonged to the Ptolemies, whose empire he had agreed with Antiochus (see below) to dismember. His policy threatened both Pergamum and Rhodes (cf. the Introductory Note) and brought them into the war.

¹ Cf. Polyb. III. ii. 8. The death of Ptolemy Philopator (cf. the note on ii. 3 above) gave Philip and Antiochus their apparent opportunity to expand at the expense of the boy Epiphanes. The treaty was probably made in 203 B.C.

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6 Contraxerant autem sibi cum Philippo bellum
 Athenienses haudquaquam digna causa, dum ex
 7 vetere fortuna nihil praeter animos servant. Acar-
 nanes duo iuvenes per initiorum dies non initiati
 templum Cereris imprudentes religionis cum cetera
 8 turba ingressi sunt. Facile eos sermo prodidit absurde
 quaedam percunctantes,¹ deductique ad antistites
 templi, cum palam esset per errorem ingressos,
 9 tamquam ob infandum scelus interfecti sunt. Id
 tam foede atque hostiliter factum gens Acarnanum
 ad Philippum detulit impetravitque ab eo ut datis
 Macedonum auxiliis bellum se inferre Atheniensibus
 10 pateretur. Hic exercitus primo terram Atticam
 ferro ignique depopulatus cum omnis generis praeda
 in Acarnaniam rediit. Et irritatio quidem animorum
 ea prima fuit; postea iustum bellum decretis civitatis
 11 ultro indicendo factum. Attalus enim rex Rhodiique
 persecuti cedentem in Macedoniam Philippum cum
 Aeginam venissent, rex Piraeum renovandae con-
 firmandaeque cum Atheniensibus societatis causa
 12 traiecit. Civitas omnis obviam effusa cum coniugibus

¹ percunctantes ϵ : percontatis *B*: percontatos *B*².

¹ Livy here summarizes briefly and somewhat inaccurately the events leading up to Roman intervention in the east. In 201 B.C., in consequence of the treaty mentioned in sect. 5 above, Philip had begun operations against the Egyptian possessions in Thrace, northern Asia Minor, and the Cyclades. This brought him into conflict with Pergamum, already allied with Athens, and with Rhodes. At the approach of winter he had withdrawn to Europe, after a campaign somewhat more successful than Livy's account intimates. Athens was not immediately involved in this war, but was embroiled with

BOOK XXXI. XIV. 6-12

Now the Athenians¹ had undertaken the war B.C. 200 against Philip for no sufficient reason, since they retained nothing of their ancient greatness except their spirit. Two young men from Acarnania,² during the celebration of the mysteries at Eleusis, though not initiated, had entered the temple of Ceres, ignorant that they were committing a sacrilege, and merely following the crowd. Their words easily betrayed them, since they asked foolish questions, and though it was clear that they had come in openly and by mistake they were put to death as if they had committed some heinous crime. The Acarnanians reported this revolting and unfriendly act to Philip, and prevailed upon him to send them Macedonian aid and permit them to attack Athens. This army at first laid waste Attica with fire and sword and returned to Acarnania laden with every kind of booty. This was the original provocation; later regular war was declared and waged by decree of the state after formal notification. Now when King Attalus and the Rhodians had arrived at Aegina in pursuit of Philip, who was retiring to Macedonia, Attalus crossed to Piraeus to renew and confirm his alliance with the Athenians.³ The whole body of citizens,⁴ with their wives and

Philip in the manner described in the following sections. The alignment is then: Philip and the Aetolian League *vs.* Athens, Pergamum, Rhodes, Rome. Antiochus, allied with both Rome and Philip, was not involved directly, nor was Ptolemy, allied with Rome, although Philip's attack on his possessions precipitated the war.

¹ Acarnania, in the north-west, was a part of the Aetolian League.

² See, for this alliance, XXIX. xii. 14.

³ Polybius (XVI. xxv. 5) similarly describes this scene.

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ac liberis, sacerdotes cum insignibus suis intrantem urbem ac di prope ipsi exciti sedibus suis acceperunt.

XV. In contionem extemplo populus vocatus, ut rex quae vellet coram ageret; deinde ex dignitate
2 magis visum scribere eum de quibus videretur, quam praesentem aut referendis suis in civitatem beneficiis erubescere aut significationibus adclamationibusque multitudinis adsentatione immodica pudorem onerantis. In litteris autem, quae missae in contionem recitataeque sunt, commemoratio erat beneficiorum primum in civitatem suorum, deinde rerum quas
4 adversus Philippum gessisset, ad postremum adhortatio capessendi belli, dum se, dum Rhodios, tum quidem dum etiam Romanos haberent: nequiquam postea, si tum cessassent, praetermissam occasionem
5 quaesituros. Rhodii deinde legati auditi sunt; quorum recens erat beneficium, quod naves longas quattuor Atheniensium, captas nuper ab Macedonibus recuperatasque, remiserant. Itaque ingenti consensu bellum adversus Philippum decretum.
6 Honores regi primum Attalo immodici, deinde et Rhodiis habiti. Tum primum mentio inlata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus

¹ This is not confirmed by other testimony.

² Livy's statement, if properly understood, is correct so far as it goes, but might be misleading unless supplemented by the facts which have been ascertained in recent years from the evidence furnished by the Attic inscriptions. The original ten tribes of Clisthenes were increased to twelve in 307/6 by the creation of Antigonas and Demetrias and to thirteen by the creation of Ptolemais between 229/8 and 222/1 (probably in 224/3 or 226/5). But in the early part of 201/0 Antigonis and Demetrias had been abolished, leaving eleven tribes. This number was therefore increased to twelve when Attalis was added in the latter part of 201/0. I owe

BOOK XXXI. XIV. 12-XV. 6

children, poured out to meet him ; the priests in their vestments and the very gods, so to speak, starting up from their thrones, welcomed him as he entered the city. B.O. 206

XV. The citizens were at once summoned to an assembly, that the king might declare publicly what he desired ; then it seemed more consonant with his dignity that he should write his message, on whatever matters he pleased, than deliver it in person and be embarrassed by his own recital of his services to the state or by the extravagant applause and eulogies of the crowd, which would overwhelm his modesty with its uncontrolled adulation. The letter which was sent and read to the assembly contained, first, a review of his acts of generosity towards Athens ; second, an account of the campaigns he had carried on against Philip, and, lastly, an exhortation to undertake the war against Philip while they had him, the Rhodians, and now particularly the Romans also as allies ; in vain, later on, if they now hesitated, would they seek to grasp the opportunity they had let slip. The Rhodian envoys were next heard, whose recent display of good-will had consisted in sending back four Athenian war-vessels which had, not long before, been captured by the Macedonians and recovered.¹ So by a roar of voices war was declared on Philip. Extravagant honours were conferred first upon Attalus and then upon the Rhodians as well. At this time occurs the first mention of the tribe which they called "Attalis," to be added to the ten old tribes.² The people of this exact statement to the kindness of Mr. Sterling Dow, who refers to W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* and W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*.

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addenda, et Rhodiorum populus corona aurea virtutis
 7 ergo donatus, civitasque Rhodiis data, quem ad modum
 8 Rhodii prius Atheniensibus dederant. Secundum
 haec rex Attalus Aeginam ad classem se recipit;
 Rhodii Ciam ab Aegina, inde per insulas Rhodum
 navigarunt omnibus praeter Andrum Parumque et
 Cythnum, quae praesidiis Macedonum tenebantur,
 9 in societatem acceptis. Attalum Aeginae missi in
 Aetoliam nuntii expectatique inde legati aliquamdiu
 10 nihil agentem tenuere. Sed neque illos excire ad
 arma potuit, gaudentes utcumque composita cum
 Philippo pace, et ipse Rhodique, cum, si institissent
 Philippo, egregium liberatae per se Graeciae titulum
 11 habere potuissent, patiando rursus eum in Helles-
 pontum traicere occupantemque Thraeciae¹ oppor-
 tuna loca vires colligere bellum aluere gloriamque
 eius gesti perfectique Romanis concesserunt.

XVI. Philippus magis regio animo est usus; qui
 2 cum Attalum Rhodiosque hostes non sustinisset, ne
 Romano quidem quod imminebat bello territus
 Philocle quodam ex praefectis suis cum duobus
 milibus peditum equitibus ducentis ad populandos
 3 Atheniensium agros misso, classe tradita Heraclidi,
 ut Maroneam peteret, ipse terra eodem cum expeditis

¹ Thraeciae *Weissenborn*: graeciae *B.*

¹ There was an alliance between Pergamum and the Aetolians: cf. XXVII. xxix. 10.

² See note on i. 8 above.

³ At this point Livy begins the narrative of Philip's campaign of 200 B.C. against the possessions of Ptolemy in Thrace

BOOK XXXI. xv. 6-xvi. 3

Rhodes, moreover, was presented with a golden crown, B.C. 200
 the symbol of valour, and the Athenian citizenship was given the Rhodians, just as they had previously granted the same distinction to the Athenians. After this Attalus rejoined his fleet at Aegina; the Rhodians went back from Aegina to Cia, thence to Rhodes by way of the islands, receiving into their alliance all of them but Andros, Paros and Cythnos, which were held by Macedonian garrisons. Attalus was kept idle for some time in Aegina, by sending messengers to Aetolia¹ and waiting for ambassadors from there. But he could not induce them to declare war, since they felt satisfaction at the composition—however accomplished—of their difficulties with Philip;² and Attalus and the Rhodians, although, if they had pressed their campaign against Philip, they might have won the fair fame of having liberated Greece, by permitting him to cross again to the Hellespont and to increase his army by the occupation of strongholds in Thrace, protracted the war and left to the Romans the glory of conducting and finishing it.

XVI. Philip displayed a spirit that more befitted a king.³ Though he had not withstood Attalus and the Rhodians, he was unterrified even by the threatening war with Rome. Sending Philocles, one of his prefects, with two thousand infantry and two hundred horse to harry the Athenian country, and entrusting a fleet to Heraclides, that he might proceed to Maronea, he himself set out by land to that place with two thousand light-armed infantry

(sects. 3-4) and the Thracian Chersonesus, to the north-west of the Hellespont (sects. 5 ff.). These events precede the arrival of the Romans in Greece (xiv. 2 above).

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duobus milibus peditum equitibus ducentis pergit.
 4 Et Maroneam quidem primo impetu expugnavit;
 Aenum inde cum magno labore obsedit, postremo
 per prodicionem Callimedis, praefecti Ptolomaei,
 cepit. Deinceps alia castella, Cypsela et Doriscon
 5 et Serrheum, occupat. Inde progressus ad Cherso-
 nesum Elaeunta et Alopeconnesum tradentibus
 ipsis recipit; Callipolis quoque et Madytus dedita et
 6 castella quaedam ignobilia; Abydeni ne legatis
 quidem admissis regi portas clauserunt. Ea oppug-
 natio diu Philippum tenuit, eripique ex obsidione, ni
 cessatum ab Attalo et Rhodiis foret, potuerunt.
 7 Attalus trecentos tantum milites in praesidium,
 Rhodii quadriremem unam ex classe, cum ad Tenedum
 8 staret, miserunt. Eodem postea, cum iam vix
 sustinerent obsidionem, et ipse Attalus cum traie-
 cisset, spem tantum auxilii ex propinquo ostendit
 neque terra neque mari adiutis sociis.

XVII. Abydeni primo tormentis per muros dis-
 positis non terra modo adeuntes aditu arcebant, sed
 navium quoque stationem infestam hosti faciebant;
 2 postea, cum et muri pars strata ruinis et ad interiorem
 raptim oppositum murum cuniculis iam perventum
 esset, legatos ad regem de condicionibus tradendae
 3 urbis miserunt. Paciscebantur autem ut Rhodiam
 quadriremem cum sociis navalibus Attalique prae-
 sidium emitti liceret atque ipsis urbe excedere cum

¹ See xiv. 4 above and the note.

² Livy seems to have borrowed the following account from Polybius (XVI. xxx-xxxiv).

BOOK XXXI. xvi. 3-xvii. 3

and two hundred cavalry. And Maronea, indeed, B.C. 201 he took at the first assault; Aenus then, after great labour in besieging it, he finally captured through the treachery of Callimedes, the prefect of Ptolemy. Next he occupied other fortresses, Cypsela, Doriscus, and Serrheum. Proceeding thence toward the Chersonesus, he received in voluntary submission Elaeus and Alopeconnesus. Callipolis too and Madytus were surrendered, and some unimportant strongholds. The people of Abydus,¹ not even admitting his ambassadors, closed their gates against the king. This siege delayed Philip a long time, and the people could have been quickly relieved of the siege if Attalus and the Rhodians had not delayed. Attalus sent only three hundred soldiers for the garrison, the Rhodians one quadrireme from the fleet, although it was lying off Tenedos. Later, the city being by that time scarce able to resist the siege, when Attalus in person arrived there, he gave only the hope of aid from near by, but did not help the allies by either land or sea.

XVII. The citizens of Abydus² at first, placing their artillery along the walls, not only on land denied approach to the assaulting parties, but rendered the anchorage of the fleet dangerous to the enemy; later, when part of the rampart had been laid in ruins, and, in addition, mines had been driven almost to the inner wall which had been hastily constructed, they sent ambassadors to the king regarding terms of surrender for the city. They proposed, however, that they be allowed to send away the Rhodian quadrireme with the naval allies, and the garrison of Attalus, and that they be permitted to leave the city with one garment each.

4 singulis vestimentis. Quibus cum Philippus nihil
 pacati nisi omnia permittentibus respondisset, adeo
 renuntiata haec legatio ab indignatione simul ac
 5 desperatione iram accendit, ut ad Saguntinam
 rabiem versi matronas omnes in templo Dianae,
 pueros ingenuos virginesque, infantes etiam cum suis
 6 nutricibus in gymnasium includi iuberent, aurum et
 argentum in forum deferri, vestem pretiosam in
 naves Rhodiam Cyzicenamque quae in portu erant
 coici, sacerdotes victimasque adduci et altaria in
 7 medio poni. Ibi delecti primum qui, ubi caesam
 aciem suorum pro diruto muro pugnantem vidissent,
 extemplo coniuges liberosque interficerent, aurum
 argentum vestemque quae in navibus esset in mare
 8 deicerent, tectis publicis privatisque, quam plurimis
 9 locis possent, ignes subicerent; id se facinus per-
 petratos praeeuntibus execrabile carmen sacerdoti-
 bus iureiurando adacti; tum militaris aetas iurat
 10 neminem vivum nisi victorem acie excessurum. Hi
 memores deorum adeo pertinaciter pugnaverunt ut,
 cum proelium nox diremptura esset, rex prior,
 11 territus rabie eorum, pugna abstiterit. Principes,
 quibus atrocior pars facinoris delegata erat, cum
 paucos et confectos vulneribus ac lassitudine superesse
 proelio cernerent, luce prima sacerdotes cum infulis
 ad urbem dedendam Philippo mittunt.

XVIII. Ante deditionem ex iis legatis qui Alex-
 andream missi erant, M. Aemilius trium consensu,

¹ Such a formula invoked a curse upon anyone who failed to carry out whatever order had been given.

² See ii. 3 above.

When Philip answered them that there would be B.C. 200
 no peace without their unconditional surrender, the message when reported kindled such passion, arising from anger and despair together, that, imitating the madness of the Saguntines, they ordered all the matrons to be shut up in the temple of Diana, the free-born boys and maidens and even the young babes with their nurses in the gymnasium, the gold and silver to be collected in the market-place and the valuable garments to be placed on the Rhodian and Cyzicene ships which were in the harbour, the priests and victims to be brought and the altars erected for sacrifice. Then they chose certain men who, when they saw their soldiers slaughtered as they fought before the ruined wall, were forthwith to slay their wives and children, throw into the sea all the gold, silver and garments which were in the ships, and set fire to the public and private buildings in every possible place. This crime they bound themselves by oath to commit, while the priests dictated to them the formula of execration.¹ The soldiers then swore that no one would leave the battle-line alive except as victor, and they, mindful of the gods, fought so courageously that, when night was about to end the battle, the king was the first to retire from the field, in fear of their madness. The chiefs, to whom the more cruel part in the crime had been assigned, when they saw only a few surviving the battle, and these exhausted by wounds and weariness, at daybreak sent the priests, wearing their fillets, to surrender the city to Philip.

XVIII. Before the surrender, Marcus Aemilius, the youngest of the three ambassadors² who had been sent to Alexandria, hearing of the siege of

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minimus natu, audita obsidione Abydenorum ad
 Philippum venit. Qui questus Attalo Rhodiisque
 2 arma inlata, et quod tum maxime Abydum oppug-
 naret, cum rex ab Attalo et Rhodiis ultro se bello
 laccessitum diceret, "num Abydeni quoque" inquit
 3 "ultro tibi intulerunt arma?" Insueto vera audire
 ferocior oratio visa est quam quae habenda apud
 regem esset. "Aetas" inquit "et forma et super
 4 omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit. Ego
 autem primum velim vos foederum memores servare
 mecum pacem; sin bello laccessitis, mihi quoque
 animos¹ facere et regnum et Macedonum nomen
 5 haud minus quam Romanum nobile sentietis." Ita
 dimisso legato Philippus auro argento quaeque
 coacervata alia erant accepto² hominum praedam
 6 omnem amisit. Tanta enim rabies multitudinem
 invasit ut repente, proditos rati, qui pugnantes
 mortem occubuissent periuriumque alius alii expro-
 bantes et sacerdotibus maxime, qui, quos ad mortem
 devovissent, eorum deditionem vivorum hosti fecis-
 7 sent, repente omnes ad caedem coniugum liberorum-
 que discurrerent seque ipsi per omnes vias leti
 interficerent. Obstupefactus eo furore rex suppressit
 impetum militum et triduum se ad moriendum

¹ animos *Madvig*: animo est *B*.

² The reading of *B*, *accepto*, is retained, although the inserted clause *quaeque . . . erant* makes the construction harsh.

¹ See the similar dialogue quoted by Polybius (XVI. xxxiv. 5); Polybius adds that Aemilius was the handsomest man of his time.

² According to Justin (XXX. iii. 3-4), the ambassadors carried instructions to Antiochus and Philip to keep their hands off Egypt, and Aemilius was designated to act as a quasi-

Abydus, came to Philip with the consent of his colleagues. He protested against the attack on Attalus and the Rhodians, and because Philip was at that very moment besieging Abydus, and when the king replied that Attalus and the Rhodians had made an unprovoked attack upon him, Aemilius asked, "Did the people of Abydus also take up arms against you, unprovoked?" This speech seemed to the king, who was unused to hearing the truth, too arrogant for delivery in the royal presence. "Your age," he replied, "your good looks,¹ and, above all, the Roman name, make you too arrogant. I should myself prefer first that you remember the treaties and keep the peace with me; but if you attack me in war, you will find that I too have the resolution to make both the kingdom and the name of Macedonia no less renowned than those of Rome." Thus dismissing the envoy,² Philip took possession of all the gold, silver, and other accumulated treasure, but lost all the human booty. For such madness laid hold of the people that all at once, thinking that those who had fallen in the fight had met death from treachery, each reproaching another's perjury, and especially that of the priests, who had delivered alive to the enemy those whom they had consecrated to death, they hastily ran to kill their wives and children and then themselves sought death by every path. The king, astounded by this frenzy, checked the assaults of his soldiers and announced that he would give the

guardian to the young Ptolemy. For the alliance between Egypt and Rome see XXVII. iv. 10. Livy has abridged his account of the embassy's activities, but it should be remembered that the embassy left Rome before the declaration of war upon Philip.

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8 Abydenis dare dixit. Quo spatio plura facinora in
se victi ediderunt quam infesti edidissent victores,
nec, nisi quem vincula aut alia necessitas mori pro-
hibuit, quisquam vivus in potestatem venit. Philip-
9 pus imposito Abydi praesidio in regnum rediit. Cum
velut Sagunti excidium Hannibali, sic Philippo
Abydenorum clades ad Romanum bellum animos
fecisset, nuntii occurrerunt consulem iam in Epiro
esse et Apolloniam terrestres copias, navales Corcyram
in hiberna deduxisse.

XIX. Inter haec legatis, qui in Africam missi
erant, de Hamilcare, Gallici exercitus duce,¹ respon-
sum a Carthaginensibus est nihil ultra se facere
posse quam ut exilio eum multarent, bona eius publi-
2 carent; perfugas et fugitivos, quos inquirendo
vestigare potuerint, reddidisse et de ea re missuros
legatos Romam qui senatui satisfacerent. Ducenta
milia modium tritici Romam, ducenta ad exercitum
3 in Macedoniam miserunt. Inde in Numidiam ad
reges profecti legati. Dona data Masinissae man-
dataque edita. Equites mille Numidae, cum duo
4 milia daret, accepti. Ipse in naves imponendos
curavit et cum ducentis milibus modium tritici,

¹ duce *edd.* : rege *B.*

¹ Livy here abandons Polybius and returns to his usual sources, the works of one or more annalists. Since the military year, which began when conditions permitted active operations, the civil year, which began on March 15, and the calendar year did not coincide, Livy has a good deal of difficulty in adjusting his material to his plan of composition. The events related in chaps. xv-xviii preceded Sulpicius' arrival in the east (xiv.

Abydenians three days in which to die. In this time B.C. 200
 the conquered did themselves more violence than they would have suffered from their enraged conquerors, and no living man fell into Philip's hands save those whom chains or some other constraint forbade to die. Philip, leaving a garrison at Abydus, returned to his kingdom. When, as Hannibal's destruction of Saguntum had aroused the Romans to war against him, so now the slaughter of the people of Abydus had roused them against Philip, word came that the Roman consul was already in Epirus and had sent his army to Apollonia and his fleet to Corcyra to winter.¹

XIX. In the meantime, the ambassadors who had been sent to Africa had been informed by the Carthaginians that, regarding Hamilcar, the leader of the Gallic army, they could do nothing but declare him an outlaw and confiscate his property; as to the deserters and fugitives, they had already sent back all they could find after search, and would send an embassy to Rome to give satisfaction to the senate on that point. They sent two hundred thousand *modii*² of wheat to Rome and the same quantity to the army in Macedonia. The embassy then proceeded to Numidia, where they delivered their gifts and messages to Masinissa. When the king offered them two thousand Numidian cavalry, they accepted one thousand. The king himself supervised their embarkation and sent them to Macedonia with two

² above), and we are now ready for his campaign. But since he reached Greece only in time to go into winter quarters, Livy turns aside to narrate events in Rome in the later months of 200 B.C.

¹ The *modius* was the practical equivalent of the peck, and equalled one-sixth of the Greek *medimnus*.

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ducentis hordei in Macedoniam misit. Tertia legatio
5 ad Verminam erat. Is ad primos fines regni legatis
obviam progressus, ut scriberent ipsi quas vellent
6 pacis condiciones permisit: omnem pacem bonam
iustamque fore sibi cum populo Romano. Datae leges
pacis, iussusque ad eam confirmandam mittere legatos
Romam.

XX. Per idem tempus L. Cornelius Lentulus pro
2 consule ex Hispania rediit. Qui cum in senatu res
ab se per multos annos fortiter feliciterque gestas
exposuisset postulassetque ut triumphanti sibi inveni
3 liceret in urbem, res triumpho dignas esse censebat
senatus, sed exemplum a maioribus non accepisse
ut qui neque dictator neque consul neque praetor res
4 gessisset triumpharet: pro consule illum Hispaniam
provinciam, non consulem aut praetorem obtinuisse.
5 Decurrebatur tamen eo, ut ovans urbem iniret,
intercedente Ti. Sempronio Longo tribuno plebis,
qui nihilo magis id more maiorum aut ullo exemplo
6 futurum diceret. Postremo victus consensu patrum
tribunus cessit, et ex senatus consulto L. Lentulus

¹ Since 206 B.C. (XXVIII. xxxviii. 1).

² An anachronism is involved in the use of the word *pro-consul* to translate the phrase *pro consule*. After the time of Sulla consuls and praetors served in administrative and judicial capacities in Rome during their terms of office, but without exercising *imperium* (cf. the note on iii. 2 above), and were then sent out as proconsuls and propraeors, with the *imperium*, to govern the territorial provinces. They were thus eligible for triumphs. In the third century, even private citizens, in cases of emergency, could be commissioned to act *pro consule*, *pro praetore*, i.e. as substitutes for magistrates. Not being a regularly elected magistrate, exercising command under

BOOK XXXI. XIX. 4-XX. 6

hundred thousand *modii* of wheat and as much B.C. 200
barley. The third errand was to Vermina, who met the ambassadors at the frontier and left it to them to lay down terms of peace satisfactory to Rome, while for his own part he promised to maintain a just and lawful peace with the Roman people. The conditions of peace were imposed, and he was instructed to send an embassy to Rome to ratify them.

XX. At the same time Lucius Cornelius Lentulus the proconsul returned from Spain. When he had given the senate an account of his vigorous and successful administration, extending over many years,¹ and had asked that he be permitted to enter Rome in triumph, the senate decreed that his achievements deserved the honour, but that there was no precedent handed down from antiquity that one who had not been in command as dictator or consul or praetor should celebrate a triumph. He had held the province of Spain as proconsul² and not as consul or praetor. Nevertheless, it was proposed that he enter the city in ovation,³ though the tribune Tiberius Sempronius Longus objected that this would be no more in accordance with ancestral custom or any precedent. Finally, prevailed upon by the general agreement of the senators, the tribune withdrew his veto, and Lucius Cornelius, by authority of the

auspices which he had himself taken, such a person could not be granted a triumph. Scipio had had the same experience in 206 B.C. (XXVIII. xxxviii. 4), although he had cleared Spain of Carthaginian troops.

¹ An ovation was a minor dignity conferred on commanders who were adjudged undeserving of triumphs. The conditions of eligibility were probably identical with those for a triumph, and the tribune's position seems to have been technically correct.

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7 ovans urbem est ingressus. Argenti tulit ex praeda
quadraginta tria milia pondo, auri duo milia quad-
ringenta quinquaginta. Militibus ex praeda centenos
vicens asses divisit.

XXI. Iam exercitus consularis ab Arretio Arimi-
num transductus erat et quinque milia socium Latini
2 nominis ex Gallia in Etruriam transierant. Itaque
L. Furius, magnis itineribus ab Arimino adversus
Gallos Cremonam etiam tum obsidentes profectus,
castra mille quingentorum passuum intervallo ab
3 hoste posuit. Occasio egregie rei gerendae fuit, si
protinus de via ad castra oppugnanda duxisset;
4 palati passim vagabantur per agros nullo satis firmo
relicto praesidio. Lassitudini militum pepercit,
5 quod raptim ductum agmen erat. Galli clamore
suorum ex agris revocati, omissa praeda quae in
manibus erat, castra repetivere, et postero die in
aciem progressi; nec Romanus moram pugnandi
6 fecit. Sed vix spatium instruendi fuit; eo cursu
7 hostes in proelium venerunt. Dextra ala—in alas
divisum socialem exercitum habebat—in prima acie
locata est, in subsidiis duae Romanae legiones.
8 M. Furius dextrae alae, legionibus M. Caecilius,
equitibus L. Valerius Flaccus—legati omnes erant—
praepositi. Praetor secum duos legatos, C. Laetori-
9 um et P. Titinium, habebat, cum quibus circum-
spicere et obire ad omnes hostium subitos conatus
10 posset. Primo Galli omni multitudine in unum locum

¹ The *ala* was a normal unit of organization among the allied troops. Perhaps because the allies were often posted on the flanks, with the Roman infantry in the centre, such units were sometimes designated "right" and "left." But the meaning here is uncertain.

² See the note on iii. 4 above.

senate, was allowed to enter the city in ovation. He B.C. 300
 brought home forty-three thousand pounds of silver
 and two thousand four hundred and fifty pounds of
 gold from the booty, and presented to each of his
 soldiers a sum amounting to one hundred and twenty
asses.

XXI. The consular army had now moved from Arretium to Ariminum, and five thousand allies of the Latin confederacy from Gaul to Etruria. Therefore Lucius Furius proceeded by forced marches from Ariminum against the Gauls who were still besieging Cremona, and bivouacked about a mile and a half from the enemy. There was an excellent chance for a victory if he had attacked their camp immediately after his march; the Gauls had scattered through the neighbourhood without leaving a strong guard on duty. But Furius spared his weary troops because he had made a strenuous march. The Gauls, called back by the shouts of their comrades, dropped the booty which they had in hand and hurried back to their camp. The next day they moved out in battle-array, nor did the Roman refuse the engagement. But the Romans had barely time to form in line, with such speed did the enemy advance to the attack. The right squadron¹—he had the allied army divided into squadrons—occupied the front line, with two Roman legions in reserve. Commanders were designated: Marcus Furius of the right squadron, Marcus Caecilius of the legions, Lucius Valerius Flaccus of the cavalry—all were lieutenants.² The praetor kept with him two lieutenants, Gaius Laetorius and Publius Titinius, by whose aid he planned to watch the whole engagement and meet all sudden attacks of the enemy. At first the Gauls hoped, concentrating the mass of their

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conixi obruere atque obterere sese dextram alam,
 11 quae prima erat, sperarunt posse. Ubi id parum
 procedebat, circuire a cornibus et amplecti hostium
 aciem, quod multitudine adversus paucos facile
 12 videbatur, conati sunt. Id ubi vidit praetor, ut et
 ipse dilataret aciem, duas legiones ex subsidiis dextra
 laevaue alae, quae in prima acie pugnabat, circum-
 dat aedemque Diiovi ¹ vovit, si eo die hostes fudisset.
 13 L. Valerio imperat ut parte una duarum legionum
 equites, altera sociorum equitatum in cornua hostium
 14 emittat nec circuire eos aciem patiatur; simul et
 ipse, ut extenuatam mediam diductis cornibus aciem
 Gallorum vidit, signa inferre confertos milites et
 15 perrumpere ordines iubet. Et cornua ab equitibus
 et medii a pedite pulsii. Ac repente, cum in omni
 parte caede ingenti sternerentur, Galli terga verte-
 16 runt fugaue effusa repetunt castra. Fugientes
 persecutus eques; mox et legiones insecutae in
 17 castra impetum fecerunt. Minus sex milia hominum
 inde effugerunt; caesa aut capta supra quinque et
 triginta milia cum signis militaribus septuaginta,
 carpentis Gallicis multa praeda oneratis plus ducentis.
 18 Hamilcar, dux Poenus, eo proelio cecidit et tres
 imperatores nobiles Gallorum. Placentini captivi,
 ad duo milia liberorum capitum, redditi colonis.

XXII. Magna victoria laetaue Romae fuit.
 2 Litteris adlatis supplicatio in triduum decreta est.
 Romanorum sociorumque ad duo milia eo proelio

¹ Diiovi *Valesius* : deioioui *B.*

¹ Livy (XXXIV. liii. 7) records the dedication of a temple to Jupiter vowed by Furius. The name of the divinity here reported may be corrupt.

² Another version of the fate of Hamilcar is related at XXXII. xxx. 12 and XXXIII. xxiii. 5.

force on one place, to be able to overwhelm and B.C. 200
 destroy the right squadron which was in the van. When this did not succeed, they tried to outflank and envelop the enemy's line, a plan which seemed easy on account of their great numbers arrayed against a few. When the praetor saw this, that he too might extend his front, he threw in two legions from his reserves on the right and left flanks of the front-line force and vowed a temple to Diiovis if he routed the enemy on that day.¹ He ordered Lucius Valerius to send the cavalry of two legions to one side against the flank of the enemy and to the other the allied cavalry, and not to allow the enemy to envelop his lines. Seeing too that the Gallic centre was weakened by the extension of the line, at the same time he gave his men the order to charge in mass formation and to break through, and the flanks were thrown back by the cavalry, the centre by the infantry. The Gauls, suffering heavy losses in every quarter, suddenly broke and in complete rout fled to their camp. The cavalry pursued them in their flight, and presently the legions too followed and stormed the camp. Less than six thousand Gauls escaped; more than thirty-five thousand were killed or captured, along with seventy standards and more than two hundred Gallic wagons laden with abundant spoils. Hamilcar² the Carthaginian general and three noble Gallic commanders fell in the battle. About two thousand of the captives from Placentia were recovered and restored to the colonists.

XXII. This great victory brought joy to Rome, and when the news came a thanksgiving of three days was proclaimed. About two thousand of the Romans and allies perished in that battle, most of them from

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3 ceciderunt, plurimi dextrae alae, in quam primo
impetu vis hostium ingens inlata est. Quamquam
per praetorem prope debellatum erat, consul
quoque C. Aurelius, perfectis quae Romae agenda
fuerant, profectus in Galliam victorem exercitum a
praetore accepit.

4 Consul alter cum autumno ferme exacto in pro-
5 vinciam venisset, circa Apolloniam hibernabat. Ab
classe quae Corcyrae subducta erat, C. Claudius
triremesque Romanae, sicut ante dictum est, Athenas
missae cum Piraeum pervenissent, despondentibus
6 iam animos sociis spem ingentem attulerant. Nam
et terrestres ab Corintho quae per Megara incur-
siones in agros fieri solitae erant non fiebant, et
praedonum a Chalcide naves, quae non mare solum
7 infestum, sed etiam omnes maritimos agros Athenien-
sibus fecerant, non modo Sunium superare sed ne
extra fretum Euripum committere aperto mari se
8 audebant. Supervenerunt his tres Rhodiae quadri-
remes, et erant Atticae tres apertae naves, ad tuendos
maritimos agros comparatae. Hac classe si urbs
agrique Atheniensium defenderentur, satis in prae-
sentia existimanti Claudio esse maioris etiam rei
fortuna oblata est.

XXIII. Exules ab Chalcide, regionum iniuriis
pulsii, attulerunt occupari Chalcidem sine certamine
2 ullo posse; nam et Macedonas, quia nullus in propin-
quo sit hostium metus, vagari passim, et oppidanos,

¹ We return to Greece and continue the narrative of the end of the year 200 B.C. and the following spring, interrupted at chap. xix; cf. the note on xviii. 9 above.

² Chalcis in Euboea, Demetrias in Thessaly, and Corinth in Achaëa were the three "letters" of Greece XXXII. xxxvii.

the right squadron, against which at the first attack B.C. 200
the enemy's main effort had been directed. Although the war had been practically ended by the praetor, the consul Gaius Aurelius, having transacted the necessary business in Rome, also set out for Gaul and took over the victorious army from the praetor.

The other consul,¹ having arrived in his province near the end of autumn, was wintering around Apollonia. From the fleet which was moored at Corcyra, Gaius Claudius and the Roman triremes, as has been related, had been sent to Athens, and when they arrived at Piraeus they had inspired great hopes in the allies who were now in despair. For the customary raids on the fields which were made by land from Corinth by way of Megara were stopped, and the ships of the pirates from Chalcis,² which had made both the sea and the farm-lands on the coast dangerous for the Athenians, not only would not venture past Sunium, but did not dare to enter the open sea beyond the strait of Euripus. In addition to these, three Rhodian quadriremes arrived, and there were three Athenian vessels without protecting decks, assembled to defend the lands on the coast. Just as Claudius had made up his mind that it was sufficient for the present if the city and fields of the Athenians could be guarded with this fleet, an opportunity for a greater feat was presented to him.

XXIII. Exiles from Chalcis, driven out by the violence of Philip's garrison, brought the news that Chalcis could be captured without any opposition: for the Macedonians, because there was no fear of an enemy near by, were straggling about the country,

3-4). This campaign and Philip's retaliation well illustrate the vague strategy of both sides in this war.

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praesidio Macedonum fretos, custodiam urbis
 3 neglegere. His auctoribus profectus, quamquam
 Sunium ita mature pervenerat ut inde provehi ad
 primas angustias Euboeae posset, ne superato
 promuntorio conspiceretur, classem in statione usque
 4 ad noctem tenuit; primis tenebris movit et tranquillo
 pervectus Chalcidem paulo ante lucem, qua infre-
 quentissima urbis sunt, paucis militibus turrim
 proximam murumque circa scalis cepit alibi sopitis
 5 custodibus, alibi nullo custodiente. Progressi inde
 ad frequentia aedificiis loca custodibus interfectis
 refractaque porta ceteram multitudinem armatorum
 6 acceperunt. Inde in totam urbem discursum est
 aucto etiam tumultu quod circa forum ignis tectis
 7 iniectus erat. Conflagrarunt et horrea regia et
 armamentarium cum ingenti apparatu machinarum
 tormentorumque. Caedes inde passim fugientium
 8 pariter ac repugnantium fieri coepta est. Nec ullo
 iam, qui militaris aetatis esset, non aut caeso aut
 fugato, Sopatro etiam Acarnane, praefecto praesidii,
 interfecto, praeda omnis primo in forum conlata,
 9 deinde in naves imposita. Carcer etiam ab Rhodiis
 refractus emissique captivi, quos Philippus tamquam
 10 in tutissimam custodiam condiderat. Statuis inde
 regis deiectis truncatisque, signo receptui dato
 conscenderunt naves et Piraeum, unde profecti
 11 erant, redierunt. Quod si tantum militum Romano-
 rum fuisset ut et Chalcis teneri et non deseri prae-

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and the citizens likewise, trusting in their Macedonian B.C. 200
garrison, were careless in their guarding of the city. Acting on this information, Claudius started out, and although he reached Sunium so early that he could have made the opening of the Euboean straits, he held his fleet at anchor until night-fall, lest he be seen after rounding the promontory; at dusk he moved, and after a calm voyage reached Chalcis a little before daybreak. With a few soldiers using scaling ladders, he captured the nearest tower and the adjoining wall in a thinly-populated section of the city, the sentinels being found in some places asleep, in others absent from their posts. The Romans then advanced to the centre of the city, and killing the guards and breaking down the gates they admitted the rest of their forces. Thence they scattered throughout the town, the confusion being further increased by a fire which broke out in the buildings around the forum. Both the royal granaries and the arsenal were burned, with a great store of munitions and artillery. Indiscriminate slaughter of fugitives and fighting men followed. When there was no longer anyone of military age who had not perished or fled, Sopater the Acarnanian, commander of the garrison, having fallen, all the booty was first collected in the forum and then loaded on the ships. The prison also was broken open by the Rhodians, who released the captives whom Philip had confined there, thinking they would be in safest custody. The king's statues were then thrown down and broken up, and when the recall was sounded the Romans embarked and returned to Piraeus, whence they had set out. But if the Roman force had been large enough, so that they could have held Chalcis without

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sidium Athenarum potuisset, magna res principio statim belli, Chalcis et Euripus adempta regi forent; 12 nam ut terra Thermopylarum angustiae Graeciam, ita mari fretum Euripi claudit.

XXIV. Demetriade tum Philippus erat. Quo cum esset nuntiata clades sociae urbis, quamquam serum auxilium perditis rebus¹ erat, tamen, quae 2 proxima auxilio est, ultionem petens, cum expeditis quinque milibus et trecentis equitibus extemplo profectus cursu prope Chalcidem contendit, haudqua- 3 quam dubius opprimi Romanos posse. A qua destitutus spe nec quicquam aliud quam ad deforme spectaculum semirutae ac fumantis sociae urbis cum venisset, paucis vix qui sepelirent bello absumptos relictis, aequè raptim ac venerat transgressus ponte Euripum per Boeotiam Athenas ducit, pari incepto 4 haud disparem eventum ratus responsurum. Et respondisset, ni speculator—hemerodromos vocant Graeci, ingens die uno cursu emetientes spatium—contemplatus regium agmen ex specula quadam, 5 praegressus nocte media Athenas pervenisset. Idem ibi somnus eademque negligentia erat, quae Chalci- 6 dem dies ante paucos prodiderat. Excitati nuntio trepido et praetor Atheniensium et Dioxippus, praefectus cohortis mercede militantium auxiliorum, convocatis in forum militibus tuba signum ex arce 7 dari iubent, ut hostes adesse omnes scirent. Ita undique ad portas, ad muros discurrunt. Paucas post horas Philippus, aliquanto tamen ante lucem,

¹ perditis rebus *Luchs*: perditis *B.*

¹ Philip hoped to take Athens by surprise as the Romans had taken Chalcis.

² Livy frequently applies the Latin term to the commanders of foreign military forces. The usual title in Greece was "strategus."

abandoning the defence of Athens, this event would B.C. 200 have been an auspicious beginning of hostilities: Chalcis and the Euripus would have been lost to the king, for as on the land the pass of Thermopylae is the gateway to Greece, so by sea is the strait of Euripus.

XXIV. Philip was then at Demetrias. When the news of the destruction of Chalcis reached him there, although it was too late to send aid, the city having been lost, nevertheless, seeking revenge, as the next best thing after assistance, he at once set out with five thousand light infantry and three hundred cavalry and made all speed for Chalcis, not doubting that the Romans could be destroyed. Disappointed in this hope, and finding only the ugly spectacle of the friendly town lying half-ruined, with its embers still smoking, and only a few left to bury those who were slain in the battle, he recrossed the strait by the bridge as rapidly as he had come and hurried through Boeotia toward Athens, thinking that a not dissimilar result would follow a similar course of action.¹ And this would have happened, had not a scout—the Greeks call them “all-day runners,” and they cover great distances in a day’s run—seen the king’s army from a watch-tower, set out at midnight and reached Athens before him. There was the same sleep and the same carelessness that had betrayed Chalcis a few days earlier. The Athenian praetor² and Dioxippus, who commanded an auxiliary force of mercenaries, aroused by the alarming message, assembling the soldiers in the forum, ordered the trumpet sounded from the citadel, to inform all that the enemy was coming. So there was a rush from all sides to the walls and gates. Some hours later, but still before daybreak, Philip approached the city,

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appropinquans urbi, conspectis luminibus crebris et
 fremitu hominum trepidantium, ut in tali tumultu,
 8 exaudito, sustinuit signa et considerare ac conquiescere
 agmen iussit, vi aperta propalam usurus, quando
 9 parum dolus profuerat. Ab Dipylo accessit. Porta
 ea, velut in ore urbis posita, maior aliquanto patienti-
 orque quam ceterae est, et intra eam extraque latae
 viae sunt, ut et oppidani derigere aciem a foro ad
 portam possent, et extra limes mille ferme passus
 longus, in Academiae gymnasium ferens, pediti
 10 equitque hostium liberum spatium praeberet. Eo
 limite Athenienses cum Attali praesidio et cohorte
 Dioxippi acie intra portam instructa signa extulerunt.
 11 Quod ubi Philippus vidit, habere se hostes in potes-
 tate ratus et diu optata caede—neque enim ulli
 Graecarum civitatum infestior erat—iram exple-
 turum,¹ cohortatus milites ut se intuentes pugnarent
 12 scirentque ibi signa, ibi aciem esse debere, ubi rex
 esset, concitat equum non ira tantum, sed etiam
 13 gloria elatus, quod ingenti turba completis etiam ad
 spectaculum muris conspici se pignantem egregium
 14 ducebat. Aliquantum ante aciem cum equitibus
 paucis evectus in medios hostes ingentem cum suis
 15 ardorem tum pavorem hostibus iniecit. Plurimos

¹ *iram expleturum* seems the easiest correction of *expletum iri* of B.

¹ The gate, which, as its name implies, accommodated two-way traffic, lay on the north-west side of the city and was the principal exit towards the west. The gate was double in depth also; cf. *in angustiis* in sect. 15 below, where Philip was caught in the court between the two parts.

Livy's weakness in detailed topography and the aimlessness of the campaign make it difficult to determine Philip's route of approach. The easy route from Boeotia was by way of Eleusis,

and seeing the numerous lights and hearing the shouts of frightened men, usual in such a crisis, halted and ordered his men to pitch camp and rest, intending to employ open force, since stratagem had failed. He attacked on the side of the Dipylon Gate.¹ This gate, placed, so to speak, at the forefront of the city, was somewhat wider and more extensive than the rest, and inside and outside there were wide avenues, so that the citizens could form their line from the market-place to the gate, and so that the road, about a mile long, outside the city and leading to the gymnasium of the Academy, offered ample space for infantry and cavalry. The Athenians, with the garrison of Attalus and the mercenaries of Dioxippus, formed their array within the gate and marched out by this road. Philip, seeing this, thought that he had the Athenians in his hands and that he was about to sate his rage with long-desired slaughter—for he hated no other Greek city so much as Athens—and urged his soldiers to take him as their example in the fight and to remember that the standards and the battle-line should be where their king was, and put spurs to his horse, inspired by rage and by the hope of glory alike, because he thought that his fighting would be a glorious sight, since the walls were lined with a great crowd, as for a show. Riding with a few companions far in front of the line, and even into the press of the enemy, he inspired both enthusiasm in his own troops and terror in his foes. Pursuing

the Sacred Way, and the pass of Daphne to the Dipylon Gate; the road past the Academy led over the difficult pass of Phyle. The question seems to be avoided by modern historians and the mobility of Philip would have enabled him to come by one road and attack by another.

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manu sua comminus eminusque vulneratos compulsoque in portam consecutus et ipse, cum maiorem in angustiis trepidantium edidisset caedem, in temerario incepto tutum tamen receptum habuit, 16 quia qui in turribus portae erant sustinebant tela, 17 ne in permixtos suos conicerent. Intra muros deinde tenentibus milites Atheniensibus Philippus signo receptui dato castra ad Cynosarges—templum Herculis gymnasiumque et lucus erat circumiectus— 18 posuit. Sed et Cynosarges et Lycium et quidquid sancti amoenive circa urbem erat incensum est, dirutaque non tecta solum sed etiam sepulcra, nec divini humanive¹ iuris quicquam prae impotenti ira est servatum.

XXV. Postero die cum primo clausae fuissent portae, deinde subito apertae, quia praesidium Attali ab Aegina Romanique ab Piraeo intraverant urbem, castra ab urbe rettulit rex tria ferme milia 2 passuum. Inde Eleusinem profectus spe improviso templi castelliue, quod et imminet et circumdatum est templo, capiendi, cum haudquaquam neglectas custodias animadvertisset et classem a Piraeo subsidio venire, omisso incepto Megara ac protinus Corinthum ducit et, cum Argis Achaeorum concilium esse audisset, inopinantibus Achaeis contioni ipsi 3 supervenit. Consultabant de bello adversus Nabim,

¹ humanive *edd. vett.* : humanique *B.*

¹ This suburb lay to the eastward, at the foot of Mount Lycabettus.

many soldiers whom he had wounded, either at long range or hand to hand, and driving them inside the gate, when he had done greater damage to the Athenians as they crowded together in the narrow space, yet he escaped safely after his rash venture, since the troops who manned the towers on the walls withheld their weapons, from fear of harming their own men mingled with the enemy. Afterwards when the Athenians held their men within the walls, Philip, giving the signal for a retirement, pitched camp at Cynosarges,¹ where there was a temple to Hercules and a gymnasium with a grove around it. But Cynosarges, the Lyceum, and all the sacred and pleasant sites around the city were burned; the buildings and even the tombs were destroyed, and nothing consecrated to divine or human use escaped his uncontrollable passion.

XXV. Next day, when the gates had been closed and then suddenly thrown open, because troops of Attalus from Aegina and Romans from Piraeus had entered the city, the king moved his camp about three miles from the city. Thence, making for Eleusis, in the hope of capturing, by an unexpected attack, the temple and the citadel which commands and surrounds the temple, when he found that vigilance was not in the least relaxed and that reinforcements were coming from the fleet at Piraeus, he gave up that plan and marched toward Megara and straight on to Corinth, and hearing that the Achaean council² was in session at Argos, he suddenly appeared at the meeting itself, to the surprise of the Achaeans. They were deliberating about a

¹ See the Introductory Note.

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tyrannum Lacedaemoniorum, qui tralato imperio a Philopoemene ad Cycliadem, nequaquam parem illi ducem, dilapsa cernens Achaeorum auxilia, redintegraverat bellum agrosque finitimorum vastabat et
 4 iam urbibus quoque erat terribilis. Adversus hunc hostem cum, quantum ex quaque civitate militum scriberetur, consultarent, Philippus dempturum se eis curam, quod ad Nabim et Lacedaemonios attineret
 5 pollicitus nec tantum agros sociorum populationibus prohibitorum sed terrorem omnem belli in ipsam Laonicam ducto eo extemplo exercitu tralaturum.
 6 Haec oratio cum ingenti adsensu hominum acciperetur, "ita tamen aequum est" inquit "me vestra meis armis tutari, ne mea interim nudentur
 7 praesidiis. Itaque, si vobis videtur, tantum parate militum quantum ad Oreum et Chalcidem et Corinthum tuenda satis sit, ut meis ab tergo tutis securus bellum Nabidi inferam et Lacedaemoniis."
 8 Non fefellit Achaeos quo spectasset tam benigna pollicitatio auxiliumque oblatum adversus Lacedaemonios: id quaeri, ut obsidem Achaeorum iuventutem educeret ex Peloponneso ad inligandam Romano
 9 bello gentem. Et id quidem coarguere Cycliadas, praetor Achaeorum, nihil attinere ratus, id modo cum dixisset, non licere legibus Achaeorum de aliis rebus referre quam propter quas convocati essent,

¹ Nabis had seized authority at Sparta (see the Introductory Note). The war against him conducted by the Romans and their allies is described in XXXIV. xxii. 5 ff.

² The Achaean League elected a *strategus* annually, and frequent changes occurred, both in the military efficiency and in the political sympathies of the administration. Philopomen had been a vigorous and independent magistrate: see

BOOK XXXI. xxv. 3-9

war against Nabis,¹ the tyrant of Sparta, who, B.C. 200
seeing that the military power of the Achaeans had declined with the transfer of command from Philopoemen to Cycliadas,² by no means his equal as a general, had renewed the war and was ravaging their territories and was now even threatening their towns. While they were debating how many men should be enlisted from each city for the war against this enemy, Philip promised that, so far as Nabis and the Spartans were concerned, he would free them from that responsibility, and by the immediate despatch of an army would not only prevent Nabis from ravaging the lands of the allies, but would transfer the whole terror of the war into Laconia itself. When this offer was received with great applause, "nevertheless," he said, "it is proper that your possessions be defended by my arms in such a way that meantime mine shall not be deprived of protection. Prepare, then, if it seems wise, a force of soldiers sufficient to hold Oreus and Chalcis and Corinth, that, with my rear protected, I may safely make war upon Nabis and the Spartans." The Achaeans were not deceived as to the real meaning of so generous an offer and promise of aid against the Lacedaemonians: the purpose was to lead the Achaean youth as hostages from the Peloponnesus in order to commit the people to war with Rome. So Cycliadas, praetor of the Achaeans, thinking it not at all to the point to argue about *that*, when he had simply replied that it was not allowable under the laws of the Achaeans to vote upon other subjects than those for which the meeting was called, after

Plutarch's biography of him. Cycliadas was an inferior soldier and was suspected of pro-Macedonian tendencies.

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10 decreto de exercitu parando adversus Nabim facto
consilium fortiter ac libere habitum dimisit, inter
11 adsentatores regios ante eam diem habitus. Philip-
pus, magna spe depulsus, voluntariis paucis militibus
conscriptis Corinthum atque in Atticam terram rediit.

XXVI. Per eos ipsos dies, quibus Philippus in
Achaia fuit, Philocles, praefectus regius, ex Euboea
profectus cum duobus milibus Thracum Mace-
donumque ad depopulandos Atheniensium fines
regione Eleusinis saltum Cithaeronis transcendit;
2 inde dimidia parte militum ad praedandum passim
per agros dimissa cum parte ipse occultus loco ad
3 insidias opportuno consedit, ut, si ex castello ab
Eleusine in praedantes suos impetus fieret, repente
4 hostes effusos ex improvise adoriretur. Non fefellere
insidiae. Itaque revocatis qui discurrerant ad prae-
dandum militibus instructisque, ad oppugnandum
castellum Eleusinem profectus cum multis inde
vulneribus recessit Philippoque se venienti ex Achaia
5 coniunxit. Temptata et ab ipso rege oppugnatio
eiusdem castelli est; sed naves Romanae a Piraeo
venientes intromissumque praesidium absistere in-
6 cepto coegerunt. Diviso deinde exercitu rex cum
parte Philoclem Athenas mittit, cum parte Piraeum
pergit ut, dum Philocles subeundo muros et com-
minanda oppugnatione contineret urbe Athenienses,
ipsi Piraeum levi cum praesidio relictum expugnandi
7 facultas esset. Ceterum nihilo ei Piraei quam Eleu-

passing a decree regarding raising an army against Nabis, adjourned the congress that was held fearlessly and spiritedly, although up to that time he had been counted among the king's partisans. Philip, disappointed in this great hope, enlisted a few volunteer soldiers and returned to Corinth and to the land of Attica. B.C. 200

XXVI. During this same period while Philip was in Achaëa, his prefect Philocles left Euboea with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians to plunder the territory of the Athenians in the region of Eleusis, and crossed the pass of Cithaeron. Sending half his force to plunder far and wide through the country, he with the rest made camp secretly in a suitable place for an ambushade, that, if an attack were made by the Eleusinians from the citadel upon his foragers, he might fall upon the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly as they were dispersed. His ambush did not go undetected. So recalling the troops that had gone forth to forage and forming them for battle, he set out for Eleusis to assault the citadel, but was repulsed from there with many casualties and joined Philip on his return from Achaëa. An attack on the same fortress was attempted by the king as well; but Roman ships arriving from the Piræus and the garrison admitted into the city compelled him to abandon his undertaking. The king then divided his army and sent Philocles to Athens with half of them and himself proceeding to Piræus, in the hope that while Philocles was keeping the Athenians within the city by approaching the walls and threatening an attack, the opportunity might be offered himself of taking Piræus, left with a small guard. But, with practically the same defenders, the capture

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sinis faciliior iisdem fere defendentibus oppugnatio
8 fuit. A Piraeo Athenas repente duxit. Inde erup-
tione subita peditum equitumque inter angustias
semirutu muri, qui brachiis duobus Piraeum Athenis
9 iungit, repulsus, ommissa oppugnatione urbis, diviso cum
Philocle rursus exercitu ad agros vastandos profectus,
cum priorem populationem sepulcris circa urbem
10 diruendis exercuisset, ne quid inviolatum relinqueret,
templa deum, quae pagatim sacrata habebant, dirui
11 atque incendi iussit; et ornata eo genere operum
eximie terra Attica et copia domestici marmoris et
ingeniis artificum praebuit huic furori materiam.
12 Neque enim diruere modo ipsa templa ac simulacra
evertere satis habuit, sed lapides quoque, ne integri
13 cumularent ruinas, frangi iussit. Et postquam non
tam ira erat satiata¹ quam irae exercendae materia
deerat, agro hostium in Boeotiam excessit nec aliud
quicquam dignum memoria in Graecia egit.

XXVII. Consul Sulpicius eo tempore inter Apol-
loniam ac Dyrrachium ad Apsum flumen habebat
castra, quo accessit L. Apustum legatum cum
parte copiarum ad depopulandos hostium fines
2 mittit. Apustus, extrema Macedoniae populatus,

¹ erat satiata *Siesbye* : satiata *B.*

¹ Themistocles had built a double wall from Athens to the harbour, but this had been partially destroyed during the Peloponnesian War and had not been maintained.

BOOK XXXI. xxvi. 7-xxvii. 2

of Piraeus was in no wise easier for him than that B.C. 200
of Eleusis. Suddenly he marched from Piraeus to Athens. Driven thence by a sudden sally of cavalry and infantry in the narrow space between the half-ruined walls ¹ which with their two arms join Piraeus and Athens, he gave up the attempt on the city and, again dividing his force with Philocles and setting out to plunder the country districts, while he had devoted his former raid to destroying the tombs around the city, that he might leave nothing inviolate, he ordered the temples of the gods which the Athenians had consecrated in all the demes to be torn down and burned; and the land of Attica, with its wonderful adornment of works of art and its abundance of native marble and the skill of its artists offered material for his rage. For he was not satisfied merely to destroy the temples and statues themselves, but even ordered the separate stones to be broken up, lest they be left whole upon the piles of ruins. And after his wrath, or rather objects on which to expend his wrath, had been exhausted, he retired from the enemy's country to Boeotia, and did nothing else worth mentioning in Greece.

XXVII. The consul Sulpicius ² was at that time encamped along the Apsus river between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, and summoning to him there his lieutenant Lucius Apustius he sent him with part of the troops to ravage the enemy's country. Apustius, having plundered the frontiers of Macedonia and having captured at the first assault the towns of

¹ The arrival of Sulpicius was recorded in xviii. 9, on which see the note. The events now described may belong to the end of the year 200 B.C. or, more probably, to the following spring.

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Corrhago et Gerrunio et Orgesso castellis primo impetu captis ad Antipatream, in faucibus angustis
 3 sitam urbem, venit. Ac primo evocatos principes ad colloquium, ut fidei Romanorum se committerent, perlicere est conatus; deinde, ubi magnitudine ac moenibus situque urbis freti dicta aspernabantur,
 4 vi atque armis adortus expugnavit puberibusque interfectis, praeda omni militibus concessa diruit
 5 muros atque urbem incendit. Hic metus Codrione, satis validum et munitum oppidum, sine certamine
 6 ut dederetur Romanis, effecit. Praesidio ibi relicto Cnidus—nomen propter alteram in Asia urbem quam oppidum notius—vi capitur. Revertentem legatum ad consulem cum satis magna praeda Athenagoras quidam, regius praefectus, in transitu fluminis a
 7 novissimo agmine adortus postremos turbavit. Ad quorum clamorem et trepidationem cum revector equo propere legatus signa convertisset et coniectis in medium sarcinis aciem derexisset, non tulere impetum Romanorum militum regii. Multi ex iis
 8 occisi, plures capti. Legatus incolumi exercitu reducto ad consulem remittitur inde extemplo ad classem.

XXVIII. Hac satis felici expeditione bello commisso reguli ac principes accolae Macedonum in castra Romana veniunt, Pleuratus Scerdilaedi filius et Amynander Athamanum rex et ex Dardanis Bato
 2 Longari filius. Bellum suo nomine Longarus cum Demetrio, Philippi patre, gesserat. Pollicentibus

Corrhagum, Gerronius and Orgessum, arrived at B.C. 200 Antipatrea, a city situated in a narrow pass. There he first summoned the leading men to a conference and tried to induce them to put themselves under Roman protection; then, when they scorned his suggestions, relying on the size and walls and site of the city, he stormed and captured it by force of arms and killing all the men of military age and giving the booty to the soldiers he tore down the walls and burned the city. Fear of a similar fate caused Codrio, a strong and well-fortified town, to be surrendered to the Romans without resistance. Leaving a garrison there, he took by storm Cnidus—a name better known than the town because of the other Cnidus in Asia. As the lieutenant was returning to the consul with a satisfactory amount of booty, Athenagoras, one of the king's prefects, attacked his rear while it was crossing a river and caused some confusion to his rearguard. The lieutenant, hastily riding back when he heard their shouts and uproar, faced the troops about and formed line of battle, placing the baggage in the centre, whereupon the king's soldiers did not withstand the Romans' charge. Many of them were killed and more captured. The lieutenant returned to the consul with his army intact and thence was at once sent back to the fleet.

XXVIII. The war having been begun with this sufficiently successful expedition, the petty kings and princes, neighbours to the Macedonians, came to the Roman camp; Pleuratus, son of Scerdilaedus, and Amynder, king of the Athamanes, and from the Dardani Bato, son of Longarus. Longarus on his own account had waged war with Demetrius, father of Philip. To their proffers of assistance, the consul

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auxilia respondit consul Dardanorum et Pleurati
 3 opera, cum exercitum in Macedoniam induceret, se
 usurum; Amynandro Aetolos concitandos ad bellum
 attribuit. Attali legatis—nam ii quoque per id
 tempus venerant—mandat ut Aeginae rex, ubi
 hibernabat, classem Romanam opperiretur, qua
 adiuncta bello maritimo, sicut ante, Philippum
 4 urgeret. Ad Rhodios quoque missi legati ut capes-
 serent partem belli. Nec Philippus segnius—iam
 enim in Macedoniam pervenerat—adparabat bellum.
 5 Filium Persea, puerum admodum, datis ex amicorum
 numero qui aetatem eius regerent, cum parte
 copiarum ad obsidendas angustias quae ad Pela-
 6 goniam sunt mittit. Sciathum et Peparethum, haud
 ignobiles urbes, ne classi hostium praedae ac praemio
 essent, diruit. Ad Aetolos mittit legatos, ne gens
 inquieta adventu Romanorum fidem mutaret.

XXIX. Concilium Aetolorum stata die, quod
 Panaetolium vocant, futurum erat. Huic ut occur-
 rerent, et regis legati iter adcelerarunt, et a consule
 2 missus L. Furius Purpurio legatus venit; Athenien-
 sium quoque legati ad id concilium occurrerunt.
 Primi Macedones, cum quibus recentissimum foedus
 3 erat, auditi sunt. Qui in¹ nulla nova re nihil se

¹ Qui in *Madvig*: qui *B*.

¹ The Aetolian League (see the Introductory Note) was in alliance with Philip, but its assistance was sought by both sides: see section 6 below. Its general policy is well presented in xxxii. 5 below.

² This council, attended by delegates from all the Aetolian cities, was regularly held in the autumn at Naupactus or Thermum.

replied that he would accept the aid of the Dardani B.C. 200 and Pleuratus when he led the army into Macedonia; to Amynder he assigned the task of winning the Aetolians¹ over for the war. To the ambassadors of Attalus—for they too had arrived at this time—he gave instructions that the king should await the Roman fleet at Aegina, where he was wintering, and uniting with it should continue as before the naval warfare on Philip. Ambassadors were sent to the Rhodians also, that they should take up their share in the war. Nor did Philip—for he had by now reached Macedonia—carry on less vigorously his preparations for the war. He sent his son Perseus, who was still a boy, with guardians from among his friends to guide his youth, with part of the troops to hold the passes which lead to Pelagonia. He destroyed Sciathus and Peparethus, cities not unknown to fame, to prevent their becoming prize and prey to the fleet of the enemy. He sent ambassadors to the Aetolians, lest that restless people should, on the arrival of the Romans, change its allegiance.

XXIX. The council of the Aetolians, which they call Panaetolian,² was to be held on the appointed day. To be present at it, both the king's representatives hastened their journey and Lucius Furius Purpurio³ the lieutenant, arrived, sent by the consul; ambassadors of the Athenians also came to this council. The Macedonians, with whom the latest treaty⁴ had been made, were first heard. They said that they had nothing new to say since

¹ If the name is correct, this is probably not the same Purpurio who is mentioned in chap. xxi.

² The Macedonian alliance in 205 B.C. (XXIX. xii. 2) superseded the treaty with Rome of 211 B.C. (XXVI. xxv. 1).

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novi habere quod adferrent dixerunt; quibus enim de causis experta inutili societate Romana pacem cum Philippo fecissent, compositam semel pacem servare
 4 eos debere. "An imitari" inquit unus ex legatis "Romanorum licentiam, an levitatem dicam, mavultis? Qui cum legatis vestris Romae responderi ita iussissent, 'Quid ad nos venitis, Aetoli, sine quorum auctoritate pacem cum Philippo fecistis?',
 5 iidem nunc ut bellum secum adversus Philippum geratis postulant; et antea propter vos et pro vobis arma sumpta adversus eum simulabant, nunc vos in
 6 pace esse cum Philippo prohibent. Messanae ut auxilio essent, primo in Siciliam transcenderunt; iterum, ut Syracusas oppressas ab Carthaginiensibus
 7 in libertatem eximerent; et Messanam et Syracusas et totam Siciliam ipsi habent vectigalemque pro-
 8 vinciam securibus et fascibus subiecerunt. Scilicet sicut vos Naupacti legibus vestris per magistratus a vobis creatos concilium habetis, socium hostemque libere quem velitis lecturi, pacem ac bellum arbitrio habituri vestro, sic Siculorum civitatibus Syracusas aut Messanam aut Lilybaeum indicitur concilium:
 9 praetor Romanus conventus agit; eo imperio evocati conveniunt; excelso in suggestu superba iura reddentem, stipatum lictoribus vident; virgae tergo, secures cervicibus imminet; et quotannis alium
 10 atque alium dominum sortiuntur. Nec id mirari debent aut possunt, cum Italiae urbes, Regium,

¹ The aid rendered to Messina brought on the First Punic War, as a result of which part of Sicily became a province, governed by magistrates whose servants carried the rods and axes as symbols of the *imperium*. The implication is that the assistance was merely the beginning of conquest. For Syracuse of. xxxi. 8 and note.

nothing new had happened; inasmuch as, for the same reasons for which they had made peace with Philip after trying the useless Roman alliance, they should wish to keep a peace once for all established. "Or do you prefer," said one of the ambassadors, "to imitate Roman presumption, or shall I call it fickleness? After ordering that your ambassadors at Rome should receive the answer, 'Why do you come to us, Aetolians, when without our authority you made peace with Philip?', these same Romans now demand that you make war on Philip along with them; as they formerly pretended that they had taken arms against him on your account and for your sakes, now they forbid you to be at peace with Philip. They crossed to Sicily first to assist Messina; the second time, to rescue and restore to liberty Syracuse, besieged by the Carthaginians; now they themselves hold both Messina and Syracuse and all Sicily and they have made it a province, tributary and subject to their rods and axes.¹ No doubt, just as you hold your council at Naupactus, under your own laws, with magistrates elected by yourselves, able to choose freely whomsoever you wish as friend and enemy, able to have peace or war at your own discretion, so a council of the Sicilian cities is called at Syracuse or Messina or Lilybaeum: the Roman praetor presides at the council; the men whom he has summoned by his authority assemble; they see him seated on his lofty platform, rendering haughty justice, with a throng of lictors around him; their rods threaten their backs, the axes their throats; and year by year the lots grant them one master after another. At that they should not marvel, nor can they, when they see the

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Tarentum, Capuam, ne finitimas quarum ruinis crevit urbs Roma nominem, eidem subiectas videant
11 imperio. Capua quidem, sepulcrum ac monumentum Campani populi, elato et extorri eiecto ipso populo, superest, urbs trunca, sine senatu, sine plebe, sine magistratibus, prodigium, relicta crudelius
12 habitanda quam si deiecta foret. Furor est si alienigenae homines, plus lingua et moribus et legibus quam maris terrarumque spatio discreti, haec tenuerint, sperare quicquam eodem statu mansurum.
13 Philippi regnum officere aliquid videtur libertati vestrae; qui, cum merito vestro vobis infensus esset, nihil a vobis ultra quam pacem petiit fidemque hodie
14 pacis pactae desiderat. Adsuefacite his terris legiones externas et iugum accipite; sero ac nequam, cum dominum Romanum habebitis, socium
15 Philippum quaeritis. Aetolos, Acarnanas, Macedonas, eiusdem linguae homines, leves ad tempus ortae causae diiungunt coniunguntque; cum alienigenis, cum barbaris aeternum omnibus Graecis bellum est eritque; natura enim, quae perpetua est,
16 non mutabilibus in diem causis hostes sunt. Sed unde coepit oratio mea, ibi desinet: hoc eodem loco iidem homines de eiusdem Philippi pace triennio ante decrevistis iisdem improbantibus eam pacem Romanis, qui nunc pactam et compositam turbare volunt. In qua consultatione nihil fortuna mutavit; cur vos mutetis non video."

XXX. Secundum Macedonas ipsis Romanis ita

¹ Probably the orator minimizes the time for rhetorical effect: the most recent known treaty was that of 205 B.C. (see note to sect. 2).

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Italian cities, Rhegium, Tarentum, Capua, subject to B.O. 200
the same rule, not to mention the nearer cities on whose ruins Rome rose to power. Capua indeed, tomb and monument of the Campanian race, survives, its people buried, exiled, driven away, a city despoiled, without senate, without people, without magistrates, a monstrosity, more cruelly left habitable than if it had been destroyed. It is madness to hope that anything will remain in the same condition if foreigners, separated from us more by language, manners and laws than by the space of land and sea, shall gain control. The rule of Philip seems to interfere somewhat with your liberty; but he, though he would justly be angry with you, has asked nothing from you except peace and to-day desires nothing but your loyalty to your pledge of peace. Make foreign armies at home in this land and wear their yoke: too late and all in vain will you call upon Philip to aid you when you have the Roman as master. The Aetolians, the Acarnanians, the Macedonians, men of the same speech, are united or disunited by trivial causes that arise from time to time; with aliens, with barbarians, all Greeks wage and will wage eternal war; for they are enemies by the will of nature, which is eternal, and not from reasons that change from day to day. But my speech shall end just where it began: in this same place you, the same men, decided three years¹ ago on peace with this same Philip, with the disapproval of these same Romans who are now trying to break the peace we pledged and signed. In this situation fortune has made no change; why you should change, I do not see."

XXX. After the Macedonians, with the permission

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concedentibus iubentibusque Athenienses, qui foeda
 passi iustius in crudelitatem saevitiamque regis
 2 invehi poterant, introducti sunt. Deploraverunt
 vastationem populationemque miserabilem agrorum:
 neque id se queri, quod hostilia ab hoste passi forent;
 esse enim quaedam belli iura, quae ut facere, ita
 3 pati sit fas: sata exuri, dirui tecta, praedas hominum
 pecorumque agi misera magis quam indigna patienti
 4 esse; verum enim vero id se queri, quod is qui
 Romanos alienigenas et barbaros vocet adeo omnia
 simul divina humanaque iura polluerit, ut priore
 populatione cum infernis deis, secunda cum superis
 5 bellum nefarium gesserit. Omnia sepulcra monu-
 mentaque diruta esse in finibus suis, omnium nudatos
 6 manes, nullius ossa terra tegi. Delubra sibi fuisse,
 quae quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis
 castellis vicisque consecrata ne in unam urbem qui-
 7 dem contributi maiores sui deserta reliquerint. Circa
 ea omnia templa Philippum infestos circumtulisse
 ignes; semusta, truncata simulacra deum inter
 8 prostratos iacere postes templorum. Qualem terram
 Atticam fecerit, exornatam quondam opulentamque,
 talem eum si liceat Aetoliam Graeciamque omnem
 9 facturum. Urbis quoque suae similem deformitatem
 futuram fuisse, nisi Romani subvenissent. Eodem
 enim scelere urbem colentes deos praesidemque
 arcis Minervam petitam, eodem Eleusine Cereris
 10 templum, eodem Piraei Iovem Minervamque; sed

¹ The unification (*συννοικισμός*) of the Attic demes into the city (*ἄστυ*) of Athens was traditionally ascribed to Theseus (Thucydides II. xv. 2) and assigned to the year 1259 B.C.

BOOK XXXI. xxx. 1-10

and indeed at the bidding of the Romans themselves, B.C. 200
the Athenians were brought in, who were able, having suffered dreadfully, to assail with greater reason the savageness and cruelty of the king. They lamented the devastation and miserable ruin of their land: they did not complain because they suffered the treatment of an enemy from an enemy, for there are certain laws of war which are legitimately to be experienced as well as practised: it is sad, rather than unjust to the sufferer, that crops be burned, homes be destroyed, men and animals driven off as booty; but they did, however, complain that he who calls the Romans aliens and barbarians had so polluted human and divine law alike that on his first raid he had waged impious war on the gods of the world below, on his second, with the gods above. All the tombs and monuments in their land had been destroyed, the shades of all the dead left naked, no man's bones left with their covering of earth. They had had shrines, which their ancestors dwelling in the country demes had once consecrated in their little villages and towns and which, even when united in one city,¹ they had not left deserted. About all these temples Philip had built his destroying fires; half-burned, mutilated images of gods lay amid the fallen portals of their shrines. The sort of land he had made of Attica, once so rich in art and treasure, such, if he were permitted, he would make of Aetolia and all Greece. Their city too would have suffered the same despoliation if the Romans had not come to its aid. For in the same criminal fashion the gods that keep the city and Athena, guardian of its citadel, had been attacked, so too the temple of Demeter at Eleusis, so Zeus and Athena at Piraeus; but, repulsed not only

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11 ab eorum non templis modo sed etiam moenibus vi atque armis repulsum in ea delubra, quae sola religione tuta fuerint, saevisse. Itaque se orare atque obsecrare Aetolos ut miseriti Atheniensium ducibus diis immortalibus, deinde Romanis, qui secundum deos plurimum possent, bellum susciperent.

XXXI. Tum Romanus legatus: " Totam orationis meae formam Macedones primum, deinde Athenienses mutarunt. Nam et Macedones, cum ad conquerendas Philippi iniurias in tot socias nobis urbes venissem, ultro accusando Romanos, defensionem ut accusatione potiolem haberem effecerunt, et Athenienses in deos inferos superosque nefanda atque inhumana scelera eius referendo quid mihi aut cuiquam reliquerunt, quod obicere ultra possim? Eadem haec Cianos, Abydenos, Aenios, Maronitas, Thasios, Parios, Samios, Larisenses, Messenios hinc ex Achaia existimate queri, graviora acerbioraque eos quibus nocendi maiorem facultatem habuit. Nam quod ad ea attinet quae nobis obiecit, nisi gloria digna sunt, fateor ea defendi non posse. Regium et Capuam et Syracusas nobis obiecit. Regium Pyrrhi bello legio a nobis Reginis ipsis ut mitteremus orantibus in praesidium missa urbem, ad quam defendendam missa erat, per scelus possedit. Comprobavimus ergo id facinus? An bello persecuti sceleratam legionem, in potestatem nostram re-

¹ The towns named in this list had all at one time or another suffered at Philip's hands. Furius maintains that Rome's treatment of Capua and other towns was kind and generous in comparison.

from their temples but also from the walls by force of B.C. 300 arms, he had spent his wrath on those shrines which were protected by a sense of reverence alone. They therefore begged and besought the Aetolians to pity the Athenians and under the leadership, first of the immortal gods, second of the Romans, who were next to the gods in power, to undertake the war.

XXXI. Then the Roman delegate spoke: "First the Macedonians, then the Athenians, have changed the whole tenor of my argument. For the Macedonians, when I had come to complain of the injuries inflicted by Philip upon so many states allied with us, by taking the lead in accusing the Romans, have caused me to prefer a defence of ourselves to an accusation of them, and when the Athenians have described his cruel and inhuman crimes against the gods above and below, what have they left for me or anyone else with which to reproach him further? Consider that these same complaints are made by the people of Cius,¹ Abydus, Aenus, Maronea, Thasos, Paros, Samos, Larisa, Messene here from Achaëa, and that those complaints are of more grievous and cruel treatment wherever he had greater power to do harm. For as to those matters with which he has charged us, unless they merit glory, I confess that they cannot be defended. He has reproached us with Rhegium and Capua and Syracuse. Take Rhegium: in the war with Pyrrhus a legion sent by us when the townspeople of Rhegium themselves begged us to send troops for their protection, criminally seized the city it was sent to guard. Did we, then, approve this crime? Or did we, making war upon the guilty legion and reducing it to submission, when we

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dactam, tergo et cervicibus poenas sociis pendere
 cum coegissemus, urbem agros suaque omnia cum
 8 libertate legibusque Reginis reddidimus? Syracu-
 sanis oppressis ab externis tyrannis, quo indignius
 esset, cum tulissemus opem et fatigati prope per
 triennium terra marique urbe munitissima oppug-
 nanda essemus, cum iam ipsi Syracusani servire
 tyrannis quam capi a nobis mallent, captam iisdem
 9 armis et liberatam urbem reddidimus. Neque
 infitias imus Siciliam provinciam nostram esse et
 civitates, quae in parte Carthaginensium fuerunt et
 uno animo cum illis adversus nos bellum gesserunt,
 stipendiarias nobis ac vectigales esse; quin contra
 hoc et vos et omnes gentes scire volumus, pro merito
 10 cuique erga nos fortunam esse. An Campanorum
 poenae, de qua ne ipsi quidem queri possunt, nos
 paeniteat? Hi homines, cum pro iis bellum adversus
 Samnites per annos prope septuaginta cum magnis
 11 nostris cladibus gessissemus, ipsos foedere primum,
 deinde conubio atque cognationibus, postremo
 12 civitate nobis coniunxissemus, tempore nostro adverso
 primi omnium Italiae populorum, praesidio nostro
 foede interfecto, ad Hannibalem defecerunt, deinde
 indignati se obsideri a nobis Hannibalem ad oppug-
 13 nandam Romam miserunt. Horum si neque urbs
 ipsa neque homo quisquam superesset, quis id durius

¹ After the death of Hieronymus, tyrant of Syracuse, Hippocrates and Epicydes, born in Carthage but descended on their father's side from a Syracusan exile, persuaded the Syracusans to join Carthage. After a three years' siege

had made it pay to the allies the penalty, with scourgings and beheadings, did we restore to the people of Rhegium their city, their lands and all their possessions along with their liberty and laws? When we had given aid to the Syracusans, oppressed by foreign tyrants, a thing which made their fate more pitiable, and when we had been worn out by besieging, for nearly three years, the city strongly fortified by land and sea, since now the Syracusans themselves preferred to be ruled by tyrants to being captured by us, we delivered to them a city taken and liberated by these same arms.¹ We do not deny that Sicily is our province and that the cities which were on the side of Carthage and in agreement with her made war on us are our vassals and tributaries; nay, on the contrary, we wish both you and all nations to know this, that each one's fortune is proportioned to his services to us. Or should we be ashamed of the punishment of the Campanians, of which not even they can complain? These people, when we had warred with the Samnites on their behalf for almost seventy years, with great losses to ourselves, and when after that we had bound them to us, first by treaty, then by intermarriages and personal ties, finally by the gift of citizenship, were the first of all the states of Italy who in our time of stress foully murdered our garrison and went over to Hannibal, and then, enraged because they were besieged by us, sent Hannibal to attack Rome. If neither their city nor any man of them survived, who could say

(214-212 B.C.) the city was taken by Marcellus. The Roman victory meant both the capture (*captam*) by the Romans and the liberation (*liberatam*) of the city from its "foreign tyrants" Hippocrates and Epicycles. See XXIV-XXV, *passim*.

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quam pro merito ipsorum statutum indignari posset?
 14 Plures sibi met ipsi conscientia scelerum mortem
 consciverunt, quam ab nobis supplicio adfecti sunt.
 15 Ceteris ita oppidum, ita agros ademimus ut agrum
 locumque ad habitandum daremus, urbem innoxiam
 stare incolumem pateremur, ut qui hodie videat eam
 nullum oppugnatae captaeque ibi vestigium inveniat.
 Sed quid ego Capuam dico, cum Carthagini victae
 16 pacem ac libertatem dederimus? Magis illud est
 periculum ne nimis facile victis ignoscendo plures ob
 id ipsum ad experiendam adversus nos fortunam belli
 17 incitemus. Haec pro nobis dicta sint,¹ haec adversus
 Philippum, cuius domestica parricidia et cognatorum
 amicorumque caedes et libidinem inhumaniorem
 prope quam crudelitatem vos, quo propiores Mace-
 18 doniae estis, melius nostis. Quod ad vos attinet,
 Aetoli, nos pro vobis bellum suscepimus adversus
 Philippum, vos sine nobis cum eo pacem fecistis.
 19 Et forsitan dicatis bello Punico occupatis nobis
 coactos metu vos leges pacis ab eo, qui tum plus
 poterat, accepisse; et nos, cum alia maiora urgerent,
 20 depositum a vobis bellum et ipsi omisimus. Nunc
 et nos deum benignitate Punico perfecto bello totis
 viribus nostris in Macedoniam incubuimus, et vobis
 restituendi vos in amicitiam societatemque nostram
 fortuna oblata est, nisi perire cum Philippo quam
 vincere cum Romanis mavultis."

XXXII. Haec dicta ab Romano cum essent, in-

¹ sint *Ascensius*: sunt *B.*

that they had been punished more severely than they themselves deserved? More of them, from consciousness of their guilt, committed suicide than were punished by us. From the rest we did indeed take away their town and their fields, but in such a way that we left them enough land and room to dwell in, and we permitted the city itself to stand safe and uninjured, so that he who sees it to-day finds no sign of its assault and capture. But why do I mention Capua, when we gave peace and liberty to conquered Carthage? This is the greater danger, that by treating the vanquished too generously we may thereby incite more peoples to try the fortune of war against us. Let this be our defence of ourselves and our answer to Philip, whose murders within his family, whose slaughterings of friends and relatives, whose passions, more unnatural almost than his cruelty, you know better than I, as you are nearer neighbours to Macedonia. So far as you are concerned, men of Aetolia, we undertook the war with Philip for you and you made peace with him without us. And perhaps you will argue that when we were busy with the Punic war, you, compelled by fear, received terms of peace from him who was at that time more powerful; and that we, in the press of greater matters, ourselves neglected the war which you abandoned. But now, by the grace of the gods, having finished the Punic war, we have addressed ourselves with all our energy to Macedonia, and to you, accordingly, is offered the opportunity of reinstating yourselves in our alliance and friendship, unless you prefer perishing with Philip to conquering with the Romans."

XXXII. After this had been said by the Roman

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clinatis omnium animis ad Romanos, Damocritus, praetor Aetolorum, pecunia ut fama est ab rege
 2 accepta, nihil aut huic aut illi parti adsensus, rem
 magni discriminis consiliis nullam esse tam inimicam
 quam celeritatem dixit; celerem enim paenitentiam,
 sed eandem¹ seram atque inutilem sequi, cum
 praecipitata raptim consilia neque revocari neque
 3 in integrum restitui possint. Deliberationis eius,
 cuius ipse maturitatem expectandam putaret, tempus
 ita iam nunc statui posse: cum legibus cautum esset
 nec de pace belloque nisi in Panaetolico et Pylaico²
 4 concilio ageretur, decernerent extemplo ut praetor
 sine fraude, cum de bello et pace agere velit, advocet
 concilium, et quod tum referatur decernaturque ut
 perinde ius ratumque sit³ ac si in Panaetolico aut
 5 Pylaico concilio actum esset. Dimissis ita suspensa
 re legatis egregie consultum genti aiebat: nam
 utrius partis melior fortuna belli esset, ad eius
 societatem inclinatueros. Haec in concilio Aetolorum
 acta.

XXXIII. Philippus impigre terra marique parabat
 bellum. Navales copias Demetriadem in Thessaliam
 2 contrahebat; Attalum Romanamque classem princi-
 pio veris ab Aegina ratus moturos, navibus mariti-

¹ sed eandem *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: setandem *B.*

² Pylaico *Gelenius*: pyraea *B*: pyraeo *B*².

³ ratumque sit *ed. Mediolanensis* 1505: ratumque *B.*

¹ This is probably the other stated meeting of the League, but this name is not used elsewhere in this connection. Possibly, as Professor Capps suggests to me, the Pylaic meeting was that of the Amphictyonic Council, now

commissioner, and the opinions of all were turning B.C. 200 toward the Romans, Damocritus, chief of the Aetolians, bribed—so men say—by the king, argued, not agreeing in any way with either side, that nothing was so inconsistent with wisdom in a great crisis as haste; for repentance, swift yet none the less late and unavailing, followed, when hastily-formed plans could not be recalled or annulled. The time for making the decision, the ripe moment for which should, in his judgment, be awaited, could be fixed even now: since it was provided by the laws that questions concerning peace or war should not be debated except at the Panaetolian and Pylaic¹ council, they should at once decree that the praetor should call a council, in good faith, when he wished to discuss the question of peace or war, and that whatever was then proposed and decreed should be valid and legal just as if determined at a Panaetolian or Pylaic session.² The ambassadors being thus dismissed with the decision hanging in the balance, he said that this was wise conduct for the League: for whichever side enjoyed the better fortune of war, to an alliance with that side they would turn. Such were the proceedings of the Aetolian council.

XXXIII. Philip was energetically preparing for war on land and sea. He assembled his navy at Demetrias in Thessaly; expecting that Attalus and the Roman fleet would move from Aegina in the

dominated by Aetolia, at Thermopylae; one expects, however, action by an Aetolian and not by an Amphictyonic agency. Cf. XXXIII. xxxv. 8.

² Damocritus seems to propose that the council adjourn to meet on call, and that this adjourned meeting be regarded as a continuation of the regular meeting, and that the "laws" of the League be stretched to this extent.

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maeque orae praefecit Heraclidam, quem et ante
 3 praefecerat; ipse terrestres copias comparabat,
 magna se duo auxilia Romanis detraxisse credens, ex
 una parte Aetolos, ex altera Dardanos, faucibus ad
 4 Pelagoniam a filio Perseo interclusis. Ab consule
 non parabatur sed gerebatur iam bellum. Per
 Dassaretiorum fines exercitum ducebat, frumentum,
 quod ex hibernis extulerat, integrum vehens, quod
 5 in usum militi satis esset praebentibus agris. Oppida
 vicique partim voluntate, partim metu se tradebant;
 quaedam vi expugnata, quaedam deserta in montes
 propinquos refugientibus barbaris inveniebantur.
 6 Ad Lyncum stativa posuit prope flumen Bevum; inde
 frumentatum circa horrea Dassaretiorum mittebat.
 Philippus consternata quidem omnia circa pavoremque
 ingentem hominum cernebat, sed parum gnarus
 quam partem petisset consul, aliam equitum ad
 explorandum quonam hostes iter intendissent misit.
 7 Idem error apud consulem erat; movisse ex hibernis
 regem sciebat, quam regionem petisset ignorans.
 8 Is quoque speculatum miserat equites. Hae duae
 alae ex diverso, cum diu incertis itineribus vagatae
 per Dassaretios essent, tandem in unum iter con-
 venerunt. Neutros fefellit, ut fremitus procul
 hominum equorumque exauditus est, hostes appro-
 pinquare. Itaque priusquam in conspectum veni-
 rent, equos armaque expedierant; nec mora, ubi

¹ Livy here resumes the narrative interrupted at xxviii. 6 above.

beginning of spring, he placed Heraclides, to whom B.C. 200 he had previously given the same post, in command of the fleet and the coast; he himself collected the land forces, thinking that he had detached from the Romans two powerful allies, the Aetolians on one side, the Dardani on the other, since the passes to Pelagonia were held by his son Perseus. The consul was not preparing, but actually waging, war.¹ He was leading the army through the territory of the Dassaretii, carrying with him untouched the grain he had brought from winter quarters, since the country supplied adequately the needs of the soldiers. The forts and towns surrendered, some voluntarily, others through fear; some were carried by assault, some were found abandoned as the barbarians fled to the neighbouring mountains. He established a base near Lyncus on the river Bevus; from there he sent troops to forage among the granaries of the Dassaretii. Philip, it is true, saw that everything round about was in confusion and that the people were greatly terrified, but not knowing in which direction the consul had marched, he sent a squadron of cavalry to ascertain where the enemy had gone. The consul was equally at a loss; he knew that the king had left his winter quarters, though ignorant of the region to which he had marched. He too sent out cavalry to scout. These two cavalry forces, coming from different directions, after they had wandered long and aimlessly over the roads in the land of the Dassaretii, finally met on the same highway. Neither was unaware, since they heard the sound of men and horses from far off, that the enemy was approaching. So, before they came in sight of one another, they had prepared horses and arms for

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9 primum hostem videre, concurrenti facta est. Forte
et numero et virtute, utpote lecti utrimque, haud
impares, aequis viribus per aliquot horas pugnarunt.
Fatigatio ipsorum equorumque incerta victoria
10 diremit proelium. Macedonum quadraginta equites,
Romanorum quinque et triginta ceciderunt. Neque
eo magis explorati quicquam, in qua regione castra
hostium essent, aut illi ad regem aut hi ad consulem
11 rettulerunt; per transfugas cognitum est, quos
levitas ingeniorum ad cognoscendas hostium res in
omnibus bellis praebet.

XXXIV. Philippus aliquid et ad caritatem suorum
et ut promptius pro eo periculum adirent ratus
2 profecturum se, si equitum qui ceciderant in expedi-
tione sepeliendorum curam habuisset, adferri eos in
castra iussit, ut conspiceretur ab omnibus funeris
3 honos. Nihil tam incertum nec tam inaestimabile
est quam animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad
subeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur facturum,
4 id metum pigritiamque incussit; nam qui hastis
sagittisque et rara lanceis facta vulnera vidissent,
cum Graecis Illyriisque pugnare adsueti, postquam
gladio Hispaniensi detruncata corpora, brachiis cum
humero abscisis, aut tota cervice desecta divisa a
corpore capita patentiaque viscera et foeditatem
5 aliam vulnerum viderunt, adversus quae tela quosque
viros pugnandum foret, pavidi vulgo cernebant.
Ipsam quoque regem terror cepit nondum iusto
6 proelio cum Romanis congressum. Itaque revocato

¹ The long and heavy sabre, adapted to slashing blows, carried by Roman cavalry: cf. Dion. Hal. VIII. 67. The short infantry weapon, used for both cutting and thrusting, was called *gladius Hispanus* in XXII. xlv. 5.

battle, nor was there any delay in charging as soon B.C. 200 as the enemy came in sight. Not unequal, as it chanced, in either numbers or courage, since both consisted of picked men, they fought on equal terms for some hours. The weariness of men and horses ended the struggle without a decision in favour of either party. Of the Macedonians, forty troopers fell; of the Romans, thirty-five. Nor did either side, the king's or the consul's, have to report any more definite information as to where the enemy's camp lay; but this information was secured through deserters, whom in every war their fickleness causes to furnish information to the enemy.

XXXIV. Philip, thinking that he would do something to secure the affection of his people and increase their readiness to encounter danger on his behalf if he undertook the burial of the cavalrymen who had fallen on the expedition, ordered their bodies brought into camp, that the funeral honour might be seen by all. Nothing is so uncertain or so unpredictable as the mental reaction of a crowd. What he thought would make them more ready to enter any conflict caused, instead, reluctance and fear; for men who had seen the wounds dealt by javelins and arrows and occasionally by lances, since they were used to fighting with the Greeks and Illyrians, when they had seen bodies chopped to pieces by the Spanish sword,¹ arms torn away, shoulders and all, or heads separated from bodies, with the necks completely severed, or vitals laid open, and the other fearful wounds, realized in a general panic with what weapons and what men they had to fight. Fear seized the king as well, who had never met the Romans in ordered combat. So, recalling his son

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filio praesidioque, quod in faucibus Pelagoniae erat, ut iis copiis suas augeret, Pleurato Dardanisque iter
7 in Macedoniam patefecit. Ipse cum viginti milibus peditum, duobus milibus equitum, ducibus transfugis ad hostem profectus paulo plus mille passus a castris Romanis tumulum propinquum Athaco¹ fossa ac
8 valle communivit; ac subiecta cernens Romana castra, admiratus esse dicitur et universam speciem castrorum et discripta suis quaeque partibus cum tendentium ordine tum itinerum intervallis et negasse barbarorum ea castra ulli videri posse.
9 Biduum consul et rex, alter alterius conatus expectantes, continuere suos intra vallum; tertio die Romanus omnes in aciem copias eduxit.

XXXV. Rex² tam celerem aleam universi certaminis timens, quadringentos Tralles—Illyriorum id, sicut alio diximus loco, est genus—et Cretenses trecentos, addito his peditibus pari numero equitum, cum duce Athenagora, uno ex purpuratis, ad laces-
2 sendos hostium equites misit. Ab Romanis autem—aberat acies eorum paulo plus quingentos passus—velites et equitum duae ferme alae emissae, ut numero quoque eques pedesque hostem aequarent.
3 Credere regii genus pugnae quo adsueverant fore, ut equites in vicem insequentes refugientesque nunc telis uterentur, nunc terga darent, Illyriorum velocitas ad excursiones et impetus subitos usui

¹ Athaco *edd.*: Achaco (Achaeo) ζ : *om.* B.

² rex *edd. vett.*: rex non B: rex uero ζ .

¹ Cf. XXVII. xxxii. 4.

and the guard which was at the passes to Pelagonia, B.C. 200
 that he might increase his own strength with these forces, he opened to Pleuratus and the Dardani the road into Macedonia. Using deserters as guides, he himself marched towards the enemy with twenty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and fortified with a wall and ditch a hill near Athacus, a little more than a mile from the Roman camp, and seeing the Roman camp which lay at his feet, it is said that he admired its whole arrangement and each section allotted its own place, with the rows of tents and also the well-spaced streets between, and that he remarked that no one could believe that that camp belonged to barbarians. For two days the consul and the king remained in camp, each waiting for the other to assume the offensive; on the third day the Roman led out all his forces to the battleground.

XXXV. The king, fearing the gamble of a decisive battle at this early moment, sent four hundred Tralles—a people of Illyria, as I have elsewhere¹ said—and three hundred Cretans, adding to the infantry an equal number of cavalry under command of Athenagoras, one of his nobles, to harass the Roman cavalry. The Romans, on the other hand—their battle-line was a little more than half a mile away—sent out skirmishers and about two squadrons of cavalry, that the infantry and cavalry might equal the enemy in number also. The king's forces assumed that the type of fighting would be that to which they were accustomed, that the cavalry, alternately advancing and retreating, would now discharge their weapons and now retire, that the swift movements of the Illyrians would be useful for sallies and sudden

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esset, Cretenses in invehentem se effuse hostem
 4 sagittas conicerent. Turbavit hunc ordinem pug-
 nandi non acrior quam pertinacior impetus Roman-
 5 orum; nam haud secus quam si tota acie dimicarent,
 et velites emissis hastis comminus gladiis rem-
 gerebant, et equites, ut semel in hostem eveci sunt,
 stantibus equis, partim ex ipsis equis, partim desilientes
 6 immiscentesque se peditibus pugnabant. Ita nec
 eques regius equiti par erat, insuetus ad stabilem
 pugnam, nec pedes concursator et vagus et prope
 seminudus genere armorum veliti Romano parmam
 gladiumque habenti pariterque et ad se tuendum et
 7 ad hostem petendum armato. Non tulere itaque
 dimicationem nec alia re quam velocitate tutantes se
 in castra refugerunt.

XXXVI. Uno deinde intermisso die, cum omnibus
 copiis equitum levisque armorum pugnaturus rex
 esset, nocte caetratos quos peltastas vocant loco
 opportuno inter bina castra in insidiis abdiderat
 2 praeceperatque Athenagorae et equitibus ut, si
 aperto proelio procederet res, uterentur fortuna, si
 minus, cedendo sensim ad insidiarum locum hostem
 3 pertraherent. Et equitatus quidem cessit, duces
 caetratae cohortis non satis expectato signo ante
 tempus excitatis suis occasionem bene gerendae rei
 amisere. Romanus et aperto proelio victor et tutus
 a fraude insidiarum in castra sese recepit.

4 Postero die consul omnibus copiis in aciem descendit

¹ The *caetra* was a small, light shield (cf. *πέλιτη*).

charges, and that the Cretans would shower arrows B.C. 200 upon the enemy advancing in disorder. The Roman attack, no more vigorous than stubborn, prevented the carrying out of this plan; for just as if they were in regular line of battle, both the skirmishers, after hurling their spears, came to a hand-to-hand combat with their swords, and the cavalry, as soon as they had charged the enemy, stopping their horses either fought from horseback or leaped from their saddles and fought mingled with the footmen. So neither the king's cavalry, unused to a stationary battle, could stand against the Romans, nor his infantry, running to and fro and almost unprotected by armour, against the light-armed Romans, equipped with shield and sword and prepared alike for defence or offence. So they did not sustain the struggle, but relying on nothing else than their swiftness of foot they fled to the camp.

XXXVI. Then, after an interval of a day, when the king was determined to engage with all his cavalry and light infantry, he had concealed his targeteers,¹ those whom they call "peltasts," in ambush in a suitable place between the two camps, and had instructed Athenagoras and the cavalry that if things went well in the open battle they should exploit their advantage, but if not, they should by retiring gradually draw the enemy towards the place of ambush. And the cavalry did in fact retire, but the commanders of the peltasts, not waiting long enough for the signal and disclosing their forces prematurely, lost the opportunity for a victory. The Roman, both successful in the open battle and safe from the ambushade, returned to camp.

Next day the consul led out all his army in battle-

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ante prima signa locatis elephantis, quo auxilio tum
 primum Romani, quia captos aliquot bello Punico
 5 habebant, usi sunt. Ubi latentem intra vallum
 hostem vidit, in tumulos quoque ac sub ipsum vallum
 exprobrans metum successit. Postquam ne tum
 quidem potestas pugnandi dabatur, quia ex tam
 propinquis stativis parum tuta frumentatio erat,
 dispersos milites per agros equitibus extemplo
 6 invasuris, octo fere inde milia, intervallo tutiorem
 frumentationem habiturus, castra ad Ottolobum—id
 7 est loco nomen—movit. Cum in propinquo agro
 frumentarentur Romani, primo rex intra vallum suos
 tenuit, ut cresceret simul negligentia¹ cum audacia
 8 hosti. Ubi effusos vidit, cum omni equitatu et
 Cretensium auxiliaribus, quantum equitem velocis-
 simi pedites cursu aequare poterant, citato profectus
 agmine inter castra Romana et frumentatores con-
 9 stituit signa. Inde copiis divisis partem ad consec-
 tandos vagos frumentatores emisit dato signo ne quem
 vivum relinquerent, cum parte ipse substitit itinera-
 que quibus ad castra recursuri videbantur hostes,
 10 obsedit. Iam passim caedes ac fuga erat, necdum
 quisquam in castra Romana nuntius cladis perve-
 nerat, quia refugientes in regiam stationem incide-
 11 bant, et plures ab obsidentibus vias quam ab emissis
 ad caedem interficiebantur. Tandem inter medias

¹ negligentia *Ussing* : et negligentia *B*.

¹ The sites described in these chapters cannot be positively identified.

line, placing in front of the ranks his elephants, an auxiliary which the Romans then used for the first time, because they had some which they had taken in the Punic war. When he saw the enemy lurking behind his ramparts, he advanced to the hills and even against the wall itself, taunting him with being afraid. When he could not even then gain the opportunity to fight, since foraging was unsafe because his base was so close to that of the enemy, the cavalry being ready at any moment to attack the soldiers scattered through the fields, he moved his camp about eight miles from there to Otlobum—so they call the place—that he might provision himself more safely because of the distance.¹ While the Romans were gathering grain in the neighbouring fields, the king at first kept his men within the camp, that carelessness might increase in the enemy along with boldness. When he saw them well scattered, he set out with all his cavalry and the Cretan auxiliaries, in so far as these fast-moving infantrymen could keep up with the cavalry, and marching at full speed set up his standards between the Roman camp and the foragers. Then, dividing his forces, he sent part to pursue the scattered foragers, giving the word to leave no man alive, and himself with the remainder stood and blocked the roads by which the enemy seemed likely to return to camp. Now there was slaughter and flight everywhere, nor had any news of the disaster yet reached the Roman camp, because the fugitives fell in with the king's patrols, and more were killed by the men who blocked the roads than by those who were sent out to destroy them. Finally, however, some of them slipped through the line of enemy

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hostium stationes elapsi quidam trepidi tumultum magis quam certum nuntium intulerunt castris.

XXXVII. Consul equitibus iussis, qua quisque posset, opem ferre laborantibus ipse legiones e castris educit et agmine quadrato ad hostem ducit.

2 Dispersi equites per agros quidam aberrarunt decepti clamoribus aliis ex alio existentibus loco, pars obvios

3 habuerunt hostes. Pluribus locis simul pugna coepit. Regia statio atrocissimum proelium edebat; nam et ipsa multitudine equitum peditumque prope iusta acies erat, et Romanorum, quia medium obsederat

4 iter, plurimi in eam inferebantur. Eo quoque superiores Macedones erant, quod et rex ipse hortator aderat, et Cretensium auxiliares multos ex improvise vulnerabant, conferti praeparatique in dispersos et

5 effusos pugnantes. Quod si modum in insequendo habuissent, non in praesentis modo certaminis gloriam sed in summam etiam belli profectum foret;

6 nunc aviditate caedis intemperantius secuti in praegressas cum tribunis militum cohortes Romanas

7 incidere, et fugiens eques, ut primo signa suorum vidit, convertit in effusum hostem equos, versaque momento temporis fortuna pugnae est terga dantibus

8 qui modo secuti erant. Multi comminus congressi, multi fugientes interfecti; nec ferro tantum periire, sed in paludes quidam coniecti profundo limo cum

9 ipsis equis hausti sunt. Rex quoque in periculo fuit; nam ruente saucio equo praeceps ad terram datus,

guards and in their panic brought confused rumours B. C. 200
rather than definite news to the camp.

XXXVII. The consul sent the cavalry to aid the harassed in any way they could, and himself led out the legions from the camp and forming a hollow square marched towards the enemy. Some of the cavalry wandered aimlessly about the country, misled by the shouts that rose from this place and that, others met the enemy face to face. The battle began in several places at once. The royal guard put up the stiffest fight, for by reason of the number of infantry and cavalry it was practically a regular battle and most of the Romans encountered them, since they blocked the central road. In this too the Macedonians had the advantage, because the king himself was there to urge them on, and the Cretan auxiliaries dealt many unexpected wounds, fighting in close array and according to plan against men who were scattered and not in formation. But if they had observed discretion in the pursuit, it would have meant not only success in the present engagement, but final victory in the war as well; as it was, in their greed for slaughter, following too incautiously, they met the Roman cohorts advancing under command of the tribunes, and the fleeing cavalry, as soon as they saw the standards of their friends, faced about and attacked the disordered enemy, and in a moment, the tide of battle turning, the pursuers became the pursued. Many were struck down in hand-to-hand fight, many killed in flight; and they died not by the sword alone, but some of them were swallowed up, horses and all, when they became entangled in the swamps. Even the king was in danger; for, thrown headlong to the ground when

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10 haud multum afuit quin iacens opprimeretur. Saluti
fuit eques, qui raptim ipse desiluit pavidumque
regem in equum subiecit; ipse, cum pedes aequare
cursu fugientes non posset equites, ab hostibus ad
11 casum regis concitatis confossus perit. Rex circum-
vectus paludes per vias inviaque¹ trepida fuga in
castra tandem, iam desperantibus plerisque in-
12 columem evasurum, pervenit. Ducenti Macedonum
equites eo proelio periere, centum ferme capti;
octoginta admodum ornati equi spoliis simul armorum
relatis abducti.

XXXVIII. Fuere qui hoc die regem temeritatis,
consulem segnitiae accusarent: nam et Philippo
quiescendum fuisse, cum paucis diebus hostes
exhausto circa omni agro ad ultimum inopiae venturos
2 sciret, et consulem, cum equitatum hostium levemque
armaturam fudisset ac prope regem ipsum cepisset,
3 protinus ad castra hostium ducere debuisse; nec
enim mansuros ita percussos hostes fuisse, debellarique
momento temporis potuisse. Id dictu quam re,
4 ut pleraque, facilius erat. Nam si omnibus peditum
quoque copiis congressus rex fuisset, forsitan inter
tumultum, cum omnes victi metuque percussi ex
proelio intra vallum, protinus inde supervadentem
munimenta victorem hostem fugerent, exui castris
5 potuerit rex; cum vero integrae copiae peditum in
castris mansissent, stationes ante portas praesidiaque

¹ per vias inviaque *Drakenborch*: per vias inuiasque *B.*

his wounded horse fell, he narrowly escaped being trampled to death. A trooper saved him, who quickly leaped down and lifted the terrified king to the back of his own horse; he himself, since on foot he could not equal the speed of the fleeing cavalry, perished, struck down by the cavalry who rushed up at the fall of the king. The king, riding about the marshes over roads and blind paths in full flight, came at length to his camp, when nearly all had given up hope of his safe return. Two hundred of the Macedonian cavalry fell in this battle, and about one hundred were captured; about eighty horses, with their trappings, some spoils of weapons being also recovered among the booty, were driven off.

XXXVIII. There have been some who accused the king of rashness and others the consul of lack of energy on that day: Philip, they said, should have remained quiet, knowing that in a few days the enemy would be reduced to extreme need by the consumption of all the grain in the adjacent country, while the consul, after routing the enemy's cavalry and light infantry and almost capturing the king himself, should have immediately attacked the enemy's camp; for the enemy, dismayed as they were, would not have awaited his onslaught, and the war could have been finished at one stroke. This, as usual, was easier to say than to do. For if the king had made his attack with all his infantry in addition, perhaps in the confusion, when they were all rushing, beaten and panic-stricken, from the battle-field into the camp, if they had at once fled before a conquering foe that was overrunning the defences, the king might have been driven from his camp; but since his entire infantry had remained in camp, with outposts

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disposita essent, quid, nisi ut temeritatem regis,¹
 effuse paulo ante secuti percussos equites, imitaretur,
 6 profecisset? Neque enim ne regis quidem primum
 consilium, quo impetum in frumentatores palatos per
 agros fecit, reprehendendum foret, si modum pros-
 7 perae pugnae imposuisset. Eo quoque minus est
 mirum temptasse eum fortunam, quod fama erat
 Pleuratum Dardanosque ingentibus copiis profectos
 8 domo iam in Macedoniam transcendisse; quibus si
 undique circumventus copiis foret, sedentem
 9 Romanum debellaturum credi poterat. Itaque se-
 cundum duas adversas equestres pugnas multo minus
 tutam moram in iisdem stativis fore Philippus ratus,
 cum abire inde et fallere abiens hostem vellet,
 caduceatore sub occasum solis misso ad consulem,
 10 qui indutias ad sepeliendos equites peteret, frustratus
 hostem secunda vigilia multis ignibus per tota castra
 relictis silenti agmine abit.

XXXIX. Corpus iam curabat consul cum venisse
 caduceatorem et quid venisset nuntiatum est.
 2 Responso tantum dato mane postero die fore copiam
 conveniendi, id quod quaesitum erat, nox dieique
 insequentis pars ad praecipendum iter Philippo data
 est. Montes, quam viam non ingressurum gravi
 3 agmine Romanum sciebat, petit. Consul prima luce
 caduceatore datis indutiis dimisso haud ita multo
 post abisse hostem cum sensisset, ignarus qua
 sequeretur, iisdem stativis frumentando dies aliquot
 4 consumpsit. Stuberram deinde petit atque ex

¹ regis *edd.* : *om.* B.

and patrols stationed before the gates, what could he have accomplished, except to imitate the rashness of the king, who had a little before pursued the scattered and fleeing cavalry? Nor would there be any criticism even of the king's original plan, of attacking the foragers scattered over the fields, had he limited his objective to success in this attack. It is less strange, too, that he tempted fortune in this way, because there was a report that Pleuratus and the Dardani had already left home with great forces and had invaded Macedonia; and if he were surrounded by these encircling forces, it might well be believed that the Roman could end the war by sitting still. So Philip, thinking it far less safe to remain in the same camp after two cavalry defeats, wanting to withdraw from there and to escape detection while so doing, at sunset sent a herald to the consul to ask a truce for burying the cavalrymen, and eluding the enemy stole away silently during the second watch, leaving numerous fires burning throughout the camp.

XXXIX. The consul was engaged in refreshing himself at the time it was announced that the herald had come and why he had come. Replying merely that in the morning there would be opportunity for a conference, he gave Philip what he sought, the chance to retire rapidly during the night and a part of the next day. He made for the mountains, choosing a road which he knew the Roman, with his heavy-armed column, would not take. At daybreak the consul sent the herald away after granting the truce, and when he learned, no long time later, that the enemy had gone, not knowing where to pursue him, he spent some days in the same camp while gathering supplies. Thence he marched to Stuberra and

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Pelagonia frumentum quod in agris erat convexit. Inde ad Pluinnam est progressus, nondum comperto
 5 quam regionem hostes petissent. Philippus cum primo ad Bruanium stativa habuisset, profectus inde transversis limitibus terrorem praebuit subitum hosti. Movere itaque ex Pluinna Romani et ad
 6 Oosphagum flumen posuerunt castra. Rex haud procul inde et ipse vallo super ripam amnis ducto—
 7 Erigonum incolae vocant—consedit. Inde satis comperto Eordaeam petituros Romanos, ad occupandas angustias, ne superare hostes artis faucibus inclusum
 8 aditum possent, praecessit. Ibi alia vallo, alia fossa, alia lapidum congerie, ut pro muro essent, alia arboribus obiectis, ut aut locus postulabat aut
 9 materia suppeditabat, propere¹ permuniit atque, ut ipse rebatur, viam suapte natura difficilem obiectis per omnes transitus operibus inexpugnabilem fecit.
 10 Erant pleraque silvestria circa, incommoda phalangi maxime Macedonum, quae nisi ubi praelongis hastis velut vallum ante clipeos obiecit, quod ut fiat libero
 11 campo opus est, nullius admodum usus est. Thracas quoque rumpiae, ingentis et ipsae longitudinis, inter
 12 obiectos undique ramos impediabant. Cretensium una cohors non inutilis erat; sed ea quoque ipsa, ut, si quis impetum faceret, in patentem vulneri equum equitemque sagittas conicere poterat, ita adversus scuta Romana nec ad traiciendum satis magnam vim habebat, nec aperti quicquam erat quod peterent.

¹ propere *Voss*: opere *B.*

¹ For the formation and battle tactics of the phalanx, and its advantages and disadvantages as compared with the more mobile Roman legion, see Polyb. XVIII. xxviii-xxxii. incl. Livy's account, while less explicit and detailed, is consistent with that of Polybius.

brought there from Pelagonia the grain which was in B.C. 200
the fields. He then marched to Pluinna, still ignorant as to where the enemy had gone. When Philip had established a base near Bruanium, marching from there across country he inspired sudden terror in the enemy. On that account the Romans moved from Pluinna and encamped on the Osphagus river. The king also pitched camp not far away, throwing up a rampart along the bank of a river—the natives call it Erigonus. Then, feeling certain that the Romans would move toward Eordaea, he hurried forward to gain the pass, that the Romans might not force the road, which was closed by the narrow entrance. There he threw up hasty fortifications, using sometimes a rampart, sometimes a ditch, sometimes piles of stones to serve as a wall, sometimes cut-down trees, as the nature of the terrain and the material at hand permitted, and, as he thought, rendered a road which was already naturally difficult impassable by the obstacles which he placed in all the open places. There were many forests in the neighbourhood, a great hindrance to the Macedonian phalanx,¹ which was of absolutely no use except where it could thrust, so to speak, a rampart in front of the shields with its very long spears, and for this purpose they needed open country. The Thracians too were impeded by their lances, which were likewise of great length, among the branches which projected in every direction. Only the Cretan contingent was of much service, but even they, since they could only, if there was an attack, direct their arrows against unprotected horses and riders, so against the Roman shields they lacked the power of penetration, and there were left no unexposed parts at which they could aim.

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13 Itaque id ut vanum teli genus senserunt esse, saxis
passim tota valle iacentibus incessebant hostem. Ea
maiore cum sonitu quam vulnere ullo pulsatio scu-
14 torum parumper succedentes Romanos tenuit. De-
inde, iis quoque spretis, partim testudine facta per
adversos vadunt hostes, partim brevi circuitu cum in
15 iugum collis evasissent, trepidos ex praesidiis stationi-
busque Macedonas deturbant et, ut in locis impeditis
difficili fuga, plerosque etiam obtruncant.

XL. Ita angustiae minore certamine quam quod
animis proposuerant superatae et in Eordaeam
perventum, ubi pervastatis passim agris in Elimiam
consul se¹ recepit. Inde impetum in Orestidem
facit et oppidum Celetrum est adgressus in paene
2 insula situm; lacus moenia cingit; angustis faucibus
unum ex continenti iter est. Primo situ ipso freti
3 clausis portis abnuere imperium; deinde, postquam
signa ferri ac testudine succedi ad portam obsessasque
fauces agmine hostium viderunt, priusquam experi-
4 rentur certamen metu in deditionem venerunt. Ab
Celetro in Dassaretios processit urbemque Pelion
vi cepit. Servitia inde cum cetera praeda abduxit
et libera capita sine pretio dimisit oppidumque iis
5 reddidit praesidio valido imposito; nam et sita
opportune urbs erat ad impetus in Macedoniam
6 faciendos. Ita peragratis hostium agris consul in

¹ consul se *Harant* : se *B.*

¹ An attack formation, in which overlapping shields, held above the heads and at the sides of the soldiers, offered protection to the men inside.

And so, when they perceived that weapons of this kind were ineffective, they harassed the enemy with the stones which lay everywhere through the whole valley. The clash of these against the shields, causing more noise than damage, delayed the advancing Romans for a little while. Then, scorning these also, part of the Romans, forming a *testudo*,¹ advanced in face of the enemy, while others, gaining the saddle by a short detour, dislodged the terrified Macedonians from their strong points and outposts, and even killed some of them, since flight was slow in the difficult country. B.C. 200

XL. So the pass was won with less trouble than had been anticipated, and the consul marched to Eordaea, and after laying waste the country in all directions, proceeded toward Elimia. Then he made an attack on Orestis and assaulted the town of Celetrum, which lay on a peninsula; a lake surrounds its walls; a narrow tongue of land offers the only approach from the mainland. At first the natives, relying on their position, closed the gates and refused the demand to surrender; but when they saw the standards brought forward and the *testudo* advancing towards the gates and the isthmus filled with a throng of hostile troops, in panic they surrendered before they tried the issue of a battle. From Celetrum he proceeded to the land of the Dassaretii and took the city of Pelium by storm. He carried off the slaves from there with the rest of the booty, dismissed the freemen without ransom, and restored the town to them, leaving a strong garrison; for the town was favourably situated as a base for conducting raids into Macedonia. So the consul, having traversed the enemy's country, led his troops back to the peaceful

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loca pacata ad Apolloniam, unde orsus bellum erat, copias reduxit.

7 Philippum averterant Aetoli et Athamanes et Dardani et tot bella repente alia ex aliis locis exorta.
8 Adversus Dardanos, iam recipientes ex Macedonia sese, Athenagoran cum expeditis peditibus ac maiore parte equitatus misit, iussum instare ab tergo abeuntibus et carpendo postremum agmen segniores
9 eos ad movendos domo exercitus efficere. Aetolos Damocritus praetor, qui morae ad decernendum bellum ad Naupactum auctor fuerat, idem proximo concilio ad arma conciverat post famam equestris
10 ad Ottolobum pugnae Dardanorumque et Pleurati cum Illyriis transitum in Macedoniam, ad hoc classis Romanae adventum Oreum et super circumfusas tot Macedoniae gentes maritimam quoque instantem obsidionem.

XLI. Hae causae Damocritum Aetolosque restituerant Romanis; et Amynandro, rege Athamanum,
2 adiuncto profecti Cercinium obsedere. Clauserant portas, incertum vi an voluntate, quia regium habebant praesidium. Ceterum intra paucos dies captum est Cercinium atque incensum; qui superfuerunt a magna clade, liberi servique, inter ceteram praedam
4 abducti. Is timor omnes qui circumcolunt Boeben paludem relictis urbibus montes coegit petere.
5 Aetoli inopia praedae inde aversi in Perrhaebiam ire pergunt. Cyretias ibi vi capiunt foedeque diri-

BOOK XXXI. XL. 6-XLI. 5

region around Apollonia, whence he had begun the B.C. 200
war.

Philip was distracted by the Aetolians, the Athamans and the Dardani and so many wars breaking out in one place after another. Against the Dardani, who were by this time withdrawing from Macedonia, he sent Athenagoras with the light infantry and the greater part of the cavalry, with orders to press on them from behind as they withdrew, and by nibbling at their rearguard to make them less inclined to move their army from home. Damocritus, the same president who had caused the delay in declaring war at Naupactus, had, at the next council, stirred up the Aetolians to war after they had heard of the cavalry battle at Ottolobum and the invasion of Macedonia by the Dardani and Pleuratus with the Illyrians, and, in addition, of the arrival of the Roman fleet at Oreus and the naval blockade which threatened so many Macedonian cities on the coast.

XLI. These causes had reunited Damocritus and the Aetolians with the Romans; and joining Amynder, the king of the Athamans, they set out and besieged Cercinium. The inhabitants closed its gates, whether willingly or under compulsion, since they had a royal garrison. But within a few days Cercinium was captured and burned; both the slave and free inhabitants who survived from the great disaster were carried off with the rest of the booty. Fear of the same fate drove all the dwellers around the marsh of Boëbe to leave their homes and flee to the mountains. The Aetolians then turned away and began to march toward Perrhaebia, by reason of the shortage of plunder. They captured and ruthlessly destroyed Cyretiae; they received in

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piunt; qui Maloeam incolunt voluntate in dedi-
 6 tionem societatemque accepti. Ex Perrhaebia
 Gomphos petendi Amynder auctor erat; et
 imminet Athamania huic urbi, videbaturque ex-
 7 pugnari sine magno certamine posse. Aetoli campos
 Thessaliae opimos ad praedam petiere, sequente
 quamquam non probante Amyandro, nec effusas
 populationes Aetolorum nec castra, quo fors tulisset
 loco, sine ullo discrimine aut cura muniendi posita.
 8 Itaque ne temeritas eorum negligentiaque sibi ac
 suis etiam cladis alicuius causa esset, cum campestri-
 bus locis subicientes eos castra Pharcadoni urbi
 9 videret, ipse paulo plus mille passuum inde tumulum
 10 suis, quamvis levi munimento tutum, cepit. Cum
 Aetoli, nisi quod populabantur, vix meminisse vide-
 rentur se in agro hostium esse, alii palati semermes
 vagarentur, alii in castris sine stationibus per somnum
 vinumque dies noctibus aequarent, Philippus inopi-
 11 nantibus advenit. Quem cum adesse refugientes ex
 agris quidam pavidi nuntiassent, trepidare Damo-
 critus ceterique duces—et erat forte meridianum
 tempus, quo plerique graves cibo sopiti iacebant—
 12 excitare alii alios, iubere arma capere, alios dimittere
 ad revocandos qui palati per agros praedabantur;
 tantaque trepidatio fuit ut sine gladiis quidam equi-
 13 tum exirent, loricas plerique non induerent. Ita
 raptim educti, cum universi¹ sescentorum aegre
 simul equites peditesque numerum explessent,

¹ cum universi *Gelenius* : cum *B.*

BOOK XXXI. XLI. 5-13

voluntary surrender and alliance the people of Maloea. After Perrhaebia, Amynder made the proposal that they march against Gomphi; Athamania lies close to this town, and it seemed possible to capture it without a great struggle. The Aetolians sought the fields of Thessaly, rich booty for the pillager, with Amynder following, though he did not approve either the haphazard raids of the Aetolians or their habit of pitching camp wherever chance suggested, without any deliberate choice of position or any care as to defence. Therefore, lest their rashness and carelessness cause any disaster to himself and his men, when he saw them encamping in the plains, exposed to attack from the town of Pharcado, he occupied a hill a little more than a mile away, that was safe even though weakly fortified. When the Aetolians, except that they were plundering, seemed scarcely to remember that they were in hostile territory, some wandering about half-armed, some lying around the unguarded camp, spending days and nights alike in sleeping and drinking, Philip fell upon them unawares. When some frightened fugitives from the fields had brought the news that he was approaching, Damocritus and the other commanders were terrified—for it was about the hour of noon, when most of them lay asleep and heavy with food—men were rousing one another, ordering them to arm, sending out messengers to recall the pillagers who were straggling through the fields, and so great was the panic that some of the cavalry went out without swords and most of them without putting on their breastplates. Led out in such haste, when they had been able with difficulty to collect six hundred out of the whole number, infantry and

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11 incidunt in regium equitatum numero, armis animis-
que praestantem. Itaque primo impetu fusi vix
temptato certamine turpi fuga repetunt castra;
caesi captique quos equites ab agmine fugientium
interclusere.

XLII. Philippus iam suis vallo appropinquantibus
receptui cani iussit; fatigatos enim equos virosque
non tam proelio quam itineris simul longitudine,
2 simul praepropera celeritate habebat. Itaque
turmatim equites, in vicem manipulos levis armaturae
aquatam ire et prandere iubet, alios in statione
3 armatos retinet, opperiens agmen peditum tardius
4 ductum propter gravitatem armorum. Quod ubi
advenit, et ipsis imperatum ut statutis signis armisque
ante se positis raptim cibum caperent binis ternisve
summum ex manipulis aquandi causa missis; interim
eques cum levi armatura paratus instructusque
5 stetit, si quid hostis moveret. Aetoli—iam enim
et quae per agros sparsa multitudo fuerat receperat¹
se in castra—ut defensuri munimenta circa portas
vallumque armatos disponunt, dum quietos hostes
6 ipsi feroces ex tuto spectabant. Postquam mota
signa Macedonum sunt et succedere ad vallum
parati atque instructi coepere, repente omnes
relictis stationibus per aversam partem castrorum ad
tumulum ad castra Athamanum perfugiunt. Multi
in hac quoque tam trepida fuga capti caesique sunt
7 Aetolorum. Philippus, si satis diei superesset,
non dubius quin Athamanes quoque exui castris

¹ receperat *Γ*: receperant *B*.

cavalry, they encountered the king's cavalry, B.C. 200 superior in numbers, in equipment and in courage. And so at the first shock, barely essaying a battle, they made for the camp in disgraceful rout; those who were cut off by the cavalry were killed and captured.

XLII. Philip ordered the recall sounded as his men approached the rampart; for men and horses were wearied less by the battle than by the length and especially the excessive speed of the march. So he ordered the cavalry by troops, the companies of light infantry in succession, to go to get water and to take their meal, and kept some on guard under arms, as he awaited the column of infantry which moved more slowly on account of the weight of their equipment. When they arrived, they too were ordered to set up their standards, stack their arms, and take a hasty meal, only two or three from each company at a time being sent for water; meanwhile the cavalry and light infantry stood ready in formation in case the enemy should make any move. The Aetolians—for now even those who had been scattered through the country had returned to camp—stationed armed guards around the gates and wall to defend the fortification, while, themselves in high spirits, they watched from safety their inactive foes. After the Macedonian standards were moved and the soldiers arrayed and formed for battle began to approach the wall, all suddenly left their posts and fled through the rear part of the camp to the hill and the camp of the Athamanes. Many of the Aetolians were killed or captured in their headlong flight. If enough of the day had remained, Philip could without doubt have driven the Athamanes also from their

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potuissent, die per proelium, deinde per direptionem
castrorum absumpto sub tumulo in proxima planitie
consedit, prima luce insequentis diei hostem adgres-
8 surus. Sed Aetoli eodem pavore quo sua castra
reliquerant, nocte proxima dispersi fugerunt. Maximo
usui fuit Amynander, quo duce Athamanes itinerum
periti summis montibus per calles ignotas sequentibus
9 eos hostibus in Aetoliam perduxerunt. Non ita
multos in dispersa fuga error intulit in Macedonum
equites, quos prima luce Philippus, ut desertum
tumulum videt, ad carpendum hostium agmen misit.

XLIII. Per eos dies et Athenagoras regius
praefectus Dardanos recipientes se in fines adeptus
2 postremum agmen turbavit; dein, postquam Dar-
dani conversis signis direxere aciem, aequa pugna
iusto proelio erat. Ubi rursus procedere Dardani
coepissent, equite et levi armatura regii nullum
talis¹ auxilii genus habentes Dardanos oneratosque
immobilibus armis vexabant; et loca ipsa adiuvabant.
3 Occisi perpauci sunt, plures vulnerati, captus nemo,
quia non excedunt temere ordinibus suis, sed con-
fertim et pugnant et cedunt.

4 Ita damna Romano accepta bello duabus per
opportunas expeditiones coercitis gentibus resti-
tuerat Philippus incepto forti, non prospero solum
eventu. Minuit deinde ei forte oblata res hostium

¹ talis ζ : *om. B.*

¹ I have supplied the object of *adiuvabant* in accordance with the apparent sense of the passage.

camp, but having used up the day in fighting and then in plundering the camp, he bivouacked in a nearby plain beneath the hill, intending to attack the enemy at the following dawn. But the Aetolians, still in the grip of the panic in which they had left their own camp, during the ensuing night fled in every direction. Amynder was of the greatest service, under whose leadership the Athamanes who knew the roads led them back to Aetolia over the mountains by paths unknown to the pursuing enemy. Aimless wandering in the disorderly flight threw no large number into the hands of the Macedonian cavalry, whom Philip had sent out to harass the enemy's column when at daybreak he saw the hill deserted.

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XLIII. At the same time, moreover, Athenagoras, the king's prefect, overtaking the Dardani as they retired into their own country, threw the rear of the column into confusion; then, after the Dardani had faced about and formed their line, there was a regular battle on equal terms. When the Dardani had begun again to proceed on their march, the king's forces with their cavalry and light infantry harried the Dardani, who had no such auxiliaries, and were burdened with weapons that were hard to handle; the terrain too favoured the Macedonians.¹ A very few were killed, more wounded, none captured, for it is their way not to leave their ranks rashly, but to fight and give ground in close formation.

In this way Philip, by checking two nations with timely attacks, undertaken with boldness not merely successful in the result, had recouped the losses sustained in the Roman war. Then another piece of good fortune diminished the number of his enemies

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5 Aetolorum numerum. Scopas, princeps gentis, ab
 Alexandria magno cum pondere auri ab rege
 Ptolomaeo missus, sex milia peditum et quingentos
 6 equites mercede conductos Aegyptum vexit; nec
 ex iuventute Aetolorum quemquam reliquisset, ni
 Damocritus nunc belli quod instaret, nunc futurae
 7 solitudinis admonens, incertum cura gentis an ut
 adversaretur Scopae, parum donis cultus, partem
 iuniorum castigando domi continuisset.

XLIV. Haec ea aestate ab Romanis Philippoque
 gesta terra;¹ classis a Corcyra eiusdem principio
 aestatis cum L. Apustio legato profecta Maleo
 superato circa Scyllaeum agri Hermionici Attalo regi
 2 coniuncta est. Tum vero Atheniensium civitas, cui
 odio in Philippum per metum iam diu moderata erat,
 3 id omne in auxilii praesentis spem effudit. Nec
 umquam ibi desunt linguae promptae ad plebem
 concitandam; quod genus cum in omnibus liberis
 civitatibus, tum praecipue Athenis, ubi oratio
 4 plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. Roga-
 tionem extemplo tulerunt plebesque scivit, ut
 Philippi statuae et² imagines omnes nominaque
 earum, item maiorum eius virile ac muliebre secus
 omnium tollerentur delerenturque diesque festi,
 sacra, sacerdotes, quae ipsius maiorumque honoris
 5 causa instituta essent, omnia profanarentur; loca
 quoque, in quibus positum aliquid inscriptumve
 honoris eius causa fuisset, detestabilia esse, neque

¹ terra *Madvig*: erant *B*.

² statuae et *Madvig*: statuae *B*.

¹ Scopas had been strategus of the Aetolians in 204 B.C., but after a political reverse had gone to Egypt and entered the service of Ptolemy.

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in Aetolia. Scopas,¹ a prominent man among the tribe, sent by King Ptolemy from Alexandria with a great quantity of gold, had transported to Egypt six thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry whom he had hired; nor would he have left a single fighting-man of the Aetolians, if Damocritus, now warning them of the present war, now of the future depopulation of the state, had not by his reproofs kept at home a part of the younger men, though it is uncertain whether his action was due to concern for the state or a desire to thwart Scopas, who had not been generous with gifts to him. B.C. 200

XLIV. Such were the actions of the Romans and Philip on land during that summer; in the beginning of the same summer, the fleet, under the lieutenant Lucius Apustius, leaving Corcyra and rounding Malea joined King Attalus in the neighbourhood of Scyllaeum in the territory of Hermione. Then indeed the Athenian people, whose hatred for Philip had long been restrained by fear, in view of the prospect of aid at hand, gave full vent to their anger. Tongues ready to incite the mob are never lacking in that city; and this conduct is encouraged by popular applause, not only in free states generally, but especially in Athens, where oratory has greatest influence. They immediately proposed and the people passed a motion that all statues of Philip, all representations of him, and their inscriptions, and also those of his ancestors, male and female, should be removed and done away with, that all the feast-days, sacred observances and priesthoods which had been established in honour of him or his ancestors should be abolished; even the places in which any memorials or inscriptions in his honour had been set up should

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in iis quicquam postea poni dedicarique placere eorum quae in loco puro poni dedicarique fas esset; 6 sacerdotes publicos, quotienscumque pro populo Atheniensi sociisque, exercitibus et classibus eorum precarentur, totiens detestari atque exsecrari Philippum, liberos eius regnumque, terrestres navalesque 7 copias, Macedonum genus omne nomenque. Additum decreto, si quis quid postea quod ad notam ignominiamque Philippi pertineret ferret, id omne populum 8 Atheniensem iussurum; si quis contra ignominiam prove honore eius dixisset fecissetve, qui occidisset eum iure caesurum. Postremo inclusum, ut omnia quae adversus Pisistratidas decreta quondam erant 9 eadem in Philippo servarentur. Athenienses quidem litteris verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerebant.

XLV. Attalus Romanique, cum Piraeum primo ab 2 Hermione petissent, paucos ibi morati dies oneratique aequae immodicis ad honores sociorum atque in iram adversus hostem fuerant, Atheniensium decretis, 3 navigant a Piraeo Andrum. Et cum in portu quem Gaurion vocant constitissent, missis qui temptarent oppidanorum animos, si voluntate tradere urbem 4 quam vim experiri mallent, postquam praesidio regio arcem teneri nec se potestatis suae esse respondebant, expositis copiis apparatuque omni urbium oppugnandarum diversis partibus rex et legatus

¹ Hippias and Hipparchus, tyrants of Athens in the sixth century B.C., and the traditional objects of her hatred.

be accursed, and that it should not be lawful to place B.C. 200 or dedicate in them thereafter anything that could lawfully be placed or dedicated in any unpolluted spot; the public priests, as often as they offered prayers on behalf of the people of Athens and their allies, their armies and fleets, should so often curse and execrate Philip, his children and his kingdom, his military and naval forces, and the whole race and name of the Macedonians. It was added to the decree that if anyone thereafter made any proposal that had to do with bringing disgrace or ignominy on Philip, the Athenian people would adopt it *in toto*; that if anyone said or did anything to lessen his ignominy or increase his honour, any person who slew such an one would be deemed to have slain him lawfully. Finally, it was added that all the decrees which had once been passed against the Pisistratidae¹ should be kept in force in the case of Philip. This was the Athenians' war against Philip, conducted by means of letters and words, which constitute their sole strength.

XLV. Attalus and the Romans, putting in first at Piraeus after leaving Hermione, and tarrying there a few days and being loaded down with decrees as effusive in the praise of the allies as those others in condemnation of the enemy, sailed from Piraeus to Andros. And when they had anchored in the harbour which they call Gaurium, sending ashore agents to test the disposition of the people, whether they preferred to surrender the city voluntarily rather than endure an attack, after the citizens replied that the citadel was held by a garrison of the king and that they were powerless, Attalus and the Roman lieutenant landed troops and all the equip-

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- 5 Romanus ad urbem subeunt. Plus aliquanto Graecos Romana arma signaque non ante visa animique militum tam prompte succedentium muros terruere ;
- 6 itaque fuga extemplo in arcem facta est, urbe hostes potiti. Et in arce cum biduum loci se magis quam armorum fiducia tenuissent, tertio die pacti ipsi praesidiumque, ut cum singulis vestimentis Delium Boeotiae transveherentur, urbem arcemque tradi-
- 7 derunt. Ea ab Romanis regi Attalo concessa ; praedam ornamentaque urbis ipsi avexerunt. Attalus, ne desertam haberet insulam, et Macedonum fere omnibus et quibusdam Andriorum ut manerent
- 8 persuasit. Postea et ab Delio, qui ex pacto travecti eo fuerant, promissis regis, cum desiderium quoque patriae facilius ad credendum inclinaret animos, revocati.
- 9 Ab Andro Cythnum traiecerunt, ibi dies aliquot oppugnanda urbe nequiquam absumpti et, quia vix
- 10 operae pretium erat, abscessere. Ad Prasias—continentis Atticae is locus est—Issaeorum viginti lembi classi Romanorum adiuncti sunt. Ii missi ad populandos Carystiorum agros ; cetera classis Geraestum, nobilem Euboeae portum, dum at
- 11 Carysto Issaei redirent, tenuit. Inde omnes velis in altum datis mari medio praeter Scyrum insulam Icum pervenere. Ibi paucos dies saeviente Borea
- 12 retenti, ubi prima tranquillitas data est, Sciathum traiecere, vastatam urbem direptamque nuper a

¹ Issa was a small island off the Dalmatian coast.

ment for assaulting cities and approached the city B.C. 200 from different directions. The Roman arms and standards, which they had never seen before, and the spirit of the soldiers, so ready to advance to storm the walls, caused no small terror among the Greeks; so they straightway took refuge in the citadel and the enemy possessed the town. And after holding the citadel for two days, trusting to the strength of the place rather than to their arms, on the third day they bargained that they and the garrison be transferred to Delium in Boeotia with one garment each, and surrendered the city and the citadel. The Romans gave these to King Attalus; the booty and the ornaments of the city they took for themselves. Attalus, rather than possess a deserted island, persuaded both nearly all of the Macedonians and some of the Andrians to remain. Later on those who had already crossed under the agreement were brought back from Delium by the king's promises, since longing too for their native land increased their inclination to trust him.

From Andros they proceeded to Cythnos. After spending some days in vain in attacking the city, because it seemed scarcely worth the effort, they departed. At Prasiæ—this is a place on the Attic mainland—twenty light-draft vessels of the Issæi¹ joined the Roman fleet. These were sent to ravage the territory of the Carystii, while the rest put into Geraestus, a famous port of Euboea, to wait until the Issæi should return from Carystus. Then all of them, setting sail for the open sea, went past the island of Scyros to Icos. Being delayed there a few days by strong north winds, as soon as calm weather returned, they sailed past Sciathus, a city recently looted and

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 13 Philippo. Per agros palati milites frumentum et si qua alia usui esse ad vescendum poterant ad naves rettulere; praedae nec erat quicquam, nec meruerant
 14 Graeci cur diriperentur. Inde Cassandream petentes primo ad Mendaeum, maritimum civitatis eius vicum, tenuere. Inde cum superato promuntorio ad ipsa moenia urbis circumagere classem vellent, saeva coorta tempestate prope obruti fluctibus, dispersi, magna ex parte amissis armamentis in terram
 15 effugerunt. Omen quoque ea maritima tempestas ad rem terra gerendam fuit. Nam conlectis in unum navibus expositisque copiis adgressi urbem, cum multis vulneribus repulsi—et erat validum ibi regium praesidium—irrito incepto regressi ad Canastraeum Pallenes traiecere. Inde superato Toronae promun-
 16 torio navigantes Acanthum petiere. Ibi primo ager vastatus, deinde ipsa vi capta ac direpta. Nec ultra progressi—iam enim et graves praeda naves habebant—retro unde venerant Sciathum et ab Sciatho Euboeam repetunt.

XLVI. Ibi relicta classe decem navibus expeditis sinum Maliacum intravere ad colloquium cum Aetolis
 2 de ratione gerendi belli. Pyrrhias Aetolus princeps legationis eius fuit, quae ad communicanda consilia Heracleam cum rege et cum Romano legato venit.
 3 Petitum ex foedere ab Attalo est ut mille milites praestaret; tantum enim numerum bellum gerenti-
 4 bus adversus Philippum debebat. Id negatum Aetolis, quod illi quoque gravati prius essent ad

destroyed by Philip. The soldiers, wandering around B.C. 200
 the country, brought to the ships the grain and whatever food-stuffs they found; of booty there was none, nor had the Greeks done anything to deserve being plundered. Thence, on their way to Cassandrea, they held their course first for Mendaeus, the seaport of that city. Then, when they had rounded the promontory and were trying to bring the fleet up close to the city walls, a violent storm arising and the ships having been almost buried under the waves or scattered, they escaped to the shore with the loss of a great part of their rigging. This storm at sea was an omen of their fortunes on land. For when, after re-assembling the ships and landing the troops, they attacked the city, they were repulsed with considerable loss—there was a strong royal garrison there—and retiring after the failure of their enterprise they steered for Canastraeum in Pallene. Thence sailing around the cape of Torona they made for Acanthus. There they first plundered the country and then captured and sacked the town. They went no farther—for by now the ships were laden with booty—but returned to Sciathos and thence to Euboea by the way they had come.

XLVI. There they left the fleet and with ten light vessels entered the Malian gulf for a conference with the Aetolians regarding the plan of campaign. Pyrrhias the Aetolian was the head of the embassy which came to Heraclea to discuss plans with the king and the Roman lieutenant. Attalus was asked to furnish one thousand soldiers in accordance with the treaty; for he was bound to supply that number for the armies fighting against Philip. This was refused the Aetolians because they had previously

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- populandam Macedoniam exire, quo tempore, Philippo circa Pergamum urente sacra profanaque, abstrahere eum inde respectu rerum suarum potuissent. Ita Aetoli cum spe magis, Romanis omnia pollicentibus, quam cum auxilio dimissi; Apustius cum Attalo ad classem redit.
- 6 Inde agitari de Oreo oppugnando coeptum. Valida ea civitas et moenibus et, quia ante fuerat temptata, firmo erat praesidio. Coniunxerant se iis post expugnationem Andri cum praefecto Agesimbroto viginti Rhodiae naves, tectae omnes. Eam classem in stationem ad Zelasium miserunt—Phthiotidis super Demetriadem promuntorium est peropportune obiectum—ut, si quid inde moverent Macedonum naves, in praesidio essent. Heraclides, praefectus regius, classem ibi tenebat, magis per occasionem, si quam neglegentia hostium dedisset, quam aperta vi quicquam ausurus. Oreum diversi Romani et rex Attalus oppugnabant, Romani a maritima arce, regii adversus vallem inter duas iacentem arces, qua et muro intersaepta urbs est.
- 10 Et ut loca diversa, sic dispari modo etiam oppugnabant: Romanus testudinibus et vineis et ariete admovendo muris, regii ballistis catapultisque et alio omni genere tormentorum tela ingerentes et pondere ingenti saxa; faciebant¹ et cuniculos et quidquid aliud priore oppugnatione expertum profuerat. Ceterum non plures tantum Macedones quam ante tuebantur urbem arcesque, sed etiam

¹ faciebant *Kreyssig*: iaciebant *B*.

objected to marching out to devastate Macedonia, B.C. 200
 at the time when they might have compelled Philip, who was burning everything sacred and profane around Pergamum, to withdraw through concern for his own property. So the Aetolians were dismissed with hopes rather than actual assistance, the Romans making lavish promises; Apustius with Attalus returned to the fleet.

The question of an attack on Oreus was next discussed. The city was defended both by walls and, because it had been attacked before, by a strong garrison. After the capture of Andros twenty Rhodian ships, all decked, under command of Agesimbrotus, had joined the fleet. They were left on guard off Zelasium—this promontory in Phthiotis occupied a very strategic position beyond Demetrias—to watch if any movement from there was made by the Macedonian fleet. Heraclides, the king's prefect, was in command of the fleet there, intending to take advantage of any opportunity which was offered by the enemy's negligence rather than to undertake anything by open force. The Romans and King Attalus attacked Oreus from opposite sides, the Romans by way of the maritime citadel, the king's troops up the valley lying between the two citadels, where the city was guarded by a wall as well. And as they occupied different places, so they fought in different ways: the Romans by moving against the walls the mantlets, and sheds and battering-ram, the king's troops hurling missiles and huge stones with balistae, catapults, and every sort of artillery; they dug tunnels too, and whatever else had proved useful in the former siege. But the Macedonians defending the city and citadels were not only more

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praesentioribus animis, et castigationis¹ regis in
 admissa culpa et simul minarum, simul promissorum
 in futurum memores. Itaque cum praeter spem
 tempus ibi traheretur, plusque in obsidione et in
 operibus quam in oppugnatione celeri spei esset,
 12 interim et aliud agi posse ratus legatus, relictis quod
 satis videbatur ad opera perficienda, traicit in proxima
 continentis Larisamque—non illam in Thessalia
 nobilem urbem, sed alteram quam Cremasten
 13 vocant—subito adventu praeter arcem cepit. Attalus
 quoque Pteleon nihil minus quam tale quicquam in
 alterius oppugnatione urbis timentibus oppressit.
 14 Et iam cum opera in effectu erant circa Oreum, tum
 praesidium quod intus erat labore adsiduo, vigiliis
 diurnis pariter nocturnisque et vulneribus confectum.
 15 Muri quoque pars ariete incusso subruta multis iam
 locis prociderat; perque apertum ruina iter nocte
 Romani in arcem quae super portum est perru-
 16 perunt.² Attalus luce prima signo ex arce dato ab
 Romanis ipse urbem invasit stratis magna ex parte
 muris; praesidium oppidanique in arcem alteram
 perfugere, unde biduo post deditio facta. Urbs
 regi, captiva corpora Romanis cessere.

XLVII. Iam autumnale aequinoctium instabat;
 et est sinus Euboicus, quem Cocla vocant, suspectus
 nautis. Itaque ante hiemales motus evadere inde
 cupientes Piraeum, unde profecti ad bellum erant,

¹ castigationis *J. F. Gronovius*: castigationibus *B*.

² *verba* in arcem, *inter* est et perruperunt *posita* in *B*, *transp.*
Büttner.

¹ Oreus had been taken by Attalus and the Romans in 207 B.C. (XXVIII. vi. 1-6) through the treachery of the Macedonian commander.

BOOK XXXI. XLVI. II-XLVII. I

numerous than before, but they fought with greater B.C. 200
 courage, mindful at once of the king's rebuke for their former error¹ and also of his threats and promises for the future. Accordingly, when more time than was expected was being spent there, and a blockade and siege-works held out more hope than a sudden assault, the lieutenant, thinking that something else should be done in the meantime, leaving what seemed a sufficient force to complete the works, crossed to the nearest part of the mainland, to Larisa—this is not the famous Larisa in Thessaly, but another, which they call Cremaste—and by a surprise attack captured everything but the citadel. Attalus too took Pteleum when the citizens were fearing nothing of the sort, while the siege of the other city was going on. And now not only were the siege-works completed around Oreus, but the garrison which was inside was exhausted by continuous toil, by watchfulness day and night alike, and by wounds. Parts of the wall, moreover, fell in several places under the blows of the battering-ram; and the Romans, entering through the breaches by night penetrated to the citadel which is above the harbour. Attalus at daybreak, when the signal was given by the Romans from the citadel, also assailed the city, large parts of the wall having collapsed; the garrison and the townspeople fled to the other citadel, where they surrendered two days later. The city was given to the king, the prisoners to the Romans.

XLVII. The autumnal equinox was now at hand, and the Euboean gulf, which they call Coela, is dangerous to mariners. So, wanting to get away from there before the winter storms, they returned to Piraeus, whence they had set out on the campaign.

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2 repetunt. Apustius triginta navibus ibi relictis super Maleum navigat Corcyram. Regem statum initiorum Cereris, ut sacris interesset, tenuit; secundum initia et ipse in Asiam se recepit Agesimbrotus et Rhodiis domum remissis. Haec ea aestate terra marique adversus Philippum sociosque eius ab consule et legato Romanis adiuvantibus rege Attalo et Rhodiis gesta.

4 Consul alter C. Aurelius ad confectum bellum cum in provinciam venisset, haud clam tulit iram adversus praetorem, quod absente se rem gessisset. Misso eo igitur in Etruriam ipse in agrum hostium legiones induxit populandoque cum praeda maiore quam gloria bellum gessit. L. Furius, simul quod in Etruria nihil erat rei quod gereret, simul Gallico triumpho imminens, quem absente consule irato atque invidente facilius impetrari posse ratus, Romam inopinato cum venisset, senatum in aede Bellonae habuit expositisque rebus gestis, ut triumphanti sibi in urbem invehi liceret petit.

XLVIII. Apud magnam partem senatus et magnitudine rerum gestarum valebat et gratia. Maiores

¹ See xiv. 7 above and the note.

² The narrative continues from xxii. 3 above.

³ We do not know what effect the senatorial decree reported in xi. 1 above had on the *imperium* of Furius. Normally, he would have become a subordinate of Aurelius, and as such he would have no authority to fight without explicit orders from the consul and would be ineligible for a triumph. This is Aurelius' position. Furius seems to argue that his own *imperium* authorized him to act independently of the consul, and both of these claims are maintained in the debate that follows. The complicated legal question of the military status of Furius with respect to Aurelius is probably insoluble. The whole story of Furius' victory (xxi. 1-xxii. 3 above) and his

BOOK XXXI. XLVII. I-XLVIII. 2

Apustius left thirty ships there and sailed past B.C. 200 Malea to Corcyra. The king waited for the day of the mysteries of Ceres,¹ that he might take part in the ceremonies; after the celebration he too departed for Asia, having previously sent Agesimbrotus and the Rhodians home. This is the record of the actions of this summer on land and sea performed against Philip and his allies by the Roman consul and lieutenant with the aid of King Attalus and the Rhodians.

The other consul, Gaius Aurelius,² having arrived in his province and found the campaign finished, made no secret of his anger at the praetor for having fought in his absence.³ Sending him accordingly to Etruria, he himself led the legions into the enemy's country, and, laying it waste, carried on the war with more booty than glory. Lucius Furius, partly because there was nothing for him to do in Etruria, partly because he was ambitious for a triumph over the Gauls, which he thought he could more easily obtain in the absence of the angry and jealous consul, when he had unexpectedly appeared in Rome, summoned the senate in the temple of Bellona,⁴ gave an account of his achievements and asked that he be allowed to enter the city in triumph.

XLVIII. On many of the senators he made a favourable impression, because of the greatness of his achievements and through his personal influence.

triumph (xlvi. 6-xlix. 3 below) is rejected by some scholars as an anticipation of the events related in xxxii. 30, but their reasons seem inadequate.

⁴ Magistrates and others possessing the *imperium* were not permitted to cross the *pomerium*, the religious boundary of Rome. The temple of Bellona was outside this limit, and the senate often met there under circumstances like these.

natu negabant triumphum, et quod alieno exercitu
 rem gessisset et quod provinciam reliquisset cupidi-
 tate rapiendi per occasionem triumphi; id vero eum
 3 nullo exemplo fecisse; consulares praecipue expectan-
 4 dum fuisse consulem censebant; potuisse enim
 castris prope urbem positis tutanda colonia ita ut
 acie non decerneret, in adventum eius rem extrahere;¹
 quod praetor non fecisset, senatui faciendum esse
 5 ut consulem expectaret; ubi coram disceptantes
 consulem et praetorem audissent, verius de causa
 6 existimatos esse. Magna pars senatus nihil praeter
 res gestas, et an in magistratu suisque² auspiciis
 7 gessisset, censebant spectare senatum debere. Ex
 duabus coloniis, quae velut claustra ad cohibendos
 Gallicos tumultus oppositae fuissent, cum una
 direpta et incensa esset, traiecturum id incendium
 velut ex continentibus tectis in alteram tam
 propinquam coloniam esset, quid tandem praetori
 8 faciendum fuisse? Nam si sine consule geri nihil
 oportuerit, aut senatum peccasse, qui exercitum
 praetori dederit—potuisse enim, sicut non praetoris
 sed consulis exercitu rem geri voluerit, ita finire
 senatus consulto³ ne per praetorem sed per consulem
 9 gereretur—aut consulem, qui non, cum exercitum
 ex Etruria transire in Galliam iussisset, ipse Arimini

¹ extrahere *Hertz*: extraheret *B.*

² magistratu suisque *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: magistratus iusquis *B.*

³ consulto *Duker*: consultum *B.*

¹ Dio (frg. 57. 81) adds that an explanation of his actions was demanded.

BOOK XXXI. XLVIII. 2-9

The older members were for refusing the triumph, B.C. 200 partly because he had fought with an army legally under another's command, partly because he had left his province as a result of his ardent desire to petition for a triumph when the opportunity offered itself; but this conduct was unprecedented;¹ the senators of consular rank especially urged that he should have waited for the consul; for he might, while defending the colony by locating his camp near the city, without committing himself to a decisive engagement, have delayed matters until the consul's arrival; the senate's proper conduct would be to wait for the consul, as the praetor had not done; when they had heard consul and praetor debating face to face, they would, they said, judge more fairly concerning the issue. A great part of the senate thought that the senators should consider only his record, and whether he had fought during his term of office and under his own auspices. When one of the two colonies which had been established as, so to speak, barriers to restrain Gallic uprisings had been sacked and burned, and the flames were about to leap over to the other, so close at hand, as from one building to another in a continuous row, what, pray, was the praetor to do? For if it was improper to take any action without the consul, either the senate was at fault for entrusting an army to the praetor—for it would have been possible to order by senatorial decree that nothing should be done by the praetor, but only by the consul, if it had been desired that the consul's army and not the praetor's should do the fighting—or else the consul was at fault, who had not joined the army at Ariminum, when he had ordered it to move from Etruria to Gaul,

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10 occurrerit ut bello interesset, quod sine eo geri fas
 11 non esset. Non expectare belli tempora moras et
 12 dilationes imperatorum, et pugnandum esse interdum
 non quia velis sed quia hostis cogat. Pugnam
 ipsam eventumque pugnae spectari debere. Fusos
 caesosque hostis, castra capta ac direpta, coloniam
 liberatam obsidione, alterius coloniae captivos recu-
 peratos restitutosque suis, debellatum uno proelio
 esse. Non homines tantum ea victoria laetatos, sed
 diis quoque immortalibus per triduum supplicationes
 habitas, quod bene ac feliciter, non quod male ac
 temere, res publica a L. Furio praetore gesta esset.
 Data fato etiam quodam Furiae genti Gallica bella.

XLIX. Huius generis orationibus ipsius amico-
 rumque victa est praesentis gratia praetoris absentis
 consulis maiestas, triumphumque frequentes L.
 2 Furio decreverunt. Triumphavit de Gallis in magis-
 tratu L. Furius praetor et in aerarium tulit trecenta
 viginti milia aeris, argenti centum ¹ milia quingentos.
 3 Neque captivi ulli ante currum ducti neque spolia
 praelata nec milites secuti. Omnia praeter victoriam
 penes consulem esse apparebat.

4 Ludi deinde a P. Cornelio Scipione, quos consul in
 5 Africa voverat, magno apparatu facti. Et de agris
 militum eius decretum ut, quot quisque eorum annos

¹ aeris argenti centum 5 : *om. B.*

¹ The dictator Camillus and his son, members of the *gens Furia*, had won fame in fighting the Gauls: cf. V. xlix. 6; VII. xxv. 11; Tacitus, *Ann.* II. lii. 8.

² Livy does not specify the denomination of these coins, which were probably *denarii*.

³ The distribution of land mentioned in iv. 1-2 above probably included only veterans of the Italian armies. Provision is now made for those who had fought in Spain and Africa.

BOOK XXXI. XLVIII. 9-XLIX. 5

to participate in a war which could not be legally B.C. 200 conducted without him. The emergencies of war, they argued, do not wait for the delays and postponements of commanders, and sometimes you must fight, not because you wish it, but because the enemy compels it. The battle itself and its results should be considered. The enemy had been routed and slaughtered, their camp captured and plundered, the siege of the colony raised, the prisoners from the other colony recovered and restored to their friends, the war finished in a single battle. Not only had men rejoiced at that victory, but also a three-day period of thanksgiving had been decreed to the immortal gods, because Lucius Furius the praetor had conducted affairs, not poorly and rashly, but well and successfully. Finally, Gallic wars were by the will of fate, so to speak, entrusted to the Furii.¹

XLIX. Through speeches of this kind, delivered by the praetor and his friends, the prestige of the consul, who was absent, was outweighed by the personal influence of the praetor, who was present, and a full session voted a triumph to Lucius Furius. Lucius Furius the praetor triumphed over the Gauls while still in office, and deposited in the treasury three hundred and twenty thousand *asses* of bronze, and one hundred thousand five hundred pieces² of silver. There were no captives led before his chariot, no spoils displayed, no soldiers in his train. Everything but the victory was in possession of the consul.

Next the games which had been vowed by Publius Cornelius Scipio during his consulship in Africa were celebrated with great splendour. It was also decreed, regarding lands for his soldiers,³ that each

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- in Hispania aut in Africa militasset, in singulos annos bina iugera agri acciperet; eum agrum
 6 decemviri adsignarent. Triumviri item creati ad supplendum Venusinis colonorum numerum, quod bello Hannibalis attenuatae vires eius coloniae erant, C. Terentius Varro, T. Quinctius Flaminius, P. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio. Hi colonos Venusiam adscripserunt.
- 7 Eodem anno C. Cornelius Cethegus, qui proconsul Hispaniam obtinebat, magnum hostium exercitum in agro Sedetano fudit. Quindecim milia Hispanorum eo proelio dicuntur caesa, signa militaria capta octo et septuaginta.
- 8 C. Aurelius consul, cum ex provincia Romam comitorum causa venisset, non id quod animis praeceperant questus est, non expectatum se ab
 9 senatu, neque disceptandi cum praetore consuli potestatem factam, sed ita triumphum decresse senatum, ut nullius nisi eius qui triumphaturus esset et non ¹ eorum qui bello interfuissent, verba audiret.
- 10 Maiores ideo instituisse ut legati, tribuni, centuriones, milites denique triumpho adessent, ut testes ² rerum gestarum eius cui tantus honos haberetur, populus
 11 Romanus videret. Ecquem ex eo exercitu qui cum Gallis pugnaverit, si non militem, lixam saltem fuisse quem percunctari posset senatus, quid verum praetor
 12 vanive adferret? Comitiiis deinde diem edixit,

¹ et non *Weissenborn* : et *B* : haud ζ .

² testes *Madvig* : uirtus (uirtutes) ζ : *om. B*.

¹ Probably the commission that made the previous allotment, but Livy may have omitted a motion creating a new decemvirate.

² Aurelius' criticism of the procedure of the senate is surprisingly mild, but Furius had already celebrated his triumph.

should receive two *iugera* of land for each year of their service in Spain or Africa; the decemvirate¹ should make the distribution. Also, a commission of three was created to fill up the number of colonists for the people of Venusia, because the strength of that colony had been diminished in the Hannibalic war. The commissioners chosen were Gaius Terentius Varro, Titus Quinctius Flaminius, Publius Cornelius Scipio, the son of Gnaeus, and they enrolled the colonists for Venusia. H.O. 200

In the same year Gaius Cornelius Cethegus, who as proconsul was governing Spain, defeated a large hostile force in the territory of the Sedetani. According to report, fifteen thousand Spaniards were killed in this battle and seventy-eight standards captured.

Gaius Aurelius the consul, when he returned from the province to Rome to hold the elections, did not make the complaint that they had anticipated, that the senate had not waited for him nor given the consul an opportunity to debate with the praetor, but he did protest that they had decreed the triumph in such a way that they had heard the testimony of no one except the man who was to triumph, and not of those who had been present at the battle. Their ancestors had ordained that the lieutenants, tribunes, centurions, and even the common soldiers should attend a triumph, to the end that the Roman people might see the witnesses to the deeds of the man to whom so signal an honour was given. Was there no one from the army which had fought against the Gauls, no camp-follower at least, if there was no soldier, whom the senate could ask how much truth or untruth there was in the praetor's report?² He then announced the date of the elections, at which

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quibus creati sunt consules L. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Villius Tappulus. Praetores inde facti L. Quinctius Flamininus, L. Valerius Flaccus, L. Villius Tappulus, Cn. Baebius Tamphilus.

L. Annona quoque eo anno pervilis fuit; frumenti vim magnam ex Africa advectam aediles curules M. Claudius Marcellus et Sex. Aelius Paetus
2 binis aeris in modios populo diviserunt. Et ludos Romanos magno apparatu fecerunt; diem unum instaurarunt; signa aenea quinque ex multatio
3 argento in aerario posuerunt. Plebeii ludi ab aedilibus L. Terentio Massiliota et Cn. Baebio Tamphilo, qui praetor designatus erat, ter toti
4 instaurati. Et ludi funebres eo anno per quadriduum in foro mortis causa M. Valeri¹ Laevini a Publio et Marco filiis eius facti et munus gladiatorium datum
5 ab iis; paria quinque et viginti pugnarunt. M. Aurelius Cotta decemvir sacrorum mortuus; in eius locum M'. Acilius Glabrio suffectus.

6 Comitiis aediles curules creati sunt forte ambo qui statim occipere magistratum non possent. Nam C. Cornelius Cethegus absens creatus erat, cum
7 Hispaniam obtineret provinciam; C. Valerius Flaccus, quem praesentem creaverant, quia flamen Dialis erat, iurare in leges non poterat; magistratum plus quinque diebus, nisi qui iurasset in leges, non licebat
8 gerere. Petente Flacco ut legibus solveretur, sena-

¹ M. Valeri *ed. Moguntina* 1518: Valeri B.

¹ In that capacity he was not allowed to take any oath (Gellius, X. xv. 4), but Roman ingenuity finds a solution.

Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Villius B.C. 200 Tappulus were chosen consuls. Then Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Lucius Villius Tappulus, and Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus were elected praetors.

L. Also, grain was very cheap this year; a great quantity of grain which was brought from Africa was distributed to the people at two *asses* per *modius* by the curule aediles Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Sextus Aelius Paetus. They also celebrated the Roman Games with great magnificence; they repeated one day's performance; they set up in the treasury five bronze statues out of the money collected as fines. The Plebeian Games were thrice repeated entire by the aediles Lucius Terentius Massiliota and Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus, who had been chosen praetor. Funeral games lasting four days were exhibited in the forum in commemoration of the death of Marcus Valerius Laevinus, by his sons Publius and Marcus, and a gladiatorial show was given by them; twenty-five pairs of gladiators fought. Marcus Aurelius Cotta, decemvir in charge of sacrifices, died; in his stead Manius Acilius Glabrio was appointed.

It happened that both the curule aediles chosen at the election were men who could not be inaugurated at once. For Gaius Cornelius Cethegus was elected in his absence, since he was engaged in administering the province of Spain; Gaius Valerius Flaccus, who was present when he was elected, could not take the oath to observe the laws because he was the flamen of Jupiter,¹ and no magistrate was allowed to hold office for more than five days unless he had taken that oath. At the request of Flaccus that he

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tus decrevit ut si aedilis, qui pro se iuraret, arbitrato
 consulum daret, consules, si iis videretur, cum
 9 tribunis plebis agerent uti ad plebem ferrent. Datus
 qui iuraret pro fratre L. Valerius Flaccus, praetor
 designatus. Tribuni ad plebem tulerunt plebesque
 10 scivit ut perinde esset ac si ipse aedilis iurasset. Et
 de altero aedile scitum plebi est factum; rogantibus
 tribunis quos duos in Hispaniam cum imperio ad
 exercitus ire iuberent, ut C. Cornelius aedilis curulis
 11 ad magistratum gerendum veniret, et L. Manlius
 Acidinus decederet de provincia multos post annos,
 plebes Cn. Cornelio Lentulo et L. Stertinio pro
 consulibus imperium esse in Hispania iussit.

BOOK XXXI. L. 8-11

be exempted from the operation of the law, the senate decreed that if the aedile could find someone, approved by the consuls, who would take the oath on his behalf, the consuls, if it seemed wise to them, should request the tribunes to bring a resolution before the assembly. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the praetor-elect, was proposed to take the oath in his brother's place. The tribunes proposed and the people voted, that it should be as if the aedile himself had sworn. Regarding the other aedile, the assembly passed a decree;¹ when the tribunes put the question what two men they would order to go to the armies in Spain, in order that Gaius Cornelius the curule aedile might come to enter upon his office, and that Lucius Manlius Acidinus might be relieved of his province after many years, the assembly ordered Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus² and Lucius Stertinius to exercise authority in Spain with the rank of proconsuls.

¹ A *plebiscitum* (here *scitum plebi*) was strictly a vote carried in the plebeian assembly (contrast *lex*), but the term is used, somewhat loosely, for measures adopted by any of the assemblies. The number of such legislative bodies in Rome is debated.

² The name is probably an error for Gnaeus Cornelius Blasio (cf. XXXIII. xxvii. 1).

LIBRI XXXI PERIOCHA

Belli adversus Philippum, Macedoniae regem, quod intermissum erat repetiti causae referuntur hae. Tempore initiorum duo iuvenes Acarnanes qui non erant initiati Athenas venerunt et in sacrarium Cereris cum aliis popularibus suis intraverunt. Ob hoc, tamquam summum nefas commisissent, ab Atheniensibus occisi sunt. Acarnanes mortibus suorum commoti ad vindicandos illos auxilia a Philippo petierunt et Athenas oppugnaverunt, Athenienses auxilium a Romanis petierunt post pacem Carthaginensibus datam paucis mensibus.¹ Cum² Atheniensium qui a Philippo obsidebantur legati auxilium a senatu petissent, et id senatus ferendum censuisset, plebe quod tot bellorum continuus labor gravis erat dissentiente, tenuit auctoritas patrum ut sociae civitati ferri opem populus quoque iuberet. Id bellum P. Sulpicio cos. mandatum est, qui exercitu in Macedoniam ducto equestribus proeliis prospere cum Philippo pugnavit. Aboedeni a Philippo obsessi ad exemplum Saguntinorum suos seque occiderunt. L. Furius praetor Gallos Insubras rebellantes et Hamilcarem Poenum bellum in ea parte Italiae molientem acie vicit. Hamilcar eo bello occisus est et milia hominum XXXV. Praeterea expeditiones Philippi regis et Sulpicii cos. expugnationesque urbium ab utroque factas continet. Sulpicius cos. bellum gerebat adiuvantibus rege Attalo et Rhodiis. Triumphavit de Gallis L. Furius praetor.

¹ paucis mensibus *Rosbach*: quadringentesimo anno ab urbe condita *codd. praeter π*, qui ab urbe condita *omittit*.

² Cum *Jahn*: coeptum est autem anno quingentesimo quinto. *cum codd.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXI

THE causes of the renewal of the war against King Philip of Macedonia, for some time interrupted, are reported thus : At the time of the mysteries, two young Acarnanians who had not been initiated came to Athens and entered the temple of Ceres with others of their countrymen. For this reason they were killed by the Athenians as if guilty of a monstrous crime. The Acarnanians, incensed by their death, asked help of Philip to avenge them and laid siege to Athens; the Athenians asked aid of the Romans a few months after the grant of peace to the Carthaginians. When the ambassadors of the Athenians who were being besieged by Philip had asked the senate for assistance and the senate thought that it should be granted, the assembly dissenting because the long-continued toil of so many wars was a burden, the authority of the senate prevailed upon the assembly also to vote that aid be sent to the allied state. This war was entrusted to the consul Publius Sulpicius, who, leading his army to Macedonia, fought successfully with Philip in cavalry battles. The people of Abydus, besieged by Philip, slew themselves and their families after the manner of the Saguntines. Lucius Furius the praetor defeated in pitched battle the Insubrian Gauls who were in revolt and Hamilcar the Carthaginian who was stirring up war in that part of Italy. Hamilcar and thirty-five thousand men were killed in that campaign. It contains in addition the raids of King Philip and Sulpicius the consul and the captures of cities by each. The consul Sulpicius conducted the war with the aid of King Attalus and the Rhodians. Lucius Furius the praetor triumphed over the Gauls.

BOOK XXXII

LIBER XXXII

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I. CONSULES praetoresque, cum idibus Martiis
2 magistratum inissent, provincias sortiti sunt. L.
Lentulo Italia, P. Villio Macedonia, praetoribus L.
Quinctio urbana, Cn. Baebio Ariminum, L. Valerio
3 Sicilia, L. Villio Sardinia evenit. Lentulus consul
novas legiones scribere iussus, Villius a P. Sulpicio
exercitum accipere; in supplementum eius quantum
militum videretur ut scriberet, ipsi permissum.
4 Praetori Baebio legiones quas C. Aurelius consul
habuisset ita decretae, ut retineret eas, donec consul
5 novo cum exercitu succederet; in Galliam ubi is
venisset, omnes milites exauctorati domum dimit-
terentur praeter quinque milia socium; iis obtineri
6 circa Ariminum provinciam satis esse. Prorogata
imperia¹ praetoribus prioris anni, C.² Sergio, ut militi-
bus, qui in Hispania, Sicilia, Sardinia stipendia per
multos annos fecissent, agrum adsignandum curaret,
7 Q. Minucio, ut in Bruttiiis idem de coniurationibus
quaestiones, quas praetor cum fide cura que exer-
8 cuisset, perficeret et eos, quos sacrilegii compertos in
vinculis Romam misisset, Locros mitteret ad suppli-

¹ prorogata imperia *Gronovius*: prorogato imperio *B.*

² *C. Bekker*: I. B.

¹ Sergius had been *praetor urbanus* the year before. The legislation authorizing this distribution is not mentioned by Livy.

² For this episode see XXXI. xii. 1-4.

BOOK XXXII

I. **THE** consuls and praetors, having entered upon B.C. 199 their offices on the Ides of March, drew lots for the provinces. The result gave Italy to Lucius Lentulus, Macedonia to Publius Villius, while of the praetors, the city jurisdiction fell to Lucius Quinctius, Ariminum to Gnaeus Baebius, Sicily to Lucius Valerius, and Sardinia to Lucius Villius. The consul Lentulus was directed to enlist new legions, Villius to take over the army from Publius Sulpicius; he was allowed, as addition thereto, to enroll whatever number of soldiers he saw fit. The legions which Gaius Aurelius the consul had had were decreed to the praetor Baebius, with the proviso that he should keep them until the consul with the new army should relieve him; when he arrived in Gaul, all the soldiers who had served their term^s were to be sent home except five thousand of the allies; this number seemed sufficient to hold the province around Ariminum. The authority of two praetors of the preceding year was extended, that of Gaius Sergius, to permit him to organize the distribution of land to the soldiers who had served for many years in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia,¹ and that of Quintus Minucius, to enable him to complete the inquiry² regarding conspiracies in Bruttium, which he had carried on as praetor with loyalty and energy, to return to Locri for punishment the men he had sent in chains to Rome after they were

- cium, quaeque sublata ex delubro Proserpinae
 9 essent, reponenda cum piaculis curaret. Feriae
 Latinae pontificum decreto instauratae sunt, quod
 legati ab Ardea questi in senatu erant sibi in monte
 Albano Latinis carnem, ut adsolet, datam non esse.
 10 Ab Suessa nuntiatum est duas portas quodque
 inter eas muri erat de caelo tactum; et Formiani
 legati aedem Iovis, item Ostienses aedem Iovis,
 et Veliterni Apollinis et Sangus aedes, et in Herculis
 11 aede capillum enatum; et ex Bruttis ab Q. Minucio
 propraetore scriptum eculeum cum quinque pedibus,
 pullos gallinaceos tres cum ternis pedibus natos esse.
 12 A P. Sulpicio proconsule ex Macedonia litterae
 adlatae, in quibus inter cetera scriptum erat lauream
 13 in puppi navis longae enatam. Priorum prodigiorum
 causa senatus censuerat, ut consules maioribus hostiis,
 14 quibus diis videretur, sacrificarent; ob hoc unum
 prodigium haruspices in senatum vocati, atque ex
 responso eorum supplicatio populo in diem unum
 indicta¹ et ad omnia pulvinaria res divinae factae.

II. Carthaginenses eo anno argentum in stipen-
 2 dium impositum primum Romam advexerunt. Id
 quia probum non esse quaestores renuntiaverant,

¹ indicta *Weissenborn*: dicta *B.*

¹ This ceremonial had been practised by the member-states of the Latin League and later by them and the Romans jointly (see V. xvii. 2, etc.), and was continued after the subjugation to Rome in 338 B.C. White steers were sacrificed to Jupiter Latiaris, and the flesh was divided among the cities that were members of the league.

² Sangus (*Semo Sancus*) was a Sabine deity worshipped in Rome also; cf. VIII. xx. 8.

³ Livy is pardonably vague about this phenomenon, but it was probably the hair on the statue in the temple that began to grow, rather than hair on the walls of the building.

found guilty of sacrilege, and to arrange to replace B.C. 199 the money stolen from the shrine of Persephone, along with the sin-offerings. The Latin Festival was repeated by order of the pontiffs, because delegates from Ardea had made complaint in the senate that the flesh of the animals sacrificed on the Alban Mount had not been given to them, as was the custom.¹

News came from Suessa that two gates and the adjacent portion of the wall had been struck by lightning; and ambassadors from Formiae reported that the same thing had happened to the temple of Jupiter, from Ostia, to the temple of Jupiter, from Velitrae, to the shrines of Apollo and Sangus;² and it was said that the hair had grown in the temple of Hercules;³ also, Quintus Minucius the propraetor wrote from Bruttium that a five-legged colt had been born, and three chicks each with three feet. Letters were brought from Macedonia, from the proconsul Publius Sulpicius, in which, among other things, it was said that a laurel had grown out of the stern of a war-ship. By reason of the former prodigies, the senate had decreed that the consuls should sacrifice full-grown victims to whatever gods it seemed wise; on account of this last event,⁴ the *haruspices* were called into the senate, and on their advice a period of prayer was proclaimed to the people for one day, and sacrifices were performed at all the banquet tables of the gods.

II. The Carthaginians that year brought to Rome the first instalment of the tribute imposed upon them.⁵ Because the quaestors reported that it was not

⁴ The books of the pontiffs probably furnished no precedent.

⁵ An initial payment was reported at XXX. xliv. 4.

3 experientibusque pars quarta decocta erat, pecunia
 Romae mutua sumpta intertrimentum argenti ex-
 4 plexerunt. Petentibus deinde, ut, si iam videretur
 senatui, obsides sibi redderentur, centum redditi
 5 obsides; de ceteris, si in fide permanerent, spes
 facta. Petentibus iisdem, qui non reddebantur
 6 obsides, ut ab Norba ubi parum commode essent,
 alio traducerentur, concessum ut Signiam et Feren-
 7 tinum transirent. Gaditanis item petentibus re-
 missum, ne praefectus Gades mitteretur adversus id
 quod iis in fidem populi Romani venientibus cum L.
 Marcio Septimo convenisset. Et Narniensium le-
 gatis querentibus ad numerum sibi colonos non esse
 et immixtos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis se
 gerere, earum rerum causa tresviros creare L.
 Cornelius consul iussus. Creati P. et Sex. Aelii—
 Paetis fuit ambobus cognomen—et Cn. Cornelius
 Lentulus. Quod Narniensibus datum, ut colonorum
 numerus augeretur, id Cosani petentes non im-
 petrauerunt.

III. Rebus, quae Romae agendaerant, perfectis

¹ The quaestors melted up sample coins and the bullion proved to be 25 per cent. short in weight. This was due to the presence of base metal in the coins.

² The term *praefectus* was applied sometimes to a resident military governor, sometimes to a minor official sent by a provincial governor to administer affairs in individual communities, sometimes to an official designated to oversee civil and legal administration in a town. In Italy, communities so governed enjoyed only limited privileges. Probably a person of the last class is meant here.

³ Marcius, a centurion, assumed command of the Roman forces in Spain after the death of the two Scipios (Cicero, *pro Balbo*, 34), and in 206 B.C. concluded a treaty with the people of Gades (XXVIII. xxxvii. 10).

pure silver and since a fourth part of it melted away ¹ B.C. 199 while they were testing it, the Carthaginians made up the shortage in the amount of money by borrowing in Rome. At their request that, if the senate was now favourably disposed, their hostages should be returned to them, one hundred hostages were given back; hope for the rest was offered if they remained faithful. When they asked also that the hostages who were not returned should be moved from Norba, where they were not comfortable, to some other place, it was permitted them to go to Signia or Ferentinum. A concession was also made to the people of Gades, who asked that no prefect ² should be sent to Gades contrary to what had been agreed upon with Lucius Marcius Septimus ³ when they put themselves under the protection of the Roman people. Also, when ambassadors from Narnia complained that the colonists there were not up to the number determined, ⁴ and that some persons of alien race, mingling with them, were conducting themselves as colonists, by reason of this report the consul Lucius Cornelius was directed to appoint a board of three to investigate. This board consisted of Publius and Sextus Aelius—both surnamed Paetus—and Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus. What had been granted to the people of Narnia, to wit, the increasing of the number of colonists, the people of Cosa asked but did not obtain.

III. The consuls transacted the necessary business

⁴ The act establishing each colony determined the number of colonists assigned. The burdens imposed upon a colony were proportioned to the legal, and not to the actual number of colonists.

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2 consules in provincias profecti. P. Villius in Macedoniam cum venisset, atrox seditio militum iam ante irritata nec satis in principio compressa excepit.
3 Duo milia ea militum fuere, quae ex Africa post devictum Hannibalem in Siciliam, inde anno fere post in Macedoniam pro voluntariis transportata erant. Id voluntate factum negabant: ab tribunis recusantes in naves impositos. Sed utcumque, seu iniuncta seu suscepta foret militia, et eam exhaustam,
4 et finem aliquem militandi fieri aequum esse. Multis annis sese Italiam non vidisse; consenuisse sub armis in Sicilia, Africa, Macedonia; confectos iam se labore opere, exangues tot acceptis vulneribus esse.
5 Consul causam postulandae missionis probabilem, si modeste peteretur, videri dixit; seditionis nec eam
6 nec ullam aliam satis iustam causam esse. Itaque si manere ad signa et dicto parere velint, se de missione eorum ad senatum scripturum; modestia facilius quam pertinacia quod velint impetraturos.

IV. Thaumacos eo tempore Philippus summa vi oppugnabat aggeribus vineisque et iam arietem
2 muris admoturus erat; ceterum incepto absistere eum coegit subitus Aetolorum adventus, qui Archidamo duce inter custodias Macedonum moenia ingressi nec nocte nec die finem ullum erumpendi nunc in stationes nunc in opera Macedonum faciebant.

¹ The enlistment of volunteers from the African army was authorized at XXXI. viii. 6; their enlistment was mentioned at XXXI. xiv. 2.

² Here Livy resumes his account of Philip's campaign after the defeat of the Aetolians (XXXI. xlii. 9) in the autumn of the year 200 B.C.

at Rome and departed for their provinces. Publius B.C. 199 Villius, on his arrival in Macedonia, found a dangerous mutiny in the army, begun some time before and not repressed with sufficient vigour at the outset. There were about two thousand soldiers who had been brought back from Africa to Sicily after the defeat of Hannibal, and about a year later moved to Macedonia as volunteers.¹ They asserted that this had not been done with their consent; they had been put on board by their tribunes in spite of their protests. But whatever the facts were, whether their service was compulsory or voluntary, it was, they said, finished, and it was right that there be some end to their soldiering. For many years they had not seen Italy; they had grown old under arms in Sicily, Africa, Macedonia; they were now worn out by labour and exertion and drained of blood by the many wounds they had received. The consul replied that their demand for discharge seemed to have merit if properly presented; but neither this cause nor any other justified mutiny. Accordingly, if they chose to remain with the standards and obey orders, he would write to the senate regarding their discharge; they would obtain what they wanted more easily by obedience than by resistance.

IV. Philip² was at that time besieging Thaumaci with the greatest energy, using terraces and mantlets, and was on the point of using his battering-ram against the walls; but he was compelled to give up his enterprise by the sudden attack of the Aetolians, who, under the command of Archidamus, slipped through the screen of Macedonian patrols into the city, and never, either by night or day, ceased making sallies, now against the Macedonian outposts, now

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3 Et adiuvabat eos natura ipsa loci. Namque Thau-
 maci a Pylis sinuque Maliaco per Lamiam eunti
 loco alto siti sunt in ipsis faucibus, imminentes,
 4 quam Coelen vocant, Thessaliae; quae transeunti
 confragosa loca implicatasque flexibus vallium vias,
 ubi ventum ad hanc urbem est, repente velut maris
 vasti sic universa panditur planities, ut subiectos
 5 campos terminare oculis haud facile queas. Ab eo
 miraculo Thaumaci appellati. Nec altitudine solum
 tuta urbs, sed quod saxo undique absciso rupibus
 6 imposita est. Hae difficultates et quod haud satis
 dignum tanti laboris periculique pretium erat, ut
 7 absisteret incepto Philippus, effecerunt. Hiems
 quoque iam instabat, cum inde abscessit et in
 Macedoniam in hiberna copias reduxit.

V. Ibi ceteri quidem data quanticunque¹ quiete
 temporis simul animos corporaque remiserant;
 2 Philippum, quantum ab adsiduis laboribus itinerum
 pugnarumque laxaverat animum, tanto magis inten-
 tum in universum eventum belli curae angunt, non
 hostes modo timentem, qui terra marique urgebant,
 3 sed nunc sociorum, nunc etiam popularium animos,
 ne et illi ad spem amicitiae Romanorum deficerent,
 et Macedonas ipsos cupido novandi res caperet.
 4 Itaque et in Achaiam legatos misit, simul qui iusiuran-
 dum—ita enim pepigerant, quotannis iuratuos in
 verba Philippi—exigerent, simul qui redderent

¹ quanticumque *Gronovius* : quantacumque *B.*

¹ Livy connects the name with the Greek θαῦμα, "a marvel."

² Livy says nothing elsewhere about this oath, but it may be mentioned by Polybius (IV. ix. 4), who speaks of a reciprocal pledge, which may have been gradually converted into an admission of Macedonian supremacy.

against their siege-works. The nature of the place, B.O. 199
 too, aided them. For Thaumaci lies high above the
 road as you come from Pylae and the Malian Gulf by
 way of Lamia, on the very pass, overlooking what they
 call Hollow Thessaly; the country is rough as you
 pass through, over roads that wind their way through
 twisting valleys, and when you reach the city,
 suddenly the whole plain spreads out before you
 like an expanse of open sea, so that you can hardly
 measure with your eyes the fields beneath you.
 From this marvellous sight is derived the name
 "Thaumaci."¹ The city is defended both by its
 lofty site and by the fact that it lies on cliffs with
 steep descents on all sides. These difficulties,
 together with the fact that it was scarcely a due
 reward for so much effort and risk, induced Philip
 to abandon his design. Winter, too, was now at
 hand when he retired from there and led his troops
 into winter quarters in Macedonia.

V. There the rest devoted to relaxation of mind
 and body alike whatever little quiet time was allowed
 them; Philip, however great relief of mind he had
 obtained after the ceaseless labour of marching and
 fighting, was so much the more concerned and worried
 about the final outcome of the war, not only fearing
 the enemy, who was pressing upon him by land and
 sea, but distrusting the attitude now of his allies,
 now even of his subjects, fearing both that the former
 should revolt, in the hope of an alliance with the
 Romans, and that the Macedonians themselves
 should be inspired by a desire for revolution. So
 he sent ambassadors to Achaëa, partly to demand
 the oath²—for they had agreed to renew annually
 their pledges of loyalty to him—and partly to restore

LIVY

A.U.C.
555

Achaeis Orchomenon et Heraean et Triphylian Eleis
 5 ademptam, Megalopolitis ¹ Alipheran, contendentibus
 numquam eam urbem fuisse ex Triphylia, sed sibi
 debere restitui, quia una esset ex iis quae ad con-
 dendam Megalen polin ex concilio Arcadum contri-
 6 butae forent. Et cum Achaeis quidem per haec
 7 societatem firmabat; ad ² Macedonum animos cum
 Heracliden amicum maxime invidiae sibi esse cerneret,
 multis criminibus oneratum in vincla coniecit ingenti
 8 popularium gaudio. Bellum si quando umquam
 ante alias, tum ³ magna cura apparavit exercuitque
 9 in armis et Macedonas et mercennarios milites
 principioque veris cum Athenagora omnia externa
 auxilia quodque levis armaturae erat in Chaoniam
 per Epirum ad occupandas quae ad Antigoneam
 10 fauces sunt—Stena vocant Graeci—misit. Ipse post
 paucis diebus graviore secutus agmine, cum situm
 omnem regionis adspexisset, maxime idoneum ad
 muniendum locum credidit esse praeter amnem
 11 Aoum. Is inter montes, quorum alterum Meropum,
 alterum Asnaum incolae vocant, angusta valle fluit,
 iter exiguum super ripam praebens. Asnaum
 Athenagoram cum levi armatura tenere et communire
 12 iubet; ipse in Meropo posuit castra. Qua abscisae
 rupes erant, statio paucorum armatorum tenebat;
 qua minus tuta erant alia fossis, alia vallo, alia tur-

¹ Eleis ademptam Megalopolitis *Madvig*: Eleis *B.*

² ad *Madvig*: om. *B.*

³ tum *edd.*: cum *B.*

BOOK XXXII. v. 4-12

to the Achaeans Orchomenus and Heraea, and also B.C. 199.
 Triphylia which had been taken from the Eleans, and
 to the Megalopolites Aliphera, since they argued
 that this city had never belonged to Triphylia, but
 should be given back to them, since it was one of the
 towns that had been turned over to form the city of
 Megalopolis in accordance with the decree of the
 Arcadian council. And with the Achaeans indeed
 he did by these measures strengthen the alliance; but
 with regard to the disposition of the Macedonians,
 since he realized that his friendship with Heraclides
 was particularly a source of unpopularity for
 him, he heaped accusations upon him and threw
 him into prison, to the great joy of the people.
 Philip at this time made preparation with great
 energy, if he had ever done so before, on any
 occasion, and drilled both his Macedonians and his
 mercenary troops, and in the beginning of spring
 sent all his foreign auxiliaries and what light-armed
 troops he had, under Athenagoras, to Chaonia
 by way of Epirus, to hold the passes leading to
 Antigonea—the Greeks call them The Narrows.
 He himself followed a few days later with the heavier
 troops, and when he had reconnoitred the whole
 region, he determined upon a site near the river
 Aous as the most suitable place for a fortified base
 of operations. This river, flowing through a defile
 between ranges, one called by the natives Meropus,
 the other Asnaus, leaves a narrow road along the bank.
 He ordered Athenagoras and the light troops to hold
 and fortify Asnaus; he himself pitched camp on
 Meropus. Where the cliffs were steep, a guard of a
 few armed men held them; where they were less
 defensible, they were protected, some by ditches,

LIVY

A.U.C. 566 13 ribus muniebat. Magna tormentorum etiam vis, ut missilibus procul arcerent hostem, idoneis locis disposita est. Tabernaculum regium pro vallo in conspecto maxime tumulo, ut terrorem hostibus suisque spem ex fiducia faceret, positum.

VI. Consul per Charopum Epiroten certior factus, quos saltus cum exercitu insedisset rex, et ipse, cum Corcyrae hibernasset, vere primo in continentem 2 travectus ad hostem ducere perguit. Quinque milia ferme ab regiis castris cum abesset, loco munito relictis legionibus ipse cum expeditis progressus ad 3 speculanda loca postero die consilium habuit, utrum per insessum ab hoste saltum, quamquam labor ingens periculumque proponeretur, transitum temptaret, an eodem itinere, quo priore anno Sulpicius Mace- 4 doniam intraverat, circumduceret copias. Hoc consilium per multos dies agitati ei nuntius venit T. Quinctium consulem factum sortitumque provinciam Macedoniam maturato itinere iam Corcyram traiecisse.

5 Valerius Antias intrasse saltum Villium tradit, quia recto itinere nequiverit omnibus ab rege insessis, secutum vallem, per quam mediam fertur Aous amnis, 6 ponte raptim facto in ripam, in qua erant castra regia,

¹ There is no real confusion in Livy's chronology. The source which Livy follows in sects. 1-4 represents Villius, the consul of 199 B.C., as reaching Greece too late to take the field in the autumn of that year (I am drawing this inference from the silence of Livy), as wintering in Corcyra, and as carrying on, in the spring of 198 B.C., before the arrival of his successor, the campaign just described. Then, in sects. 5-7, Livy quotes from Valerius Antias an entirely different story of the spring campaign of 198 B.C. This variant Livy, at least by implication, rejects. He reports, in sect. 4 and again in sect. 8, at the

BOOK XXXII. v. 13-VI. 6

some by ramparts, some by towers. Numerous B.C. 199
pieces of artillery were also posted in suitable places, to keep the enemy at a distance with their missiles. The royal headquarters he established in plain sight on a hill in front of the rampart, to inspire terror in the enemy and in his own men the hope that springs from confidence.

VI. The consul had learned through Charopus the Epirote what passes the king had occupied with his army, and after wintering in Corcyra he crossed to the mainland at the coming of spring and began to lead his army against the enemy. When he was about five miles from the king's camp, after fortifying the place and leaving behind the legions, he himself went forward to reconnoitre with some light troops, and on the next day held a council, whether he should try to force a passage through the valley which was held by the enemy, although great labour and danger were involved, or should follow the same circuitous route by which Sulpicius had entered Macedonia the previous year. While he was spending many days in discussing this question, word came to him that Titus Quinctius had been elected consul, had obtained from the lots the province of Macedonia, had hastened his journey, and had already arrived at Corcyra.¹

Valerius Antias writes that Villius, because he could not use the direct road, since the whole country was held by the king, entered the defile, followed the valley through the midst of which the river Aous flows, and, hastily throwing a bridge over the

end of each of the conflicting narratives, the arrival of Quinctius in Greece, although he does not mention the election of Quinctius as consul for 198 B.C. until vii. 12 below.

LIVY

A. U. C.
555

transgressum acie conflixisse; fusum fugatumque
 7 regem, castris exutum; duodecim milia hostium eo
 proelio caesa, capta duo milia et ducentos et signa
 militaria centum triginta duo, equos ducentos triginta;
 aedem etiam Iovi in eo proelio votam, si res prospere
 8 gesta esset. Ceteri Graeci Latinique auctores,
 quorum quidem ego legi annales, nihil memorabile a
 Villio actum integrumque bellum insequentem
 consulem T. Quinctium accepisse tradunt.

VII. Dum haec in Macedonia geruntur, consul
 alter L. Lentulus, qui Romae substiterat, comitia
 2 censoribus creandis habuit. Multis claris petentibus
 viris creati censores P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus
 3 et P. Aelius Paetus. Ii magna inter se concordia et
 senatum sine ullius nota legerunt et portoria venali-
 cium Capuae Puteolisque, item Castrum portorium,
 quo in loco nunc oppidum est, fruendum locarunt
 colonosque eo trecentos—is enim numerus finitus ab
 senatu erat—adscripserunt et sub Tifatis Capuae
 agrum vendiderunt.

4 Sub idem tempus L. Manlius Acidinus ex Hispania

¹ Livy now records the events in Rome of the year 199 B.C.

² The censors could determine also a citizen's classification on the census lists, and so could degrade an individual by placing him in a lower classification. This was accomplished by placing a particular mark (*nota*) opposite his name on the rolls. But in Livy here, this reference is to membership of the Senate only.

³ Capua was not a port, and *portoria venalicium* can not then refer to customs-duties, but must mean some other form of tax on merchandise, most probably a sales-tax of some kind. The town meant in the next clause cannot be identified, but it has been conjectured that it was a town which grew out of one of Hannibal's semi-permanent camps (Pliny, *N.H.* III. 95). If so, it may have been a harbour, and *portorium* would have its ordinary meaning of a "port-tax." My translation takes it thus, and regards *Castrum* as the

river to the bank on which the king's camp lay, B.C. 199
crossed and engaged the enemy; that he defeated the king and put him to flight and expelled him from his camp; that he killed twelve thousand of the enemy in that battle and captured two thousand two hundred, together with one hundred thirty-two standards and two hundred thirty horses; and that he vowed a temple to Jupiter in this battle, if success attended him. The other Greek and Latin writers, at least those whose annals I have consulted, report that Villius did nothing worthy of remark, but handed over to the next consul, Titus Quinctius, the war in the same state that he had received it.

VII. While this was happening in Macedonia,¹ the other consul, Lucius Lentulus, who had remained at Rome, held the meeting for the election of censors. Although many distinguished men were candidates, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus and Publius Aelius Paetus were elected censors. They selected the members of the senate in complete harmony with one another and without putting the brand of infamy² on any man, let the contract for the collection of the sales-tax at Capua and Puteoli and the port-duties of Castra,³ where there is now a town, and for this place enrolled three hundred colonists—for this number had been fixed by the senate—and sold the land of Capua at the foot of Mount Tifata.

At this same time Lucius Manlius Acidinus, on shorter genitive of *Castra*. Possibly we should read *Castrum Portorium* (cf. *Castrum Novum* in XXXVI. iii. 6), but this leaves *fruendum* with no obvious construction. There is corruption in the text of the earlier part of the sentence, and perhaps it extends into this clause; in this case certainty as to the meaning is probably unattainable.

LIVY

A. U. C.
555

decedens, prohibitus a P. Porcio Laeca tribuno plebis ne ovans rediret, cum ab senatu impetrasset, privatus urbem ingrediens mille ducenta pondo argenti, triginta pondo ferme auri in aerarium tulit.

5 Eodem anno Cn. Baebius Tamphilus,¹ qui ab C. Aurelio, consule anni prioris, provinciam Galliam acceperat, temere ingressus Gallorum Insubrum fines prope cum toto exercitu est circumventus: supra sex milia et septingentos milites amisit;

6 tanta ex eo bello, quod iam timeri desierat, clades
7 accepta est. Ea res L. Lentulum consulem ab urbe excivit. Qui ut in provinciam venit plenam tumultus, trepido exercitu accepto praetorem multis probris increpitum provincia decedere atque abire Romam

8 iussit. Neque ipse consul memorabile quicquam gessit, comitiorum causa Romam revocatus; quae ipsa per M. Fulvium et M'. Curium tribunos plebis

9 impediiebantur, quod T. Quinctium Flamininum consulatum ex quaestura petere non patiebantur:

10 iam aedilitatem praeturamque fastidiri, nec per honorum gradus, documentum sui dantes, nobiles homines tendere ad consulatum, sed transcendendo

¹ Tamphilus *Sigonius*: pamphilus *B.*

¹ Manlius, like Lentulus (XXXI. xx.), had commanded in Spain after the return of Scipio (XXVIII. xxxviii. 1), and the situations of the two men, with respect to a triumph, were similar. The opposition of Laeca is more successful than that of Sempronius in the other case.

² Until the enactment of the *lex Villia annalis* in 180 B.C. (XL. xlv. 1), custom alone controlled the sequence in which the offices were held, though sect. 11 below suggests that there were certain legal conditions of eligibility. However, the later legislation that created the *cursus honorum* merely gave

BOOK XXXII. VII. 4-10

his return from Spain, was prevented by Publius B.C. 199
 Porcius Laeca, tribune of the people, from entering
 the city in ovation,¹ although the privilege had been
 granted him by the senate, and, entering the city as
 a private person, deposited in the treasury twelve
 hundred pounds of silver and about thirty pounds of
 gold.

During the same year, Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus,
 who had succeeded Gaius Aurelius, consul of the
 preceding year, as governor of the province of
 Gaul, rashly invaded the territory of the Insubrian
 Gauls and was cut off with almost his entire army;
 he lost more than six thousand seven hundred men;
 such a disaster was suffered in a war that no one
 any longer feared. This event summoned Lucius
 Lentulus the consul from the city. When he arrived
 in a province full of terror and had taken over a
 panic-stricken army, he roundly upbraided the
 praetor and ordered him to leave the province and
 return to Rome. Nor did the consul, even, accomplish
 anything worth recording, being recalled to Rome to
 hold the elections; the actual meetings were blocked
 by the plebeian tribunes Marcus Fulvius and Manius
 Curius, because they would not allow Titus Quinctius
 Flaminius to stand for the consulship immediately
 after the quaestorship:² the aedileship and praetor-
 ship, they said, were already treated with contempt,
 and the nobles, without passing through the offices
 in succession, and so giving proof of their worth,
 were aiming straight at the consulship and, leaping
 over the intermediate stages, were making the

legal form to the prevailing practice, which was that the
 offices of quaestor, aedile, praetor, and consul should normally
 be held in that order.

LIVY

- A.U.C. 555 11 *media summa imis continuare. Res ex campestri certamine in senatum pervenit. Patres censuerunt, qui honorem quem sibi capere per leges liceret peteret, in eo populo creandi quem velit potestatem*
 12 *fieri aequum esse. In auctoritate patrum fuere tribuni. Creati consules Sex. Aelius Paetus et*
 13 *T. Quinctius Flaminius. Inde praetorum comitia habita. Creati L. Cornelius Merula, M. Claudius Marcellus, M. Porcius Cato, C. Helvius,¹ qui aediles plebis fuerant. Ab iis ludi plebei instaurati; et*
 14 *epulum Iovis fuit ludorum causa. Et ab aedilibus curulibus C. Valerio Flacco, flamine Diali, et C. Cornelio Cethego ludi Romani magno apparatu facti.*
 15 *Ser. et C. Sulpicii² Galbae pontifices eo anno mortui sunt; in eorum locum M. Aemilius Lepidus et Cn. Cornelius Scipio pontifices suffecti sunt.*

A.U.C. 556

- VIII. Sex. Aelius Paetus T. Quinctius Flaminius magistratu inito senatum in Capitolio cum habuissent, decreverunt patres, ut provincias Macedoniam atque Italiam consules compararent inter se sortirentur; 2 utri eorum Macedonia evenisset, in supplementum legionum tria milia militum Romanorum scriberet et trecentos equites, item sociorum Latini nominis 3 quinque milia peditum, quingentos equites. Alteri

¹ C. Helvius *Gelenius*: caelus B: caelius B².

² et C. Sulpicii Galbae *Sigonius*: sulpicius et galba B.

¹ The centuriate assembly met in the Campus Martius: hence *campestri*.

² The phrase *per leges liceret* may be rather negative in force: "it was not expressly forbidden." No legislation fixing eligibility qualifications is known to us antedating the *lex Villia* (see note to sect. 9 above), and had there been age limits, Flaminius, who was about thirty years of age (XXXIII. xxxiii. 3), would probably have been excluded by them. The

BOOK XXXII. VII. 10-VIII. 3

highest distinctions continuous with the lowest. B.C. 199
 After being debated in the assembly,¹ the matter was referred to the senate. The Fathers voted that it seemed proper that the right should reside in the people to elect anyone they chose who sought an office it was legally permissible to him to hold.² The tribunes yielded to the senate's will. Sextus Aelius Paetus and Titus Quinctius Flaminius were chosen consuls. Then the praetorian elections were held. The choice fell on Lucius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Marcus Porcius Cato, and Gaius Helvius, who had been plebeian aediles.³ By them the Plebeian Games were repeated, and a banquet to Jupiter was held on the occasion of the games. Also, the Roman Games were celebrated with great splendour by the curule aediles Gaius Valerius Flaccus (who was Flamen Dialis) and Gaius Cornelius Cethegus. Servius and Gaius Sulpicius Galba, pontiffs, died that year; in their place Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio were appointed pontiffs.

VIII. When Sextus Aelius Paetus and Titus B.C. 198
 Quinctius Flaminius had been inaugurated and had convened the senate on the Capitoline, the senate decreed that the consuls should arrange between themselves or cast lots for the provinces of Macedonia and Italy; whichever of them was allotted Macedonia was authorized to enlist, as reinforcement to the legions, three thousand Roman infantry and three hundred cavalry, and besides five thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry of the allies of

phrase then may refer to restrictions such as that which limited the tribunate to plebeians.

¹ The clause refers to Cato and Helvius alone.

LIVY

A. U. C.
666

consuli novus omnis exercitus decretus. L. Lentulo, prioris anni consuli, prorogatum imperium, vetitusque aut ipse provincia decedere prius aut veterem deducere exercitum, quam cum legionibus novis
 4 consul venisset. Sortiti consules provincias; Aelio
 5 Italia, Quinctio Macedonia evenit. Praetores L.¹ Cornelius Merula urbanam, M. Claudius Siciliam, M. Porcius Sardiniam, C. Helvius Galliam est sortitus.
 6 Dilectus inde haberi est coeptus; nam praeter consulares exercitus praetoribus² quoque iussi scribere
 7 milites erant, Marcello in Siciliam quattuor milia peditum socium et Latini nominis et trecentos equites, Catoni in Sardiniam ex eodem genere militum
 8 duo milia peditum, ducentos equites, ita ut ii praetores ambo cum in provincias venissent, veteres dimitterent pedites equitesque.
 9 Attali deinde regis legatos in senatum consules introduxerunt. Ii regem classe sua copiisque omnibus terra marique rem Romanam iuvare quaeque imperarent Romani consules, impigre atque oboedienter ad eam diem fecisse cum exposuissent, vereri
 10 dixerunt, ne id praestare ei per Antiochum regem ultra non liceret; vacuum namque praesidiis navalibus terrestribusque regnum Attali Antiochum invasisse.
 11 Itaque Attalum orare patres conscriptos, si sua classi suaque opera uti ad Macedonicum bellum vellent, mitterent ipsi praesidium ad regnum eius tutandum; si id nollent, ipsum ad sua defendenda cum

¹ L. *edd.* : t. B.

² praetoribus *Crévier* : praetores B.

BOOK XXXII. VIII. 3-11

the Latin confederacy. An entirely new army was provided for the other consul. The command of Lucius Lentulus, consul of the previous year, was extended, and he was ordered not to leave the province himself or to discharge the veteran troops until the consul arrived with the new legions. The consuls drew lots for the provinces: Italy fell to Aelius, Macedonia to Quinctius. The praetors then drew, Lucius Cornelius Merula receiving the city jurisdiction, Marcus Claudius Sicily, Marcus Porcius Sardinia, Gaius Helvius Gaul. They then began to conduct the levy; for in addition to the consular armies the enlistment of troops for the praetors as well was ordered; for Marcellus, for service in Sicily, four thousand infantry of the allies and the Latin confederacy and three hundred cavalry; for Cato, two thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry from the same source for Sardinia, so that these two praetors, on arrival in their provinces, could send home their veteran infantry and cavalry.

The consuls then presented to the senate ambassadors from King Attalus. When they had explained that the king was aiding the Roman cause on land and sea with his fleet and all his forces, and had up to that day zealously and loyally performed whatever the Roman consuls ordered, they said that there was ground for fear that by reason of the activity of King Antiochus he could not guarantee to continue; for Antiochus had invaded the kingdom of Attalus when it was stripped of the protection of its navy and army. Therefore Attalus begged the senators, if they wished to employ his fleet and forces for the Macedonian war, themselves to send forces to defend his kingdom; if they did not, to permit him to return

LIVY

A.U.C.
556

12 classe ac reliquis copiis redire paterentur. Senatus
legatis ita responderi iussit: quod rex Attalus classe
copiisque aliis duces Romanos iuvisset, id gratum
13 senatui esse; auxilia nec ipsos missuros Attalo
adversus Antiochum, socium et amicum populi
Romani, nec Attali auxilia retenturos ultra, quam
14 regi commodum esset; semper populum Romanum
alienis rebus arbitrio alieno usum; et principium et
finem in potestatem ipsorum, qui ope sua velint
15 adiutos Romanos, esse; legatos ad Antiochum
missuros, qui nuntient Attali naviumque eius
et militum opera adversus Philippum communem
16 hostem uti populum Romanum; gratum eum
facturum senatui, si regno Attali abstineat belloque
absistat; aequum esse socios et amicos populi
Romani reges inter se quoque ipsos pacem servare.

IX. Consulem T. Quinctium ita habito dilectu, ut
eos fere legeret, qui in Hispania aut Africa meruissent,
spectatae virtutis milites, properantem in provinciam
prodigia nuntiata atque eorum procuratio Romae
2 tenuerunt. De caelo tacta erant via publica Veis,
forum et aedes Iovis Lanuvi, Herculis aedes Ardeae,
Capuae murus et turrets et aedes, quae alba dicitur;
3 caelum ardere visum erat Arreti; terra Velitris
trium iugerum spatium caverna ingenti desederat;
Suessae Auruncae nuntiabant agnum cum duobus
capitibus natum et Sinuessae porcum cum ¹ humano

¹ porcum cum *Duker*: porcum *B.*

to defend his possessions with his fleet and other troops. B.C. 198
 The senate ordered this reply given the ambassadors : that the senate appreciated the fact that King Attalus had aided the Roman generals with his fleet and other forces ; that they would neither themselves send aid to Attalus against Antiochus, an ally and friend of the Roman people, nor keep Attalus' troops longer than was convenient for the king ; that the Roman people had always employed the property of others at the pleasure of those others ; that both the beginning and the end of rendering assistance was under the control of those who wished the Roman people to enjoy their aid ; that they would send ambassadors to Antiochus to point out that the Roman people was employing the aid of Attalus and his ships and soldiers against the common enemy Philip ; that he would oblige the senate by keeping away from the kingdom of Attalus and refraining from war, and that it was proper that kings who were allies and friends of the Roman people should likewise be at peace with one another.

IX. The consul Titus Quinctius, when he had conducted his levy in such a way as to select generally soldiers of tried courage who had served in Spain or Africa, and was hastening his departure for his province, was detained by reports of prodigies and by their expiation. Lightning struck a public highway at Veii, the forum and temple of Jupiter at Lanuvium, the temple of Hercules at Ardea, the wall and towers and the so-called " White Temple " at Capua ; flames were seen in the sky at Arretium ; the earth subsided in a great cavern three *iugera* in extent at Velitrae ; at Suessa Aurunca men said that a two-headed lamb was born, and at Sinuessa

LIVY

A.U.C.
556

- 4 capite. Eorum prodigiorum causa supplicatio unum
diem habita, et consules rebus divinis operam dede-
runt placatisque diis in provincias profecti sunt,
5 Aelius cum Helvio praetore in Galliam; exercitumque
ab L. Lentulo acceptum, quem dimittere debebat,
praetori tradidit, ipse novis legionibus, quas secum
adduxerat, bellum gesturus. Neque memorabilis
rei quicquam gessit.¹
- 6 T. Quinctius alter consul maturius quam priores
soliti erant consules, a Brundisio cum tramisisset,
Corcyram tenuit cum octo milibus peditum, equitibus
7 octingentis.² Ab Corcyra in proxima Epiri quin-
queremi traiecit et in castra Romana magnis itineri-
8 bus contendit. Inde Villio dimisso paucos moratus
dies, dum se copiae ab Corcyra adsequerentur,
consilium habuit, utrum recto itinere per castra
9 hostium vim facere conaretur, an ne temptata quidem
re tanti laboris ac periculi per Dassaretios potius
Lyncumque tuto circuitu Macedoniam intraret.
10 Vicissetque ea sententia, ni timuisset, ne, cum a mari
longius recessisset, emisso e manibus hoste, si,
quod antea fecerat, solitudinibus silvisque se tutari
rex voluisset, sine ullo effectu aestas extraheretur.
11 Utcumque esset igitur, illo ipso tam iniquo loco
adgredi hostem placuit. Sed magis fieri id placebat,
quam, quomodo fieret, satis expediebant.

¹ gessit *Madvig* : gessit et *B.*

² octingentis *Glareanus* : d *B.*

¹ The narrative continues from the arrival of Quinctius (vi. 4 above); see the note.

BOOK XXXII. IX. 3-11

a pig with a man's head. By reason of these prodigies a day of prayer was proclaimed, and the consuls attended to the sacrifices and, having appeased the gods, departed to their provinces, Aelius with the praetor Helvius to Gaul; and the army which he received from Lucius Lentulus, and which he was under obligation to discharge, he turned over to the praetor, intending himself to conduct the war with the new legions which he had brought with him. Nor did he accomplish anything noteworthy. B.C. 198

When the other consul, Titus Quinctius, had crossed from Brundisium earlier than previous consuls had been wont to leave, he proceeded to Corcyra with eight thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry.¹ From Corcyra he crossed in a quinquereme to the nearest parts of Epirus and hastened rapidly to the Roman camp. There he delayed a few days after sending Villius home, until the troops from Corcyra overtook him, and held a council, whether to attempt to force a passage straight through the enemy's camp or, without even trying so difficult and dangerous a feat, to proceed into Macedonia rather by the safe but longer route through the Dassaretii and by way of Lynceus. And this latter view would have prevailed had there not been the fear that, when he had moved farther from the sea, he would let the enemy slip from his grasp, if, as had happened before, the king preferred to safeguard himself in wildernesses and forests, and the summer would be spent in vain. Whatever might then be the result, it was decided to attack the enemy, even on this very unfavourable terrain. But the council was firmer in its resolution to do this than clear as to how to accomplish it.

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X. Diesque quadraginta sine ullo conatu sedentes
 in conspectu hostium absumpserant. Inde spes
 data Philippo est per Epirotarum gentem temp-
 2 tandae pacis; habitoque concilio delecti ad eam rem
 agendam Pausanias praetor et Alexander magister
 equitum consulem et regem, ubi in artissimas ripas
 Aous cogitur amnis, in colloquium adduxerunt.
 3 Summa postulatorum consulis erat: praesidia ex
 civitatibus rex deduceret; iis, quorum agros urbesque
 populatus esset, redderet res quae comparerent;
 4 ceterorum aequo arbitrio aestimatio fieret. Philip-
 pus aliam aliarum civitatum condicionem esse
 respondit: quas ipse cepisset, eas liberaturum;
 quae sibi traditae a maioribus essent, earum here-
 5 ditaria ac iusta possessione non excessurum. Si
 quas quererentur belli clades eae civitates, cum
 quibus bellatum foret, arbitrio quo vellent populorum,
 6 cum quibus pax utrisque fuisset, se usurum. Consul
 nihil ad id quidem arbitro aut iudice opus esse dicere:
 cui enim non apparere ab eo, qui prior arma intulisset,
 iniuriam ortam, nec Philippum ab ullis bello laces-
 7 situm priorem vim omnibus fecisse? Inde cum agere-
 tur, quae civitates liberandae essent, Thessalos primos
 omnium nominavit consul. Ad id vero adeo accensus
 indignatione est rex, ut exclamaret: "Quid victo
 8 gravius imperares, T. Quincti?" atque ita se ex
 colloquio proripuit; et temperatum aegre est, quin

¹ The exact significance of these titles, as applied to these individuals, is unknown.

X. Thus, sitting in sight of the enemy, they had B.C. 198
wasted forty days without attempting anything. And so Philip was encouraged to try peace proposals through the mediation of the people of Epirus, and, after a council had been called, Pausanias the praetor and Alexander the master of the horse,¹ chosen for the purpose, brought the consul and the king together in a conference at the point where the river Aous is confined within its narrowest course. The substance of the consul's demands was this: The king should withdraw his garrisons from the cities; he should restore what property was recoverable to those whose lands and towns he had ravaged; a valuation should be made of the rest by an impartial board. Philip replied that the status of the several cities was not uniform: those which he had himself captured, he would set free; of those which he had received from his forefathers he would not surrender his hereditary and lawful possession. If these states with which he had fought complained of any losses due to war, he would submit to arbiters chosen by them from nations with which both parties were at peace. The consul responded that for this purpose there was no need of any arbiter or umpire: for to whom was it not evident that he who had been the aggressor in war inflicted the injury, and that Philip, attacked by none, had first waged war on all? Then, when they came to discuss what states were to be set free, the consul named the Thessalians before all the rest. At this the king became so incensed with rage that he exclaimed, "What heavier command, Titus Quinctius, could you lay upon a beaten foe?" and so rushed from the conference; and he was with difficulty restrained from beginning the

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missilibus, quia dirempti medio amni fuerant, pugnam
 9 inter se consererent. Postero die per excursiones
 ab stationibus primo in planitie satis ad id patenti
 10 multa levia commissa proelia sunt; deinde recipien-
 tibus se regiis in arta et confragosa loca aviditate
 accensi certaminis eo quoque Romani penetravere.
 11 Pro his ordo et militaris disciplina et genus armorum
 erat, aptum¹ tegendis corporibus; pro hoste loca et
 catapultae ballistaeque in omnibus prope rupibus
 12 quasi in muro dispositae. Multis hinc atque illinc
 vulneribus acceptis, cum etiam, ut in proelio iusto,
 aliquot cecidissent, nox pugnae finem facit.

XI. Cum in hoc statu res esset, pastor quidam
 a Charopo, principe Epirotarum, missus deducitur
 2 ad consulem. Is se in eo saltu, qui regiis tum
 teneretur castris, armentum pascere solitum ait
 omnes montium eorum amfractus callesque nosse.
 3 Si secum aliquos consul mittere velit, se non iniquo
 nec perdifficili aditu super caput hostium eos educ-
 4 turum.² Haec ubi consul audivit, percunctatum ad
 Charopum mittit, satisne credendum super tanta re
 agresti censeret. Charopus renuntiari iubet, ita
 crederet, ut suae potius omnia quam illius potestatis
 5 essent. Cum magis vellet credere quam auderet mix-
 tumque gaudio et metu animum gereret, auctoritate
 6 motus Charopi experiri spem oblatam statuit et, ut

¹ aptum *Gelenius*: amplum *B.*

² educturum *Gronovius*: deducturum *B.*

battle with missiles, since they were separated by the intervening river. The next day, in consequence of sallies from the outposts, there were numerous slight skirmishes in the plain, which afforded ample space for them; then, as the royal forces withdrew to the steep and rugged hillsides, the Romans too, carried away by their zest for combat, forced their way to the same places. On their side were the advantages of order and discipline and armour adapted to affording protection to the wearer; on the enemy's, the terrain and the catapults and ballistae ranged on almost all the cliffs as along a wall. When many had been wounded on both sides, and a considerable number had even fallen, as in a regular engagement, night put an end to the fighting.

XI. When matters were in this state, a shepherd, sent by Charopus, a leading man of Epirus, was brought before the consul. He said that he had been accustomed to pasture his flocks in the valley which the king's camp then occupied, and knew all the tracks and paths of those hills. If the consul wished to send some men with him, he would guide them by a road, quite level and not very difficult, to a place commanding the enemy's position. The consul, on hearing this, sent to Charopus to inquire whether he thought the shepherd should be trusted in so important a matter. Charopus ordered the message back to be that he should trust him, but only so far as to keep the control of the situation in his own hands rather than in the shepherd's. Wishing, rather than venturing, to trust him, and with feelings of mingled joy and apprehension, he was persuaded by the assurances of Charopus and determined to use the chance presented to him,

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averteret regem¹ ab suspicione, biduo insequenti
 laccessere hostem dispositis ab omni parte copiis
 succedentibusque integris in locum defessorum non
 7 destitit. Quattuor milia inde lecta peditum et
 trecentos equites tribuno militum tradit. Equites
 quoad loca patiantur ducere iubet; ubi ad invia
 equiti ventum sit, in planitie aliqua locari equitatum,
 8 pedites, qua dux monstraret viam, ire; ubi, ut
 polliceatur, super caput hostium perventum sit, fumo
 dare signum nec antea clamorem tollere, quam ab
 se signo recepto pugnam coeptam arbitrari posset.
 9 Nocte itinera fieri iubet—et pernox² forte luna erat—
 interdiu cibi quietisque sumeret tempus. Ducem
 promissis ingentibus oneratum, si fides extet, vinctum
 10 tamen tribuno tradit. His copiis ita dimissis eo
 intentius Romanus undique instat, capit³ stationes.

XII. Interim die tertio cum verticem quem petie-
 rant Romani cepisse ac tenere se fumo significarent,
 tum vero trifariam divisis copiis consul valle media
 cum militum robore succedit, cornua dextra laevaue
 admovet castris; nec segnius hostes obviam eunt.
 2 Et dum aviditate certaminis provecti extra muni-
 tiones pugnant, haud paulo superior est Romanus
 miles et virtute et scientia et genere armorum;

¹ regem *Harant*: rem *B*.

² pernox *edd.*: per noctem *B*.

³ No entirely satisfactory emendation of *capit* of *B* has been proposed.

¹ The corruption in the text makes the meaning uncertain.

and, to prevent the king from suspecting, he did not B.C. 198
 cease for two successive days to attack the enemy, posting detachments on all sides and sending fresh troops to relieve the weary. Then he put a tribune in command of four thousand picked infantry and three hundred cavalry. He ordered him to take the cavalry as far as the ground permitted; when the road became impassable for cavalry, he should leave them on some level spot and go with the infantry wherever the guide conducted them; when he reached, as the guide promised, the place above the enemy, the tribune should send up a smoke-signal but raise no shout until, after the answering signal had been received from him, he could judge that the battle had begun. He instructed the tribune to march by night—and the moon happened to be full—and by day to take time for food and rest. The guide, loaded with magnificent promises, if he should keep faith, but nevertheless in chains, he turned over to the tribune. Having thus sent out his troops, the Roman pressed the attack the more vigorously from all sides, selected vantage-grounds.¹

XII. Meanwhile, on the third day, when the Romans had sent up the smoke-signal that they had reached and were holding the height which they had sought, then in earnest the consul formed his army in three columns and marched with the flower of his troops up the middle of the valley and hurled his right and left wings against the camp; the enemy came to meet him with no less vigour. And while, carried forward by their desire to fight, they were struggling outside the breastworks, the Roman army enjoyed no small advantage in courage and skill and character of weapons; but after the

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3 postquam multis vulneratis interfectisque recepere se
regii in loca aut munimento aut natura tuta, verterat
periculum in Romanos temere in loca iniqua nec
4 faciles ad receptum angustias progressos. Neque
impunita temeritate inde recepissent sese, ni clamor
primum ab tergo auditus, dein pugna etiam coepta
5 amentes repentino terrore regios fecisset. Pars in
fugam effusi sunt; pars magis quia¹ locus fugae
deerat, quam quod animi satis esset ad pugnam,
cum substitissent, ab hoste et a fronte et ab tergo
6 urgente circumventi sunt. Deleri totus exercitus
7 potuit, si fugientes persecuti victores essent; sed
equitem angustiae locorumque asperitas, peditem
8 armorum gravitas impediit. Rex primo effuse ac
sine respectu fugit; dein quinque milium spatium
progressus, cum ex iniquitate locorum, id quod erat,
suspicatus esset, sequi non posse hostem, substitit
in tumulo quodam dimisitque suos per omnia iuga
9 vallesque, qui palatos in unum colligerent. Non
plus duobus milibus hominum amissis cetera omnis
multitudo, velut signum aliquod secuta, in unum
cum convenisset, frequenti agmine petunt Thessaliam.
10 Romani quoad tutum fuit insecuti caedentes spolian-
tesque caesos, castra regia, etiam sine defensoribus
difficili aditu, diripiunt; atque ea nocte in suis
castris manserunt.

XIII. Postero die consul per ipsas angustias, quas
inter valle se² flumen insinuat, hostem sequitur.

¹ magis quia *Muretus* : quia magis *B.*

² valle se *Weissenborn* : valles *B.*

BOOK XXXII. XII. 3-XIII. 1

king's troops, when many had been wounded and killed, retired to positions strengthened by art or strong by nature, the danger recoiled upon the Romans, who pushed forward impetuously over unfavourable ground and cramped places that hindered easy withdrawal. Nor would they have succeeded in getting away without suffering for their rashness had not first a shout been heard from the rear and then an attack from that side too driven the king's troops mad with sudden panic. Part broke in a rout; others, when they had made a stand, more because they had no place to flee than because they had sufficient will to fight, were cut off by the enemy pressing on from both front and rear. The whole army could have been destroyed if the victors had pursued the routed enemy; but the narrow roads and the rough country hindered the cavalry, the weight of their arms the infantry. At first the king fled headlong and without looking back; then, having travelled five miles, suspecting what proved to be true, that the enemy could not follow on account of the unfavourable ground, he stopped on a certain hill and sent out messengers throughout the ridges and valleys to collect the stragglers in one place. When all the army (except not more than two thousand men who were lost) had come to the same place, as if following some signal, they made for Thessaly in solid column. The Romans followed as far as it was safe, killing and despoiling the slain, and plundered the king's camp, which, even when undefended, was difficult to approach; and spent that night in their own camp.

XIII. The next day the consul followed the enemy along the defile through which the river makes its

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2 Rex primo die ad castra Pyrrhi pervenit; locus quem
 ita vocant est in Triphylia terrae Molottidis. Inde
 postero die—ingens iter agmini, sed metus urgebat—
 3 in montes Lyncon perrexit. Ipsi Epiri sunt, inter-
 iecti Macedoniae Thessaliaeque; latus, quod vergit in
 Thessaliam, oriens spectat, septentrio a Macedonia
 obicitur. Vestiti frequentibus silvis sunt; iuga
 summa campos patentes aquasque perennes habent.
 4 Ibi stativis rex per aliquot dies habitis fluctuatus
 animo est, utrum protinus in regnum se reciperet,
 5 an praeverti in Thessaliam posset. Inclinauit sen-
 tentia ut in Thessaliam agmen dmitteret, Tric-
 camque proximis limitibus petit; inde obvias urbes
 6 raptim peragravit. Homines qui sequi possent
 sedibus excibat; oppida incendebat. Rerum suarum
 quas possent ferendarum secum dominis ius fiebat,
 7 cetera militis praeda erat. Nec, quod ab hoste
 crudelius pati possent, reliqui quicquam fuit, quam
 8 quae ab sociis patiebantur. Haec etiam facienti
 Philippo acerba erant, sed e terra mox futura hostium
 9 corpora saltem eripere sociorum volebat. Ita evas-
 tata oppida sunt Phacium, Iresiae, Euhydrium,
 Eretria, Palaepharsalus. Pheras cum peteret,
 exclusus, quia res egebat mora, si expugnare vellet,
 nec tempus erat, omisso incepto in Macedoniam
 10 transcendit; nam etiam Aetolos adpropinquare fama
 erat. Qui audito proelio, quod circa amnem Aoum

BOOK XXXII. XIII. 2-10

way down the valley. The king on the first day B.C. 198 reached the camp of Pyrrhus; the place called by this name is in Triphylia and belongs to the territory of Molottis. The next day—an over-long march for an army, but fear drove them on—they reached thence the Lynceus mountains. This range is in Epirus, lying between Macedonia and Thessaly; the side which overlooks Thessaly faces east, the northern, Macedonia. It is clothed with abundant forests; the summits of the ridges offer open fields and ever-flowing springs. There Philip remained in camp for several days, uncertain in mind whether he should straightway return to his kingdom or try to beat the enemy into Thessaly. His decision was to lead the army into Thessaly, and he moved to Tricca by the shortest routes; then he rapidly traversed the towns in his way. He summoned from their homes the men who could follow; the towns he burned. The owners were allowed to carry with them what they could of their possessions; the rest was booty for the army. Nor was there any hardship unexperienced, which an enemy could inflict, greater than what they suffered at the hands of their allies. Such actions were distasteful to Philip even as he did them, but he wished to rescue, from a land that was soon to belong to his enemies, at least the persons of his allies. So Phacium, Iresiae, Euhydrium, Eretria, Palaepharsalus, were destroyed. Excluded from Pherae, when he tried to take it, because it would require time if he tried to capture it, and he had no time, he gave up that undertaking and crossed into Macedonia; for it was rumoured that the Aetolians were close at hand. They, having heard of the battle at

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factum erat, proximis prius evastatis circa Sperchias et Macran quam vocant Comen, transgressi inde in Thessaliam Cymenes et Angeias primo impetu
 11 potiti sunt. A Metropoli, dum vastant agros, concursu oppidanorum ad tuenda moenia facto repulsi sunt. Callithera inde adgressi similem impetum
 12 oppidanorum pertinacius sustinuerunt; compulsisque intra moenia qui eruperant, contenti ea victoria, quia spes nulla admodum expugnandi erat, absceserunt. Teuma inde et Celathara vicos expugnant
 13 diripiuntque; Acharras per deditionem receperunt.
 14 Xyniae simili metu a cultoribus desertae sunt. Hoc sedibus suis extorre agmen in praesidium incidit, quod ad Thaumacum, quo tutior frumentatio esset, ducebatur; incondita inermisque multitudo, mixta et imbelli¹ turba, ab armatis caesa est. Xyniae desertae diripiuntur. Cyphaera inde Aetoli capiunt,
 15 opportune Dolopiae imminens castellum. Haec raptim intra paucos dies ab Aetolis gesta. Nec Amynder atque Athamanes post famam prosperae pugnae Romanorum quieverunt.

XIV. Ceterum Amynder, quia suo militi parum fidebat, petito a consule modico praesidio cum Gomphos peteret, oppidum protinus nomine Phaecam situm inter Gomphos faucesque angustas, quae ab
 2 Athamania Thessaliam dirimunt, vi cepit. Inde Gomphos adortus est,² et per aliquot dies summa vi

¹ et imbelli *M. Müller* : ex imbelli *B.*

² est *Weissenborn* : om. *B.*

¹ Probably the place called Thaumaci in chap. iv. above

the Aous river, and having laid waste the country B.C. 198 close around Sperchiaë and Macra, which they call Come, crossed thence into Thessaly and captured Cymene and Angeia at the first assault. From Metropolis, while they were devastating the farms, they were driven back, the townsmen having collected to defend their walls. When they attacked Callithera they sustained more stubbornly a similar sally of townspeople; and driving back within their own walls the party that had made the sally, they departed, content with this success, because they had no real hope of capturing the town. Next they took and sacked the villages of Teuma and Celathara and received Acharrae in surrender. Xyniaë was abandoned by the inhabitants in similar fear. The procession of its citizens, exiles from their homes, fell in with a garrison which was on its way to Thaumacus,¹ that it might forage in greater security; the undisciplined and unarmed mass, mingled too with the unwarlike mob, was slaughtered by the soldiers. The abandoned city of Xyniaë was looted. The Aetolians next captured Cyphaera, a fortress favourably situated to threaten Dolopia. Such is the record of the Aetolians' swift campaign of a few days. Nor did Amynder and the Athamanes remain quiet after they heard of the Roman victory.

XIV. But when Amynder, having asked the consul for a small detachment, since he had little confidence in his own men, was moving on Gomphi, he immediately took by storm a town called Phaeca, lying between Gomphi and the narrow pass which separates Athamania and Thessaly. Then he attacked Gomphi, and the inhabitants, after defending the city with all their might for some days, were

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tuentes urbem, cum iam scalas ad moenia ercxisset,
 3 eo demum¹ metu perpulit ad deditionem. Haec
 traditio Gomphorum ingentem terrorem Thessalis
 intulit. Dedidere deinceps sese qui Argenta quique
 Pherinium et Timarum et Ligynas et Strymonem et
 Lampsum habent aliaque castella iuxta ignobilia.

4 Dum Athamanes Aetolique submoto Macedonum
 metu in aliena victoria suam praedam faciunt, Thes-
 saliaque ab tribus simul exercitibus incerta, quem
 5 hostem quemve socium crederet, vastatur, consul
 faucibus, quas fuga hostium aperuerat, in regionem
 Epiri transgressus, etsi probe scit cui parti Charopo
 6 principe excepto Epirotae favissent, tamen quia ab
 satisfaciendi quoque cura imperata enixe facere videt,
 ex praesenti eos potius quam ex praeterito aestimat
 habitu et ea ipsa facilitate veniae animos eorum in
 7 posterum conciliat. Missis deinde nuntiis Corcyram,
 ut onerariae naves in sinum venirent Ambracium,
 ipse progressus modicis itineribus quarto die in
 monte Cercetio posuit castra, eodem Amynandro
 8 cum suis auxiliis accito, non tam virium eius egens,
 quam ut duces in Thessaliam haberet. Ab eodem
 consilio et plerique Epirotarum voluntarii inter auxilia
 accepti.

XV. Primam urbem Thessaliae Phaloriam est
 adgressus. Duo milia Macedonum in praesidio
 habebat, qui primo summa vi restiterunt, quantum

¹ eo demum *Perizonius* : eodem *B.*

BOOK XXXII. XIV. 2-XV. 1

finally reduced to surrender by their fear, when he had placed his scaling-ladders against the walls. The surrender of Gomphi caused great terror to the Thessalians. In turn the inhabitants of Argenta and Pherinium and Timarum and Ligynae and Strymon and Lampsus and other insignificant forts in the vicinity surrendered. B.C. 198

While the Aetolians and Athamanes, laying aside their fear of Macedonia, were reaping, through plundering, the fruits of another's victory, and Thessaly was being wasted by three armies at once, not knowing which to believe was foe and which ally, the consul marched into the country of Epirus through the pass which had been laid open by the flight of the enemy; although he knew full well which side the Epirotes favoured, with the exception of one leading citizen, Charopus, nevertheless, because he saw them zealously carrying out his orders in their desire to please him, he judged them rather by their present than their past behaviour, and won over, by his readiness to pardon, their support for the future. Then, sending messengers to Corcyra, that the cargo-ships should proceed to the Ambracian gulf, he advanced by easy marches and on the fourth day encamped on Mount Cercetius, summoning there Amynder with his auxiliaries, not so much from need of his assistance as that he might have guides into Thessaly. From the same motive, many volunteers of the Epirotes were enlisted for service with the auxiliaries.

XV. The first city of Thessaly to be attacked was Phaloria. It had a garrison of two thousand Macedonians, which at first resisted with the greatest energy, using every resource for defence which their

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2 arma, quantum moenia tueri poterant. Sed oppug-
natio continua, non nocte non die remissa, cum consul
in eo verti crederet ceterorum Thessalorum animos,
si primi vim Romanam non sustinuissent, vicit per-
3 tinaciam Macedonum. Capta Phaloria legati a
Metropoli et a Cierio dedentes urbes venerunt.
Veniam eisdem petentibus datur; Phaloria incensa
4 ac direpta est. Inde Aeginium petit; quem locum
cum vel modico praesidio tutum ac prope inexpug-
nabilem vidisset, paucis in stationem proximam telis
coniectis ad Gomphorum regionem agmen vertit.
5 Degressusque in campos Thessaliae, cum iam omnia
exercitui deessent, quia Epirotarum pepercerat
agris, explorato ante, utrum Leucadem an sinum
Ambracium onerariae tenuissent, frumentatum Am-
6 braciam in vicem cohortes misit; et est iter a Gomphis
Ambraciam sicut impeditum ac difficile, ita spatio per-
7 brevi. Intra paucos itaque dies transvectis a mari
commeatibus repleta omni rerum copia sunt castra.
8 Inde Atracem est profectus. Decem ferme milia ab
Larisa abest; ex Perrhaebia oriundi sunt; sita est
9 urbs super Peneum amnem. Nihil trepidavere
Thessali ad primum adventum Romanorum; et
Philippus sicut in Thessaliam ipse progredi non aude-
bat, ita intra Tempe stativis positus, ut quisque
locus ab hoste temptabatur, praesidia per occasiones
summittebat.

XVI. Sub idem fere tempus quo consul adversus

BOOK XXXII. xv. 1-xvi. 1

arms and fortifications gave them. But the persistent B.C. 198
 siege, relaxed by neither night nor day, since the consul thought that the attitude of the other Thessalians depended on whether the first had held out against the Roman attack, broke down the resistance of the Macedonians. After the capture of Phaloria delegations came from Metropolis and Cierium offering the surrender of these cities. Their request was granted; Phaloria was burned and destroyed. Then he proceeded against Aeginium; seeing that the place was very strong and almost impregnable, with even a small garrison, he hurled a few weapons against the outpost and turned his course towards the region around Gomphi. And descending into the plains of Thessaly, since the army was now in want of everything, because he had spared the farms of the Epirotes, he sent scouts in advance to ascertain whether the supply-ships had headed for Leucas or the Ambracian gulf, and sent the cohorts in relays to Ambracia to provision; and the road from Gomphi to Ambracia, while difficult and hard to travel, is short. And so in a few days, the supplies having been transported from the fleet, the camp was full of an abundance of all things. Thence he marched to Atrax. It is about ten miles from Larisa; its people are sprung from Perrhaebia; the town lies above the river Peneus. At first the Thessalians felt no concern at the coming of the Romans; and as for Philip, while he did not dare himself to move into Thessaly, yet, established in a base camp within Tempe, he sent troops as occasion arose, as each point was threatened by the enemy.

XVI. At about the same time that the consul had first established his camp face to face with

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Philippum primum in Epiri faucibus posuit castra,
 2 et L. Quinctius frater consulis, cui classis cura
 maritimaeque orae imperium mandatum ab senatu
 erat, cum duabus quinqueremibus Corcyram travec-
 tus, postquam profectam inde classem audivit,
 3 nihil morandum ratus, cum ad Samen insulam adsecu-
 4 tus esset, dimisso Livio, cui successerat, tarde inde
 ad Maleum trahendis plerumque remulco navibus,
 5 quae cum commeatu sequebantur, pervenit. A
 Maleo, iussis ceteris, quantum maxime possent
 maturare, sequi, ipse tribus quinqueremibus ex-
 peditis Piraeum praecedit accepitque naves relictas
 ibi ab L. Apustio legato ad praesidium Athenarum.
 6 Eodem tempore duae ex Asia classes profectae, una
 cum Attalo rege—eae quattuor et viginti quinque-
 remes erant—Rhodia altera viginti navium tectarum;
 7 Agesimbrotus praecerat. Hae circa Andrum insulam
 classes coniunctae Euboeam inde exiguo distantem
 8 freto traiecerunt. Carystiorum primum agros vas-
 tarunt; deinde, ubi Carystus praesidio a Chalcide
 raptim misso firma visa est, ad Eretriam accesserunt.
 9 Eodem et L. Quinctius cum iis navibus quae Piraei
 fuerant Attali regis adventu audito venit iussis, ut
 quaeque ex sua classe venissent naves, Euboeam
 10 petere. Eretria summa vi oppugnabatur; nam et
 trium iunctarum classium naves omnis generis
 tormenta machinasque ad urbium excidia secum

¹ Livy now describes the naval operations of the same summer. Lucius Quinctius, while junior to Titus in official status, was older.

² At XXXI. xlvii. 2 Apustius was in command of the fleet,
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Philip in the passes of Epirus, Lucius Quinctius, B.C. 198
 the brother of the consul,¹ to whom the senate had entrusted the charge of the fleet and the command of the sea-coast, also crossed to Corcyra with two quinqueremes, and when he found that the fleet was gone from there, thinking he should not delay, when he had overtaken the ships at the island of Same, he sent back Livius;² whom he had succeeded, and finally reached Malea, generally towing the ships which were following loaded with supplies. Ordering the rest to follow from Malea with all possible speed, he himself led the way to Piraeus with three light quinqueremes and took over the ships left there by Lucius Apustius the lieutenant to guard Athens. At the same time two fleets sailed from Asia, one under King Attalus—this consisted of twenty-four quinqueremes—and one from Rhodes, comprising twenty decked vessels commanded by Agesimbrotus. These fleets met near the island of Andros and crossed from there to Euboea, separated from Andros by a narrow stretch of water. They first ravaged the lands of the Carystii; then, since Carystus seemed strong, a garrison having been hastily sent from Chalcis, they went on towards Eretria. There Lucius Quinctius also came with the ships from Piraeus, when he heard of the arrival of King Attalus, after leaving orders that as each ship of his own fleet arrived it should proceed to Euboea. Eretria had to endure a vigorous attack; for the ships of the three united fleets carried artillery of all kinds and devices for destroying cities, and the country

The condensed treatment given the preceding year of the war may be responsible for Livy's having failed to mention Livius before (see note on vi. 4 above).

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portabant, et agri adfatim materiae praebebant
 11 ad nova molienda opera. Oppidani primo im-
 pigre¹ tuebantur moenia, dein fessi vulneratique
 aliquot, cum et muri partem eversam operibus
 12 hostium cernerent, ad deditionem inclinarunt. Sed
 praesidium erat Macedonum, quos non minus quam
 Romanos metuebant, et Philocles regius praefectus
 a Chalcide nuntios mittebat se in tempore adfuturum,
 13 si sustinerent obsidionem. Haec mixta metu spes
 ultra quam vellent aut quam possent trahere eos
 14 tempus cogeabat; deinde, postquam Philoclen re-
 pulsum trepidantemque refugisse Chalciden accepe-
 runt, oratores extemplo ad Attalum veniam fidemque
 15 eius petentes miserunt. Dum in spem pacis intenti
 segnius munera belli obeunt et ea modo parte, qua
 murus dirutus erat, ceteris neglectis stationes armatas
 opponunt, Quinctius noctu ab ea parte, quae minime
 suspecta erat, impetu facto scalis urbem cepit.
 16 Oppidanorum omnis multitudo cum coniugibus ac
 liberis in arcem confugit, deinde in deditionem venit.
 17 Pecuniae aurique et argenti haud sane multum fuit;
 signa, tabulae priscae artis ornamentaque eius
 generis plura quam pro urbis magnitudine aut
 opibus ceteris inventa.

XVII. Carystus inde repetita, unde, priusquam
 e navibus copiae exponerentur, omnis multitudo urbe
 2 deserta in arcem confugit. Inde ad fidem ab Romano

¹ impigre *H. J. Müller*: haud impigre *B.*

provided material in abundance for the construction B. O. 198
of new works. The citizens at first defended their wall stoutly, then, worn out and some of them wounded, when they saw part of the wall demolished by the enemy's engines, they bethought them of surrender. But there was a Macedonian garrison, which they feared no less than the Romans, and Philocles, the king's prefect, kept sending messages from Chalcis that he would be with them in due time, if they would withstand the siege. This hope mingled with fear compelled them to hold out beyond their wish or their ability; later on, when they learned that Philocles, now beaten and terrified, had sought refuge in Chalcis, they straightway sent ambassadors to Attalus asking his pardon and protection. While, with their hopes centred on peace, they were less zealous in performing their military duties, and were posting armed guards only at the point where the wall had been thrown down, paying no attention to the rest, Quinctius during the night, attacking with scaling-ladders in a quarter that seemed free from danger, captured the city. The whole multitude of the citizens with their wives and children fled to the citadel and then surrendered. There was no great quantity of money, gold or silver; statues, paintings of ancient workmanship, and adornments of that sort were found there in greater abundance than was to be expected, considering the size of the town or its wealth in other respects.

XVII. The allies then returned to Carystus, all the population of which, before the troops disembarked, left the city and fled to the citadel. Presently they sent ambassadors to seek protection

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petendam oratores mittunt. Oppidanis extemplo
vita ac libertas concessa est; Macedonibus treceni
nummi in capita statutum pretium est, et ut armis
3 traditis abirent. Hac summa redempti inermes
in Boeotiam trajecti. Navales copiae duabus claris
urbibus Euboeae intra dies paucos captis circum-
vectae Sunium, Atticae terrae promunturium, Cen-
chreas, Corinthiorum emporium, petierunt.

4 Consul interim omnium spe longiorem Atracis¹
atrocioremque oppugnationem habuit, et ea qua
5 minimum credidisset resistebant hostes. Nam om-
nem laborem in muro crediderat diruendo fore;
si aditum armatis in urbem patefecisset, fugam inde
caedemque hostium fore, qualis captis urbibus fieri
6 solet; ceterum postquam parte muri arietibus
decussa per ipsas ruinas transcenderunt in urbem
armati, illud principium velut novi atque integri
7 laboris fuit. Nam Macedones, qui in praesidio erant
et multi et delecti, gloriam etiam egregiam rati, si
armis potius et virtute quam moenibus urbem tueren-
8 tur, conferti, pluribus introrsus ordinibus acie firmata,
cum transcendere ruinas sensissent Romanos, per
impeditum ac difficilem ad receptum locum expule-
9 runt. Id consul aegre passus nec eam ignominiam ad
unius modo oppugnandae moram urbis sed ad
summam universi belli pertinere ratus, quod ex
momentis parvarum plerumque rerum penderet,
10 purgato loco, qui strage semirutum muri cumulus

¹ *Atracis Heusinger : om. B.*

¹ The value of the *nummus* or *sestertius* was about four cents, or two pence.

² The narrative of the siege of Atrax continues (see xv. 8 above).

from the Roman commander. Life and liberty were at once granted the citizens; a ransom of three hundred *nummi*¹ per head was fixed for the Macedonians, and they were ordered to give up their arms and depart. Having paid this ransom they were transported to Boeotia unarmed. The fleets, having captured two important cities of Euboea within a few days, sailed around Sunium, the promontory of the land of Attica, and steered toward Cenchreae, the port of the Corinthians. B.C. 198

Meanwhile² the consul was finding the siege of Atrax longer and more difficult than anyone had expected, and the enemy resisted in a way that he had not in the least anticipated. For he had believed that the whole task would be to batter down the wall; and that if he had opened a way into the city for the soldiers, the flight and slaughter of the enemy would follow, as usually happens in captured towns; but when a section of the wall was thrown down by the battering-rams and the soldiers had entered the city over the ruins, that was, so to speak, the beginning of new and fresh toil. For the Macedonians who formed the garrison, numerous and picked men, thinking that it would be a most noble exploit to defend the city with arms and valour rather than with walls, in close array, strengthening their formation by increasing the number of ranks within it, when they saw the Romans scaling the ruins, thrust them out over ground that was rough and admitted no easy retreat. The consul was enraged, and thought that this disgrace not merely meant a delay in capturing this one city, but affected the final issue of the war as a whole, which generally turns on the influence of little things; clearing out the place which was heaped

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erat, turrem ingentis altitudinis magnam vim armatorum multiplici tabulato portantem promovit
 11 et cohortes in vicem sub signis, quae cuneum Macedonum—phalangem ipsi vocant—si possent, vi
 12 perrumperent, emittebat. Sed ad loci angustias, haud late patente intervallo diruti muri, genus
 13 armorum pugnaeque hosti aptius erat. Ubi conferti hastas ingentis longitudinis prae se Macedones obiecissent, velut in constructam densitate clipeorum testudinem Romani pilis nequiquam emissis cum
 14 strinxissent gladios, neque congredi propius neque praecidere hastas poterant, et, si quam incidissent aut praefregissent, hastile fragmento ipso acuto inter spicula integrarum hastarum velut vallum
 15 explebat. Ad hoc et muri pars adhuc integra utraque tuta praestabat latera, nec ex longo spatio aut cedendum aut impetus faciendus erat, quae res
 16 turbare ordines solet. Accessit etiam fortuita res ad animos eorum firmandos; nam cum turris per
 17 aggerem parum densati soli ageretur, rota una in altiorem orbitam depressa ita turrim inclinavit, ut speciem ruentis hostibus, trepidationem insanam superstantibus armatis praebuerit.

¹ For the Roman *testudo*, see the note on XXXI. xxxix. 14. Livy seems to mean that the multitude of spears, projecting in front of the phalanx, offered a projection against frontal attack comparable to that afforded by the *testudo*.

To visualize this battle, we must picture the phalanx diminished in frontage sufficiently to fit it into the breach in the wall (this protected it against flank attack), and correspondingly deepened. Since the ranks, from front to rear, carried spears of increasingly greater length, the points presented an almost impenetrable barrier. In the characteristic Roman attack, the soldiers threw their javelins to break up, at least temporarily, the hostile formation, and then closed in in-

up with the debris of the fallen wall, he moved up B.C. 198
 a tower of great height, carrying a large number of
 men in its numerous galleries, and sent out cohorts,
 one after the other, under their standards, to pierce,
 if possible, with their attack the wedge-formation of
 the Macedonians—they themselves call it the phalanx.
 But in addition to the limits of space, only a little
 of the wall having been destroyed, the enemy had
 the advantage in character of weapons and in tactics.
 When the Macedonians in close order held before them
 spears of great length, and when the Romans,
 hurling their javelins to no purpose, had drawn
 their swords against this sort of *testudo*,¹ closely-
 fashioned as if with shields, they could neither
 approach near enough to engage hand to hand nor
 cut off the ends of the spears, and if they did cut off
 or break any of them, the spearshaft, the broken
 part being itself sharp, helped, along with the points
 of the undamaged pikes, to make a sort of wall.
 Moreover, the parts of the rampart that still stood
 protected the two flanks, nor was it possible either
 to retire or to charge from a distance, a manoeuvre
 which usually throws the ranks into disorder. An
 accident, too, served to increase the courage of the
 enemy; for when the tower was being moved along the
 terrace of loosely-compacted earth, one of its wheels,
 slipping into a deep rut, caused the tower to lean
 so much that it seemed to the enemy about to fall,
 and caused a panic fear among the soldiers standing
 upon it.

dividual hand-to-hand combat. The mass of the phalanx, in
 this situation, was too dense to be affected by the javelins,
 and the spears projecting in front prevented the Romans from
 closing in and reaching the enemy with their swords.

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XVIII. Cum parum quicquam succederet, consul minime aequo animo comparationem militum generisque armorum¹ fieri patiebatur, simul nec maturam expugnandi spem nec rationem procul a mari et in evastatis belli cladibus locis hibernandi ullam cernebat. Itaque relicta obsidione, quia nullus in tota Acarnaniae atque Aetoliae ora portus erat, qui simul et omnes onerarias, quae commeatum exercitui portabant, caperet et tecta ad hibernandum legionibus praeberet, Anticyra in Phocide, in Corinthium versa sinum, ad id opportunissime sita visa, quia nec procul Thessalia hostiumque locis aberat et ex adverso Peloponnesum exiguo maris spatio divisam, ab tergo Aetoliam Acarnaniamque, ab lateribus Locridem ac Boeotiam habebat. Phocidis primo impetu Phanoteam sine certamine cepit. Anticyra haud multum oppugnando morae praebuit. Amybrysus inde Hyampolisque receptae. Daulis, quia in tumulo excelso sita est, nec scalis nec operibus capi poterat. Lacessendo missilibus eos, qui in praesidio erant, cum ad excursiones elicuissent, refugiendo in vicem sequendoque et levibus sine effectu certaminibus eo negligentiae et contemptus adduxerunt, ut cum refugientibus in portam permixti impetum Romani facerent. Et alia ignobilia castella Phocidis terrore magis quam armis in potestatem venerunt. Elatia clausit portas, nec, nisi vi cogherentur, recepturi moenibus videbantur aut ducem aut exercitum Romanum.

¹ generisque armorum *Baumgarten-Crusius*: generis armorum *B*: generis armorumque *Γ*.

BOOK XXXII. XVIII. 1-9

XVIII. As nothing turned out successfully, the consul was most reluctant to permit a comparison of men and weapons to be made, and at the same time he realized that there was no immediate prospect of capturing the town nor any way to winter his troops far from the sea and in a region wasted by the calamities of war. So he raised the siege, and because there was no harbour on the whole coast of Acarnania and Aetolia which could both accommodate the fleet which brought supplies to the army and at the same time provide shelter for wintering the troops, Anticyra in Phocis, facing the Gulf of Corinth, seemed the most suitable place for this purpose, because it was not far from Thessaly and the enemy's country, and it had in front the Peloponnesus, separated by a narrow expanse of sea, and behind it Aetolia and Acarnania and on the sides Locris and Boeotia. He took Phanotea in Phocis at the first assault and without a struggle. Anticyra caused only a little delay to his siege. Ambrysus next and Hyampolis surrendered. Daulis, because it was located on a lofty hill, could not be taken by escalade or siege. By harassing the defenders with darts and tempting them to make sallies, by alternately retiring and pursuing, and by fighting small engagements of no significance, they brought them to such a pitch of carelessness and to such a feeling of contempt that the Romans, mingling with the defenders as they withdrew into the gate, assaulted the town. Other unimportant strongholds of Phocis surrendered, more from fear than by reason of attack. Elatia closed its gates, and seemed disinclined to admit either commander or Roman army, unless it were compelled by violence.

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XIX. Elatiam obsidenti consuli rei maioris spes
adfulsit, Achaeorum gentem ab societate regia in
2 Romanam amicitiam avertendi. Cycliadan, prin-
cipem factionis ad Philippum trahentium res,
expulerant; Aristaenus, qui Romanis gentem iungi
3 volebat, praetor erat. Classis Romana cum Attalo
et Rhodiis Cenchreis stabat, parabantque communi
4 omnes consilio Corinthum oppugnare. Optimum
igitur ratus est, priusquam eam rem adgrederentur,
legatos ad gentem Achaeorum mitti pollicentes,
si ab rege ad Romanos defecissent, Corinthum
5 contributuros in antiquum gentis concilium. Auctore
consule legati a fratre eius L. Quinctio et Attalo et
6 Rhodiis et Atheniensibus ad Achaeos missi. Sicyone
datum est iis concilium. Erat autem non admodum
simplex habitus inter Achaeos animorum: terrebat
Nabis Lacedaemonius, gravis et adsiduus hostis;
7 horrebant Romana arma; Macedonum beneficiis et
veteribus et recentibus obligati erant; regem ipsum
suspectum habebant pro eius crudelitate perfidiaque,
8 neque ex iis, quae tum ad tempus faceret, aestimantes
graviolem post bellum dominum futurum cernebant.
9 Neque solum, quid in senatu quisque civitatis suae aut
in communibus conciliis gentis pro sententia dicerent
10 ignorabant, sed ne ipsis quidem secum cogitantibus
quid vellent aut quid optarent, satis constabat. Ad
homines ita incertos introductis legatis potestas
11 dicendi facta est. Romanus primum legatus L.

¹ See XXXI. xxv. 3 ff., and the Introductory Note.

BOOK XXXII. XIX. I-II

XIX. While the consul was besieging Elatia, B.C. 198 there came the gleam of hope of a greater achievement, the winning over of the Achaeans from alliance with the king to friendship with the Romans. They had expelled Cycliadas,¹ the leader of the faction inclined to favour Philip; Aristaenus, who wished the state to join the Romans, was the president. The Roman fleet with Attalus and the Rhodians lay at Cenchreae, preparing for a concerted attack on Corinth. He therefore thought it best, before they undertook this task, to send ambassadors to the Achaean people, promising that if they would turn from the king to the Romans, they would reunite Corinth to the ancient council of the people. By the authority of the consul, delegates were sent to the Achaeans by his brother Lucius Quinctius, Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians. An audience was granted them at Sicyon. But the state of mind among the Achaeans was complex. The Spartan Nabis, a dangerous and ever-present enemy, terrified them; the Roman arms were a menace; to the Macedonians they were bound by acts of kindness both old and new; the king himself they looked on with suspicion, for his cruelty and treachery, and, not judging by what he was doing at that time, to suit the occasion, they saw that he would be a harsher master after the war. They not only did not know what opinion each one would express in the senate of his own state or in the common councils of the people, but were not very clear as to what they would want or desire as they considered the matter in their own thoughts. The opportunity was offered the ambassadors to speak to an audience in this state of uncertainty. The Roman delegate,

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Calpurnius, deinde Attali regis legati, post eos
 12 Rhodii disseruerunt; Philippi deinde legatis potestas
 dicendi facta est; postremi Athenienses, ut refelle-
 rent Macedonum dicta, auditi sunt. Ii fere atrocis-
 sime in regem, quia nulli nec plura nec tam acerba
 13 passi erant, invecti sunt. Et illa quidem contio sub
 occasum solis tot legatorum perpetuis orationibus
 die absumpto dimissa est.

XX. Postero die advocatur concilium; ubi cum
 per praeconem, sicut Graecis mos est, suadendi, si
 quis vellet, potestas a magistratibus facta esset, nec
 quisquam prodiret, diu silentium aliorum alios
 2 intuentium fuit. Neque mirum, si, quibus sua sponte
 volutantibus res inter se repugnantes obtorpuerant
 quodam modo animi, eos si orationes quoque insuper
 turbaverant utrimque, quae difficilia essent, promendo
 3 admonendoque per totum diem habitae. Tandem
 Aristaenus, praetor Achaeorum, ne tacitum concilium
 dimitteret: " Ubi " inquit " illa certamina animorum,
 Achaei, sunt, quibus in conviviiis et circulis, cum de
 Philippo et Romanis mentio incidit, vix manibus
 4 temperatis? Nunc in concilio ad eam rem unam
 indicto, cum legatorum utrimque verba audieritis,
 cum referant magistratus, cum praeco ad suadendum
 5 vocet, obmutuistis! Si non cura salutis communis,
 ne studia quidem, quae in hanc aut in illam partem
 animos vestros inclinarunt, vocem cuiquam
 6 possunt exprimere? Cum praesertim nemo tam

BOOK XXXII. XIX. II-XX. 6

Lucius Calpurnius, was first heard, then the am- B.C. 198
 bassadors of King Attalus, and after them the
 Rhodians; next the representatives of Philip were
 given audience, and finally the Athenians were
 heard, that they might refute the Macedonian
 arguments. They assailed the king in quite the
 fiercest terms, for no others had suffered so much
 or so grievously. And this meeting was dismissed at
 sunset, the whole day having been consumed by the
 set speeches of so many ambassadors.

XX. Next day the council assembled; and when,
 through the herald, after the Greek custom, the
 magistrates gave the opportunity to offer a motion,
 if anyone wished, and no one came forward, there was
 a long silence as men looked at one another. Nor
 was it strange, if men whose minds were in a way
 bewildered by pondering independently the con-
 flicting claims, were rendered still more uncertain
 by the speeches on both sides, delivered through
 an entire day, bringing forward and urging arguments
 that were hard to meet. At length Aristaenus, the
 praetor of the Achaeans, so as not to dismiss the
 council without debate, spoke thus: "Where are
 those rivalries of feeling, Achaeans, which cause you
 hardly to refrain from blows, when mention is made
 of Philip and the Romans at your dinners and
 social gatherings? Now, in a council called for this
 one purpose, after you have heard the words of
 representatives of both sides, when the magistrates
 lay the question before you and the herald asks for
 motions, you are silent! If there is no concern for
 the general welfare, can no personal interest even,
 which has turned your minds this way or that, draw a
 word from anyone? Especially as there is no one so

hebes sit, qui ignorare possit dicendi ac suadendi quod quisque aut velit aut optimum putet, nunc occasionem esse, priusquam quicquam decernamus; ubi semel decretum erit, omnibus id, etiam quibus ante displicuerit, pro bono atque utili fore defendendum." Haec adhortatio praetoris non modo quemquam unum elicuit ad suadendum, sed ne fremitum quidem aut murmur contionis tantae ex tot populis congregatae movit.

XXI. Tum Aristaenus praetor rursus: "Non magis consilium vobis, principes Achaeorum, deest quam lingua; sed suo quisque periculo in commune consultum non vult. Forsitan ego quoque tacerem, si privatus essem; nunc praetori video aut non dandum concilium legatis fuisse, aut non sine responso eos¹ dimittendos esse; respondere autem nisi ex vestro decreto qui possum? Et quoniam nemo vestrum, qui in hoc concilium advocati estis, pro sententia quicquam dicere vult aut audet, orationes legatorum hesterno die ut² pro sententiis dictas percenseamus, perinde ac non postulaverint, quae e re sua essent, sed suaserint quae nobis censerent utilia esse. Romani Rhodiique et Attalus societatem amicitiamque nostram petunt et in bello quod adversus Philippum gerunt se a nobis adiuvari aequum censent. Philippus societatis secum admonet et iuris iurandi et modo postulat ut secum stemus, modo ne intersimus armis, contentum ait se esse. Nulline venit in mentem cur, qui nondum socii sunt, plus petant quam socius? Non fit hoc neque

¹ eos *Madvig*: eos non *B.* ² ut *Madvig*: om. *B.*

dull as not to know that this is the time to speak and to advise what each either desires or thinks best, before we reach any decision; when once a decree has been passed, all, even those who formerly opposed it, must defend it as good and expedient." This exhortation of the praetor not only prompted no one to make a proposal, but provoked no groan or whisper from so large a council, drawn from so many peoples. B.C. 198

XXI. So the praetor Aristaenus spoke again: "You lack counsel, leaders of the Achaeans, no less than the power of speech; but each one refuses to promote the public interest at the cost of peril to himself. Perhaps I too should keep silence if I were a private citizen; now I see that, so far as the praetor is concerned, either the ambassadors should not have been granted an audience or they should not be sent away unanswered; but how can I answer except in accordance with your decree? And since no one of you who have been summoned to this council wishes or dares to say anything in the way of suggestion, let us consider the ambassadors' speeches delivered yesterday as opinions expressed in debate, just as if they had not intended what was to their own interest but recommended what they deemed profitable for us. The Romans, the Rhodians and Attalus ask for our alliance and friendship, and in the war which they are waging with Philip they think it proper that we should assist them. Philip reminds us of our alliance with him and of our oath, and now demands that we take our stand with him, now says that he is satisfied if we refrain from taking up arms. Does it occur to no one why those who are not yet our allies demand more than our ally? This is not, ye Achaeans, the

modestia Philippi neque impudentia Romanorum,
 7 Achaei: fortuna et dat fiduciam postulantibus
 et demit. Philippi praeter legatum videmus nihil;
 Romana classis ad Cenchreas stat urbium Euboeae
 spolia prae se ferens, consulem legionesque eius,
 8 exiguo maris spatio diiunctas, Phocidem ac Locridem
 pervagantes videmus; miramini, cur diffidenter
 Cleomedon, legatus Philippi, ut pro rege arma
 9 caperemus adversus Romanos, modo egerit? Qui,
 si ex eodem foedere ac iure iurando, cuius nobis re-
 ligionem iniciebat, rogemus eum, ut nos Philippus et
 ab Nabide ac Lacedaemoniis et ab Romanis defendat,
 non modo praesidium, quo tueatur nos, sed ne quid
 10 respondeat quidem nobis sit inventurus, non hercule
 magis quam ipse Philippus priore anno, qui pollicendo
 se adversus Nabidem bellum gesturum cum temp-
 tasset nostram iuventutem hinc in Euboeam extra-
 11 here, postquam nos neque decernere id sibi praesi-
 dium neque velle illigari Romano bello vidit, oblitus
 societatis eius quam nunc iactat vastandos populan-
 12 dosque Nabidi ac Lacedaemoniis reliquit. Ac mihi
 quidem minime conveniens inter se oratio Cleome-
 dontis visa est. Elevabat Romanum bellum even-
 tumque eius eundem fore, qui prioris belli quod cum
 13 Philippo gesserint, dicebat. Cur igitur nostrum ille
 auxilium absens petit potius quam praesens nos, socios
 veteres, simul ab Nabide ac Romanis tueatur?
 Nos dico? Quid ita passus est Eretriam Carystum-
 que capi? Quid ita tot Thessaliae urbes? Quid ita

result of Philip's moderation or the Romans' arrogance; fortune both gives and takes away confidence in making demands. We see no sign of Philip except his ambassador; the Roman fleet lies at Cenchreae, displaying the spoils of the cities of Euboea, we see the consul and his legions marching through Phocis and Locris, separated from us by a narrow stretch of water; do you wonder why Cleomedon, Philip's delegate, suggested with such hesitation a while ago that we take up arms in the king's cause against the Romans? If, in accordance with that treaty and oath, respect for which he tried to instil into us, we ask him that Philip protect us both against Nabis and his Lacedaemonians and against the Romans, he will not only find no garrison wherewith to protect us: he will not even find an answer to give us, any more, by Hercules, than Philip did last year; when, by promising that he would conduct the war against Nabis, he had tried to allure our fighting men away to Euboea, after he saw that we would neither vote him that protection nor consent to be involved in the Roman war, forgetful of that alliance about which he now uses such fine words, he left us to Nabis and the Lacedaemonians to plunder and rob. And to me, at least, Cleomedon's speech seemed by no means consistent with itself. He belittled the Roman war, and claimed that the result would be the same as that of the earlier war which they engaged in with Philip. Why then does Philip, remaining away, ask our aid, rather than, being present in person, defend us, his ancient allies, against both Nabis and the Romans? Defend *us*, do I say? Why did he permit Eretria and Carystus to be captured in that way? Why so many

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14 Locridem Phocidemque? Quid ita nunc Elatiam
oppugnari patitur? Cur excessit faucibus Epiri
claustrisque illis inexpugnabilibus super Aoum
amnem relictoque quem insidebat saltu penitus in
15 regnum abiit? Aut¹ vi aut metu aut voluntate. Si
sua voluntate tot socios reliquit hostibus diripiendos,
qui recusare potest quin et socii sibi consulant?
Si metu, nobis quoque ignoscat timentibus; si
victus armis cessit, Achai Romana arma sustine-
bimus, Cleomedon, quae vos Macedones non sus-
16 tinuistis? An tibi potius credamus Romanos non
maioribus copiis nec viribus nunc bellum gerere
quam antea gesserint potius quam res ipsas intue-
17 amur? Aetolos tum classe adiuverunt; nec duce
consulari nec exercitu bellum gesserunt; sociorum
Philippi maritimae tum urbes in terrore ac tu-
multu erant; mediterranea adeo tuta ab armis
Romanis fuerunt ut Philippus Aetolos nequiquam
18 opem Romanorum implorantes depopularetur; nunc
autem defuncti bello Punico Romani, quod per
sedecim annos velut intra viscera Italiae tole-
raverunt, non praesidium² Aetolis bellantibus mise-
runt, sed ipsi duces belli arma terra marique simul
19 Macedoniae intulerunt. Tertius iam consul summa
vi gerit bellum. Sulpicius in ipsa Macedonia con-
gressus fudit fugavitque regem, partem opulentissi-
20 mam regni eius depopulatus; nunc Quinctius tenen-

¹ aut . . . voluntate *post* amnem in *B locata*, *transp. Madvig.*
² praesidium *edd.*: in praesidium *B.*

¹ In 211 B.C. (XXVI. xxiv. 10) the Romans sent a fleet to the east, but their land forces there were inconsiderable until 205 B.C. (XXIX. xii. 2). A consular army had as its nucleus, normally, two Roman legions; the forces assigned to inferior commanders were largely or wholly made up of Latin allies.

towns of Thessaly? Why Locris and Phocis? Why does he now allow Elatia to be besieged? Why did he leave the passes of Epirus and his impregnable position above the Aous river, abandon the defile which he held and retire far into his own kingdom? It was either under compulsion, or from fear, or by design. If he voluntarily left so many allies to be sacked by the enemy, how can he object if his allies take measures for their own security? If he was afraid, let him excuse also our fear. If he retired because he was beaten in battle, shall we Achaeans, Cleomedon, sustain the Roman attack which you Macedonians did not resist? Or should we take your word for it that the Romans are not employing in the war greater forces and military power than they did before, or should we rather look at the obvious facts? Then they aided the Aetolians with their fleet; they waged war with neither consular commander nor consular army;¹ at that time the maritime cities of Philip's allies were in fear and terror; the inland districts were so safe from Roman arms that Philip pillaged the Aetolians even while they asked in vain for Roman aid; but now the Romans have finished the Punic War, which they endured for sixteen years in, as it were, the very heart of Italy, and they have not sent assistance to the Aetolians, who were carrying on the war, but they themselves, as leaders in the war, have attacked Macedonia by land and sea at once. Now the third consul is here, prosecuting the war with boundless energy. Sulpicius, meeting the king in Macedonia itself, defeated him and put him to flight, and plundered the richest part of his kingdom; now Quinctius has dislodged him from his camp,

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- tem claustra Epiri natura loci, munimentis, exercitu¹ fretum castris exiit, fugientem in Thessaliam persecutus praesidia regia sociasque urbes eius prope in conspectu regis ipsius expugnauit.
- 21 " Ne sint vera, quae Atheniensis modo legatus de crudelitate, avaritia, libidine regis disseruit; nihil ad nos pertineant, quae in terra Attica scelera in
- 22 superos inferosque deos sunt admissa, multo minus quae Ciani Abydenique, qui procul ab nobis absunt, passi sunt; nostrorum ipsi vulnerum si vultis obliuiscamur,
- 23 caedes direptionesque bonorum Messenae in media Peloponneso factas, et hospitem Cyparissiae Charitelen contra ius omne ac fas inter epulas prope ipsas occisum, et Aratum patrem filiumque Sicyonios, cum senem infelicem parentem etiam appellare
- 24 solitus esset, interfectos, filii² etiam uxorem libidinis causa in Macedoniam asportatam, cetera stupra
- 25 virginum matronarumque obliuioni dentur; ne sit³ cum Philippo res, cuius crudelitatis metu obmutuistis omnes—nam quae alia tacendi advocatis in concilium causa est?—; cum Antigono, mitissimo ac iustissimo rege et de nobis omnibus optime merito, existimemus disceptationem esse: num id postularet
- 26 facere nos quod fieri⁴ non posset? Paene insula est Peloponnesus, angustis Isthmi faucibus continenti

¹ exercitu *edd.*: exercitus *B.*

² filii etiam *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: . . . eius *B.*: pili (pilis) eius *ς.*

³ sit *Duker*: sint *B.*

⁴ fieri *Bekker*: reri *B.*: tam (iam, cum) fieri *ς.*

¹ This crime seems to be unmentioned elsewhere.

² See Plutarch's life of Aratus, 52, 54 and elsewhere, and Polyb. VIII. xiv.

³ Philip's predecessor on the Macedonian throne; he supported the Achaean against the Aetolian League.

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though he held the passes of Epirus, relying on the nature of the country, on his fortifications and on his army, pursued him as he fled to Thessaly, and captured the royal garrisons and allied towns almost under the king's very eyes. B.C. 198

“ Grant that what the Athenians said about the king's cruelty, greed and passion was not true; grant that we are not interested in the crimes against supernal and infernal gods which he committed in the land of Attica, and much less interested in the sufferings of the Ciani and Abydeni, who are far away from us; let us forget, if you will, our own wounds; let us dismiss from memory the murders and robberies committed at Messene, in the centre of the Peloponnesus, the murder of Chariteles,¹ his host at Cyparissia, in the course of a feast, in violation of all human and divine justice; the murder of the two Sicyonians, Aratus the father and the son,² though he had been accustomed to call the unhappy old man even by the name of father; the removal of the son's wife to Macedonia to serve his lust; let the other debaucheries of maids and wives be consigned to oblivion; assume that our business is not with Philip, from fear of whose cruelty you have all kept silent (for what other explanation is there of your silence when called to deliberate?); let us consider that our relations are with Antigonus,³ that most just and merciful king who served so well the cause of all of us: would he demand that we do what is impossible? The Peloponnesus is a peninsula, joined to the mainland by the narrow strip of the Isthmus,⁴ exposed and open to attack

⁴ The Isthmus of Corinth.

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adhaerens, nulli apertior neque opportunior quam
 27 navali bello. Si centum tectae naves et quinquaginta
 leviores apertae et triginta Issaei lembi maritimam
 oram vastare et expositas prope in ipsis litoribus urbes
 coeperint oppugnare, in mediterraneas scilicet nos
 urbes recipiemus, tamquam non intestino et haerente
 28 in ipsis visceribus uramur bello! Cum terra Nabis et
 Lacedaemonii, mari classis Romana urgebunt, unde
 regiam societatem et Macedonum praesidia im-
 plorem? An ipsi nostris armis ab hoste Romano
 tutabimur urbes quae oppugnabuntur? Egregie
 29 enim Dymas priore bello sumus tutati! Satis
 exemplorum nobis clades alienae praebent; ne
 quaeramus quem ad modum ceteris exemplo simus.
 30 " Nolite, quia ultro Romani petunt amicitiam, id
 quod optandum vobis ac summopere petendum erat,
 31 fastidire. Metu enim videlicet compulsi et deprensi
 in aliena terra, quia sub umbra vestri auxilii latere
 volunt, in societatem vestram confugiunt, ut portibus
 32 vestris recipiantur, ut commeatibus utantur! Mare
 in potestate habent; terras quascumque adeunt
 extemplo dicionis suae faciunt. Quod rogant,
 cogere possunt; quia pepercisse vobis volunt,
 33 committere vos, cur pereatis, non patiuntur. Nam
 quod Cleomedon modo tamquam mediam et tutis-
 simam vobis viam consilii, ut quiesceretis abstinere-
 tisque armis, ostendebat, ea non media, sed nulla via
 34 est. Etenim praeterquam quod aut accipienda aut
 spernenda vobis Romana societas est, quid aliud quam

by sea beyond all else. If one hundred decked vessels and fifty smaller undecked ships and thirty light Issaeian boats begin to plunder our coast and lay siege to the cities lying almost on the shore, we shall of course retire to the inland strongholds, as if we were not consumed with internal war, raging in our very hearts! When Nabis and the Spartans press on us by land and the Roman fleet by sea, on what ground should I invoke the king's alliance and Macedonian guards? Or shall we with our own arms defend against the Romans the towns they will besiege? Nobly did we defend Dymae in the former war! The misfortunes of others furnish us examples in abundance; let us not seek how we may be an example to others.

"Do not, because the Romans come of their own accord to seek our friendship, disdain what you ought to have hoped for and particularly desired. Impelled by fear, no doubt, and entrapped in a strange land, because they wish to find shelter under the shadow of your protection, they flee to your alliance, that they may hide in your harbours, and secure supplies! The sea is in their power; they immediately assume control of whatever lands they visit. What they ask, they can compel; because they wish you spared, they do not permit you to do aught for which you should be destroyed. For as to what Cleomedon pointed out to you a while ago, a middle course, as it were, and the safest way to decide, to wit, that you remain neutral and avoid war, that is not a middle course: it is no course at all. For, in addition to the fact that you must either accept or reject the Roman alliance, what other course is open except for us, since we have no sure claim to

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35 nusquam gratia stabili, velut qui eventum expecta-
verimus, ut fortunae applicaremus nostra consilia,
36 praeda victoris erimus? Nolite, si quod omnibus
votis petendum erat, ultro offertur, fastidire. Non
quem ad modum hodie utrumque vobis licet, sic
37 semper licitum est: nec saepe nec diu eadem
occurrit occasio erit. Liberare vos a Philippo iam diu magis
vultis quam audetis. Sine vestro labore et periculo
qui vos in libertatem vindicarent, cum magnis classi-
bus exercitibusque mare traiecerunt. Hos si socios
aspernamini, vix mentis sanae estis; sed aut socios
aut hostes habeatis oportet."

XXII. Secundum orationem praetoris murmur
ortum aliorum cum adsensu, aliorum inclementer
2 adsentientes increpantium; et iam non singuli tan-
tum sed populi universi inter se altercabantur. Tum
inter magistratus gentis—damiurgos vocant; decem
numero creantur—certamen nihilo segnius quam
3 inter multitudinem esse. Quinque relatores de
societate Romana se aiebant suffragiumque duros;
quinque lege cautum testabantur, ne quid quod
adversus Philippi societatem esset aut referre
magistratibus aut decernere concilio ius esset. Is
quoque dies iurgiis est consumptus.

4 Supererat unus iusti concilii dies; tertio enim lex
iubebat decretum fieri; in quem adeo exarsere
studia, ut vix parentes ab liberis temperaverint.
5 Pisis Pellenensis erat; filium damiurgum nomine

¹ Livy appropriately uses the Doric spelling of the word. The number was probably inherited from the time when the League consisted of ten cities.

consideration anywhere, to play the part of men who B.C. 198 have been merely awaiting the event, with the intention of adapting our counsels to the decision of fortune, and eventually become the prey of the conqueror? If what we should all be praying for is voluntarily offered, do not despise the gift. It will not always be open to us, as it is to-day, to make a choice; the same opportunity rarely returns, and it tarries but a little while. For a long time you have wished, but not dared, to free yourselves from Philip. Now men have crossed the sea with mighty fleets and armies, to affirm your claims to liberty without trouble or danger on your part. If you reject them as allies, you are scarcely sane; but as either allies or enemies you must have them."

XXII. After the praetor's speech there arose an outcry, some applauding, some sharply rebuking those who approved; and soon not individuals only but whole communities were involved in the quarrel. Then among the magistrates of the people—they call them *damiurgi*,¹ and the number appointed is ten—an argument began no less violent than that among the mass of the delegates. Five announced that they would put a motion favouring a Roman alliance and call for a vote; five held that it was illegal either for the magistrates to submit or the council to decree anything subversive of the alliance with Philip. This day too was spent in argument.

One day of the legal council remained; for the law ordered the decision to be reached on the third day; on the matter to be decided that day feeling ran so high that parents could scarcely keep their hands off their children. There was present Pusias of Pellene; he had a son, a *damiurgus*, Memnon by

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Memnonem habebat, partis eius quae decretum
 6 recitari perrogarique sententias prohibebat. Is diu
 obtestatus filium ut consulere Achaeos communi
 saluti pateretur neu pertinacia sua gentem uni-
 7 versam perditum iret, postquam parum proficiebant
 preces,¹ iuratus se eum sua manu interempturum nec
 8 pro filio sed pro hoste habiturum minis pervicit, ut
 postero die coniungeret iis se qui referebant. Qui
 cū plures facti referrent, omnibus fere populis haud
 dubie approbantibus relationem ac prae se ferentibus
 9 quid decreturi essent, Dymaei ac Megalopolitani
 et quidam Argivorum, priusquam decretum fieret,
 consurrexerunt ac reliquerunt concilium neque
 10 mirante ullo nec improbante. Nam Megalopolitanos
 avorum memoria pulsos ab Lacedaemoniis restituerat
 in patriam Antigonus, et Dymaeis, captis nuper
 direptisque ab exercitu Romano, cum redimi eos,
 ubicumque servirent, Philippus iussisset, non liber-
 11 tatem modo sed etiam patriam reddiderat; iam
 Argivi, praeterquam quod Macedonum reges ab se
 oriundos credunt, privatis etiam hospitiiis familiarique
 12 amicitia plerique illigati Philippo erant. Ob haec
 concilio, quod inclinaverat ad Romanam societatem
 iubendam, excesserunt, veniaque iis huius secessionis
 fuit et magnis et recentibus obligatis beneficiis.

XXIII. Ceteri populi Achaeorum, cum sententias
 perrogarentur, societatem cum Attalo² ac Rhodiis
 2 praesenti decreto confirmarunt; cum Romanis,

¹ preces *edd.* : parum *B.*

² Attalo *edd.* : Romanis *B.*

¹ Actually, this had happened in 226 B.C. (Polyb. V. xciii), so that Livy's phrase *avorum memoria* is an exaggeration.

name, of the faction which forbade a motion to be made or a vote taken. Pisia for a long time entreated his son to allow the Achaeans to consult the general welfare and not to destroy the entire race by his obstinacy, but when prayers proved unavailing he swore that he would kill him with his own hand, treating him not as a son but as an enemy, and with these threats he won his point, so that next day he joined the party which proposed a vote. When now the majority favoured that course, and almost all the cities were clearly expressing their approval of the motion and openly declaring what the decision would be, the delegates from Dymae and Megalopolis and some of the Argives, before the motion was passed, arose and left the council, no one expressing either surprise or reproach. For within the memory of their forefathers, the Megalopolitani, defeated by the Spartans, had been restored to their homes by Antigonos,¹ and to the Dymaei, who had recently been captured and plundered by the Romans, Philip had restored both liberty and their homes, having ordered them to be ransomed wherever they were enslaved; many of the Argives, too, besides believing that the kings of Macedon were derived from them, were bound to Philip by personal ties as well and by private friendship. For such reasons they withdrew from a council which had leaned towards ordering an alliance with Rome, and indulgence was granted them for withdrawing, bound as they were by great and recent acts of kindness.

XXIII. The other peoples of the Achaeans, when called on to vote, approved by immediate decree the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; the treaty with the Romans, since it could not be ratified except

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quia iniussu populi non poterat rata esse, in id tempus
3 quo Romam mitti legati possent, dilata est; in
praesentia tres legatos ad L. Quinctium mitti placuit
et exercitum omnem Achaeorum ad Corinthum
admoventi captis Cenchreis iam urbem ipsam Quinctio
oppugnante.

4 Et hi quidem e regione portae quae fert Sicyonem
posuerunt castra; Romani in ¹ Cenchreas versam par-
tem urbis, Attalus traducto per Isthmum exercitu
ab Lechaeo, alterius maris portu, oppugnabant,
primo segnius, sperantes seditionem intus fore inter
5 oppidanos ac regium praesidium. Postquam uno
animo omnes, et Macedones tamquam communem
patriam tuebantur, et Corinthii ducem praesidii
Androthenen haud secus quam civem et suffragio
creatum suo imperio in se uti patiebantur, omnis
inde spes oppugnantibus ² in vi et armis et operibus
6 erat. Undique aggeres haud facili aditu ad moenia
7 admovebantur. Aries ex ea parte quam Romani
oppugnabant aliquantum muri diruerat; in quem
locum, quia nudatus munimento erat, protegendum
armis cum Macedones concurrerent, atrox proelium
8 inter eos ac Romanos ortum est. Ac primo multi-
tudine facile expellebantur Romani; adsumptis
deinde Achaeorum Attalique auxiliis aequabant
certamen, nec dubium erat, quin Macedonas
9 Graecosque facile loco pulsuri fuerint. Trans-

¹ in *Hertz*: *om. B.*

² oppugnantibus *Gronovius*: pugnantibus *B.*

¹ Foreign alliances required the approval of the assembly at Rome.

² The port of Corinth on the Saronic Gulf.

by vote of the people,¹ was postponed to the time B.C. 198
when ambassadors could be sent to Rome; for the present, it was voted that three commissioners should be sent to Lucius Quinctius and that all the army of the Achaeans should be moved to Corinth, since Quinctius was now besieging the city itself after his capture of Cenchreae.

They now encamped in the vicinity of the gate which leads to Sicyon; the Romans were operating on the side towards Cenchreae, Attalus, having led his army across the Isthmus, from the direction of Lechaeum, the port on the other sea,² conducting the siege at first without much energy, since they hoped for dissension within between the citizens and the royal garrison. When they proved completely harmonious, the Macedonians conducting the defence as if it were of their common fatherland, the Corinthians permitting Androsthene, the commander of the garrison, to exercise his authority over them as if he were a citizen and their elected general, thenceforth all the hope of the besiegers rested in their own strength, their weapons, and their siege-works. From all sides, though the task was difficult, they moved their mounds towards the walls. On the side where the Romans were attacking the battering-ram had destroyed part of the wall; when the Macedonians rushed to defend this place with their arms, because it was without protection, a desperate battle took place between them and the Romans. And at first the Romans were easily repulsed by superior numbers; then, summoning reinforcements of the Achaeans and the troops of Attalus, they restored equality, and there seemed no doubt that the Macedonians and Greeks would be easily dis-

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- fugarum Italicorum magna multitudo erat, pars ex Hannibalis exercitu metu poenae a Romanis Philippum secuta, pars navales socii relictis nuper classibus ad spem honoratioris militiae transgressi; hos desperata salus, si Romani vicissent, ad rabiem magis quam audaciam accendebat. Promunturium est adversus Sicyonem Iunonis, quam vocant Acraeam, in altum excurrentis; traiectus inde Corinthum septem fere milium passuum. Eo Philocles, regius et ipse praefectus, mille et quingentos milites per Boeotiam duxit. Praesto fuere ab Corintho lembi qui praesidium id acceptum Lechaeum traicerent. Auctor erat Attalus incensis operibus omittendae extemplo oppugnationis; pertinacius Quinctius¹ in incepto perstabat. Is quoque, ut pro omnibus portis disposita videt praesidia regia nec facile erumpentium impetus sustineri posse, in Attali sententiam concessit. Ita inrito incepto dimissis Achaeis reditum ad naves est. Attalus Piraeum, Romani Corcyram petierunt.

XXIV. Dum haec ab navali exercitu geruntur, consul in Phocide ad Elatiam castris positus primo colloquiis rem per principes Elatensium temptavit; postquam nihil esse in manu sua et plures validioresque esse regios quam oppidanos respondebatur, tum simul ab omni parte operibus armisque urbem est adgressus. Ariete admoto cum² quantum inter duas³ tures muri erat prorutum cum ingenti fragore ac strepitu

¹ Quinctius *edd.* : cum intus Romanus *B.*

² admoto cum *Jacobs* : admotoq. *B.*

³ duas *Madvig* : om. *B.*

¹ The *navales socii* were freedmen or members of allied Italian cities, employed as rowers on war-ships.

² That is, Juno of the Heights.

³ The narrative interrupted at xix. 1 is continued.

lodged. There was a great host of Italian deserters, B.C. 198 some from Hannibal's army who had followed Philip from fear of punishment by the Romans, some naval allies who had recently deserted the fleet and come over in the hope of more highly-rewarded service;¹ their hopelessness regarding immunity, if the Romans conquered, inspired them to courage or rather to frenzy. On the side toward Sicyon is a promontory, sacred to the Juno whom they call Acraea,² and rising high into the air; thence the distance to Corinth is about seven miles. Thither Philocles, also a prefect of the king, brought fifteen hundred soldiers through Boeotia. Vessels from Corinth were at hand to transport the force thus arriving to Lechaeum. Attalus urged that the works be burned and the siege immediately abandoned; Quinctius persisted more stubbornly in his undertaking. He too, when he saw the royal guards stationed before all the gates, and perceived that their sallies could not be easily resisted, went over to the opinion of Attalus. And so, with their design unaccomplished, after sending the Achaeans home they returned to their ships. Attalus proceeded to Piraeus, the Romans to Corcyra.

XXIV. While this was being done by the navy,³ the consul in Phocis, having pitched his camp in front of Elatia, tried first to attain his end by conferences, using the principal citizens of Elatia; after he had received the reply that the decision was not for them to make and that the king's garrison was stronger and more numerous than the citizens, he then attacked the city from all sides with arms and engines. When he brought up a battering-ram and a section of wall between two towers fell with a mighty crash and din and left the city

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nudasset urbem, simul et cohors Romana per apertum
 4 recenti strage iter invasit, et ex omnibus oppidi
 partibus relictis suis quisque stationibus in eum qui
 premebatur impetu hostium locum concurrerunt.
 5 Eodem tempore Romani et ruinas muri super-
 vadebant et scalas ad stantia moenia inferebant. Et
 dum in unam partem oculos animosque hostium
 certamen averterat, pluribus locis scalis capitur
 6 murus, armatique in urbem transcenderunt. Quo
 tumultu audito territi hostes relicto quem conferti
 tuebantur loco in arcem omnes, inermi quoque
 7 sequente turba, confugerunt. Ita urbe potitur
 consul. Qua direpta missis in arcem qui vitam
 regiis, si inermes abire vellent, libertatem Elatensibus
 pollicerentur, fideque in haec data post dies paucos
 arcem recipit.

XXV. Ceterum adventu in Achaiam Philoclis, regii
 praefecti, non Corinthus tantum liberata obsidione,
 sed Argivorum quoque civitas per quosdam principes
 Philocli prodita est temptatis prius animis plebis.
 2 Mos erat comitiorum die primo velut ominis causa
 praetores pronuntiare Iovem Apollinemque et
 Herculem; additum lege¹ erat, ut his Philippus rex
 3 adiceretur. Cuius nomen post pactam cum Romanis
 societatem quia praeco non adiecit, fremitus primo
 4 multitudinis ortus, deinde clamor subicientium

¹ lege *edd.* : legi *B.*

BOOK XXXII. XXIV. 3-XXV. 4

open to attack, at the same time a Roman cohort B.C. 198 broke through the gap left by the recent collapse, and also the guards from all parts of the city, each leaving his own post, hurried to the spot which was endangered by the enemy's attack. At the same moment the Romans were both climbing over the ruins of the wall and moving their ladders against the standing ramparts. And while the conflict drew the eyes and thoughts of the enemy in one direction, the wall in several places was taken by escalade and the soldiers climbed over into the city. Hearing their shouts, the terrified enemy left the place they had been defending in force and made for the citadel, the unarmed crowd too following. So the consul took the town. Having sacked it, he sent messengers to the citadel to promise life to the garrison, if they wished to give up their arms and depart, and liberty to the Elatenses, and an agreement having been made to this effect, a few days later he occupied the citadel.

XXV. But the arrival of Philocles, the king's prefect, in Achaea not only raised the siege of Corinth, but brought about the betrayal of the city of Argos to Philocles through the agency of certain chief men, after the sentiments of the commons had first been tested. It was the custom on assembly-days that at the beginning the presiding officers should pronounce, as an auspicious act, the names of Zeus, Apollo, and Heracles; and the custom was extended by a decree that King Philip's name should be joined to these. But because, after the alliance was made with the Romans, the herald did not add his name to the others, a shout first rose from the crowd, then an uproar, as his partisans supplied the name

LIVY

A. U. C.
558

Philippi nomen iubentiumque legitimum honorem
 usurpare, donec cum ingenti adsensu nomen recitatum
 5 est. Huius fiducia favoris Philocles arcessitus
 nocte occupat collem imminentem urbi—Larisam
 eam arcem vocant—positoque ibi praesidio cum
 lucis principio signis infestis ad subiectum arci forum
 6 vaderet, instructa acies ex adverso occurrit. Praesi-
 dium erat Achaeorum, nuper impositum, quingenti
 fere iuvenes delecti omnium civitatum; Aenesidemus
 7 Dymaeus praecerat. Ad hos orator a praefecto
 regio missus qui excedere urbe iuberet: neque enim
 pares eos oppidanis solis, qui idem quod Macedones
 sentirent, nedum adiunctis Macedonibus esse, quos
 ne Romani quidem ad Corinthum sustinuissent,
 8 primo nihil nec ducem nec ipsos movit; post paulo,
 ut Argivos quoque armatos ex parte altera venientes
 magno agmine viderunt, certam perniciem cernentes,
 omnem tamen casum, si pertinacior dux fuisset,
 9 videbantur subituri. Aenesidemus, ne flos Achae-
 orum iuventutis simul cum urbe amitteretur, pactus a
 Philocle ut abire illis liceret, ipse quo loco steterat
 10 armatus cum paucis clientibus non excessit. Missus
 a Philocle qui quaereret quid sibi vellet. Nihil moto¹
 tantummodo, cum proiecto prae se clipeo staret, in
 praesidio creditae urbis moriturum se armatum
 respondit. Tum iussu praefecti a Thraecibus coniecta

¹ moto *Madvig*: modo *B.*

of Philip and ordered that the legal honour be paid B.C. 198 him, until with roars of applause his name was read. With the confidence inspired by this show of loyalty, Philocles was summoned and occupied by night a hill overhanging the city—they call this citadel Larisa—and leaving a guard there he marched in embattled array at daybreak towards the market-place which lies at the foot of the citadel, where the battle-line from the other side was drawn up to meet him. This was a force of Achaeans, recently placed there, about five hundred youths chosen from all the cities; Aenesidemus of Dymae was in command. A herald was sent to them by the king's prefect, to order them to leave the city: he reminded them that they were no match for the citizens, who sided with the Macedonians, even by themselves, and still less after their junction with the Macedonians, whose attack at Corinth not even the Romans had withstood; but at first he influenced neither commander nor soldiers; a little later, when they saw the Argives too in arms, coming from the opposite direction in a strong column, and realized that their destruction was certain, they still seemed ready to suffer any fate, if their leader had been more stubborn. Aenesidemus, rather than lose the flower of the Achaean fighting men along with the city, having made a pact with Philocles that the men should be allowed to depart, himself with a few clients refused to leave the spot where he had taken his armed stand. Philocles sent to ask him what he meant. Without moving at all, with his buckler held out in front of him, he replied that he proposed to die under arms, in defence of the city entrusted to him. Then by order of the prefect javelins were thrown by the Thracians and all were

LIVY

A.U.C.
556

- 11 tela interfectique omnes. Et post pactam inter
Achaeos ac Romanos societatem duae nobilissimae
urbes, Argi et Corinthus, in potestate regis erant.
12 Haec ea aestate ab Romanis in Graecia terra
marique gesta.

XXVI. In Gallia nihil sane memorabile ab Sex.
2 Aelio consule gestum. Cum duos exercitus in
provincia habuisset, unum retentum, quem dimitti
oportebat, cui L. Cornelius proconsul praefuerat—
ipse ei C. Helvium praetorem praefecit, alterum
3 quem in provinciam adduxit, totum prope annum
Cremonensibus Placentinisque cogendis redire in
colonias, unde belli casibus dissipati erant, consump-
sit.

4 Quem ad modum Gallia praeter spem quieta eo
anno fuit, ita circa urbem servilis prope tumultus
5 est excitatus. Obsides Carthaginensium Setia
custodiebantur. Cum iis, ut principum liberis,
6 magna vis servorum erat. Augebant eorum numerum,
ut ab recenti Africo bello, et ab ipsis Setinis
captiva aliquot nationis eius empta ex praeda
7 mancipia. Ea¹ cum coniurationem fecissent, missis
ex eo numero, primum qui in Setino agro, deinde
circa Norbam et Cerceios servitia sollicitarent, satis
iam omnibus praeparatis, ludis qui Setia prope diem
8 futuri erant spectaculo intentum populum adgredi
tum capta Norbam et Cerceios occupare non potuere

¹ *Ea edd. : om. B.*

¹ In his account of events in Greece, Livy has generally followed Polybius. He now gathers up from various sources isolated events of the same period in other parts of the world.

² See ix. 5 above.

killed. And after the alliance between the Achaeans B.C. 198 and the Romans had been agreed upon, these two most celebrated cities, Argos and Corinth, were in the hands of the king. This is the record of the Romans' campaign in Greece, conducted during that summer on land and sea.

XXVI. In Gaul the consul Sextus Aelius accomplished nothing worth remark.¹ Although he had two armies in the province, one which he had retained in service, though he should have discharged it,² of which Lucius Cornelius the proconsul had been in command—he himself now placed Gaius Helvius the praetor in command of it—and one which he had brought into the province, he spent almost the whole year in compelling the people of Cremona and Placentia to return to the colonies whence they had been driven by the mishaps of war.

As Gaul was unexpectedly quiet that year, around Rome, on the other hand, there was almost a slave insurrection. The Carthaginian hostages were confined at Setia. With them, since they were sons of prominent men, was a large number of slaves. Their number was increased, as was natural after the recent African war, by numerous prisoners of war of that nation, bought up out of the booty by the people of Setia themselves. When these slaves had formed a conspiracy and had sent messengers from their company to stir up the slaves, first in the Setine territory, then around Norba and Cerceii, complete preparations having now been made, they had agreed to attack the crowd while occupied with the spectacle at the games which were soon to be held at Setia; the slaves captured Setia in the slaughter and confusion, but failed to take Norba and Cerceii.

LIVY

A.U.C.
666

servitia.¹ Huius rei tam foedae indicium Romam ad
 L. Cornelium Lentulum praetorem urbanum delatum
 9 est. Servi duo ante lucem ad eum venerunt atque
 ordine omnia quae acta futuraque erant, exposuerunt.
 10 Quibus domi custodiri iussis, praetor senatu vocato
 edoctoque quae indices adferrent, proficisci ad eam
 coniurationem quaerendam atque opprimendam
 11 iussus, cum quinque legatis profectus obvios in
 agris sacramento rogatos arma capere et sequi
 12 cogebat. Hoc tumultuario dilectu duobus milibus
 ferme hominum armatis Setiam omnibus quo pergeret
 13 ignaris venit. Ibi raptim principibus coniurationis
 comprehensis fuga servorum ex oppido facta est.
 Dimissis deinde per agros, qui vestigarent profugos.²
 14 Egregia duorum opera servorum indicum et unius
 liberi fuit. Ei centum milia gravis aeris dari patres
 iusserunt, servis vicena quina milia aeris et liber-
 tatem; pretium eorum ex aerario solutum est
 15 dominis. Haud ita multo post ex eiusdem coniu-
 rationis reliquiis nuntiatum est servitia Praeneste
 16 occupatura. Eo L. Cornelius praetor profectus de
 quingentis fere hominibus qui in ea noxa erant, suppli-
 cium sumpsit. In timore civitas fuit obsides capti-
 17 vosque Poenorum ea moliri. Itaque et Romae
 vigiliae per vicos servatae iussique circumire eas
 minores magistratus, et triumviri carceris lautumi-

¹ The addition of *non potuere* by the editors seems necessary to give the sense of the passage. *B* reads *occupare servitia*.

² Editors add a word like *profugos* as necessary, though the sentence is still incomplete. *B* reads *vestigarent egregia*.

¹ Lentulus is Livy's error for Merula. So also in § 16.

² Some such addition as this seems necessary to complete the sentence. It may be assumed that an account of the search and the punishment of the criminals is still missing.

BOOK XXXII. xxvi. 8-17

News of this dreadful occurrence was transmitted to B.C. 198. Rome, to Lucius Cornelius Lentulus¹ the urban praetor. Two slaves came to him before dawn and related in detail what had happened and what was likely to occur. Ordering them to be kept under guard at his home, the praetor summoned the senate and laid before them what the informants had told him, and on receiving orders to investigate and suppress this conspiracy, set out with five lieutenants, administered the oath to those he met in the fields, and compelled them to take arms and follow him. With this hastily-raised force of about two thousand armed men, he reached Setia before anyone knew where he was going. There, when the ringleaders in the plot had been summarily arrested, there was an exodus of slaves from the town. Cornelius sent troops through the country to pursue the fugitives, and himself returned to Rome.² Conspicuous service had been rendered by the two slaves who had given information, and by the one free man. To him the senate ordered given a reward of one hundred thousand *asses*; to the slaves, twenty-five thousand *asses* each, and their freedom; compensation for them from the treasury was paid to their owners. Shortly after this, word was received that the slaves, some of the remnants of the same conspiracy, were about to occupy Praeneste.³ Lucius Cornelius the praetor went there and executed about five hundred who were implicated in the crime. The state feared that the Carthaginian hostages and prisoners had contrived the plot. So at Rome watchmen patrolled the streets, the minor magistrates were ordered to make

³ This town (now Palestrina), about twenty-five miles east of Rome, was strongly situated and therefore frequently a military objective. Catiline planned to seize it in 63 B.C.

LIVY

A.U.C.
656

18 arum intentiorem custodiam habere iussi, et circa nomen Latinum a praetore litterae missae, ut et obsides in privato servarentur neque in publicum prodeundi facultas daretur, et captivi ne minus decem pondo compedibus vincti in nulla alia quam in carceris publici custodia essent.

XXVII. Eodem anno legati ab rege Attalo coronam auream ducentum quadraginta sex pondo in Capitolio posuerunt gratiasque senatui egere, quod Antiochus legatorum Romanorum auctoritate motus finibus Attali exercitum deduxisset.

2 Eadem aestate equites ducenti et elephanti¹ decem et tritici modium ducenta milia ab rege Masinissa ad exercitum qui in Graecia erat pervenerunt. Item ex Sicilia Sardiniaque magni commeatus
3 et vestimenta exercitui missa. Siciliam M. Marcellus, Sardiniam M. Porcius Cato obtinebat, sanctus et innocens, asperior tamen in faenore coercendo
4 habitus; fugatique ex insula faeneratores et sumptus, quos in cultum praetorum socii facere soliti erant circumcisi aut sublati.

5 Sex. Aelius consul, ex Gallia comitiorum causa Romam cum redisset, creavit consules C. Cornelium
6 Cethegum et Q. Minucium Rufum. Biduo post

¹ elephanti *edd.* : elephantēs *B.*

¹ Stone quarries, probably on the north-east slope of the Capitoline, were used as places of temporary confinement, since imprisonment within Rome was rarely imposed as a punishment by the courts, and perhaps also for prisoners of war. The Mamertine Prison, still to be seen in the same vicinity,

BOOK XXXII. XXVI. 17-XXVII. 6

inspections, and the three officials in charge of the quarry-prison¹ to increase their vigilance, and the praetor sent letters around to the Latin confederacy, that the hostages kept should be in private custody, with no opportunity to come out into public places, the prisoners loaded with chains of not less than ten pounds' weight, and guarded only in a public prison.² B.C. 198.

XXVII. In the same year ambassadors from King Attalus deposited on the Capitoline a golden crown of a weight of two hundred forty-six pounds, and expressed to the senate his gratitude because Antiochus, influenced by the authority of the Roman ambassadors, had withdrawn his army from the frontiers of Attalus.

During the same summer two hundred cavalry, ten elephants, and two hundred thousand *modii* of grain arrived, sent by King Masinissa to the army which was serving in Greece. Also from Sicily and Sardinia great stores of provisions and clothing for the army were sent. Marcus Marcellus was governing Sicily, Marcus Porcius Cato, Sardinia, a man of integrity and uprightness, but considered overharsh in his restraint of usury; the usurers were expelled from the island, and the expenses which the allies were accustomed to incur for the comfort of the praetors were cut down or abolished.

When Sextus Aelius the consul had returned from Gaul to hold the elections, he announced that Gaius Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Minucius Rufus

may have been a part of the system, at least originally. The *triumviri capitales* had charge of the prison and of executions.

¹ That is, in a place like the *lautumiae* in Rome.

LIVY

A.U.C.
556

praetorum comitia habita. Sex praetores illo anno primum creati crescentibus iam provinciis et latius
7 patescente imperio; creati autem hi: L.¹ Manlius Volso, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, M. Sergius Silus, M. Helvius, M. Minucius Rufus, L. Atilius—Sempronius et Helvius ex iis aediles plebis erant;
8 curules aediles Q. Minucius Thermus et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Ludi Romani eo anno quater instaurati.

A.U.C.
557

XXVIII. C. Cornelio et Q. Minucio consulibus omnium primum de provinciis consulum praeto-
2 rumque actum. Prius de praetoribus transacta res, quae transigi sorte poterat. Urbana Sergio, peregrina iurisdictio Minucio obtigit; Sardiniam Atilius, Siciliam Manlius, Hispanias Sempronius citeriorem,
3 Helvius ulteriorem est sortitus. Consulibus Italiam Macedoniamque sortiri parantibus L. Oppius et Q. Fulvius tribuni plebis impedimento erant, quod
4 longinqua provincia Macedonia esset, neque ulla alia res maius bello impedimentum ad eam diem fuisset quam quod vixdum inchoatis rebus in ipso conatu gerendi belli prior consul revocaretur.
5 Quartum iam annum esse ab decreto Macedonico bello. Quaerendo regem et exercitum eius Sul-

¹ *add. edd. vet. : om. B.*

¹ In viii. 5 above Livy gives the assignments of the praetors for the current year. The new arrangement provides praetorian governors for the two Spanish provinces, which had since the expulsion of the Carthaginians been governed by pro-magistrates. The omission of Gaul, tacitly included with Italy, enabled the senate to designate a *praetor peregrinus*,

BOOK XXXII. xxvii. 6—xxviii. 5

had been chosen. Two days later the praetorian u.c. 198 election was held. This year, for the first time, six praetors were chosen, in consequence of the increase that had taken place in the number of the provinces¹ and the enlargement of the empire; the following were elected: Lucius Manlius Volso, Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus, Marcus Sergius Silus, Marcus Helvius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Lucius Atilius (of these, Sempronius and Helvius were plebeian aediles). The curule aediles were Quintus Minucius Thermus and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. The Roman Games were four times repeated that year.

XXVIII. When Gaius Cornelius and Quintus B.C. 191 Minucius assumed the consulship, the first question to be settled concerned the consular and praetorian provinces. The case of the praetors was first disposed of, since that could be done by lot. The city jurisdiction fell to Sergius, that between citizens and aliens to Minucius; Atilius obtained Sardinia, Manlius Sicily, Sempronius Nearer Spain and Helvius Farther Spain. As the consuls were making ready to draw lots for Italy and Macedonia, the tribunes of the people, Lucius Oppius and Quintus Fulvius, intervened, because, as they said, Macedonia was a distant province, and there had been no greater difficulty up to that time in the conduct of the war than the fact that just when he was undertaking to carry on the war, with the campaign scarce begun, the former consul was recalled. It was already the fourth year since the declaration of war with Macedonia. Sulpicius had spent the greater part of his

who presided over the court trying cases in which Romans and non-Romans were involved.

LIVY

A.U.C.
557

picium maiorem partem anni absumpsisse. Villium
 congrementem cum hoste infecta re revocatum.
 6 Quinctium rebus divinis Romae maiorem partem
 anni retentum ita gessisse tamen res ut, si aut
 maturius in provinciam venisset, aut hiems magis
 7 sera fuisset, potuerit debellare; nunc prope in
 hiberna profectum ita comparare dici bellum, ut
 nisi successor impediatur, perfecturus aestate proxima
 8 videatur. His orationibus pervicerunt ut consules
 in senatus auctoritate fore dicerent se, si idem
 tribuni plebis facerent. Permittentibus utrisque
 liberam consultationem patres consulibus ambobus
 9 Italiam provinciam decreverunt, T. Quinctio pro-
 rogarunt imperium donec successor ex senatus
 consulto venisset. Consulibus binae legiones de-
 cretae et ut bellum cum Gallis Cisalpinis, qui
 10 defecissent a populo Romano, gererent. Quinctio
 in Macedoniam supplementum decretum, sex milia
 peditum, trecenti equites, sociorum navalium milia
 11 tria. Praeesse eidem cui¹ praeerat classi L. Quinc-
 tius Flaminius iussus. Praetoribus in Hispanias
 octona milia peditum socium ac nominis Latini data
 et quadringeni equites, ut dimitterent veterem ex
 Hispaniis militem; et terminare iussi qua ulterior
 12 citeriorve provincia servaretur. Macedoniae legatos

¹ cui *Madvig*: qui *B.*

¹ See ix. 1 above and, for a somewhat different interpretation, vi. 4.

² Although two proconsuls had usually exercised command in the Spanish peninsula, this is apparently the first time that definite boundary-lines were established. Henceforth two

BOOK XXXII. XXVIII. 5-12

year in searching for the king and his army. Villius, B.C. 197 while making contact with the enemy, had been recalled before accomplishing anything. Quinctius, though detained for the greater part of the year¹ in Rome by religious observances, had still so managed things that if either he had arrived earlier or winter had been later, he could have finished the war; now, it was said, having retired into winter quarters, he was making such preparations that if no successor interfered he seemed in a fair way to end the war that coming summer. By such arguments they prevailed upon the consuls to say that they would put themselves in the senate's hands if the tribunes of the people would do the same. When both parties agreed to leave full discretion to the senate, the Fathers voted that both consuls should have Italy as province, and prolonged the term of Titus Quinctius until a successor, authorized by decree of the senate, should have arrived. To the consuls two legions each were assigned, and the task of prosecuting the war with the Cisalpine Gauls who had revolted against the Roman people. Reinforcements were voted for Quinctius for service in Macedonia, six thousand infantry, three hundred cavalry, and three thousand naval allies. Lucius Quinctius Flaminius was placed in command of the same fleet of which he already had charge. Each of the praetors sent to Spain received eight thousand infantry of the allies and the Latin confederacy, and four hundred cavalry, with orders to send the veterans home from Spain; they were directed, moreover, to fix the boundaries which should be observed between the nearer and the farther provinces.² Additional distinct Spanish provinces are consciously recognized by the Romans.

LIVY

A.U.C.
667

P. Sulpicium et P. Villium, qui consules in ea provincia fuerant, adiecerunt.

XXIX. Priusquam consules praetoresque in provincias proficiscerentur, prodigia procurari placuit, quod aedes Vulcani Summanique Romae, et quod
2 Fregenensis murus et porta de caelo tacta erant, et Frusinone inter noctem lux orta, et Aefulae agnus biceps cum quinque pedibus natus, et Formiis duo lupi oppidum ingressi obvios aliquot laniaverant, Romae non in urbem solum sed in Capitolium penetraverat lupus.

3 C. Atinius tribunus plebis tulit ut quinque coloniae in oram maritimam deducerentur, duae ad ostia fluminum Vulturni Liternique, una Puteolos, una
4 ad Castrum Salerni: his Buxentum adiectum, trecenae familiae in singulas colonias iuebantur mitti. Triumviri deducendis iis, qui per triennium magistratum haberent, creati M. Servilius Geminus, Q. Minucius Thermus, Ti. Sempronius Longus.

5 Dilectu rebusque aliis divinis humanisque quae per ipsos agenda erant, perfectis, consules ambo in
6 Galliam profecti, Cornelius recta ad Insubres via, qui tum in armis erant Cenomanis adsumptis; Q. Minucius in laeva Italiae ad inferum mare flexit iter Genuamque exercitu ducto¹ ab Liguribus orsus

¹ ducto *edd.*: educto *B.*

¹ The Via Flaminia.

² The left or west coast, looking north from Rome.

³ The Tuscan Sea, to the west of Italy; contrasted with the *mare superum* or Adriatic.

BOOK XXXII. XXVIII. 12-XXIX. 6

lieutenants for Macedonia were named, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who had been consuls in that province. B.C. 197

XXIX. Before the consuls and praetors set out for their provinces, it was decreed that expiation for the prodigies should be made, because at Rome the temples of Vulcan and Summanus and the wall and gate at Fregellae had been struck by lightning, and at Frusino a light had shone during the night, and at Aefula a two-headed lamb with five feet had been born, and at Formiae two wolves had entered the town and injured certain persons they encountered, while at Rome a wolf had not only come into the city but had even climbed to the Capitoline.

Gaius Atinius, tribune of the people, carried a proposal that five colonies should be established on the sea-coast, two at the mouths of the Vulturnus and Liternus rivers, one at Puteoli, one at Castrum Salerni; to these Buxentum was added, and it was ordered that three hundred families be sent to each colony. A commission of three, to hold office for three years, was created to found these colonies, and Marcus Servilius Geminus, Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus were chosen as its members.

When the levy had been held and other matters, human and divine, which had to be done by them in person, had been disposed of, the two consuls set out for Gaul, Cornelius by the straight road¹ towards the Insubres, who were in arms, allied with the Cenomani; Quintus Minucius marched up the left² side of Italy towards the lower sea,³ and having conducted his army to Genoa, began the war with the Ligures. The towns

LIVY

A. U. C.
667

7 bellum est. Oppida Clastidium et Litubium, utraque
Ligurum, et duae gentis eiusdem civitates, Celeiates
Cerdiciatesque, sese dediderunt. Et iam omnia
cis Padum praeter Gallorum Boios, Ilvates Ligurum
8 sub ditione erant; quindecim oppida, hominum
viginti milia esse dicebantur quae se dediderant.
Inde in agrum Boiorum legiones duxit.

XXX. Boiorum exercitus haud ita multo ante
traiecerat Padum iunxeratque¹ se Insubribus et
2 Cenomanis, quod ita acceperant coniunctis legionibus
consules rem gesturos, ut et ipsi collatas in unum
3 vires firmarent. Postquam fama accidit alterum
consulem Boiorum urere agros, seditio extemplo orta
est; postulare Boi ut laborantibus opem universi
4 ferrent; Insubres negare se sua deserturos. Ita
divisae copiae, Boisque in agrum suum tutandum
profectis Insubres cum Cenomanis super amnis
5 Mincii ripam consederunt. Infra eum locum duo
milia et consul Cornelius eidem flumini castra
6 applicuit. Inde mittendo in vicos Cenomanorum
Brixiamque, quod caput gentis erat, ut satis com-
perit non ex auctoritate seniorum iuventutem in armis
esse nec publico consilio Insubrum defectioni Ceno-
7 manos sese adiunxisse, excitis ad se principibus id
agere ac moliri coepit ut desciscerent ab Insubribus
Cenomani et sublatis signis aut domos redirent aut

¹ iunxeratque *edd.* : iunxerat *B.*

BOOK XXXII. xxix. 6-xxx. 7

of Clastidium and Litubium, both belonging to the B.C. 197 Ligures, and two cantons of the same people, the Celeiates and the Cerdiciates, surrendered. And now all the states on this side of the Po except the Gallic Boi and the Ligurian Ilvates were under his control; there were altogether fifteen towns and twenty thousand men, according to report, that had surrendered. Thence he led his legions into the territory of the Boi.

XXX. The army of the Boi had not long before this crossed the Po and had effected a junction with the Insubres and the Cenomani, because they had heard that the consuls were to carry on the war with their legions united, that they too might consolidate their strength by combining their armies. But when the news got around that one consul was burning the farms of the Boi, dissension at once arose; the Boi demanded that all should go to the relief of their harassed countrymen; the Insubres asserted that they would not desert their own possessions. So the army was divided, the Boi going home to defend their land, the Insubres with the Cenomani encamping along the river Mincius. Two miles farther down stream, the consul Cornelius was also encamped along the same river. Thence, sending messengers to the villages of the Cenomani and to Brescia, which was the capital of the tribe, when he was assured that the young men were in arms without the approval of the elders, and that the Cenomani had joined the revolt of the Insubres without a decision of the state to that effect, he summoned the chiefs to his presence and began to contrive and plan that the Cenomani should desert the Insubres and, taking up their standards, either go home or join

LIVY

A.U.C.
557

8 ad Romanos transirent. Et id quidem impetrari
nequirit; in id fides data consuli est, ut in acie aut
quiescerent aut, si qua etiam occasio fuisset, adiuva-
9 rent Romanos. Haec ita convenisse Insubres igno-
rabant; suberat tamen quaedam suspicio animis
labare fidem sociorum. Itaque cum in aciem eduxis-
sent, neutrum iis cornu committere ausi, ne, si dolo
cessissent, rem totam inclinarent, post signa in
10 subsidiis eos locaverunt. Consul principio pugnae
vovit aedem Sospitae Iunoni, si eo die hostes fusi
fugatique fuissent; a militibus clamor sublatus
compotem voti consulem se facturos, et impetus in
11 hostes est factus. Non tulerunt Insubres primum
concursum. Quidam et a Cenomanis, terga repente
in ipso certamine adgressis, tumultum ancipitem
iniectum auctores sunt, caesaque in medio quinque
et triginta milia hostium, quinque milia et ducentos
12 vivos captos, in iis Hamilcarem, Poenorum impera-
torem, qui belli causa fuisset; signa militaria centum
13 triginta et carpenta supra ducenta. Multa oppida
Gallorum,¹ quae Insubrum defectionem secuta
erant, dediderunt se Romanis.

XXXI. Minucius consul primo effusis populationi-
bus peragraverat fines Boiorum, deinde, ut relictis

¹ Gallorum *Bekker* : Gallorumque *B.*

¹ In XXXIV. liii. 3 Livy records the dedication of a temple to Juno Matuta, vowed by Cornelius in the Gallic war four years before.

² Hamilcar was killed in the battle between Furius and the Gauls (XXXI. xxi. 18); he was also led in the triumph of Cornelius (XXXIII. xxiii. 5). Livy makes no effort to decide

the Romans. And this, indeed, he could not accomplish; but a pledge was given the consul to this effect, that in the battle they would either remain quiet or, if occasion offered, even aid the Romans. The Insubres knew nothing of these negotiations; yet they somehow suspected that the fidelity of their allies was weakening. So when they formed the battle-line they did not dare to entrust either flank to them, lest, if they treacherously gave way, they might cause a complete defeat, but placed them behind the standards in support. The consul at the beginning of the battle vowed a temple to Juno Sospita¹ if the enemy should be routed and put to flight that day; the soldiers shouted out that they would bring about the fulfilment of the consul's vow and the attack on the enemy began. The Insubres broke at the first assault. Some say that when the Cenomani also, in the midst of the fighting, assailed them in the rear, there was a double turmoil, that between the two lines thirty-five thousand of the enemy were slain and five thousand two hundred taken alive, among them Hamilcar,² the Carthaginian general, who had been the prime mover of the war; and that one hundred and thirty military standards and more than two hundred wagons were captured. Many Gallic towns which had joined the Insubres in revolt gave themselves up to the Romans.

XXXI. The consul Minucius had at first wandered far and wide through the country of the Boi, raiding in every direction, but later, when they had left the

which of these conflicting accounts is correct, though he is aware of the contradictions as well as the resemblances (note the phrase *auctores sunt* in sect. 11). Some scholars believe that Livy and his sources have made two battles out of one.

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Insubribus ad sua tuenda receperant sese, castris se
 2 tenuit acie dimicandum cum hoste ratus. Nec Boi
 detrectassent pugnam, ni fama Insubres victos
 adlata animos fregisset. Itaque relicto duce cas-
 trisque dissipati per vicos, sua quisque ut defenderent,
 3 rationem gerendi belli hosti mutarunt. Omissa
 enim spe per unam dimicationem rei decernendae
 rursus populari agros et urere tecta vicosque expug-
 4 nare coepit. Per eosdem dies Clastidium incensum.
 Inde in Ligustinos Ilvates, qui soli non parebant,
 5 legiones ductae. Ea quoque gens, ut Insubres
 acie victos, Boios ita, ut temptare spem certaminis
 non auderent, territos audivit, in dicionem venit.
 6 Litterae consulum amborum de rebus in Gallia
 gestis prospere sub idem tempus Romam adlatae.
 M. Sergius praetor urbanus in senatu eas, deinde
 ex auctoritate patrum ad populum recitavit. Suppli-
 catio in quadriduum decreta.

XXXII. Hiems iam eo tempore erat, et, cum T.
 Quinctius capta Elatia in Phocide ac Locride hiberna
 2 disposita haberet, Opunte seditio orta est. Factio
 una Aetolos, qui propiores¹ erant, altera Romanos
 3 accersebat. Aetoli priores venerunt; sed opulentior
 factio exclusis Aetolis missoque ad imperatorem
 Romanum nuntio usque in adventum eius tenuit

¹ propiores *edd.* : priores *B.*

¹ Livy returns to Polybius (XVIII. i.–viii), his authority for the eastern campaign, and the abrupt change of source may explain the harshness of the transitional clause.

² See xxiv. 7 above. The events now described belong accordingly to the winter of 198–197 B.C., and so antedate the Gallic campaigns just narrated.

BOOK XXXII. XXXI. 1-XXXII. 3

Insubres and returned to defend their possessions, B.C. 197
he remained in camp, thinking that he would fight a regular battle with the enemy. The Boi would not have declined the contest if the news that the Insubres had been defeated had not diminished their ardour. So, leaving their leader and their camp, they scattered through the towns, each to defend his own property, and changed the enemy's plan of operations. For, giving up hope of deciding the war by a single engagement, he began once more to ravage the fields and burn the buildings and storm the towns. During this time Clastidium was burned. Thence he led his legions against the Ligurian Ilvates, who alone were not submissive. This tribe too surrendered when they heard that as the Insubres had been defeated in battle, so the Boi were too terrified to dare to try fortune in the open field. The dispatches of the two consuls, describing their successes in Gaul, reached Rome about the same time. Marcus Sergius the city praetor read them in the senate and, with the senate's authorization, then to the people. A thanksgiving of four days was decreed.

XXXII. By that time it was winter,¹ and while Titus Quinctius, after the capture of Elatia,² had his winter quarters distributed through Phocis and Locris, sedition broke out at Opus. One faction called in the Aetolians, who were nearer, the other the Romans. The Aetolians were first to arrive; but the richer faction³ excluded the Aetolians and, sending a messenger to the Roman commander, held

³ The Romans consistently supported the wealthier and more conservative parties in the Greek towns.

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4 urbem. Arcem regium tenebat praesidium, neque
 ut decederent inde, aut Opuntiorum minis aut
 auctoritate imperatoris Romani perpelli potuerunt.
 5 Mora, cur non extemplo oppugnarentur, ea fuit
 quod caduceator ab rege venerat locum ac tempus
 6 petens colloquio. Id gravate regi concessum est,
 non quin cuperet Quinctius per se partim armis,
 partim condicionibus confectum videri bellum;
 7 necdum enim sciebat utrum successor sibi alter ex
 novis consulibus mitteretur, an, quod summa vi ut
 tenderent amicis et propinquis mandaverat, imperium
 8 prorogaretur; aptum autem fore colloquium crede-
 bat, ut sibi liberum esset vel ad bellum manenti vel
 9 ad pacem decedenti rem inclinare. In sinu Maliaco
 prope Nicaeam litus elegere. Eo rex ab Demetriade
 cum quinque lembis et una nave rostrata venit.
 10 Erant cum eo principes Macedonum et Achaeorum
 11 exul, vir insignis, Cycliadas. Cum imperatore
 Romano rex Amynander erat et Dionysodorus,
 Attali legatus, et Agesimbrotus, praefectus Rhodiae
 classis, et Phaeneas, princeps Aetolorum, et Achaei
 12 duo, Aristaenus et Xenophon. Inter hos Romanus
 ad ¹ extremum litus progressus, cum rex in proram
 13 navis in ancoris stantis processisset, "commodius"
 inquit, "si in terram egrediaris, ex propinquo
 dicamus in vicem audiamusque."² Cum rex facturum
 se id negaret, "quem tandem" inquit Quinctius

¹ ad *edd. vett.* : om. *B.*

² *audiamusque eld.* : *audiemusque B.*

the city until he came. A royal garrison held the citadel and could not be induced either by the threats of the people of Opus or by the influence of the Roman commander to withdraw from it. A delay, preventing an immediate attack, occurred because a herald had come from the king requesting a time and place for a conference. This was reluctantly granted to the king, not because Quinctius was not eager to seem to have ended the war himself, partly by arms, partly by diplomacy; for he did not yet know whether a successor to him would be appointed, that is, one of the new consuls, or his own term would be extended, a thing which he had instructed his friends and relatives to strive for with all their might; but on the whole he considered that a conference would be expedient, that he might be free to lean either towards war, if he remained, or towards peace, if he were relieved. They chose a place on the shore of the Malian Gulf near Nicaea. Thither the king came from Demetrias with five light ships and one war-vessel. There were with him nobles of Macedonia and the Achaean exile Cycliadas, a man of distinction. King Amynder was with the Roman general, as well as Dionysodorus, representing Attalus, and Agesimbrotus, the commander of the Rhodian fleet, and Phaeneas, chief of the Aetolians, and two Achaeans, Aristaenus and Xenophon. The Roman, attended by them, went out to the edge of the strand, and when the king had taken his place in the prow of his ship as it lay at anchor Quinctius spoke: "It will be more convenient if you come ashore, that we may be nearer and speak and listen in turn." When the king refused to do this, Quinctius asked, "Whom, pray, do you fear?"

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14 "times?" Ad hoc ille superbo et regio animo:
 "Neminem equidem timeo praeter deos immortales;
 non omnium autem credo fidei, quos circa te video,
 15 atque omnium minime Aetolis." "Istuc quidem"
 ait Romanus "par omnibus periculum est, qui cum
 hoste ad colloquium congregiuntur, si nulla fides
 16 sit." "Non tamen" inquit, "T. Quincti, par
 perfidiae praemium est, si fraude agatur, Philippus
 et Phaeneas; neque enim aequè difficulter Aetoli
 praetorem alium ac Macedones regem in meum
 locum substituant."

XXXIII. Secundum haec silentium fuit, cum Ro-
 manus eum aequum censeret priorem dicere qui
 petisset colloquium, rex eius esse priorem orationem,
 qui daret pacis leges, non qui acciperet; tum
 2 Romanus: simplicem suam orationem esse; ea
 enim se dicturum, quae ni fiant, nulla sit pacis
 3 condicio. Deducenda ex omnibus Graeciae civi-
 tatibus regi praesidia esse, captivos et transfugas
 sociis populi Romani reddendos, restituenda Romanis
 ea Illyrici loca, quae post pacem in Epiro factam
 4 occupasset, Ptolomaeo Aegypti regi reddendas
 urbes, quas post Philopatoris Ptolomaei mortem
 occupavisset. Suas populique Romani condiciones
 has esse: ceterum et socium audiri postulata verum
 5 esse. Attali regis legatus naves captivosque quae
 ad Chium navali proelio capta essent, et Nicephorium
 Venerisque templum quae spoliasset evastassetque,

¹ After the peace of 205 B.C. (XXIX. xii. 1), Philip had occupied certain districts on the Illyrian coast which Rome had taken over after the defeat of the Illyrians in 229 B.C. (Per. XX).

² A sacred grove outside Pergamum: Strabo, XIII. iv.; Diodorus, XXVIII. 5.

With proud and kingly mien he replied, "None do I fear, save only the immortal gods; but I do not trust the word of all I see around you, and least of all that of the Aetolians." "As to that," replied the Roman, "we all share the danger equally who come to conference with an enemy, if there is no trust." "Nevertheless, Titus Quinctius," said the king, "Philip and Phaeneas are not equal rewards for perfidy, if there should be a breach of faith; for it would not be equally difficult for the Aetolians to find another praetor and the Macedonians another king to take my place."

XXXIII. Silence followed, the Roman believing that the conference should be opened by him who had asked it, the king that he who was proposing terms of peace, and not he who was receiving them, should speak first; then the Roman began: He said that his speech was simple; for he would say only what was essential if there were to be terms of peace. The king must withdraw his garrisons from all the cities of Greece, must give up the captives and fugitives to the allies of the Roman people, must restore to the Romans the parts of Illyricum¹ which he had occupied subsequent to the peace which had been made in Epirus, and must give back to King Ptolemy of Egypt the cities which he had seized since the death of Ptolemy Philopator. These were his conditions and those of the Roman people; but the king must hear besides the demands of the allies. The ambassador of King Attalus demanded that the ships and prisoners which had been taken in the naval battle off Chios be given back, and that the Nicephorium² and the temple of Venus which he had despoiled and destroyed should be restored to

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6 pro incorruptis restitui; Rhodii Peraeam—regio est
continentis adversus insulam, vetustae eorum dicionis
—repetebant postulabantque praesidia deduci ab
Iaso et a Bargyliis et Euromensium urbe et in
7 Hellesponto Sesto atque Abydo, et Perinthum By-
zantiis in antiqui formulam iuris restitui, et liberari
omnia Asiae emporia portusque. Achaei Corinthum
8 et Argos repetebant. Praetor Aetolorum Phaeneas
cum eadem fere quae Romani, ut Graecia decedere-
tur, postulasset, redderenturque Aetolis urbes quae
9 quondam iuris ac dicionis eorum fuissent, excepit
orationem eius princeps Aetolorum Alexander, vir
10 ut inter Aetolos facundus. Iam dudum se reticere
ait, non quo quicquam agi putet eo colloquio, sed ne
quem sociorum dicentem interpellet. Nec¹ de
pace cum fide Philippum agere nec bella vera virtute
11 umquam gessisse. In colloquiis insidiari et captare;
in bello non congredi aequo campo neque signis
collatis dimicare, sed refugientem incendere ac
diripere urbes et vincentium praemia victum corrup-
12 pere. At non antiquos Macedonum reges,² sed acie
bellare solitos, urbibus parcere, quantum possent quo
13 opulentiùs haberent imperium. Nam de quorum
possessione dimicetur tollentem nihil sibi praeter
14 bellum relinquere, quod consilium esse? Piures
priore anno sociorum urbes in Thessalia evastasse

¹ nec *Bekker*: ne *B*: neque ζ .² *post reges lacunam susp. edd.*¹ Taken at the time of the operations mentioned in XXXI.
xiv. 4.² I have completed the apparent sense of the first
clause.

their former state; the Rhodians asked for *Peraea* B.C. 197—a district on the mainland opposite their island, and under their ancient rule¹—and demanded that the garrisons be withdrawn from *Iasus* and *Bargyliae* and the city of the *Euromenses*, and on the *Hellespont* from *Sestus* and *Abydus*, and that *Perinthus* should be given back to the *Byzantines* and permitted to enjoy its ancient rights, and that all the markets and ports of *Asia* should be made free. The *Achaean*s demanded *Corinth* and *Argos*. *Phaeneas*, praetor of the *Aetolians*, having made practically the same demands as the *Romans*, that *Greece* should be evacuated, and also that the cities which had formerly been under the control and sway of the *Aetolians* should be returned to them, was interrupted in his speech by *Alexander*, an *Aetolian* noble, and considered eloquent, as *Aetolians* go. He said that he had kept silent for a long time, not because he thought that anything was being accomplished at the conference, but to avoid breaking in on the speech of any of the allies. *Philip*, he said, had never kept peace with good faith or waged war with true courage. In conference he plotted and tried to entrap his opponents; in battle he would not engage in the open field or fight hand to hand, but instead would retreat, burn and rob cities and, though conquered, destroy the prizes of the conquerors. The *Macedonian* kings of old did not conduct matters thus,² but were used to fight in battle array and to spare the cities, so far as they could, that they might have a richer empire. For what sort of wisdom was it to destroy the things for the possession of which you fight, and leave yourself nothing but the fighting? *Philip* had, during the preceding cam-

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Philippum quam omnes qui umquam hostes Thes-
 15 saliae fuerint. Ipsis quoque Aetolis eum plura socium
 quam hostem ademisse: Lysimachiam pulso praetore
 16 et praesidio Aetolorum occupasse eum; Cium, item
 suae dicionis urbem, funditus evertisse ac delesse;
 eadem fraude habere eum Thebas Phthias, Echinum,
 Larisam, Pharsalum.

XXXIV. Motus oratione Alexandri Philippus
 navem, ut exaudiretur, propius terram applicuit.
 2 Orsum eum dicere, in Aetolos maxime, violenter
 Phaeneas interfatus non in verbis rem verti ait; aut
 bello vincendum aut melioribus parendum esse.
 3 "Apparet id quidem" inquit Philippus "etiam
 caeco," iocatus in valetudinem oculorum Phaeneae;
 et erat dicacior natura quam regem decet, et ne
 4 inter seria quidem risu satis temperans. Indignari
 inde coepit, Aetolos tamquam Romanos decedi
 Graecia iubere, qui, quibus finibus Graecia sit,
 dicere non possent; ipsius enim Aetoliae Agraeos
 Apodotosque et Amphilochos, quae permagna eorum
 5 pars sit, Graeciam non esse. "An, quod a sociis
 eorum non abstinuerim, iustam querellam habent,
 cum ipsi pro lege hunc antiquitus morem servant, ut
 adversus socios ipsi suos publica tantum auctoritate
 dempta iuventutem suam militare sinant, et contra-
 riae persaepe acies in utraque parte Aetolica auxilia
 6 habeant? Neque ego Cium expugnaui, sed Prusiam

¹ King of Bithynia (XXIX. xii. 14).

paign, wasted more friendly cities in Thessaly than all the enemies Thessaly had ever had. To the Aetolians themselves, too, he had as an ally done more damage than he had as an enemy: he had taken possession of Lysimachia after driving out the magistrate and the Aetolian garrison; he had utterly ruined and destroyed Cios, another city under their control; with the same deceit he held Phthian Thebes, Echinus, Larisa, and Pharsalus. B.O. 107

XXXIV. Philip, angered at Alexander's speech, moved his ship nearer the shore, that he might be heard more clearly. When he had begun to reply, especially to the Aetolians, Phaeneas rudely interrupted him, saying that the decision did not turn on words: Philip must either conquer in battle or obey his betters. "That is clear," retorted Philip, "even to a blind man," making jest of Phaeneas' affliction of the eyes; he was, it must be admitted, more facetious by nature than becomes a king, and not even in serious business did he refrain from jesting. Then he began to complain that the Aetolians, like the Romans, ordered him to retire from Greece, although they could not say within what boundaries Greece lay; for in Aetolia itself, the Agraei, the Apodoti, the Amphilochi, who comprise a great part of the country, were not in Greece. "Or," he asked, "do they have just ground for complaint that I have not kept my hands off their allies, when they themselves have long observed this custom as an established practice, of allowing their own young men to fight against their allies, official sanction being merely withheld, and opposing battle-lines will very often both contain Aetolian auxiliaries? I did not capture Cios, but I aided my ally and friend Prusias¹ who was

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socium et amicum oppugnantem adiuvi; et Lysimachiam ab Thracibus vindicavi sed,¹ quia me necessitas ad hoc bellum a custodia eius avertit, Thraces
 7 habent. Et Aetolis haec; Attalo autem Rhodiisque nihil iure debeo; non enim a me, sed ab illis principium
 8 belli ortum est; Romanorum autem honoris causa Peraean Rhodiis et naves Attalo cum captivis
 9 qui comparebunt restituam. Nam quod ad Nicephorium Venerisque templi restitutionem attinet,
 10 quid restitui ea postulantibus respondeam, nisi, quo uno modo silvae lucique caesi restitui possunt, curam impensamque stationis² me praestaturum—
 quoniam haec inter se reges postulare et respondere
 11 placet.” Extrema eius oratio adversus Achaeos fuit, in qua orsus ab Antigono primum, suis deinde erga gentem eam meritis, recitari decreta eorum iussit omnes divinos humanosque honores complexa atque
 12 eis obiecit recens decretum, quo ab se descivissent; invectusque graviter in perfidiam eorum, Argos
 13 tamen se iis redditurum dixit; de Corintho cum imperatore Romano deliberaturum esse quaesiturumque ab eo simul, utrum iisne urbibus decedere se aequum censeat, quas ab se ipso captas iure belli habeat, an iis etiam, quas a maioribus suis accepisset.

XXXV. Parantibus Achaeis Aetolisque ad ea respondere, cum prope occasum sol esset, dilato in posterum diem colloquio Philippus in stationem,

¹ sed *Ascensius* : et *B.*

² stationis *edd.* : stationis *B.*

besieging it; also, I rescued Lysimachia from the B.C. 197
 Thracians, but, because necessity diverted me from
 guarding it to this war, the Thracians hold it. So
 much for the Aetolians; but to Attalus and the
 Rhodians I owe nothing justly; for the beginning of
 the war was their act, not mine; however, to do
 honour to the Romans, I shall restore Peraea to the
 Rhodians and to Attalus the ships and such prisoners
 as can be found. Now as to the restoration of the
 Nicephorium and the temple of Venus, what reply
 can I make to those who demand that they be
 restored, except that (and in this way alone can woods
 and groves cut down be restored) I shall take upon
 myself the responsibility and cost of planting—since
 this is the sort of thing that kings are pleased to ask
 and reply to one another." The rest of his speech
 was directed to the Achaeans, in which he recounted
 first the services of Antigonos to the people and then
 his own, bade that their decrees be read, which included
 all honours, divine and human, and taunted them with
 their most recent decree, in which they repudiated
 the alliance with him; and after violently assailing
 their perfidy, he said that he would nevertheless
 give back Argos to them; regarding Corinth, he
 would confer with the Roman commander and ascer-
 tain from him at the same time whether he thought
 it proper that he evacuate those cities which he
 himself had captured and which he held by right of
 conquest, or those also which he had inherited from
 his sires.

XXXV. As the Achaeans and Aetolians were
 preparing to answer him, since the sun was now near
 its setting, the council was adjourned until next day,
 and Philip returned to the base from which he had

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ex qua profectus erat, Romani sociique in castra
 2 redierunt. Quinctius postero die ad Nicaeam—is
 enim locus placuerat—ad constitutum tempus venit;
 Philippus nullus usquam, nec nuntius ab eo per
 aliquot horas veniebat, et iam desperantibus ven-
 3 turum repente apparuerunt naves. Atque ipse
 quidem, cum tam gravia et indigna imperarentur,
 inopem consilii diem consumpsisse deliberando
 4 aiebat; vulgo credebant de industria rem in serum
 tractam, ne tempus dari posset Achaeis Aetolisque
 5 ad respondendum, et eam opinionem ipse adfirmavit,
 petendo ut summotis aliis, ne tempus altercando
 tereretur et aliqui finis rei imponi posset, cum ipso
 6 imperatore Romano liceret sibi colloqui. Id primo
 non acceptum, ne excludi colloquio viderentur
 7 socii, dein, cum haud absisteret petere, ex omnium
 consilio Romanus imperator cum Ap. Claudio tri-
 buno militum ceteris summotis ad extremum litus
 8 processit; rex cum duobus, quos pridie adhibuerat,
 in terram est egressus. Ibi cum aliquamdiu secreto
 locuti essent, quae acta Philippus ad suos ret-
 9 tulerit, minus compertum est; Quinctius haec
 rettulit ad socios: Romanis eum cedere tota Illyrici
 10 ora, perfugas remittere ac si qui sint captivi; Attalo
 naves et cum iis captos navales socios, Rhodiis
 regionem quam Peraean vocant reddere, Iaso et
 11 Bargyliis non cessurum; Aetolis Pharsalum Lari-
 samque reddere, Thebas non reddere; Achaeis

come, the Romans and the allies to the camp. The B.C. 197
 next day Quinctius arrived at Nicaea—for this was the place agreed upon—at the appointed time; Philip was nowhere in sight and no messenger from him arrived for several hours, and just as they were ready to abandon hope of his coming, suddenly his ships appeared. And Philip said that, since such heavy and unjust demands had been made, being uncertain what to do, he had spent the day in deliberation; it was the general opinion that he had purposely deferred his arrival until late, so as to give the Achaeans and Aetolians no time to reply to him, and he himself confirmed this belief by asking that the others retire, that time might not be wasted in argument and that some end might be set to the affair, and that he be permitted to confer with the Roman commander by himself. At first the request was denied, lest the allies seem to be excluded from the conference, but finally, as he persisted in his plea, with the consent of all, the Roman general with Appius Claudius, tribune of the soldiers, left the rest behind and came out to the water's edge; the king with the two companions whom he had had with him the day before came ashore. After they had talked for some time apart, what account Philip gave his own friends is uncertain; the report of Quinctius to the allies was that Philip ceded to the Romans the whole Illyrian coast, sent back the deserters and whatever prisoners there were; to Attalus he returned the ships and the naval allies captured with them, and to the Rhodians the region which they call Peraea, but he would not give up Iasus or Bargyliae; to the Aetolians he surrendered Pharsalus and Larisa but not Thebes; to the Achaeans he would yield not only Argos but

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non Argis modo sed etiam Corintho cessurum.
 12 Nulli omnium placere partium, quibus cessurus aut non cessurus esset, destinatio: plus enim amitti in iis quam acquiri, nec unquam, nisi tota deduxisset Graecia¹ praesidia, causas certaminum defore.

XXXVI. Cum haec toto ex concilio certatim omnes vociferarentur, ad Philippum quoque procul stantem
 2 vox est perlata. Itaque a Quinctio petit ut rem totam in posterum diem differret: profecto aut persuasurum se aut persuaderi sibi passurum.
 3 Litus ad Thronium colloquio destinatur. Eo mature conventum est. Ibi Philippus primum et Quinctium et omnes qui aderant rogare ne spem pacis turbare
 4 vellent, postremo petere tempus, quo legatos mittere Romam ad senatum posset: aut iis condicionibus se pacem impetraturum aut quascumque senatus
 5 dedisset leges pacis accepturum. Id ceteris haudquaquam placebat: nec enim aliud quam moram et
 6 dilationem ad colligendas vires quaeri; Quinctius verum id futurum fuisse dicere, si aestas et tempus rerum gerendarum esset; nunc hieme instante
 7 nihil amitti dato spatio ad legatos mittendos: nam neque sine auctoritate senatus ratum quicquam eorum fore, quae cum rege ipsi pepigissent, et explorari, dum bello necessariam quietem ipsa
 8 hiems daret, senatus auctoritatem posse. In hanc sententiam et ceteri sociorum principes concesserunt; indutiisque datis in duos menses, et ipsos mittere singulos legatos ad senatum edocendum, ne fraude

¹ Graecia *edd.*: et Graecia *B.*

Corinth as well. The decision as to the places from B.C. 197 which he would or would not retire pleased no party: for more, they maintained, was lost thereby than gained, nor would causes for strife ever be wanting until he withdrew his garrisons from all Greece.

XXXVI. When shouts to this effect were uttered by the whole council, all speaking at once, their words reached Philip even standing at a distance. Accordingly he asked Quinctius to postpone the whole question until the next day: he would assuredly persuade them or suffer himself to be persuaded. The beach near Thronium was selected for the meeting. Thither all came at an early hour. There Philip first asked both Quinctius and all the others who were present not to entertain views which would disturb the hope of peace, and finally begged for time in which he could send an embassy to the senate at Rome: he would either obtain peace on these terms or submit to whatever conditions of peace the senate imposed. The others did not all like this suggestion: for nothing else, they said, was sought than postponement and delay to collect fresh troops; Quinctius argued that this would have been true had it been summer and the time for active operations; now, with winter at hand, nothing was lost by granting an interval to send ambassadors: for none of the agreements they had made with the king could be ratified except on the authority of the senate, and while winter gave the necessary respite from war the views of the senate could be sought. The other leaders of the allies also agreed with this opinion; and having granted a truce of two months, they too decided to send one ambassador each to advise the senate, lest it be deceived by the

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9 regis caperetur, placuit. Additum indutiarum pacto,
 ut regia praesidia Phocide ac Locride extemplo
 10 deducerentur. Et ipse Quinctius cum sociorum
 legatis Amyndrum, Athamanum regem, ut
 speciem legationi adiceret, et Q. Fabium—uxoris
 Quincti sororis filius erat—et Q. Fulvium et Ap.
 Claudium misit.

XXXVII. Ut ventum Romam est, prius sociorum
 legati quam regis auditi sunt. Cetera eorum
 2 oratio conviciis regis consumpta est; moverunt eo
 maxime senatum, demonstrando maris terrarumque
 3 regionis eius situm, ut omnibus appareret, si Deme-
 triadem in Thessalia, Chalcidem in Euboea, Corin-
 thum in Achaia rex teneret, non posse liberam
 4 Graeciam esse, et ipsum Philippum non contume-
 liosius quam verius compedes eas Graeciae appellare.
 5 Legati deinde regis intromissi; quibus longiorem
 exorsis orationem brevis interrogatio, cessurusne
 iis tribus urbibus esset, sermonem incidit, cum
 mandati sibi de iis nominatim negarent quicquam.
 Sic infecta pace regii dimissi; Quinctio liberum ar-
 6 bitrium pacis ac belli permissum. Cui¹ ut satis
 apparuit non taedere belli senatum, et ipse victoriae
 quam pacis avidior neque colloquium postea Philippo
 dedit neque legationem aliam quam quae omni
 Graecia decedi nuntiaret, admissurum dixit.

XXXVIII. Philippus, cum acie decernendum
 videret et undique ad se contrahendas vires, maxime

¹ cui *Crévier* : quod *B.*

king's misrepresentations. A stipulation was added B.C. 197 to the agreement regarding the truce, that the king's garrisons should be immediately withdrawn from Phocis and Locris. And Quinctius himself sent with the ambassadors of the allies Amynder, king of the Athamanians, to add distinction to the embassy, and Quintus Fabius—he was the son of the sister of the wife of Quinctius—and Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius.

XXXVII. When they reached Rome, the ambassadors of the allies were heard before those of the king. Much of their speech was devoted to reviling the king; they influenced the senate especially by their description of the geography of the sea and lands in that region, so that it was clear to all that if the king held Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Euboea, and Corinth in Achaea, Greece could not be free, and that Philip himself, with equal insolence and truth, called them the fetters of Greece. Then the ambassadors of the king were admitted; and when they had begun a lengthy argument, a terse question, whether he would evacuate these three cities, cut short their speech, since they said they had no explicit instructions from him regarding them. So the king's ambassadors were dismissed without obtaining peace; Quinctius was given full discretion regarding peace and war. When it was made clear to him that the senate was not ready to discontinue the war, he, being himself more eager for victory than for peace, thereafter neither granted Philip any conference nor consented to receive any embassy that did not announce a withdrawal from all Greece.

XXXVIII. When Philip saw that the decision must be reached on the battlefield and that he must

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2 de Achaiae urbibus, regionis ab se diversae, et magis
 tamen de Argis quam de Corintho sollicitus, optimum
 ratus Nabidi eam Lacedaemoniorum tyranno velut
 fiduciariam dare, ut victori sibi restitueret, si quid
 adversi accidisset, ipse haberet, Philocli, qui Corintho
 Argisque praeerat, scribit, ut tyrannum ipse con-
 3 veniret. Philocles, praeterquam quod iam veniebat
 cum munere, adicit, ad pignus futurae regi cum
 tyranno amicitiae, filias suas regem Nabidis filiis
 4 matrimonio coniungere velle. Tyrannus primo ne-
 gare aliter urbem eam se accepturum, nisi Argivorum
 ipsorum decreto accersitus ad auxilium urbis esset,
 5 deinde, ut frequenti contione non aspernatos modo
 sed abominatos etiam nomen tyranni audivit, causam
 se spoliandi eos nactum ratus tradere ubi vellet urbem
 6 Philoclen iussit. Nocte ignaris omnibus acceptus
 in urbem est tyrannus; prima luce occupata omnia
 7 superiora loca portaeque clausae. Paucis principum¹
 inter primum tumultum elapsis, eorum absentium
 direptae fortunae; praesentibus aurum atque
 argentum ablatum, pecuniae imperatae ingentes.
 8 Qui non cunctanter contulere, sine contumelia et
 laceratione corporum dimissi; quos oculere aut
 retrahere aliquid suspicio fuit, in servilem modum
 9 lacerati atque extorti. Contione inde advocata
 rogationes² promulgavit, unam de tabulis novis,

¹ principum *edd. vett.* : principium *B.*

² rogationes *edd.* : rogationem *B.*

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collect around himself forces from every quarter, B.C. 197
being especially concerned about the cities of
Achaëa, a region far away from him, and yet more
concerned about Argos than Corinth, it seemed the
best plan to commit Argos on deposit, as it were, to
Nabis, the tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, with the
provision that he would restore it to him if victorious,
but that Nabis himself should keep it if misfortune
should come, and he wrote to Philocles, who was
in charge of Corinth and Argos, that he should have
an interview with the tyrant. Philocles, apart from
the fact that he was already coming bringing gifts,
added as a pledge of future friendship between the
king and the tyrant, that the king wished to unite his
daughters in marriage with the sons of Nabis. The
tyrant at first refused to accept the city on any other
terms than an invitation to assist the city, proffered by
a decree of the Argives themselves; later, when he
heard them mentioning the name of tyrant in a
crowded assembly not only with scorn but even with
cursing, he, thinking that he had found a cause for
despoiling them, bade Philocles deliver the city to
him when he pleased. The tyrant was admitted to
the city at night, without the knowledge of anyone;
when day came all the commanding sites were in his
hands and the gates were closed. A few of the
leading men got away in the first confusion and their
property was plundered in their absence; the gold
and silver of those who remained was appropriated
and heavy fines imposed upon them. Those who paid
promptly were let go without insult or bodily injury;
those who were suspected of concealing or holding
back assets were punished and tortured like slaves.
Then he called an assembly and proposed measures,

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alteram de agro viritim dividendo, duas faces novantibus res ad plebem in optimates accendendam.

XXXIX. Postquam in potestate Argivorum civitas erat, nihil eius memor tyrannus, a quo eam civitatem et in quam condicionem accepisset, legatos Elatiam ad Quinctium et ad¹ Attalum Aeginae hibernantem mittit, qui nuntiarent Argos in potestate sua esse: eo si veniret Quinctius ad colloquium, non diffidere sibi omnia cum eo conventura. Quinctius, ut eo quoque praesidio Philippum nudaret, cum adnuisset se venturum, mittit ad Attalum, ut ab Aegina Sicyonem sibi occurreret, ipse ab Anticyra decem quinquereuibus, quas iis forte ipsis diebus L. Quinctius frater eius adduxerat ex hibernis Corcyrae, Sicyonem tramisit. Iam ibi Attalus erat; qui cum tyranno ad Romanum imperatorem, non Romano ad tyrannum eundem diceret, in sententiam suam Quinctium traduxit, ne in urbem ipsam Argos iret. Haud procul urbe Mycenica vocatur; in eo loco ut congredierentur convenit. Quinctius cum fratre et tribunis militum paucis, Attalus cum regio comitatu, Nicostratus, Achaeorum praetor, cum auxiliariis paucis venit. Tyrannum ibi cum omnibus copiis opperientem invenerunt. Progressus armatus cum satellitibus armatis est in medium fere

¹ ad *Madvig*: om. B.

¹ *Tabulae novae*, or new contracts between debtors and creditors, which in extreme cases might absolve debtors entirely, provided Roman demagogues and even politicians with popular sympathies with an effective vote-getting argument: the case of Catiline is in point. Distribution of public

one for the cancellation of debts,¹ the other for a B.C. 197
distribution of land to individuals, thus lighting two
torches with which revolutionists could inflame the
commons against the nobility.

XXXIX. Having the city of Argos in his power, the tyrant, no longer remembering from whom and on what terms he had received the city, sent agents to Quinctius at Elatia and to Attalus, who was wintering at Aegina, to tell them that Argos was in his power: if Quinctius would come there to a conference, he had no doubt that they would come to a complete agreement. Quinctius, with a view to stripping Philip of that source of strength also, having agreed to come, sent word to Attalus to leave Aegina and meet him at Sicyon, and himself crossed from Anticyra² to Sicyon with ten quinqueremes which his brother Lucius Quinctius had by chance recently brought there from their winter station at Corcyra. Attalus was already there; saying that the tyrant should come to the Roman general, and not the Roman to the tyrant, he prevailed upon Quinctius not to go to the city of Argos itself. Not far from the city is the place called Mycenica; there they agreed to meet. Quinctius arrived with his brother and a few military tribunes, Attalus with his royal retinue, Nicostratus, praetor of the Achaeans, with a few auxiliaries. They found the tyrant waiting there with his entire army. Wearing his armour and attended by an armed body-guard, he advanced to about the centre

land to individuals was another plank in the popular platform in republican Rome, and Livy's personal opposition to such measures, which were regarded as subversive by conservatives, is clearly apparent in this passage.

² In Phocis, on the north shore of the Corinthian Gulf.

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interiacentis campi; inermis Quinctius cum fratre et duobus tribunis militum, inermi item regi praetor Achaeorum et unus ex purpuratis latus cingebant.

9 Initium sermonis ab excusatione tyranni ortum, quod armatus ipse armatisque saeptus, cum inermes Romanum imperatorem regemque cerneret, in colloquium venisset: neque enim se illos timere dixit;

10 sed exules Argivorum. Inde ubi de condicionibus amicitiae coeptum agi est, Romanus duas postulare res, unam, ut bellum cum Achaeis finiret, alteram, ut adversus Philippum mitteret secum auxilia. Ea se missurum dixit; pro pace cum Achaeis indutiae impetratae, donec bellum cum Philippo finiretur.

XL. De Argis quoque disceptatio ab Attalo rege est mota, cum fraude Philoclis proditam urbem vi ab eo teneri argueret, ille ab ipsis Argivis se defenderet

2 accitum. Contionem rex Argivorum postulabat, ut id sciri posset; nec tyrannus abnuere; sed deductis ex urbe praesidiis liberam contionem non immixtis Lacedaemoniis declaraturam, quid Argivi vellent, praeberi debere dicebat rex; tyrannus

3 negavit deducturum. Haec disceptatio sine exitu

4 fuit. De colloquio discessum sescentis Cretensibus ab tyranno datis Romano indutiisque inter Nicos-tratum, praetorem Achaeorum, et Lacedaemoniorum tyrannum in quattuor menses factis.

5 Inde Quinctius Corinthum est profectus et ad

of the space between the two parties; Quinctius was B.C. 197 unarmed, as were his brother and two tribunes of the soldiers, while at either side of the king, who was likewise unarmed, stood the Achaean praetor and one of his own courtiers. The conversation began with an apology by the tyrant because he had come armed and hedged about by armed men though he saw the Roman commander and the king unarmed; he feared not them, he said, but the Argive exiles. Then, when they began to discuss the terms of alliance, the Roman made two demands: first, that he put an end to his war with the Achaeans, second, that he send with him auxiliaries against Philip. The auxiliaries he agreed to send; in place of peace with the Achaeans, he obtained an armistice until the war with Philip should be concluded.

XL. With regard to Argos, another dispute was started by King Attalus, who charged Nabis with holding by force a city betrayed by the guile of Philocles, while the other defended himself by pointing to his summons by the Argives themselves. The king demanded an assembly of the Argives, that this assertion might be proved; the tyrant did not refuse this; but the king said that a free assembly, that would show what the Argives wished, should be made possible, the guards having been withdrawn from the city and no Lacedaemonians intermingled; the tyrant refused to withdraw the guard. This discussion came to nought. They left the conference, six hundred Cretans having been furnished to the Roman by the tyrant, and a truce for four months made between Nicostratus, praetor of the Achaeans, and the Spartan tyrant.

Quinctius then set out for Corinth and approached

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portam cum Cretensium cohorte accessit, ut Philocli
 praefecto urbis appareret tyrannum a Philippo
 6 descisse. Philocles et ipse ad imperatorem Romanum
 in colloquium venit hortantique, ut extemplo tran-
 sires urbemque traderet, ita respondit, ut distulisse
 7 rem magis quam negasse videretur. A Corintho
 Quinctius Anticyram traiecit; inde fratrem ad
 temptandam Acarnanum gentem misit.

8 Attalus ab Argis Sicyonem est profectus. Ibi et
 civitas novis honoribus veteres regis honores auxit,
 et rex ad id quod sacrum Apollinis agrum grandi
 9 quondam pecunia redemerat iis, tum quoque, ne
 sine aliqua munificentia praeteriret civitatem sociam
 atque amicam, decem talenta argenti dono dedit et
 decem milia medimnum frumenti; atque ita Cen-
 chreas ad naves redit.

10 Et Nabis firmato praesidio Argis Lacedaemonem
 regressus, cum ipse viros spoliasset, ad feminas
 11 spoliandas uxorem Argos remisit. Ea nunc singulas
 illustres, nunc simul plures genere inter se iunctas
 accersendo blandiendoque ac minando non aurum
 modo iis, sed postremo vestem quoque mundumque
 omnem muliebrem ademit.

the gate with the Cretan contingent, that it might B.C. 197 be clear to Philocles, the prefect of the city, that the tyrant had deserted Philip. Philocles also held a conference with the Roman commander, and to the suggestion that he at once desert and hand over the city, he returned a reply that hinted delay rather than refusal. From Corinth Quinctius crossed to Anticyra; thence he sent his brother to sound the people of the Acarnanes.

Attalus went from Argos to Sicyon. There the city, for its part, added new distinctions to the king's former honours, while he, in addition to the fact that he had once redeemed for them the sacred precinct of Apollo at a high price, at this time also, not to pass by an allied and friendly city without some act of generosity, gave them as a present ten talents of silver and ten thousand *medimni* of grain; and so he returned to his fleet at Cenchreae.

And Nabis, strengthening the garrison at Argos and returning to Sparta, even as he had despoiled the men, sent his wife to rob the women. She invited now prominent individuals, now groups of women related to one another, and partly by flattery, partly by threats, took from them not only their money but finally even their raiment and their whole feminine adornment as well.

LIBRI XXXII PERIOCHA

COMPLURA prodigia ex diversis regionibus nuntiata referuntur, inter quae in Macedonia in puppe longae navis lauream esse natam. T. Quinctius Flaminius cos. adversus Philippum feliciter pugnavit in faucibus Epiri fugatumque coegit in regnum reverti. Ipse Thessaliam, quae est vicina Macedoniae, sociis Aetolis et Athamanibus vexavit, L. Quinctius Flaminius, frater consulis, navali proelio Attalo rege et Rhodiis adiuvantibus Euboeam et maritimam oram. Achaei in amicitiam recepti sunt. Praetorum numerus ampliatus est ut seni crearentur. Coniuratio servorum facta de solvendis Carthaginensium obsidibus oppressa est, duo milia D necati. Cornelius Cethegus cos. Gallos Insubres proelio fudit. Cum Lacedaemoniis et tyranno eorum Nabide amicitia iuncta est. Praeterea expugnationes urbium in Macedonia referuntur.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXII

MANY prodigies, reported from various quarters, are recorded, among them that the laurel had grown on the stern of a war-ship. Titus Quinctius Flaminius the consul fought successfully against Philip in the passes of Epirus, put him to flight, and forced him to retire to his kingdom. He himself, with the Aetolians and Athamanes as allies, harried Thessaly, which adjoins Macedonia, his brother Lucius Quinctius Flaminius Euboea and the sea-coast, in naval warfare, aided by King Attalus and the Rhodians. The Achaeans were received in friendship. The number of praetors was increased so that six each year were elected. A conspiracy of slaves, started for the purpose of freeing the Carthaginian hostages, was crushed and two thousand five hundred executed. Cornelius Cethegus the consul routed the Insubrian Gauls in battle. A treaty of friendship was struck with the Lacedaemonians and their tyrant Nabis. Besides, the takings of cities in Macedonia are recorded.

BOOK XXXIII

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I. HAEC per hiemem gesta; initio autem veris Quinctius Attalo Elatiam excito Boeotorum gentem incertis ad eam diem animis fluctuantem dicionis suae facere cupiens,¹ profectus per Phocidem quinque milia ab Thebis, quod caput est Boeotiae, 2 posuit castra. Inde postero die cum² unius signi militibus et Attalo legationibusque quae frequentes undique convenerant perguit ire ad urbem, iussis legionis hastatis—ea duo milia militum erant—sequi 3 se mille passuum intervallo distanti. Ad medium³ ferme viae Boeotorum praetor Antiphilus obvius fuit; cetera multitudo e muris adventum imperatoris 4 Romani regisque prospiculabatur. Rara arma paucique milites circa eos apparebant; hastatos sequentes procul anfractus viarum vallesque in- 5 teriectae occulebant. Cum iam adpropinquaret urbi⁴ velut obviam egredientem turbam salutaret, tardius incedebat; causa erat morae ut hastati 6 consequerentur. Oppidani, ante lictorem turba acta, insecutum confestim agmen armatorum non

¹ facere cupiens *ed.* 1616 : pace recupiens *B.*

² die cum *ed.* 1616 : die *B.*

³ ad medium *ed.* 1616 : ad medio *B.*

⁴ urbi *ed.* 1616 : turbæ *B.*

BOOK XXXIII

I. THESE events occurred during the winter; but B.C. 197
in the beginning of spring Quinctius summoned Attalus to Elatia, and, wishing to bring under his control the Boeotians, a people whose attitude had thus far been uncertain, he set out through Phocis and encamped five miles from Thebes, which is the capital of Boeotia. Thence the next day, taking the soldiers of one company and Attalus and the numerous embassies which had come in from all directions, he set out to march towards the city, ordering the *hastati*¹ of the legion—they amounted to two thousand men—to follow at the distance of a mile. When they had completed about half the march, Antiphilus, the praetor of the Boeotians, met them; the rest of the people from the wall watched the approach of the Roman commander and the king. Only weapons here and there and a few soldiers were seen around them; the windings of the road and the intervening valleys hid the *hastati* who were following at a distance. When Quinctius was close to the city he decreased his pace, as if to show respect to the approaching throng; the real reason for the delay was to allow the *hastati* time to overtake him. The townspeople, since the crowd was gathered in front of the lictor, did not see the rapidly approach-

¹ The soldiers in the foremost of the three lines (*hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*) in which a legion was normally formed for battle.

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ante quam ad hospitium imperatoris ventum est
 7 conspexere. Tum velut prodita dolo Antiphili
 praetoris urbe captaque obstipuerunt omnes; et
 apparebat nihil liberae consultationis concilio quod
 in diem posterum indictum erat Boeotis relictum esse.
 8 Texerunt dolorem quem et nequiquam et non sine
 periculo ostendissent.

II. In concilio Attalus primus verba fecit. Orsus
 a maiorum suorum suisque et communibus in omnem
 Graeciam et propriis in Boeotorum gentem meritis,
 2 senior¹ iam et infirmior quam ut contentionem
 3 dicendi sustineret, obmutuit et concidit; et dum
 regem auferunt perferuntque parte membrorum
 4 captum, paulisper contio intermissa est. Aristaenus
 inde, Achaeorum praetor, eo cum maiore auctoritate
 auditus quod non alia quam quae Achaeis suaserat
 5 Boeotis suadebat. Pauca ab ipso Quinctio adiecta,
 fidem magis Romanam quam arma aut opes extol-
 6 lente verbis. Rogatio inde a Plataeensi Dicaearcho
 lata recitataque de societate² cum Romanis iungenda
 nullo contra dicere audente omnium Boeotiae civi-
 7 tatum suffragiis accipitur iubeturque. Concilio di-
 misso Quinctius, tantum Thebis moratus quantum
 8 Attali repens casus coegit, postquam non vitae
 praesens periculum vis morbi attulisse sed mem-
 brorum debilitatem visa est, relicto eo ad curationem
 9 necessariam corporis, Elatiam unde profectus erat

¹ senior *Gronovius*: *segnior B.*

² de societate *ed. 1616 in margine*: *om. B.*

ing column of armed men until they arrived at the general's quarters. Then all were dumbfounded, thinking that the city had been betrayed and captured by the treachery of Antiphilus the praetor, and it seemed clear that no opportunity was left the Boeotians for freedom of action in the council which had been called for the next day. They concealed their sorrow, the display of which would have been both fruitless and not without risk.

II. Attalus opened the discussion in the council. He began with the services of his forefathers and himself, in general to all Greeks and especially to the Boeotians, but being now an old man and too feeble to endure the strain of speaking, he fell silent and collapsed, and while he was being carried out and the report brought back that he had partially lost the use of his limbs, the assembly was adjourned for a time. Aristaenus, praetor of the Achaeans, spoke with the greater effect because he gave the Boeotians the same advice he had previously given the Achaeans. Quinctius himself added a few words, in praise of the loyalty of the Romans rather than of their military strength or material resources. A motion was then proposed and read by Dicaearchus of Plataea, about forming an alliance with Rome, and since no one dared to speak against it, it was received and carried by the unanimous consent of the Boeotian cities. The meeting then adjourning, Quinctius, having remained in Thebes only as long as the sudden illness of Attalus demanded, when it appeared that the attack did not for the moment imperil his life, but merely weakened his body, left him there to receive the necessary treatment and returned to Elatia, whence he had come; having brought the

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redit, Boeotis quoque, sicut prius Achaeis, ad societatem adscitis et, quoniam tuta ea pacataque ab tergo relinquebantur, omnibus iam cogitationibus in Philippum et quod reliquum belli erat conversis.

III. Philippus quoque primo vere, postquam legati
2 ab Roma nihil pacati rettulerant, dilectum per omnia oppida regni habere instituit in magna inopia iuniorum. Absumpserant enim per multas iam aetates continua
3 bella Macedonas; ipso quoque regnante et navalibus bellis adversus Rhodios Attalumque et terrestribus
4 adversus Romanos ceciderat magnus numerus. Ita et tirones ab sedecim annis milites scribebat, et emeritis quidam stipendiis, quibus modo quicquam
5 reliqui roboris erat ad signa revocabantur. Ita suppleto exercitu secundum vernum aequinoctium omnes copias Diu contraxit ibique stativis positis
6 exercendo cotidie milite hostem opperiebatur. Et Quinctius per eosdem ferme dies ab Elatia profectus praeter Thronium et Scarpheam ad Thermopylas
7 pervenit. Ibi concilium Aetolorum Heracleam indictum tenuit consultantium quantis auxiliis Romanum ad bellum sequerentur. Cognitis sociorum decretis tertio die ab Heraclea Xynias praegressus in confinio Aenianum Thessalorumque positis castris
9 Aetolica auxilia opperiebatur. Nihil morati Aetoli sunt; Phaenea duce sescenti pedites cum equitibus quadringentis venerunt. Ne dubium esset quid expectasset, confestim Quinctius movit castra.

¹ Diu was near the south-eastern frontier of Macedonia.

BOOK XXXIII. II. 9-III. 9

Boeotians, as well as the Achaeans before them, B.C. 197
 into the confederacy and made the country behind
 him secure and peaceful, he now turned all his
 attention towards Philip and what remained of the
 war.

III. Philip, too, seeing that his ambassadors had
 brought from Rome no indication of peace, at the
 beginning of spring decided to conduct a levy through
 all the towns of his kingdom, since he was in great
 want of young recruits. For the continuous fight-
 ing through several generations had exhausted the
 Macedonians; during his own reign many had fallen
 in naval battles with the Rhodians and Attalus
 and in engagements with the Romans on land.
 He therefore enlisted recruits from the age of sixteen,
 and some who had served their allotted time but still
 possessed some share of strength were recalled to the
 colours. He thus filled up his ranks, and ordered a
 muster of all his troops at Dium¹ about the time of the
 vernal equinox. There he established a base and
 spent the time of waiting for the enemy in drilling
 his troops daily. Quinctius also meanwhile had left
 Elatia and marched to Thermopylae by way of
 Thronium and Scarphea. There he held the Aeto-
 lian council, summoned to meet at Heraclea, to deter-
 mine with how many troops they should follow the
 Romans to the war. Having learned the decision of
 the allies, he advanced in three days from Heraclea to
 Xyniae, on the frontier of the Aenianes and Thes-
 salians and made camp and waited for the Aetolian
 auxiliaries. These made haste, and six hundred in-
 fantry and four hundred cavalry arrived, commanded
 by Phaeneas. Quinctius broke camp at once, so as
 to leave no doubt why he had waited. When he had

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- 10 Transgresso in Phthioticum agrum quingenti Gortynii Cretensium duce Cydante et trecenti Apolloniatae haud dispari armatu se coniunxere nec ita multo post Amynander cum Athamanum peditum ducentis et mille.
- 11 Philippus cognita profectioe ab Elatia Romanorum, ut cui de summa rerum adesset certamen,
- 12 adhortandos milites ratus, multa iam saepe memorata de maiorum virtutibus simul de militari laude Macedonum cum disseruisset, ad ea¹ quae tum maxime animos terrebant quibusque erigi² ad aliquam spem poterant venit.

IV. Acceptae ad Aoum flumen in angustiis cladi ter a³ Macedonum phalange ad Atracem vi pulsos Romanos opponebat. Et illic tamen, ubi insessas fauces Epiri non tenuissent, primam culpam fuisse eorum qui neglegenter custodias servassent, secundam in ipso certamine levis armaturae mercenariorumque militum; Macedonum vero phalangem et tunc stetisse et loco aequo iustaque pugna semper mansuram invictam. Decem et sex milia militum haec fuere, robur omne virium eius regni. Ad hoc duo milia caetratorum, quos peltastas⁴ appellant, Thracumque et Illyriorum—Tralles est nomen genti —par numerus, bina milia erant, et mixti ex pluribus gentibus mercede conducti auxiliares mille ferme et

¹ ad ea *ed.* 1616 in *marginē*: de re *B.*

² erigi *ed.* 1616 in *marginē*: *om. B.*

³ ter a *Horriōn*: terra *B.*

⁴ peltastas *ed.* 1616 in *marginē*: peltas *B.*

¹ Both contingents were archers and light-armed.

crossed the border into the Phthiotic country, five hundred Gortynii from Crete under the command of Cydas and three hundred from Apollonia, armed in the same fashion,¹ joined him and a little later Amynder arrived with twelve hundred infantry of the Athamanes. B.C. 197.

Philip learned of the departure of the Romans from Elatia, and since he was in a situation where a contest for supreme power impended, he determined to encourage his troops. After he had repeated many oft-told stories of the brave deeds of their forefathers and also of the martial glory of the Macedonians, he came to the points which at that time were causing them the greatest terror and by which they could be roused to some degree of hopefulness.

IV. Against the defeat sustained in the narrows at the Aous river he set the triple defeat inflicted at Atrax by the Macedonian phalanx upon the Romans. Even there, when they had failed to hold the passes of Epirus which they commanded, the blame rested first on those who had not maintained careful vigilance, next, in the actual battle, on the light infantry and the mercenaries; the Macedonian phalanx, on the other hand, had stood fast even then, and would always stand unconquered when regular battle was joined on level ground. There were sixteen thousand in the phalanx, the flower of the whole kingdom. In addition, there were two thousand with light shields, whom they call peltasts, and an equal number (two thousand each) of Thracians and Illyrians—Tralles is the name of the tribe—and auxiliary mercenaries from different nationalities to the number of about fifteen hundred

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6 quingenti et duo milia equitum. Cum iis copiis rex
 6 hostem opperiebatur. Romanis ferme par numerus
 erat; equitum copiis tantum quod Aetoli accesserant
 superabant.¹

V. Quinctius ad Thebas Phthioticas castra cum
 movisset, spem nactus per Timonem, principem
 civitatis, prodi urbem cum paucis equitum levisque
 2 armaturae ad muros successit. Ibi adeo frustrata
 spes est ut non certamen modo cum erumpentibus
 sed periculum quoque atrox subiret, ni castris exciti
 repente pedites equitesque in tempore subvenissent.
 3 Et postquam nihil conceptae temere spei succedebat,
 urbis quidem amplius temptandae in praesentia
 4 conatu abstinit; ceterum satis gnarus iam in Thes-
 salia regem esse, nondum comperto quam in regionem
 venisset, milites per agros dimissos vallum caedere
 5 et parare iubet. Vallo et Macedones et Graeci usi
 sunt, sed usum nec ad commoditatem ferendi nec ad
 6 ipsius munitionis firmamentum aptaverunt; nam et
 maiores et magis ramosas arbores caedebant quam
 quas ferre cum armis miles posset, et cum castra his
 ante obiectis saepsissent, facilis molitio eorum valli
 7 erat. Nam et quia rari stipites magnarum arborum
 eminebant multique et validi rami praebebant, quod
 recte manu caperetur, duo aut summum tres iuvenes
 8 conixi arborem unam evellebant, qua evulsa portae
 instar extemplo patebat, nec in promptu erat quod
 9 obmolirentur. Romanus leves et bifurcos plerosque

¹ superabant *Horriou*: superabat *B*.

¹ The *vallum*, as here described, was a portable fortification which could be set up around a temporary camp.

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and two thousand cavalry. With these forces the king awaited the enemy. The Romans had about the same number; it was only in cavalry strength that they were superior, because of the arrival of the Aetolians. B.C. 197

V. When Quinctius had moved his camp towards Phthiotic Thebes, he conceived the hope that the city would be betrayed to him by Timon, a leader among this people, and approached it with a few cavalry and light infantry. This hope was so wholly belied that there was not only a battle with forces which sallied forth, but there was even grave danger had not infantry and cavalry, hastily summoned from the camp, arrived in time. And after nothing of this rashly-formed hope turned out well, he gave up for the present his design of further attacks upon the town. And, assured that the king was in Thessaly, but not yet certain of the direction of his march, he ordered soldiers sent out into the country to cut timbers and prepare a stockade.¹ Both Macedonians and Greeks employed a stockade, but in a manner ill adapted to ease of transportation or security in defence; for they cut trees of too great size and with too many branches for one soldier to carry, especially with his arms, and when they had walled a camp by planting these in front, the destruction of their rampart was easy. For because the trunks of the great trees were planted far apart and numerous strong branches offered easy holds for the hand, two or at most three young men, if they exerted themselves, would easily pull out a tree, and, this being pulled out, there was at once an opening like a gate, nor was material ready at hand to block it. The Roman cuts light forked trees with

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et trium aut cum plurimum quattuor ramorum vallos caedit, ut et suspensis ab tergo armis ferat plures
 10 simul apte miles; et ita densos offigunt implicantque ramos ut neque quis cuiusque palmae stipes neque¹ quae cuiusque stipitis palma sit, pervideri possit;
 11 et adeo acuti aliusque per alium immissi rami²
 12 locum ad inserendam manum non relinquunt, ut neque prehendi quod trahatur neque trahi, cum inter se innexi rami vinculum in vicem praebeant,³ possit; et si evulsus forte est unus, nec loci multum aperit et alium reponere perfacile est.

VI. Quinctius postero die vallum secum ferente milite, ut paratus omni loco castris ponendis esset,
 2 progressus modicum iter sex ferme milia a Pheris cum consedisset, speculatum in qua parte Thessaliae
 3 hostis esset quidve pararet misit. Circa Larisam erat rex. Certior iam factus Romanum ab Thebis Pheras movisse, defungi quam primum et ipse certamine cupiens ducere ad hostem pergit et quattuor
 4 milia fere a Pheris posuit castra. Inde postero die cum expediti utrimque ad occupandos super urbem tumulos processissent, pari ferme intervallo ab iugo quod capiendum erat, cum inter se conspecti essent,
 5 constiterunt, nuntios in castra remissos qui quid sibi, quoniam praeter spem hostis occurrisset, faciendum
 6 esset consulerent, quieti opperientes. Et illo quidem die nullo inito certamine in castra revocati sunt; postero die circa eosdem tumulos equestre proelium

¹ quis . . . neque *Crévier*: *om. B.*

² rami *Madvig*: radii *B.*

³ praebeant *ed. 1616*: praebent *B.*

¹ Polybius (XVIII. xviii) gives a very similar description (from which Livy borrows the above passage) and admires greatly the Roman art of war as thus manifested.

three or perhaps four branches, as a general rule, B.C. 197
 so that each soldier could comfortably carry several
 at once, with his arms hanging on his back; and they
 plant them so close together and interweave the
 boughs so completely that it is difficult to tell to which
 branch each trunk is joined or to which trunk each
 branch belongs; moreover, the branches are so
 sharp as to leave, interlaced, little space for inserting
 the hand, so that there is nothing that can be
 grasped and pulled out, since the interwoven branches
 bind one another together; and, if one is by chance
 pulled out, it leaves a small gap and is easily replaced.¹

VI. Quinctius made a short march the next day,
 the soldiers carrying the stockade with them, so that
 he was ready to fortify a camp in any place, and when
 he had halted about six miles from Pherae, he sent
 out patrols to find out in what part of Thessaly the
 king was and what he was doing. The king was near
 Larisa. Being now informed that the Roman had
 moved from Thebes to Pherae and desiring, for his
 part, to end the struggle at once, he began to march
 towards the enemy and encamped about four miles
 from Pherae. Thence next day both sides sent out
 light troops to seize the hills overlooking the town,
 and these, when they were about equidistant from
 the ridge which was to be occupied, came to a halt
 as soon as they espied one another, waiting quietly
 for the runners whom they had sent back to camp
 to ask what they were to do, since the enemy
 had unexpectedly been met. And on that day
 indeed they were withdrawn to camp without
 starting a battle; on the next day there was
 a cavalry engagement around the same hills, in
 which, mainly through the help of the Aetolians,

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fuit, in quo non minimum Aetolorum opera regii
 7 fugati atque in castra compulsi sunt. Magnum
 utrisque impedimentum ad rem gerendam fuit ager
 consitus crebris arboribus hortique, ut in suburbanis
 locis, et coartata itinera maceriis et quibusdam locis
 8 interclusa. Itaque pariter ducibus consilium fuit
 excedendi ea regione, et velut ex praedicto ambo
 Scotusam petierunt, Philippus spe frumentandi inde,
 Romanus ut progressus corrumperet hosti frumenta.
 9 Per diem totum, quia colles perpetuo iugo intererant,
 10 nullo conspecta inter se loco agmina ierunt. Romani
 ad Eretriam ¹ Phthiotici agri, Philippus super amnem
 11 Onchestum posuit castra. Ne postero quidem die,
 cum Philippus ad Melambium quod vocant Scotusaei
 agri, Quinctius circa Thetideum Pharsaliae terrae
 posuisset castra, aut hi aut illi ubi hostis esset satis
 12 compertum habuerunt.² Tertio die primo nimbus
 effusus, dein caligo noctis simillima Romanos metu
 insidiarum tenuit.

2 VII. Philippus maturandi itineris causa, post
 imbrem nubibus in terram demissis nihil deterritus,
 signa ferri iussit; sed tam densa caligo occaecaverat
 diem ut neque signiferi viam nec signa milites cer-
 nerent, agmen ad incertos clamores vagum velut
 3 errore nocturno turbaretur. Supergressi tumulos
 qui Cynoscephalae vocantur, relicta ibi statione
 4 firma peditum equitumque posuerunt castra. Ro-

¹ ad Eretriam *ed.* 1616 : eretriam *B.*

² habuerunt *ed.* 1616 *in margine* : hauthabuerunt *B.*

¹ Literally, "Dog's Head" hills. Livy seems to misunderstand the manoeuvres here. The crossing of this ridge would, apparently, have placed Philip and the Romans on the same side, which is inconsistent with what follows. Polybius (XVIII. xx.) seems more accurate when he has Philip send

BOOK XXXIII. VI. 6-VII. 4

the king's forces were defeated and driven back to their camp. Both sides were greatly hindered in the action by the fact that the country was covered with many trees and gardens, as in suburban districts, while the roads were bordered with hedges and in some places entirely closed. Both commanders therefore reached the same decision, to retire from this country, and as if by agreement both marched in the direction of Scotusa, Philip hoping to find food there, the Roman by his advance to destroy the enemy's grain-supply. The two columns marched the whole day, nowhere seeing one another, since there was a continuous range of hills between them. The Romans encamped near Eretria in Phthiotis, Philip on the river Onchestus. Nor did either army know for certain where the enemy was, even the following day, though Philip encamped near Melambium, as they call it, in the country of Scotusa, and the Romans around Thetideum, in the territory of Pharsalia. The third day a heavy rain, followed by a fog dark as night, kept the Romans in camp in fear of an ambushade.

VII. Philip wished to hurry and so ordered an advance, undeterred by the low-hanging clouds after the rain; but so dense a fog obscured the day that the standard-bearers could not see the road nor the soldiers the standards, and the column, straggling along in obedience to the various cries, was as disorderly as if wandering about at night. They crossed the hills which are called Cynoscephalae¹ and encamped after leaving there a strong guard of infantry and cavalry. Although the Roman had stayed in the

"his reserve back, with instructions to halt upon the summit of the intervening hills."

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manus eisdem ad Thetideum castris cum se tenuisset, exploratum tamen ubi hostis esset, decem turmas equitum et mille pedites misit monitos ut ab insidiis, quas dies obscurus apertis quoque locis tecturus
 5 esset, praecaverent. Ubi ventum ad insessos tumulos est, pavore mutuo iniecto velut torpentes quieverunt; dein nuntiis retro in castra ad duces missis, ubi primus terror ab necopinato visu consedit, non diutius
 6 certamine abstinuere. Principio a paucis procurrentibus laccessita pugna est, deinde subsidiis tuentium pulsos aucta. In qua cum haudquaquam pares Romani alios super alios nuntios ad ducem mitterent
 7 premi sese, quingenti equites et duo milia peditum, maxime Aetolorum, cum duobus tribunis militum
 8 propere missa rem inclinatum restituerunt, versaque fortuna Macedones laborantes opem regis per nuntios implorabant. Sed, ut qui nihil minus illo die propter effusam caliginem quam proelium expectasset, magna parte hominum omnis generis pabulatum missa aliquamdiu inops consilii trepidavit;
 9 deinde, postquam nuntii instabant, et iam iuga montium detexerat nebula, et in conspectu erant Macedones in tumulum maxime editum inter alios compulsi loco se magis quam armis tutantes,
 10 committendam rerum summam in discrimen utcumque ratus, ne partis indefensae iactura fieret,
 11 Athenagoram, ducem mercede militantium, cum

same camp near Thetideum, nevertheless he sent out B.C. 197
 ten troops of cavalry and one thousand infantry to discover where the enemy was, with orders to guard against ambushes, which the darkness would hide, even in open country. When they came to the guarded hills, both forces remained passive, as if struck with a mutual fear; then they sent messengers back to the camps to their commanders, as soon as their panic from this unexpected contact had subsided, and did not longer postpone the fight. The battle began at first with skirmishes of a few scouts in advance, then assumed larger proportions as reinforcements came to the aid of the defeated. In this battle, when the Romans were not holding their own, but kept sending message after message to their commander that they were hard pressed, five hundred cavalry and two thousand infantry, mostly Aetolians, under two military tribunes, were speedily sent and restored the unfavourable battle, and as fortune changed the Macedonians, finding themselves in difficulties, begged through messengers for aid from the king. But since he had expected anything but a pitched battle that day, on account of the general darkness from the fog, having sent most of his troops of every sort out to forage, he hesitated for a time, not knowing what to do; then, as messengers kept urging him, and the fog had now uncovered the ridges of the mountains and he could see the Macedonians crowded together on the highest of a number of hills, defending themselves more with the advantage of position than with arms, thinking that he must at any rate stake everything, lest he suffer the loss of some of his men, left unsupported, he sent Athenagoras, commander of the mercenaries,

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omnibus praeter Thracas auxiliis et equitatu Mace-
12 donum ac Thessalorum mittit. Eorum adventu
depulsi ab iugo Romani non ante restiterunt quam in
13 planiorem vallem perventum est. Ne effusa detru-
derentur fuga, plurimum in Aetolis equitibus prae-
sidii fuit. Is longe tum optimus eques in Graecia
erat; pedite inter finitimos vincebantur.

VIII. Laetior res quam pro successu pugnae
nuntiata, cum alii super alios recurrentes ex proelio
2 clamarent fugere pavidos Romanos, invitum et
cunctabundum et dicentem temere fieri, non locum
sibi placere, non tempus, perpulit ut educeret omnes
3 copias in aciem. Idem et Romanus, magis necessitate
quam occasione pugnae inductus, fecit. Dextrum
cornu elephantis ante signa instructis in subsidiis
reliquit; laevo cum omni levi armatura in hostem
4 vadit, simul admonens cum iisdem Macedonibus
pugnatos quos ad Epiri fauces, montibus flumini-
busque saeptos, victa naturali difficultate locorum
5 expulissent acieque expugnassent, cum iis quos P.
Sulpicii prius ductu obsidentes in Eordaeam aditum
vicissent; fama stetisse non viribus Macedoniae
regnum; eam quoque famam tandem evanuisse.
6 Iam perventum ad suos in ima valle stantes erat, qui
adventu exercitus imperatorisque pugnam renovant

with all the auxiliaries except the Thracians and with the Macedonian and Thessalian cavalry. On their arrival the Romans were driven from the ridge and checked their retreat only when they reached more level ground in the valley. The Aetolian cavalry was the greatest safeguard to prevent their utter rout. At that time their cavalry was by far the best in Greece; in infantry they were inferior to their neighbours. B.C. 197

VIII. The news was more encouraging than their success in the battle warranted, since one after another, coming back from the field, shouted out that the Romans were fleeing in terror, and this compelled Philip, though against his will, reluctant, and maintaining that it was a rash undertaking and that he liked neither the place nor the time, to commit his entire force to the action. The Roman also did the same, from necessity rather than to seize an opportunity for fighting. The right wing, with the elephants alined in front of the standards, he held in reserve; with the left and all the light-armed troops he attacked the enemy, reminding them at the same time that they would meet the same Macedonians whom they had driven out and defeated in battle in the passes of Epirus, defended by mountains and rivers, conquering the difficulties of Nature herself, the same Macedonians whom they had previously defeated under the leadership of Publius Sulpicius, when they held the pass to Eordaea; that the Macedonian kingdom rested on reputation and not on strength, and that even this reputation had at last wholly faded away. By this time they had come up to their men stationed in the lowest part of the valley, who, encouraged by the arrival of the army and the general, renewed the

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7 impetuque facto rursus avertunt hostem. Philippus cum caetratis et cornu dextro peditum, robore Macedonici exercitus, quam phalangem vocabant, 8 prope¹ cursu ad hostem vadit; Nicanori, ex purpuratis uni, ut cum reliquis copiis confestim sequatur 9 imperat. Primo, ut in iugum evasit, et iacentibus ibi paucis armis corporibusque hostium proelium eo loco fuisse pulsosque inde Romanos et pugnari prope 10 castra hostium vidit, ingenti gaudio est elatus; mox refugientibus suis et terrore verso paulisper incertus 11 an in castra reciperet copias trepidavit; deinde, ut adpropinquabat hostis, et praeterquam quod caedebantur aversi nec, nisi defenderentur, servari poterant, ne ipsi quidem in tuto iam receptus erat, 12 coactus nondum adsecuta parte suorum periculum summae rerum facere. equites levemque armaturam qui in proelio fuerant dextero in cornu locat,² 13 caetratos et³ Macedonum phalangem hastis positis, quarum longitudo impedimento erat, gladiis rem 14 gerere iubet. Simul ne facile perumperetur acies, dimidium de fronte demptum introrsus porrectis ordinibus duplicat, ut longa potius quam lata acies esset; simul et densari ordines iussit, ut vir viro, arma armis iungerentur.

¹ prope *Kreyssig*: propere *B.*

² locat *ed. 1616 in margine*: locatus *B.*

³ et *Madvig*: om. *B.*

¹ I have given the apparent meaning, although the Latin is so harsh as to suggest the possibility that the text is corrupt.

BOOK XXXIII. VIII. 6-14

battle, charged, and again drove back the enemy. B.C. 197
Philip with the peltasts and the right wing of the infantry, the strength of the Macedonian army, which they called the phalanx, advanced on the run to meet the enemy, ordering Nicanor, one of his nobles, to follow at once with the rest of the army. At first as he reached the ridge and saw that the battle was over there, with a few weapons and a few corpses of the enemy lying about, and that the Romans had been driven back from there and that the battle was raging near the enemy's camp, he was filled with excessive joy; presently, as his men were retreating, made uncertain by the reversal of fear, he debated in terror whether he should withdraw his men to their own camp; then, as the enemy came nearer, when his men were being cut down in flight and could not be rescued unless they were reinforced, and not even he had any safe line of retreat, he was compelled, though his whole force had not come up, to try desperate measures. On the right flank he placed the cavalry and the light infantry who had been in the battle; he ordered the peltasts and the Macedonian phalanx to put aside their spears, the length of which was a hindrance, and to engage with swords. At the same time, to prevent the line from being easily broken through, he diminished the front by half and doubled the depth by extending the files backward, so that the formation was deep rather than wide; he also ordered the troops to lessen intervals, so that man stood close to man and arms to arms.¹

Polybius (XVIII. xxiv) says that they doubled the depth and closed in to the right. A drillmaster may wonder how these movements were executed, though he can hardly question that they were.

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IX. Quinctius iis qui in proelio fuerant inter signa
 2 et ordines acceptis tuba dat signum. Raro alias
 tantus clamor dicitur in principio pugnae exortus;
 nam forte utraque acies simul conclamavere nec
 solum qui pugnabant sed subsidia etiam quique tum
 3 maxime in proelium veniebant. Dexterò cornu rex
 loci plurimum auxilio, ex iugis altioribus pugnans,
 vincebat; sinistro tum cum maxime adpropinquante
 phalangis parte quae novissimi agminis fuerat, sine
 4 ullo ordine trepidabatur; media acies, quae propior
 dextrum cornu erat, stabat spectaculo velut nihil ad
 5 se pertinentis pugnae intenta. Phalanx quae venerat
 agmen magis quam acies aptiorque itineri quam
 6 pugnae, vixdum in iugum evaserat. In hos incompo-
 sitos Quinctius, quamquam pedem referentes in
 dextro cornu suos cernebat, elephantis prius in
 hostem actis impetum facit, ratus partem profligatam
 7 cetera tracturam. Non dubia res fuit; extemplo
 terga vertere Macedones, terrore primo bestiarum
 8 aversi. Et ceteri quidem hos pulsos sequebantur;
 unus e tribunis militum ex tempore capto consilio,
 cum viginti signorum militibus, relicta ea parte
 suorum quae haud dubie vincebat, brevi circuitu
 9 dextrum cornu hostium aversum invadit. Nullam
 aciem ab tergo adortus non turbasset; ceterum ad
 communem omnium in tali re trepidationem¹
 10 accessit quod phalanx Macedonum gravis atque

¹ re trepidationem *ed.* 1616 : reparationem *B.*

BOOK XXXIII. IX. 1-10

IX. Quinctius absorbed into his ranks and among B.C. 197
the standards the men who had already been engaged and gave the signal with the trumpet. They say that only rarely at any other time has such a shout been raised at the beginning of a battle, for, as it happened, both armies shouted at once, and not only those who were fighting but also the reserves and those who were just then coming up to the line. On the right flank, the king prevailed easily, mainly because of his position, since he was fighting from higher ground; on the left there was panic and confusion, especially since the part of the phalanx which was in the rear was still coming up; the centre, which was nearer the right flank, stood watching the battle there, as if it were a spectacle which did not directly concern them. The phalanx, which had come up in column rather than in line, and in a form more fitted for the march than for battle, had barely reached the saddle. While it was still in disorder, Quinctius, although he saw his men retreating on the right, first sending his elephants against the enemy, attacked, thinking that the defeat of a part would involve the rest. The issue was never in doubt; the Macedonians immediately fled, turning back in terror at the first sight of the beasts. The others too followed them in their flight, and one of the tribunes of the soldiers, forming a plan to fit the emergency, took the soldiers of twenty companies and, leaving the action where his men were clearly victorious and making a short detour, attacked the enemy's right from behind. Any army would have been dismayed by an attack from the rear; but added to the general panic of all in such a crisis was the fact that the heavy and unwieldy Macedonian

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immobilis nec circumagere se poterat nec hoc¹ qui a fronte paulo ante pedem referentes tunc ultro
11 territis instabant patiebantur. Ad hoc loco etiam premebantur, quia iugum ex quo pugnaverant dum per proclive pulsos insequuntur tradiderant hosti ad terga sua circumducto. Paulisper in medio caesi, deinde omissis plerique armis capessunt fugam.

X. Philippus cum paucis peditum equitumque primo tumulum altiorem inter ceteros cepit, ut² specularetur quae in laeva parte suorum fortuna
2 esset; deinde, postquam fugam effusam animadvertit et omnia circa iuga signis atque armis fulgere, tum
3 et ipse acie excessit. Quinctius cum institisset cedentibus, repente quia erigentes hastas Macedonas conspexerat, quidnam pararent incertus, paulisper
4 novitate rei constituit signa; deinde, ut accepit hunc morem esse Macedonum tradentium sese,
5 parcere victis in animò habebat. Ceterum ab ignaris militibus omissam ab hoste pugnam et quid imperator vellet, impetus in eos est factus et primis caesis
6 ceteri in fugam dissipati sunt. Rex effuso cursu Tempe petit. Ibi ad Gonnos diem unum substitit ad excipiendos si qui proelio superessent. Romani

¹ hoc *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: hos *B.*

² ut *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: om. *B.*

¹ On rough ground, where space for movement was limited, the phalanx was at a serious disadvantage, and its vulnerability was in this case increased by the diminution of the intervals between files (see above). The necessary ground for the change of front to meet the new attack was denied them by the retreat of their own men who had backed up against the front of the phalanx, and the individual members of the

phalanx could not change front, nor did the soldiers B.C. 197 who were falling back a little while before from the front upon men who were by now terrified on their own account permit this.¹ They were at a disadvantage too because of their position, since the ridge from which they had been fighting, when they were pursuing the soldiers who had been driven² down the hill, had been given up to the enemy which had been led around behind them. For a while they were caught between the two lines and slaughtered, then most of them threw away their arms and took to flight.

X. Philip with a few troopers and infantrymen at first held a hill higher than the rest, so as to watch the fortune of his left flank; later, when he beheld the disorderly flight and saw all the ridges round about filled with the gleam of standards and arms, he too left the field. Quinctius, after pressing hard on the retreating enemy, suddenly, because he saw the Macedonians raising their spears, and not knowing what this meant, halted his troops for a moment because of the strangeness of the action. Then, when he learned that it was the customary gesture of the Macedonians to indicate their surrender, it was in his mind to spare the vanquished. But the soldiers, ignorant that the fighting was over, so far as the enemy was concerned, and not knowing the general's plans, charged, and killing the first put the rest to flight. The king fled at full speed to Tempe. Then he stopped a day at Gonni to collect any who had survived from the battle. The victorious Romans burst into the

right files could not face about because of the cramped space and the character of their weapons.

¹ Cf. vii. 12 above.

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victores in castra hostium spe praedae irrumpunt; ¹
 ea magna iam ex parte ² direpta ab Aetolis inveniunt.
 7 Caesa eo die octo milia hostium, quinque ³ capta.
 8 Ex victoribus septingenti ferme ceciderunt. Si
 Valerio qui credat omnium rerum immodice numerum
 augenti, quadraginta milia hostium eo die sunt caesa;
 capta—ibi modestius mendacium est—quinque milia
 9 septingenti, signa militaria ducenta undequinqua-
 ginta.⁴ Claudius quoque duo et triginta milia
 hostium caesa scribit, capta quattuor milia et tre-
 10 centos. Nos non minimo potissimum numero cre-
 didimus sed Polybium secuti sumus, non incertum
 auctorem cum omnium Romanarum rerum tum
 praecipue in Graecia gestarum.

XI. Philippus collectis ex fuga qui variis casibus
 pugnae dissipati vestigia eius secuti fuerant, missisque
 Larisam ad commentarios regios comburendos, ne
 in hostium venirent potestatem, in Macedoniam
 2 concessit. Quinctius captivis praedaeque partim
 venundatis, partim militi concessis Larisam est
 profectus, haud dum satis gnarus quam regionem
 3 petisset rex quidve pararet. Caduceator eo regius
 venit, specie ut indutiae essent donec tollerentur ad
 sepulturam qui in acie cecidissent, re vera ad peten-

¹ irrumpunt *ed.* 1625 : *om.* B.

² iam ex parte *ed.* 1616 *in margine* : iam B.

³ quinque *ed.* 1616 *in margine* : *om.* B.

⁴ undequinquaginta *Kreyssig* : XLVmi B.

¹ Polybius (XVIII. xxvii) gives the Macedonian losses as they are quoted here. See the notes, *passim*, for Livy's use of Polybius for events in the east as compared with his dependence on Latin annalists for what happened in other parts of the world.

Livy's description of the battle of Cynoscephalae follows

BOOK XXXIII. x. 6-xi. 3

enemy's camp in the hope of loot, but found that it had, for the most part, already been plundered by the Aetolians. On that day eight thousand of the enemy perished, five thousand were captured. Of the victors about seven hundred fell. If we trust Valerius Antias, who is prone to increase numbers without restraint, forty thousand of the enemy were slain that day; the prisoners, he says—here his exaggeration is more moderate—numbered five thousand seven hundred, and two hundred and forty-nine standards were taken. Claudius too gives the figures as thirty-two thousand killed and four thousand three hundred captured. I have given my account, not because the numbers are smallest, but because I have followed Polybius, an authority worthy of credence on all matters of Roman history and especially on occurrences in Greece.¹

XI. Philip, having collected the straggling fugitives who had followed his trail after the changing fortunes of the battle-field, sent agents to Larisa to burn the royal records, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the Romans, and retired into Macedonia. Quinctius sold part of the prisoners and booty and gave part to the soldiers, and marched towards Larisa, still uncertain where the king had gone and what he was planning. There the king's herald met him, ostensibly to ask for a truce, that those who had fallen in the battle might be removed for burial, in reality to ask permission to send an embassy.

closely that of Polybius, but was more obviously written by a man who was not a soldier and whose knowledge of the field was derived entirely from what he read and not from what he had seen or experienced.

dam veniam legatis mittendis. Utrumque ab Romano
 4 impetratum. Adiecta etiam illa vox, bono animo
 esse regem ut iuberet, quae maxime Aetolos offendit
 iam tumentes querentesque mutatum victoria im-
 5 peratorem: ante pugnam omnia magna parvaque
 communicare cum sociis solitum; nunc omnium
 6 expertes consiliorum esse, suo ipsum arbitrio cuncta
 agere, cum Philippo iam gratiae privatae locum
 quaerere, ut dura atque aspera belli Aetoli exhau-
 serint, pacis gratiam et fructum Romanus in se
 7 vertat. Et haud dubie decesserat iis aliquantum
 honoris; sed cur neglegerentur ignorabant. Donis
 regis imminere credebant invicti ab ea cupiditate
 8 animi virum; sed et suscensebat non immerito
 Aetolis ob insatiabilem aviditatem praedae et arro-
 gantiam eorum, victoriae gloriam in se rapientium,
 9 quae vanitate sua omnium aures offendebat,¹ et
 Philippo sublato, fractis opibus Macedonici regni
 Aetolos habendos Graeciae dominos cernebat. Ob
 eas causas multa sedulo, ut viliores levioresque apud
 omnes essent et viderentur, faciebat.

XII. Indutiae quindecim dierum datae hosti
 erant et cum ipso rege constitutum colloquium;
 cuius priusquam tempus veniret, in consilium
 advocavit socios; rettulit quas leges pacis placeret

¹ offendebat *ed.* 1616: offendebatur *B.*

¹ This sounds like an echo of the complaint of the Roman soldiers when they found that the Aetolians had already plundered Philip's camp, to the effect that they suffered the hardships and the Aetolians received the booty (Polyb. XVIII. xxvii).

² The first clause of this sentence must be regarded as Livy's parenthetical explanation of what had happened.

Both requests were granted by the Roman. The consul, moreover, added that the king should take heart, a phrase which gave great offence to the Aetolians, who were already swollen with pride and complaining that victory had changed the general: before the battle he had been wont to discuss with the allies all matters great and small, but now they were excluded from all his deliberations, and he decided everything according to his own personal judgment, since he was trying to win a place of private influence with the king, in order that, although the Aetolians had endured the hardships and toils of the war, the Roman might take to himself the credit for the peace and the profits of victory.¹ And beyond doubt something of their honourable position had been lost; but they did not see why they should be utterly ignored.² They believed that the consul—a man of a soul unconquerable by such cupidity—was eager to receive gifts from the king; but he was in fact angry at the Aetolians, and with just cause, for their insatiable desire for booty and their arrogance in claiming the glory of the victory for themselves, while with their boasting they had offended the ears of everyone, and he saw that with Philip out of the way and the power of the Macedonian kingdom broken the Aetolians would be held the masters of Greece. For these reasons he deliberately took many steps to cause them to be and to seem of less moment and importance in the eyes of all men.

XII. A truce of fifteen days had been granted to the enemy and a conference arranged with the king; but before the time for this arrived, he called a council of the allies and referred to them the terms of peace

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2 dici. Amynander, Athamanum rex, paucis sententiam absolvit; ita componendam pacem esse ut Graecia etiam absentibus Romanis satis potens
3 tuendae simul pacis libertatisque esset. Aetolorum asperior oratio fuit, qui pauca praefati recte atque ordine imperatorem Romanum facere quod, quos belli socios habuisset, cum iis communicaret pacis
4 consilia; falli autem eum tota re si aut Romanis pacem aut Graeciae libertatem satis firmam se credat relicturum nisi Philippo aut occiso aut regno pulso; quae utraque proclivia esse si fortuna uti
5 vellet. Ad haec Quinctius negare Aetolos aut moris Romanorum memores aut sibi ipsis convenientem
6 sententiam dixisse. Et illos prioribus omnibus conciliis colloquiisque de condicionibus pacis semper,
7 non ut ¹ ad internecionem bellaretur, disseruisse, et Romanos, praeter vetustissimum morem victis parcendi praecipuum clementiae documentum dedisse
8 pace Hannibali et Carthaginensibus data. Omittere se Carthaginenses; cum Philippo ipso quotiens ventum in colloquium? Nec umquam ut cederet regno actum esse. An quia victus proelio foret
9 inexprabile bellum factum? Cum armato hoste infestis animis concurrere debere; adversus victos mitissimum quemque animum maximum habere.
10 Libertati Graeciae videri graves Macedonum reges;

¹ non ut *Gronovius*: ut *B.*

BOOK XXXIII. XII. 1-10

which they wished to be imposed. Amynder, B.C. 197
king of the Athamanes, spoke briefly: the peace should be so arranged that Greece, even in the absence of the Romans, should be strong enough to maintain at once peace and liberty. The language of the Aetolians was more harsh; they said, after a brief preface, that the Roman commander was acting correctly and in order in discussing the conditions of peace with those whom he had had as his allies in the war; but that he was totally wrong if he thought that he would leave either assured peace to the Romans or liberty to the Greeks unless Philip were either killed or dethroned, either of which was easy if he were willing to follow up his good fortune. In reply, Quinctius asserted that the Aetolians neither remembered Roman policy nor employed arguments consistent with themselves. On the one hand, in all previous conferences and conversations they had always spoken of conditions of peace and not of waging a war of extermination; on the other, the Romans, in addition to observing, from remote antiquity, their custom of sparing conquered peoples, had given striking proof of their mercifulness in the peace granted to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. He would say nothing about the Carthaginians: how many conferences had been held with Philip himself? Never was there any suggestion that he should give up his kingdom. Or, because he had been defeated in battle, did that make war an unpardonable offence? An armed enemy should be met in hostile mood; towards the conquered, the mildest possible attitude was the greatest thing. The Macedonian kings seemed a menace to Greek liberty; if that kingdom and people were removed,

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si regnum gensque tollatur, Thracas, Illyrios, Gallos
deinde, gentes feras et indomitas, in Macedoniam
11 se et in Graeciam effusuras. Ne proxima quaeque
amoliendo maioribus gravioribusque aditum ad se
12 facerent. Interfanti deinde Phaeneae, praetori
Aetolorum, testificantique si elapsus eo tempore
Philippus foret mox gravius eum rebellaturum,
“desistite tumultuari” inquit “ubi consultandum
13 est. Non iis condicionibus illigabitur rex¹ ut
movere bellum possit.”

XIII. Hoc dimisso concilio postero die rex ad
2 fauces quae ferunt in Tempe—is datus erat locus
colloquio—venit; tertio die datur ei Romanorum ac
3 sociorum frequens concilium. Ibi Philippus perquam
prudenter iis sine quibus pax impetrari non poterat sua
potius voluntate omissis quam altercando extorqueren-
4 tur, quae priore colloquio aut imperata a Romanis
aut postulata ab sociis essent omnia se concedere, de
5 ceteris senatui permissurum dixit. Quamquam vel
inimicissimis omnibus praeclusisse vocem videbatur,
6 Phaeneas tamen Aetolus cunctis tacentibus “Quid?
Nobis” inquit “Philippe, reddisne tandem Phar-
salum et Larisam Cremasten et Echinum et Thebas
7 Phthias?” Cum Philippus nihil morari diceret quo
minus reciperent, disceptatio inter imperatorem
8 Romanum et Aetolos orta est de Thebis; nam eas
populi Romani iure belli factas esse Quinctius dicebat,
quod integris rebus, exercitu ab se admoto, vocati in

¹ rex *Jacobs*: pax *B.*

the Thracians, the Illyrians, and then the Gauls, fierce B.C. 197 and untamed peoples, would pour into Macedonia and into Greece. They should not, by breaking up all the nearest states, open the way to themselves for larger and more powerful tribes. Then, when Phaeneas, the Aetolian praetor, interrupted, reminding him that if Philip escaped this time he would soon cause a greater war, Quinctius replied, "Cease causing disturbance when we should be deliberating. The conditions by which the king will be bound will not be such that he will be able to start a war."

XIII. This council was adjourned, and the next day the king came to the pass which leads to Tempe—this was the place designated for the meeting—and on the third day a full council of the Romans and allies met him. There Philip conducted himself with great discretion, and conceding voluntarily those points without which peace could not be obtained, rather than having them wrung from him after argument, he said that he accepted all the conditions commanded by the Romans or demanded by the allies in the previous conference, and would submit everything else to the judgment of the senate. Although he seemed in this way to have sealed the lips of even his bitterest enemies, nevertheless, when all were silent, Phaeneas the Aetolian asked, "Well, Philip, do you restore to us at last Pharsalus and Larisa Cremaste and Echinus and Phthiotic Thebes?" When Philip replied that there was no reason why they should not receive them, a dispute over Thebes broke out between the Roman commander and the Aetolians; for Quinctius maintained that it belonged to the Roman people by the law of war, because at the beginning of the campaign, when the army had

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amicitiam cum potestas libera desciscendi ab rege
 esset, regiam societatem Romanae praeposuis-
 9 Phaeneas et pro societate belli, quae ante bellum
 habuissent, restitui Aetolis aequum censebat et ita
 10 in foedere primo cautum esse ut belli praeda rerum
 quae ferri agique possent Romanos, ager urbesque
 11 captae Aetolos sequerentur. "Vos" inquit "ipsi"
 Quinctius "societatis istius leges rupistis quo tempore
 12 relictis nobis cum Philippo pacem fecistis. Quae si
 maneret, captarum tamen urbium illa lex foret;
 Thessaliae civitates sua voluntate in dicionem
 13 nostram venerunt." Haec cum omnium sociorum
 adsensu dicta Aetolis non in praesentia¹ modo
 gravia auditu, sed mox etiam belli causae magna-
 14 rumque ex eo cladium iis fuerunt. Cum Philippo ita
 convenit ut Demetrium filium et quosdam ex
 amicorum numero obsides et ducenta talenta daret,
 de ceteris Romam mitteret legatos; ad eam rem
 15 quattuor mensum indutiae essent. Si pax non
 impetrata ab senatu foret, obsides pecuniamque
 reddi Philippo receptum est. Causa Romano im-

¹ in praesentia *Gronovius* : praesentia *B.*

¹ The Roman attack on Thebes was described in v. 1-3 above.

² Whether these arguments are mere hair-splitting cannot be ascertained. In XXVI. xxiv. 8-13 Livy gives in some detail the contents of the treaty of 211 B.C., but does not cover this point (sect. 11 mentions the classification of booty referred to by Phaeneas). Livy's phrase *foedere primo* suggests a second treaty of which we have no knowledge. In any case, according to the Romans, existing treaties were annulled by the separate peace which the Aetolians had made with Philip.

³ The ill-feeling thus engendered and increased by the

BOOK XXXIII. XIII. 8-15

been moved against the town and they had been B.C. 197 invited to become friends to the Romans at a time when they had full power to break off relations with the king, they had preferred the alliance with the king to that with the Romans; ¹ Phaeneas thought it right and in accordance with the military alliance, that what had belonged to the Aetolians before the war should be returned to them, and said that it had been provided in the original treaty, regarding booty taken in the war, that movables, which could be carried or driven away, should belong to the Romans, and lands and cities should go to the Aetolians. To this Quinctius replied, "You yourselves broke the rules laid down in that treaty, at the time you deserted us and made peace with Philip. But even if that treaty still held, that clause would pertain to cities that had been captured; the Thessalian cities submitted to us of their own accord." ² These words were received with applause from all the allies, but to the Aetolians they were unpleasant to hear at the moment, and later on they were the cause of war and, as a result of the war, of great slaughter to the Aetolians. ³ It was agreed with Philip that he should surrender his son Demetrius and certain of his friends as hostages and pay two hundred talents, and send ambassadors to Rome with respect to other matters; for this purpose a truce of four months was granted. If peace was not obtained from the senate, it was agreed that Philip should recover his hostages and money. It is said that nothing influenced the Roman

resentment of the Aetolians at Rome's settlement with Philip led them, in 193 B.C. (XXXV. xii. 1 ff.), to invite Antiochus to invade Europe. They were not finally subjugated until 189 B.C. (XXXVIII. xi. 1 ff.).

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peratori non alia maior fuisse dicitur maturandae pacis quam quod Antiochum bellum transitumque in Europam moliri constabat.

XIV. Eodem tempore atque, ut quidam tradidere, eodem die ad Corinthum Achaei ducem regium
2 Androsthenum iusto proelio fuderunt. Eam urbem pro arce habiturus Philippus adversus Graeciae civitates et principes inde evocatos per speciem colloquendi quantum equitum dare Corinthii ad bellum
3 possent, retinuerat pro obsidibus, et praeter quingentos Macedonas mixtosque ex omni genere auxiliorum
4 octingentos, quot iam ante ibi fuerant,¹ mille Macedonum eo miserat et mille ac ducentos Illyrios Thracasque et Cretenses, qui in utraque parte militabant,
5 octingentos. His additi Boeoti Thessalique et Acarnanes mille, scutati omnes, et septingenti² ex³ ipsorum Corinthiorum iuventute, impleta ut essent sex milia armatorum, fiduciam Androstheni fecerunt acie de
6 cernendi. Nicostratus, praetor Achaeorum, Sicyone erat cum duobus milibus peditum, centum equitibus, sed imparem se et numero et genere militum cernens
7 moenibus non excedebat. Regiae copiae peditum equitumque vagae Pellenensem et Phliasium et
8 Cleonaeum agrum depopulabantur; postremo exprobrantes metum hosti in fines Sicyoniorum transcendebant; navibus etiam circumvecti omnem oram
9 Achaiae vastabant. Cum id effusius hostes et, ut fit

¹ quot . . . fuerant *Drakenborch*: quod . . . fuerat *B.*

² septingenti *Walch*: *om. B.*

³ ex *Gronovius*: *om. B.*

commander more strongly to secure a speedy peace B.C. 197
 than the ascertained fact that Antiochus was planning war and an invasion of Europe.

XIV. At the same time, and, as some have related, on the very same day, the Achaeans routed the king's general Androsthene in a pitched battle near Corinth. Philip intended to hold this city as a stronghold against the Greek cities, and when he had invited there the leading citizens under pretence of discussing with them the number of cavalry the Corinthians could furnish for the war, he had held them as hostages, and in addition to five hundred Macedonians and eight hundred auxiliaries of various nations, the number that had already been there for some time, he had sent there a thousand Macedonians and twelve hundred Thracians and Illyrians and eight hundred Cretans, for this people fought on both sides. Added to these were one thousand Boeotians, Thessalians and Acarnanians, all provided with shields, and seven hundred of the youth of the Corinthians themselves, filling up his numbers to six thousand armed men, and these gave Androsthene confidence enough to risk a decisive battle. Nicostratus, the praetor of the Achaeans, was at Sicyon with two thousand infantry and one hundred cavalry, but, seeing himself inferior both in numbers and in the quality of his troops, he would not leave his fortifications. The king's infantry and cavalry were roaming about and ravaging the lands of Pellene, Phlius and Cleonae, and finally crossed into the territory of Sicyon, taunting the enemy with cowardice; likewise they skirted with their ships the whole coast of Achaëa and laid it waste. When the enemy was thus engaged in scattered groups and, as often happens in

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ab nimia fiducia, negligentius etiam facerent, Nicostratus spem nactus necopinantes eos adgrediendi
 10 circa finitimas civitates nuntium occultum mittit, quo die et quod ex quaque civitate armati ad Apelaorum—
 11 Stymphaliae terrae is locus est—convenirent. Omnibus ad diem edictam paratis profectus inde extemplo per Phliasiorum fines nocte Cleonas insciis omnibus quid
 12 pararet pervenit. Erant autem cum eo quinque milia peditum, ex quibus . . .¹ armaturae levis, et trecenti equites. Cum iis copiis, dimissis qui specularentur quam in partem hostes effunderent sese, opperiebatur.

XV. Androstenes omnium ignarus Corintho profectus ad Nemeam—amnis est Corinthium et Sicyonium² interfluens agrum—castra locat. Ibi partem dimidiam exercitus, divisam trifariam,³ et omnes equites discurrere ad depopulandos simul Pellenensem
 3 Sicyoniumque agros et Phliasium iubet. Haec tria diversa agmina discessere. Quod ubi Cleonas ad Nicostratum perlatum est, extemplo validam mercenariorum manum praemissam ad occupandum saltum,
 4 per quem transitus in Corinthium est agrum, ante signa equitibus ut praegrederentur locatis ipse con-
 5 festim agmine duplici sequitur. Parte una mercenarii milites ibant cum levi armatura, altera clipeati;
 6 id in illarum⁴ gentium exercitibus robur erat. Iam haud procul castris aberant pedites equitesque, et Thracum quidam in vagos palatosque per agros hostes impetum fecerant,⁵ cum repens terror castris infertur.

¹ Numerus deesse videtur.

² et Sicyonium *ed.* 1616: sicyonium *B.*

³ The text here accepted is that of Madvig. The reading of *B* is: *parte dimidia exercitus dimissa dimidiam trifariam diuisit* (the last word corrected from *dimisit*).

⁴ id in illarum *Kreyssig*: dein aliarum *B.*

⁵ fecerant *Crévier*: fecerunt *B.*

BOOK XXXIII. xiv. 9-xv. 6

cases of over-confidence, with a lack of vigilance, B.C. 197
 Nicostratus, in the hope of attacking them unexpectedly, sent secret messages to the neighbouring states, naming the day and fixing the numbers from each state to assemble at Apelaorum—this place is in the land of Stymphalia. When all was ready on the appointed day, he at once set out by night through the country of the Phliasii and arrived at Cleonae, no one knowing what he was planning. He had with him five thousand infantry, including . . . light-armed troops, and three hundred cavalry. With these forces, after first sending out scouts to find out in which direction the enemy was moving, he waited.

XV. Androsthene, in ignorance of all this, had left Corinth and encamped on the Nemea, which is a stream separating the lands of Corinth and Sicyon. There he ordered half of his army, divided into three columns, and all his cavalry to lay waste at the same time the country of Pellene, Sicyon and Phlius. The three separate columns marched out. When this was reported to Nicostratus at Cleonae, he immediately sent out a strong force of mercenaries to close the pass which gives access to Corinthian territory, and posting the cavalry ahead of the infantry to lead the way, himself followed rapidly in two columns. In one marched the mercenaries with the light infantry, in the other the shield-wearers: these constitute the chief strength in the armies of those states. The infantry and cavalry were now not far from the camp,¹ and some of the Thracians had made an attack upon the enemy, foraging and scattered through the fields, when sudden panic gripped the camp. The commander

¹ The camp of Androsthene, mentioned in sect. 1 above.

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7 Trepidare dux, ut qui hostes nusquam nisi raros¹ in
 collibus ante Sicyonem non audentes agmen demittere²
 in campos vidisset, ab Cleonis quidem accessuros
 8 numquam credidisset. Revocari tuba iubet vagos a
 castris dilapsos³; ipse raptim capere arma iussis
 militibus infrequenti agmine porta egressus super
 9 flumen instruit aciem. Ceterae copiae, vix colligi
 atque instrui cum potuissent, primum hostium impe-
 10 tum non tulerunt; Macedones et maxime omnium
 frequentes ad signa fuerant et diu ancipitem victoriae
 11 spem fecerunt; postremo fuga ceterorum nudati,
 cum duae iam acies hostium ex diverso, levis armatura
 ab latere, clipeati caetratique a fronte urgerent, et
 12 ipsi re inclinata primo rettulere pedem, deinde impuls
 terga vertunt et plerique abiectis armis, nulla spe
 castrorum tenendorum relicta, Corinthum petierunt.
 13 Nicostratus mercennariis militibus ad hos persequendos,
 equitibus Thracumque auxiliis in populatores agri
 Sicyonii missis, magnam ibi quoque caedem edidit,
 14 maiorem prope quam in proelio ipso. Ex iis quoque
 qui Pellenen Phliuntaque depopulati erant, incom-
 positi partim omniumque ignari⁴ ad castra rever-
 tentes in hostium stationes tamquam in suas illati
 15 sunt, partim ex discursu id quod erat suspicati ita se
 in fugam passim sparserunt⁵ ut ab ipsis agrestibus
 16 errantes circumvenirentur. Ceciderunt eo die mille

¹ raros *Duker*: raro *B.*² demittere *Gronovius*: dimittere *B.*³ dilapsos *Horriou*: dilapsus *B.*⁴ incompositi partim omniumque ignari *ed. 1616 in margine*:
compositi partim omnium signari *B.*⁵ sparserunt *Crévier*: sparserant *B.*

was afraid, inasmuch as he had nowhere seen the enemy except in small detachments in the hills in front of Sicyon, not daring to march their column down into the plains, and had never believed that they would attack from Cleonae. He gave orders that the foragers should be recalled by a trumpet-blast and, hastily ordering the troops to arm, he marched out of the gate with his depleted column and formed his battle-line above the river. The rest of the force, assembled and formed with difficulty, did not oppose the enemy's initial charge; the Macedonians had rallied in the largest numbers of all to the standards, and for a long time they rendered the prospect of victory uncertain; at last, exposed by the flight of the rest, with two lines of the enemy advancing from different directions, the light infantry from the flank, the heavy infantry and peltasts from the front, as the hope of victory diminished they at first retired slowly, but then, as the pressure increased, they broke, and most of them threw away their arms, abandoning hope of holding the camp, and made for Corinth. Nicostratus sent the mercenaries to follow them and the cavalry and Thracian auxiliaries against the raiders in the territory around Sicyon, and caused great slaughter there also, greater, almost, than in the battle itself. Part of the troops, too, who had ravaged Pellene and Phlius, returning in disorder and ignorant of what had transpired, when near the camp, drifted into the enemy's outguards in the belief that they were their own, while part of them, suspecting from the confusion what the truth was, scattered in flight in every direction, with the result that as they wandered about they were set upon even by the country-people. The losses that day were fifteen hundred killed, three

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et quingenti, capti trecenti. Achaia omnis magno liberata metu.

XVI. Priusquam dimicaretur ad Cynoscephalas, L. Quinctius Corcyram excitis Acarnanum principibus, quae sola Graeciae gentium in societate Macedonum manserat, initium quoddam ibi motus fecit. 2 Duae autem maxime causae eos tenuerant in amicitia regis, una fides insita genti, altera metus odiumque 3 Aetolorum. Concilium Leucadem indictum est. Eo neque cuncti convenere Acarnanum populi, nec iis qui convenerant idem placuit; sed duo¹ principes et magistratus pervicerunt ut privatum decretum 4 Romanae societatis fieret. Id omnes qui afuerant aegre passi; et in hoc fremitu gentis a Philippo missi duo principes Acarnanum, Androcles et Echedemus, non ad tollendum modo decretum Romanae societatis 5 valuerunt, sed etiam ut Archelaus et Bianor, principes gentis ambo, quod auctores eius sententiae fuissent, proditionis in concilio damnarentur, et Zeuxidae praetori, quod de ea re rettulisset, imperium abro- 6 garetur. Rem temerariam sed eventu prosperam damnati fecerunt. Suadentibus namque amicis, cederent² tempori et Corcyram ad Romanos abirent, 7 statuerunt offerre se multitudini et aut eo ipso lenire 8 iras aut pati quod casus tulisset. Cum se frequenti concilio intulissent, primo murmur ac fremitus admirantium, silentium mox a verecundia simul pristinae dignitatis ac misericordia praesentis fortunae 9 ortum est. Potestate quoque dicendi facta principio

¹ duo *Gronovius*: et *B.*

² cederent *ed. 1616 in margine*: cederetur *B.*

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hundred captured. All Achaëa was freed from great B.C. 197
terror.

XVI. Before the battle of Cynoscephalæ, Lucius Quinctius had summoned to Corcyra the leading men of the Acarnanes, the only people in Greece which had held to the Macedonian alliance, and had made some progress toward a movement there. But two principal causes had kept them loyal to the king; one, their native habit of fidelity, the other, their fear and hatred of the Aetolians. A council was called at Leucas. Not all the cities assembled there, nor did all who came agree; but two persons, leading men and magistrates, brought it to pass that an unofficial decree favouring a Roman alliance was adopted. All those who were not represented resented this bitterly; and in this time of confusion in the state, two prominent Acarnanians, Androcles and Echedemus, sent by Philip, succeeded not only in rescinding the decree for a Roman alliance, but in convicting before the council, on charges of treason, two men, both prominent in public life, Archelaus and Bianor, because they had proposed the decree, and in having Zeuxis the praetor removed from office because he had put the motion. The prisoners adopted a device rash but successful in its result. Though their friends advised them to yield to the situation and take refuge with the Romans at Corcyra, they determined to throw themselves on the mercy of the assembly, and, by so doing, either mollify their wrath or endure what fortune had in store for them. When they entered the crowded assembly, there was first applause and a demonstration of admiration, then silence, due to respect for their former high station and pity for their present state. When they were allowed to speak, they began

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suppliciter, procedente autem oratione, ubi ad crimina
diluenda ventum est, cum tanta fiducia quantam
10 innocentia dabat disseruerunt; postremo ultro aliquid
etiam queri et castigare iniquitatem simul in se
11 crudelitatemque ausi ita adfecerunt animos, ut omnia
quae in eos decreta erant frequentes tollerent neque
eo minus redeundum in societatem Philippi abnuen-
damque Romanorum amicitiam censerent.

XVII. Leucade haec sunt decreta. Id caput Acar-
naniae erat, eoque in concilium omnes populi con-
2 veniebant. Itaque cum haec repentina mutatio
Corcyram ad legatum Flamininum perlata esset,
extemplo cum classe profectus Leucadem ad Heraeum,
3 quod vocant, naves adplicuit. Inde cum omni genere
tormentorum machinarumque quibus expugnantur
urbes ad muros accessit, ad primum terrorem ratus
4 inclinare animos posse. Postquam pacati nihil osten-
debatur, tum vineas turresque erigere et arietem
admovere muris coepit.

5 Acarnania universa inter Aetoliam atque Epirum
posita solem occidentem et mare Siculum spectat.
6 Leucadia nunc insula est, vadoso freto quod per-
fossum manu est, ab Acarnania divisa; tum paenin-
sula erat, occidentis regione artis faucibus cohaerens
7 Acarnaniae; quingentos ferme passus longae eae
fauces erant, latae haud amplius centum et viginti.
In iis angustiis Leucas posita est, colli applicata verso

¹ Whether or not Leucas was in remote antiquity an island, a peninsula, or a tract of land separated from or joined to the mainland by something resembling a sand-bar or a tidal flat, Livy is here in accord with the usual ancient tradition, which represents it as an island made out of a peninsula by an artificial channel (Strabo I. iii. 18; X. ii. 8; Thucydides III. 81; IV. 8, etc.). The question naturally interlocks with the controversy over the identification of Leucas with the Homeric Ithaca (conveniently summarized by Buerchner in Pauly-

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like suppliants, but as their speech progressed and they reached the stage of defending themselves against the charges, they spoke with all the confidence that innocence gave them; finally, daring even to complain somewhat and to rebuke at once the injustice and the harshness of their treatment, they roused such feelings that a majority defeated all the decrees proposed against them but nevertheless voted to abide by the treaty with Philip and reject the friendship of the Romans. B.C. 197

XVII. Such were the decrees at Leucas. This was the capital of Acarnania, and thither all the peoples were wont to come to council. Accordingly, when this sudden change was reported to the lieutenant Flamininus at Corcyra, he at once set out with his fleet to Leucas and anchored in the harbour called Heraeum. He approached the walls with all kinds of artillery and equipment with which cities are assaulted, thinking that their minds would turn towards peace at the first alarm. But when they showed no signs of a peaceful disposition then he began to erect sheds and towers and to move the battering-ram towards the walls.

Acarnania as a whole lies between Aetolia and Epirus, facing the west and the Sicilian sea. Leucadia is now an island, cut off from Acarnania by a shallow channel dug by hand; then it was a peninsula,¹ joined to Acarnania by a narrow neck of land on its western side; this neck of land was about five hundred paces long and not more than one hundred twenty paces wide. In this constricted place lay Leucas,

Wissowa, *s.v.* Leucas, by Jones in the Appendix to Vol. V of his Strabo in this series, and, most recently but very briefly, by Hennig, *Die Geographie des Homerischen Epos*, Neue Wege zur Antike, I. Reihe, Heft 10, Leipzig, 1934, 85-101).

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8 in orientem et Acarnaniam; ima urbis plana sunt,
 iacentia ad mare quo Leucadia ab Acarnania dividitur.
 Inde terra marique expugnabilis est; nam et vada
 sunt stagno similia quam mari, et campus terrenus
 9 omnis operique facilis. Itaque multis simul locis aut
 subruti aut ariete decussi ruebant muri. Sed quam
 urbs ipsa opportuna oppugnantibus erat, tam inex-
 10 pugnabiles hostium animi. Die ac nocte intenti
 reficere quassata muri, obstruere quae patefacta ruinis
 erant, proelia impigre inire et armis magis muros
 11 quam se ipsos moenibus tutari; diutiusque spe
 Romanorum obsidionem eam extraxissent, ni exules
 quidam Italici generis Leucade habitantes ab arce
 12 milites accepissent. Eos tamen ex superiore loco
 magno cum tumultu decurrentes acie in foro instructa
 13 iusto proelio aliquamdiu Leucadii sustinuerunt. In-
 terim et scalis capta multis locis moenia, et per stragem
 14 lapidum ac ruinas transcensum in urbem; iamque
 ipse legatus magno agmine circumvenerat pugnantes.
 Tum pars in medio caesi, pars armis abiectis dedi-
 15 derunt sese victori. Et post dies paucos audito
 proelio, quo ad Cynoscephalas pugnatum erat, omnes
 Acarnaniae populi in dicionem legati venerunt.

XVIII. Iisdem diebus, omnia simul inclinante
 fortuna, Rhodii quoque ad vindicandam a Philippo
 continentis regionem—Peraeam vocant—possessam
 2 maioribus suis, Pausistratum praetorem cum octin-

¹ The acropolis of Leucas was on a hill; the lower town extended eastward from its base.

clinging to a hill facing the east and Acarnania; the lower parts of the town were flat, lying along the sea which separates Leucadia from Acarnania.¹ On that side it is vulnerable by land and sea, for the shallows are more like a pool than a sea and the whole country is flat and favourable for siege-works. So the walls in many places were either undermined or thrown down by the battering-ram. But as the city itself was exposed to attack, just so were the minds of the enemy invincible. By day and night they laboured to rebuild the shattered walls, to close the ways laid open by their fall, to enter battle courageously, and to defend the walls with weapons rather than themselves with walls. They would have prolonged the siege beyond Roman expectations had not certain exiles of the Italian race, living in Leucas, come down from the citadel and admitted the soldiers. The Leucadians, nevertheless, rushing down from the higher ground with loud shouts and drawing up their array in the forum, resisted for a time in pitched battle. Meanwhile the fortifications in many places were taken by escalade, and entrance to the city was gained over piles of stones and fallen buildings, and now the lieutenant himself with a strong force had surrounded the defenders. Part fell in the mellay, some threw down their arms and surrendered to the victor. And a few days later, when news came of the battle which had been fought at Cynoscephalae, all the states of Acarnania submitted to the control of the lieutenant.

XVIII. At the same time, when everything was going one way, the Rhodians also, with a view to reclaiming from Philip the district on the mainland—Peraea is its name—which their forefathers had held, dispatched Pausistratus the praetor with eight

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gentis Achaeis peditibus, mille et octingentis fere armatis, ex vario genere auxiliorum collectis, miserunt; 3 Galli et Pisuetae et Nisuetae et Tamiani et Arei ex 4 Africa et Laudiceni ex Asia erant. Cum iis copiis Pausistratus Tendeba in Stratonicensi agro, locum peropportunum, ignaris regiis qui Therae erant 5 occupavit. In tempore et ad id¹ ipsum excitum 6 auxilium, mille Achaei pedites cum centum equitibus supervenerunt; Theoxenus iis praeerat. Dinocrates, regius praefectus, recipiendi castelli causa primo castra ad ipsa Tendeba movet, inde ad alterum castellum, item Stratonicensis agri—Astragon vocant—omnibus praesidiis² quae multifariam³ dis- 7 iecta erant, devocatis et ab ipsa Stratonicea Thessalorum auxiliaribus ad Alabanda, ubi hostes erant, 8 ducere pergit. Nec Rhodii pugnam detractaverunt. Ita castris in propinquo locatis extemplo in aciem 9 descensum est. Dinocrates quingentos Macedonas dextro cornu, laevo Agrianas locat, in medium accipit contractos ex castellorum.—Cares maxime erant— 10 praesidiis, equites cornibus circumdat et Cretensium 11 auxiliares Thracumque. Rhodii Achaeos, lectam peditum manum, habuere, medios mixta ex pluribus 12 gentibus auxilia, equites levisque armaturae quod erat cornibus circumiectum. Eo die steterunt tantum

¹ id *Gelenius*: *om. B.*

² praesidiis *Madvig*: *ex praesidiis B.*

³ multifariam *ed. Frobeniana 1531*: *multifaria B.*

¹ *I.e.*, the inhabitants of Laodicea in Asia; the Galli were from Galatia and the other tribes from Africa.

² Both the movements of the opposing forces and their purposes are obscure.

³ This translation preserves what seems to be the soundest text of the sentence. It is, however, strange that Livy has not given in detail the formation of the Rhodian line, as he

hundred Achaean infantry and about one thousand B.C. 197
 eight hundred auxiliaries collected from different
 states: these were Gauls and Pisuetæ and Nisuetæ
 and Tamiani and Arei from Africa and Laudiceni¹
 from Asia. With these forces Pausistratus took
 Tendebea, a city in the territory of Stratonicea
 and well situated, without the knowledge of the
 king's forces who were on Thera. There reinforce-
 ments, summoned at this time and for this purpose,
 to wit, one thousand Achaean infantry with one
 hundred cavalry, met them; Theoxenus was their
 commander. Dinocrates, the king's prefect, first
 moved his camp towards Tendebea itself for the
 purpose of recovering the fortress, then to another
 fort, also in the country of Stratonicea—they
 call it Astragon—recalling all the garrisons which
 had been scattered far and wide and Thessalian
 auxiliaries from Stratonicea itself, and began to
 march towards Alabanda, where the enemy lay.²
 The Rhodians did not decline the battle. So,
 placing their camp near by, they came down to the
 battle-field. Dinocrates placed five hundred Mace-
 donians on his right flank and the Agrianes on the
 left; in the centre he posted the troops gathered up
 from the garrisons of the forts—they were mostly
 Carians—and he covered the flanks with the cavalry
 and the Cretan and Thracian auxiliaries. The
 Rhodians had in the centre the Achaeans, a picked
 force of infantry, and the auxiliaries, made up of
 men of different races, and the cavalry and what
 there was of light infantry placed outside the flanks.³
 On that day both lines merely remained standing

has that of the Macedonian. All conjectures intended to
 meet this objection are unreasonably bold.

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acies utraque super ripam, qui tenui tum aqua inter-
 fluebat, torrentis paucisque telis emissis in castra
 receperunt sese. Postero die eodem ordine instructi
 maius aliquanto proelium quam pro numero edidere
 13 pugnantium. Neque enim plus terna milia peditum
 14 fuere et centeni ferme equites; ceterum non numero
 tantum nec armorum genere, sed animis quoque
 paribus et aequa spe pugnarunt. Achaei primo
 torrente superato in Agrianas impetum fecerunt;
 15 deinde tota prope cursu transgressa amnem acies est.
 16 Diu anceps pugna stetit. Numero Achaei, mille ipsi,
 quadringentos loco pepulere; inclinato deinde laevo
 17 cornu in dextrum omnes conisi. Macedones, usque
 dum ordines et veluti stipata phalanx constabat,
 18 moveri nequiverunt; postquam laevo latere nudato
 circumagere hastas in venientem ex transverso hostem
 conati sunt, turbati extemplo tumultum primo inter
 se fecerunt, terga deinde vertunt, postremo abiectis
 19 armis in praecipitem fugam effunduntur. Bargylias
 petentes fugerunt; eodem Dinocrates perfugit.
 Rhodii quantum diei superfuit secuti receperunt sese
 in castra. Satis constat, si confestim victores Strato-
 niceam petissent, recipi eam urbem sine certamine
 20 potuisse. Praetermissa eius rei occasio est, dum in
 castellis vicisque recipiendis Peraeae tempus teritur.
 21 Interim animi eorum qui Stratoniceam praesidio
 obtinebant confirmati sunt. Mox et Dinocrates cum

¹ Presumably the Agrianes, though their number has not been given before.

BOOK XXXIII. XVIII. 12-21

on the banks of the river flowing between them, B.C. 197
 which was then a small stream, and after hurling a few missiles retired to their camps. The next day the two armies were similarly formed and a battle began, severer than might be expected from the numbers of the combatants. For there were not more than three thousand infantry and one hundred cavalry on either side, but they fought not only with equal numbers and similar weapons but with the same courage and equal hope as well. The Achaeans at first crossed the river and attacked the Agrianes, and then almost the whole line hastily crossed the stream on the run. The issue was long in doubt. By weight of numbers, the Achaeans, a thousand strong, dislodged the four hundred; ¹ then, as the left gave way, the whole effort was directed against the right flank. The Macedonians could not be moved as long as the line held and the phalanx was, so to speak, compact; when, after their left flank was exposed, they tried to change front so as to meet the enemy that was attacking them in flank, they first caused immediate disorder and confusion among themselves, then they began to fall back, and finally threw away their arms and fled at full speed. The fugitives made for Bargyliae, and Dinocrates sought refuge in the same place. The Rhodians followed as long as daylight lasted and then returned to camp. It is quite clear that if the victors had at once marched to Stratonicea, this city could have been recovered without a struggle. The opportunity for this was lost while they consumed time in occupying the forts and towns of Peraea. Meanwhile the courage of those who were holding Stratonicea with the garrison was renewed, and presently Dinocrates

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iis quae proelio superfuerant copiis intravit muros.
22 Nequiquam inde obsessa oppugnataque urbs est, nec recipi nisi aliquanto post per Antiochum potuit. Haec in Thessalia, haec in Achaia, haec in Asia per eosdem dies ferme gesta.

XIX. Philippus cum audisset Dardanos transgressos fines ab contemptu concussi tum regni superiora
2 Macedoniae evastare, quamquam toto prope orbe terrarum, undique se suosque exigente fortuna,
3 urgebatur, tamen morte tristius ratus Macedoniae etiam possessione pelli, dilectu raptim per urbes Macedonum habito cum sex milibus peditum et quingentis equitibus circa Stobos Paeoniae improvise
4 hostes oppressit. Magna multitudo hominum in proelio, maior cupidine praedandi palata per agros caesa est. Quibus fuga in expedito fuit, ne temptato
5 quidem casu pugnae in fines suos redierunt. Ea una expeditione, non pro reliquo statu fortunae facta, reffectis suorum animis Thessalonicam sese recepit.

6 Non tam in tempore Punicum bellum terminatum erat, ne simul et cum Philippo foret bellandum, quam opportune iam Antiocho ex Syria movente bellum
7 Philippus est superatus; nam praeterquam quod facilius cum singulis quam si in unum ambo simul

¹ The meaning is quite uncertain. In xxx. 11 below it is said that the Romans gave the city to the Rhodians according to the peace of 196 B.C. It is also possible that the city was included in the settlement in 189 B.C., after the war with Antiochus (XXXVII. vi. 6).

² The narrative which was interrupted at Chap. XIV above is resumed.

³ *I.e.*, the northern frontiers.

⁴ Livy now begins to relate the events preliminary to the

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entered the walls with the troops that had survived B.C. 19
the battle. In vain was the city then invested
and besieged, nor was it recovered until some time
later through the aid of Antiochus.¹ Such were the
events of this period, which took place during, we
may almost say, the same days in Thessaly, Achaëa,
and Asia.

XIX. When ² Philip learned that the Dardani had
crossed the borders, out of contempt for his stricken
kingdom, and were then laying waste the farther ³
frontiers of Macedonia, although he was hard pressed
in every quarter of the world, since fortune had turned
against him and his people, nevertheless, thinking
that to be robbed of the possession of Macedonia
was a sadder fate than death, he quickly levied
troops in the cities of Macedonia and with six
thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry suddenly
fell upon the enemy near Stobi in Paeonia. Many
men fell in the battle, many more through their lust
for booty while roving through the fields. Those to
whom flight was possible returned to their country
without even risking the hazard of a battle. Philip
returned to Thessalonica with the courage of his
people renewed by this one expedition, so different
in its outcome from his other experiences.

The end of the Punic War,⁴ coming in time to free
the Romans from the necessity of fighting Philip at
the same moment, was no more fortunate than the
defeat of Philip when Antiochus was already pre-
paring war from Syria; for, in addition to the fact
that war is more easily waged against one at a time
than when two have brought their united strength

war with Antiochus. The reference to Spain is incidental,
and Spain is neglected until we come to xxi. 6 below.

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contulissent vires, bellatum est, Hispania quoque sub idem tempus magno tumultu ad bellum con-
 8 surrexit. Antiochus cum priore aestate omnibus quae in Coele Syria sunt civitatibus ex Ptolomaei ditione in suam potestatem redactis in hiberna Antiocheam concessisset, nihilo quietiora ea ipsis aestivis
 9 habuit. Omnibus enim regni viribus conixus cum ingentes copias terrestres maritimasque comparasset, principio veris praemissis terra cum exercitu filiis
 10 duobus, Ardye ac Mithradate, iussisque Sardibus se opperiri ipse cum classe centum tectarum navium, ad hoc levioribus navigiis cercurisque ac lembis ducentis
 11 proficiscitur, simul per omnem oram Ciliciae Lyciaeque et Cariae temptaturus urbes quae in ditione Ptolomaei essent, simul Philippum—necdum enim debellatum erat—exercitu navibusque adiuturus.

XX. Multa egregie Rhodii pro fide erga populum Romanum proque universo nomine Graecorum terra
 2 marique ausi sunt, nihil magnificentius quam quod ea tempestate, non territi tanta mole imminentis belli, legatos ad regem miserunt, ne Chelidonias—promunturium Ciliciae est inclutum foedere antiquo Atheniensium cum regibus¹ Persarum—superaret:
 3 si eo fine non contineret classem copiasque suas, se obviam ituros, non ab odio ullo, sed ne coniungi eum Philippo paterentur et impedimento esse Romanis

¹ regibus *Goeller* : legibus *B.*

¹ This is the spring of 197 B.C.

² In 449 B.C., Cimon made a treaty providing that Persian warships should not pass this promontory (*Plutarch, Cimon* 13).

BOOK XXXIII. XIX. 7-XX. 3

to bear upon one, in Spain also about the same time B.C. 197 there was a grave uprising and revolt. When Antiochus, during the preceding summer, had transferred all the cities which are situated in Coele Syria from the power of Ptolemy to his own dominion and had retired to Antioch for the winter, this period was as full of activity as the summer had been. For, when he had assembled huge military and naval forces by exerting all the strength of his kingdom, in the beginning of spring¹ he sent his two sons, Ardyes and Mithradates, ahead with the army by land. Ordering them to wait for him at Sardis, he set out in person with one hundred decked ships and besides two hundred lighter vessels, schooners and brigs, with the double purpose of trying to win over the cities which had been under the control of Ptolemy along the whole shore of Cilicia, Lycia, and Caria, and of aiding Philip with his army and navy—for that war had not yet been ended.

XX. Many are the noble ventures which the Rhodians have undertaken on land and sea, to testify to their loyalty to the Roman people and in behalf of the whole race of the Greeks, but they have done nothing more glorious than on this occasion, when, unterrified by the magnitude of the impending war, they sent ambassadors to the king, ordering him not to pass Chelidoniae—a promontory in Cilicia, made famous by the ancient treaty² between the Athenians and the Persian kings: if Antiochus did not keep his fleet and army within this limit, they vowed that they would oppose him, not from any ill-will towards him, but to prevent his joining Philip and interfering with the Romans who were undertaking to liberate

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4 liberantibus Graeciam. Coracesium eo tempore Anti-
ochus operibus oppugnabat, Zephyrio et Solis et
Aphrodisiade et Coryco et superato Anemurio—pro-
munturium id quoque Ciliciae est—Selinunte recepto.
5 Omnibus his aliisque eius orae castellis aut metu aut
voluntate sine certamine in dicionem acceptis, Cora-
6 cesium praeter spem clausis portis tenebat eum. Ibi
legati Rhodiorum auditi. Et quamquam ea legatio
7 erat quae accendere regium animum posset, temperavit
irae et legatos se Rhodum missurum respondit iisque
mandaturum ut renovarent vetusta iura cum ea
civitate sua maiorumque suorum et vetarent eos
pertimescere adventum regis: nihil aut iis aut sociis
8 eorum noxiae futurum fraude; nam Romanorum
amicitiam se non violaturum, argumento et suam
recentem ad eos legationem esse et senatus honorifica
9 in se decreta responsaque. Tum forte legati redierant¹
ab Roma comiter auditi dimissique, ut tempus postu-
labat, incerto adhuc adversus Philippum eventu belli.
10 Cum haec legati regis in contione Rhodiorum agerent,
nuntius venit debellatum ad Cynoscephalas esse.
Hoc nuntio accepto Rhodii dempto metu a Philippo
omiserunt² consilium obviam eundi classe Antiocho;
11 illam alteram curam non omiserunt tuendae libertatis
civitatum sociarum Ptolomaei, quibus bellum ab
12 Antiocho imminebat. Nam alias auxiliis iuverunt,

¹ redierant *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: rediebant *B.*

² omiserunt *Goeller*: omiserant *B.*

¹ In 198 B.C. (XXXII. viii. 15) the Romans sent an embassy to Antiochus with the request that he keep out of Pergamum, but the war with Philip compelled them to maintain this propitiatory attitude toward him. Antiochus shrewdly uses it to allay the suspicions of the Rhodians.

BOOK XXXIII. xx. 3-12

Greece. Antiochus was at the time besieging B.C. 197
Coracesium, having recovered Zephyrium and Soli
and Aphrodisias and Corycus, and Selinus, after
rounding Anemurium—this also is a cape in
Cilicia. All these and other forts on this coast
having surrendered to him without resistance, either
from fear or voluntarily, Coracesium unexpectedly
closed its gates and delayed him. There the am-
bassadors of the Rhodians were given audience.
And although their message was one to inflame the
king's mind, he restrained his anger and answered
that he would send ambassadors to Rhodes with
instructions to renew the long-standing relations
existing between him and his ancestors and that
state, and to bid them have no fears of the king's
coming: no fraud or mischief was planned either for
them or for their allies; for he would not violate the
friendship of the Romans, in evidence whereof he
cited both his own recent embassy to them and the
senate's complimentary decrees and replies to him.¹
At that time, as it happened, his ambassadors had
returned from Rome, where they had been heard
and dismissed courteously, as the situation demanded,
the outcome of the war with Philip being still in
doubt. While the ambassadors of the king were
relating this before the assembly of the Rhodians,
the news came that the war had been ended at Cynos-
cephalae. Their fear of Philip having been dispelled
by the receipt of this news, the Rhodians aban-
doned their design of going to meet Antiochus with
the fleet; their other concern they did not forget,
to wit, that of maintaining the liberty of the cities
allied with Ptolemy, which were threatened with
war by Antiochus. For some they helped with

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13 alias providendo ac praemonendo conatus hostis
causaque libertatis fuerunt Cauniis, Myndiis, Hali-
carnassensibus Samiisque. Non operae est persequi
ut quaeque acta in his locis sint, cum ad ea quae
propria Romani belli sunt vix sufficiam.

XXI. Eodem tempore Attalus rex aeger ab Thebis
Pergamum advectus moritur altero et septuagesimo
anno, cum quattuor et quadraginta annos regnasset.
2 Huic viro praeter divitias nihil ad spem regni fortuna
dederat. Iis simul prudenter, simul magnifice utendo
effecit, primum ut sibi, deinde ut aliis, non indignus
3 videretur regno. Victis deinde proelio uno Gallis,
quae tum gens recenti adventu terribilior Asiae erat,
regium adscivit nomen, cuius magnitudini¹ semper
4 animum aequavit. Summa iustitia suos rexit, unicam
5 fidem sociis praestitit, comis uxori ac liberis²—
quattuor³ superstites habuit, mitis ac munificus
amicis fuit; regnum adeo stabile ac firmum reliquit,
ut ad tertiam stirpem possessio eius descenderit.

6 Cum hic status rerum in Asia Graeciaque et Mace-
donia esset, vixdum terminato cum Philippo bello,
pace certe nondum perpetrata, ingens in Hispania
7 ulteriore coortum est bellum. M. Helvius eam pro-
vinciam obtinebat. Is litteris senatum certiozem

¹ magnitudini *Aldus* : magnitudinis *B*.

² uxori ac liberis *Jacobs* : uxor ac liberos *B*.

³ quattuor *Sigonius* : duo *B*.

¹ The line became extinct in 133 B.C., when Pergamum became the property of Rome under the will of the grandson of this Attalus.

² The status of Spain had never been officially fixed since the Carthaginians were driven out during the Second Punic War. Until the present year it was normally governed by *privati cum imperio* (see notes on XXXII. xxvii. 6 and xxviii.

reinforcements, some by warnings and information B.C. 197
 as to the enemy's plans, and they were responsible for preserving the liberty of the people of Caunus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, and Samos. It is hardly worth while to record in detail the events in this part of the world, since I am scarce able to recount those things which belong properly to the Roman war.

XXI. At the same time King Attalus, who had fallen ill at Thebes and then removed from Thebes to Pergamum, died in his seventy-second year, after he had been on the throne for forty-four years. Fortune had bestowed upon this man nothing but wealth to give him hope of royal power. By using this both wisely and splendidly he brought it about that he seemed worthy of the throne, first in his own eyes, then in those of others. Then when in a single battle he had conquered the Gauls, a people the more terrible to Asia by reason of their recent arrival, he assumed the title of king, and thenceforth his greatness of soul always matched the greatness of his distinction. He ruled his subjects with perfect justice, exhibited remarkable fidelity to his allies, was courteous to his wife and sons—four survived him—and kind and generous to his friends; he left a kingdom so strong and well-established that possession of it was handed down to the third generation.¹

While this was the state of affairs in Asia, Greece, and Macedonia, the war with Philip having been scarcely finished and peace, at any rate, not yet assured, a great war broke out in Farther Spain.² Marcus Helvius was now governor of that province. He sent dispatches to the senate that two petty kings,

(11 above), and thorough pacification had not been attempted. Wars in Spain fill many pages in the next few books.

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fecit Culcham et Luxinium regulos in armis esse,
 8 cum Culcha decem et septem oppida, cum Luxinio
 validas urbes Carmonem et Baldonem, in maritima
 ora Malacinos Sexetanosque et Baeturiam omnem et
 quae nondum animos nudaverant ad finitimorum
 9 motus consurrectura.¹ His litteris a M. Sergio prae-
 tore, cuius iurisdictio inter cives et peregrinos erat,
 recitatis decreverunt patres ut comitiis praetorum
 perfectis, cui praetori provincia Hispania obvenisset,
 is primo quoque tempore de bello Hispaniae ad
 senatum referret.

XXII. Sub idem tempus consules Romam vene-
 runt; quibus in aede Bellonae senatum habentibus
 postulantibusque triumphum ob res prospere bello
 2 gestas C. Atinius Labeo et C. Afranius tribuni
 plebis ut separatim de triumpho agerent consules
 postularunt: communem se relationem de ea re fieri
 non passuros, ne par honos in dispari merito esset.
 3 Cum Q. Minucius utrique Italiam provinciam obtigisse
 diceret, communi animo consilioque se et collegam res
 4 gessisse, et C. Cornelius adiceret Boios adversus se
 transgredientes Padum, ut Insubribus Cenomanisque
 auxilio essent, depopulante vicis eorum atque agros
 5 collega ad sua tuenda aversos esse, tribuni res tantas
 bello gessisse C. Cornelium fateri, ut non magis de
 triumpho eius quam de honore diis immortalibus

¹ consurrectura *Goeller*: consurrectur *B.*

¹ In XXXII. xxviii. 2 *Sergius* is *praetor urbanus*, and this assignment is more probable.

² *I.e.*, a motion covering both triumphs: cf. *communi animo consilioque* three lines below.

Culcha and Luxinius, were in arms, that seventeen B.C. 197 towns had joined Culcha and the powerful cities of Carmo and Baldo were with Luxinius, and that on the coast, the Malacini and Sexetani and all Baeturia and other states which had not yet disclosed their intentions would soon rise to join the revolt of their neighbours. This letter was read to the senate by Marcus Sergius, the praetor who exercised jurisdiction in cases between citizens and aliens,¹ and the Fathers voted that as soon as the praetorian elections were over the praetor to whom the province of Spain had by then been allotted should at the earliest possible moment refer to the senate the question of the Spanish war.

XXII. At about the same time the consuls returned to Rome; when they summoned the senate to meet in the temple of Bellona and demanded a triumph for their successes in the war, Gaius Atinius Labeo and Gaius Afranius, tribunes of the people, insisted that the consuls offer separate motions regarding the triumph: they would not allow a common² motion to be voted on, lest equal honour be bestowed upon unequal merit. Quintus Minucius replied that the province of Italy had fallen to the lot of both consuls and that he and his colleague had acted in accordance with a common policy and plan of campaign, and Gaius Cornelius added that the Boi, who were crossing the Po against him, to aid the Insubres and Cenomani, had been called away to defend their own homes when his colleague laid waste their towns and farms. To this the tribunes rejoined that they agreed that Gaius Cornelius had accomplished in the war results of such magnitude that there was no more question of his triumph than

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6 habendo dubitari possit; non tamen nec illum nec quemquam alium civem tantum gratia atque opibus valuisse ut, cum sibi meritum triumphum impetrasset, collegae eundem honorem immeritum impudenter
7 petenti daret. Q. Minucium in Liguribus levia proelia, vix digna dictu, fecisse, in Gallia magnum
8 numerum militum amisisse; nominabant etiam tribunos militum; T. Iuventium, Cn. Ligurium legionis quartae adversa pugna cum multis aliis viris fortibus,
9 civibus ac sociis, cecidisse. Oppidorum paucorum ac vicorum falsas et in tempus simulatas sine ullo
10 pignore deditiones factas esse. Hae inter consules tribunosque altercationes biduum tenuerunt, victique perseverantia tribunorum consules separatim rettulerunt.

XXIII. C. Cornelio omnium consensu decretus triumphus. Et Placentini Cremonensesque addiderunt favorem consuli, gratias agentes commemorantesque obsidione sese ab eo liberatos, plerique etiam, cum capti¹ apud hostes essent, servitute
3 exemptos. Q. Minucius temptata tantum relatione, cum adversum omnem senatum videret, in monte Albano se triumphaturum et iure imperii consularis
4 et multorum clarorum virorum exemplo dixit. C.²

¹ capti *Cobet*: *om. B.*

² *C. Drakenborch*: *Cn. B.*

¹ The *pignus* is probably a guarantee, in the form of hostages, that the surrender was real.

² One may compare with the account given by the tribunes the narrative of Livy (XXXII. xxix. 5–xxx. 5).

³ Minucius, having gone thus far, feels compelled to offer a formal motion that he be granted a triumph. Since this was clearly destined to fail, he awarded himself a triumph in *monte Albano*, with which the senate could not interfere. So, in 211 B.C., Marcellus was refused a triumph, for technical reasons, but was granted an ovation and celebrated a triumph

there could be of paying honour to the immortal gods ; B.C. 197
 yet neither he nor any other citizen was so powerful in influence and resources that, when he had obtained a well-earned triumph, he could bestow the same unmerited honour upon a colleague who had the effrontery to demand it. Quintus Minucius, they continued, had fought some unimportant battles in Liguria, hardly worthy of mention, and in Gaul had lost a great number of his men; they even mentioned by name. Titus Iuventius and Gnaeus Ligurius, military tribunes of the fourth legion, who had fallen in the defeat along with many other brave men, citizens and allies. The surrender of small towns and villages had taken place, but this was fictitious, manufactured for the occasion, and without guarantees.¹ These debates between the consuls and the tribunes continued for two days, but at last, overcome by the stubbornness of the tribunes, the consuls offered separate motions.²

XXIII. Gaius Cornelius was granted a triumph with the consent of all. The people of Placentia and Cremona contributed to the applause given the consul, expressing their gratitude to him and testifying that they had been freed by him from the peril of siege, and many even that they had been rescued from slavery after they had been prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Quintus Minucius, simply offering a motion, when he saw the whole senate opposed to him, declared that he would celebrate his triumph on the Alban Mount, both by virtue of his consular *imperium* and with the precedent of many distinguished men.³ Gaius Cornelius the

on the Alban Mount (XXVI. xxi. 2-6). See the notes on XXXI. xx. 5 and xlvii. 4 above.

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Cornelius de Insubribus Cenomanisque in magistratu triumphavit. Multa signa militaria tulit, multa
 5 Gallica spolia captivis carpentis transvexit, multi nobiles Galli ante currum ducti, inter quos quidam Hamilcarem, ducem Poenorum, fuisse auctores sunt; ceterum magis in se convertit oculos Cremonensium
 6 Placentinorumque colonorum turba, pilleatorum currum sequentium. Aeris tulit in triumpho ducenta
 7 triginta septem milia quingentos, argenti bigati undeoctoginta milia; septuagesimi aeris militibus divisi,
 8 duplex centurioni, triplex equiti.¹ Q. Minucius consul de Liguribus Boisque Gallis in monte Albano triumphavit. Is triumphus, ut loco et fama rerum gestarum et quod sumptum non erogatum ex aerario omnes sciebant, inhonoratior fuit, ita signis carpentisque et spoliis ferme aequabat. Pecuniae etiam
 9 prope par summa fuit; aeris tralata² ducenta quinquaginta quattuor milia, argenti bigati quinquaginta tria milia et ducenti; militibus centurionibusque et equitibus idem in singulos datum quod dederat collega.

XXIV. Secundum triumphum consularia comitia habita. Creati consules L. Furius Purpurio et M.
 2 Claudius Marcellus. Praetores postero die facti Q. Fabius Buteo, Ti. Sempronius Longus, Q. Minucius

¹ duplex centurioni, triplex equiti *Duker*, cf. XXIV. xlv. 3: duplex equiti centurionique *B*.

² tralata *Bekker*: tralati *B*.

¹ He was reported killed in XXXI. xxi. 18, but compare XXXII. xxx. 12.

² This was a conical cap worn by freedmen to mark their release from slavery and by the colonists here to signalize their rescue from captivity.

consul, while still in office, triumphed over the Insubres and Cenomani. In the procession were displayed many standards, much Gallic spoil was carried in captured carts, many noble Gauls were led before his chariot, and some say that Hamilcar¹ the Carthaginian general was among them; but what especially attracted attention was the throng of colonists of Cremona and Placentia, following his car with caps of liberty² upon their heads. He carried in the triumph two hundred and thirty-seven thousand *asses* of bronze, and seventy-nine thousand pieces of coined³ silver; his gifts to the soldiers were seventy *asses* of bronze each, twice that amount to each centurion and thrice to each cavalryman. Quintus Minucius the consul triumphed over the Ligures and Gallic Boi on the Alban Mount. This triumph was of lesser note because of the place where it was held, the gossip about his exploits, and because all knew that the cost of it was taken, not duly requisitioned, from the treasury, but nevertheless in standards and wagons and spoils it almost equalled the other. The amount of money too was about the same: the money carried amounted to two hundred and fifty-four thousand *asses* of bronze, fifty-three thousand two hundred pieces of coined silver; his donatives to his soldiers were the same as his colleague's.

XXIV. After the triumph the consular elections were held. The choice fell on Lucius Furius Purpurio and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. Next day praetors were elected—Quintus Fabius Buteo, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Quintus Minucius

³ These coins (*denarii*) were stamped with a two-horse chariot.

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Thermus, M'. Acilius Glabrio, L. Apustius Fullo,
C. Laelius.

- 3 Exitu ferme anni litterae a T. Quinctio venerunt se
signis collatis cum rege Philippo in Thessalia pugnas-
4 hostium exercitum fustum fugatumque. Hae litterae
prius in senatu a M.¹ Sergio praetore, deinde ex
auctoritate patrum in contione sunt recitatae et ob
res prospere gestas in dies quinque supplicationes
5 decretae. Brevi post legati et ab T. Quinctio et ab
rege Philippo venerunt. Macedones deducti extra
urbem in villam publicam, ibique eis locus et lautia
6 praebita et ad aedem Bellonae senatus datus. Ibi
haud multa verba facta, cum Macedones quodcumque
senatus censuisset id regem facturum esse dicerent.
7 Decem legati more maiorum, quorum ex consilio
T. Quinctius imperator leges pacis Philippo daret,
decreti, adiectumque ut in eo numero legatorum
P. Sulpicius et P. Villius essent, qui consules provin-
ciam Macedoniam obtinuissent.
- 8 Cosanis eo die postulantibus ut sibi colonorum
9 numerus augetur, mille adscribi iussi, dum ne quis
in eo numero esset qui post P. Cornelium et Ti.
Sempronium consules hostis fuisset.

¹ M. *Madvig* : *om. B.*

¹ A residence in the Campus Martius, set aside for the entertainment of foreign ambassadors and other guests of the state.

² A similar request from them in 199 B.C. was denied (XXXII. ii. 7).

BOOK XXXIII. XXIV. 2-9

Thermus, Manius Acilius Glabrio, Lucius Apustius a.o. 197
Fullo, and Gaius Laelius.

About the end of the year a letter arrived from Titus Quinctius, stating that he had met King Philip in pitched battle in Thessaly and that the army of the enemy had been routed and put to flight. This letter was read by Marcus Sergius the praetor, first in the senate, and then, by order of the senate, in the assembly, and by reason of this victory a thanksgiving of five days was decreed. Soon after ambassadors arrived both from Titus Quinctius and from King Philip. The Macedonians were conducted outside the city to the *villa publica*,¹ and were there furnished quarters and hospitality, and were granted an audience before the senate in the temple of Bellona. Their message was brief, to the effect that the king promised to do whatever the senate should have ordered. In the traditional manner, a commission of ten was created, with whose advice Titus Quinctius the commander should determine the conditions of peace for Philip, and a clause was added, providing that Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who as consuls had held the province of Macedonia, should be members of the commission.

The people of Cosa² at this time requested that the number of their colonists be increased; one thousand were ordered to be enrolled, with the proviso that no one should be included in the number who had been engaged in hostilities against the state since the consulship of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius.³

¹ The purpose of this is to exclude the Latins who had revolted during the Second Punic War. Cornelius and Sempronius were consuls in 218 B.C., the first year of that war.

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XXV. Ludi Romani eo anno in circo scaenaque ab aedilibus curulibus P. Cornelio Scipione et Cn. Manlio Volgone et magnificentibus quam alias facti et laetius propter res bello bene gestas spectati, totique ter
2 instaurati. Plebei septiens instaurati; M'. Acilius
3 Glabrio et C. Laelius eos ludos fecerunt; et de argento multatio tria signa aenea, Cererem Liberumque et Liberam, posuerunt.

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4 L. Furius et M. Claudius Marcellus consulatu inito, cum de provinciis ageretur et Italiam utrique provinciam senatus decerneret, ut Macedoniam cum
5 Italia sortirentur tendebant. Marcellus, provinciae cupidior, pacem simulatam ac fallacem dicendo et rebellaturum si exercitus inde deportatus esset regem,
6 dubios sententiae patres fecerat. Et forsitan obtinisset consul, ni Q. Marcius Ralla et C. Atinius Labeo tribuni plebis se intercessuros dixissent, ni prius ipsi ad plebem tulissent vellent iuberentne cum rege
7 Philippo pacem esse. Ea rogatio in Capitolio ad plebem lata est; omnes quinque et triginta tribus
8 "uti rogas" iusserunt. Et quo magis pacem ratam esse in Macedonia vulgo laetarentur, tristis ex Hispania
9 adlatus nuntius effecit vulgataeque litterae "C. Sempronium Tuditanum proconsulem in citeriore Hispania

¹ Theatrical performances had been given as early as 214 B.C. (XXIV. xliii. 7).

² The aediles had police powers, including the right to impose fines: cf. xlii. 10 below.

³ "Uti rogas" ("as you propose") is the regular formula for an affirmative vote.

BOOK XXXIII. xxv. 1-9

XXV. The Roman Games were celebrated that B.C. 197
year in the circus and theatre ¹ by the curule aediles
Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Manlius Volso.
They were celebrated with greater splendour than
at any other time, and were also viewed with greater
joy because of the successes in war, and were thrice
repeated entire. The Plebeian Games were repeated
seven times; Manius Acilius Glabrio and Gaius
Laelius presided over these games, and out of the
money received as fines² they erected three bronze
statues of Ceres and Liber and Libera.

Lucius Furius and Marcus Claudius Marcellus were B.C. 196
duly inaugurated as consuls, and when the question
of the provinces was brought up and the senate
was for decreeing Italy to both consuls, they urged
that they should draw lots for Macedonia along with
Italy. Marcellus, who was more anxious for a
province, by arguing that the peace was a make-
believe and a fiction, and that the king would rebel
once the army was withdrawn from there, unsettled
the minds of the senators. And the consul might
have won his point, had not Quintus Marcius
Ralla and Gaius Atinius Labeo, tribunes of the
people, announced that they would veto any action
if the question was not first referred to the assembly
whether they wished and ordered that peace be made
with King Philip. This motion was then laid before
the people convened on the Capitoline; all the
thirty-five tribes voted "aye."³ And that there
might be more general rejoicing that peace in
Macedonia had been ratified, serious news had come
from Spain, and a letter was read announcing that
"Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus had been defeated in
battle in Nearer Spain, his army routed and put to

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proelio victum, exercitum eius fustum fugatumque, multos illustres viros in acie cecidisse, Tuditanum cum gravi vulnere relatum ex proelio haud ita multo post expirasse." Consulibus ambobus Italia provincia cum iis legionibus quas superiores consules habuissent, decreta, et ut quattuor legiones novas scriberent, duas urbanas, duas quae quo senatus censuisset mit-
10 terentur; et T. Quinctius Flaminius provinciam¹
11 eodem exercitu obtinere iussus; imperium ei pro- rogatum satis iam ante videri esse.

XXVI. Praetores deinde provincias sortiti, L. Apus- tius Fullo urbanam iurisdictionem, M'. Acilius Glabrio inter cives et peregrinos, Q. Fabius Buteo Hispaniam
2 ulteriorem, Q. Minucius Thermus citeriorem, C. Laelius Siciliam, Ti. Sempronius Longus Sardiniam.
3 Q. Fabio Buteoni et Q. Minucio, quibus Hispaniae provinciae evenerant, consules legiones singulas ex
4 quattuor ab se scriptis quas videretur ut darent decretum est et socium ac Latini nominis quaterna milia peditum, trecenos equites; iique primo quoque
5 tempore in provincias ire iussi. Bellum in Hispania quinto post anno motum est quam simul cum Punico bello fuerat² finitum.

6 Priusquam aut³ hi praetores ad bellum prope novum, quia tum primum suo nomine sine ullo Punico exercitu aut duce ad arma ierant, proficiscerentur, aut ipsi consules ab urbe moverent, procurare ut

¹ provinciam *Crévier*: cum duabus legionibus prouinciam *B.*

² fuerat *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om. B.*

³ aut *Weissenborn*: et *B.*

¹ In XXXII. xxviii. 9 it is recorded that his *imperium* was extended until the arrival of an authorized successor.

BOOK XXXIII. xxv. 9-xxvi. 6

flight, that many distinguished men had fallen on the field, and that Tuditanus himself had been carried from the battle severely wounded and had died soon after." Italy was then decreed to both the consuls, with the same legions which the previous consuls had had, and it was further ordered that four new legions be recruited, two to guard the city, two to be sent wherever the senate directed; in addition, that Titus Quinctius Flaminius should hold his province with the same legions: it appeared that the previous prorogation of his *imperium* was sufficient.¹

XXVI. The praetors then drew lots for their provinces: Lucius Apustius Fullo received the city jurisdiction, Manius Acilius Glabrio that between citizens and aliens, Quintus Fabius Buteo Farther Spain, Quintus Minucius Thermus Nearer Spain, Gaius Laelius Sicily, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus Sardinia. A motion was passed that the consuls should transfer to Quintus Fabius Buteo and Quintus Minucius, to whose lots the Spanish provinces had fallen, one each of the four legions enlisted by them, the selection being left to them, and in addition should assign to each four thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry of the allies and the Latin confederacy; the praetors were ordered to leave at once for their provinces. The war in Spain had broken out five years after it had been ended along with the Punic War.

Before either these praetors had left for a war which was virtually new, since this was the first time the Spaniards had taken up arms on their own account and without any Carthaginian army or commander, or even the consuls had departed from the city, they were

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7 adsolet prodigia quae nuntiabantur iussi. P. Villius
 8 equusque exanimati fuerant; aedes Feroniae in
 Capenati de caelo tacta erat; ad Monetae duarum
 hastarum spicula arserant; lupus Esquilina porta
 9 decurrisset, Tusco vico atque inde Cermalo per portam
 Capenam prope intactus evaserat. Haec prodigia
 maioribus hostiis sunt procurata.

XXVII. Iisdem diebus Cn. Cornelius Blasio, qui ante
 C. Sempronium Tuditanum citeriorem Hispaniam
 obtinuerat, ovans ex senatus consulto urbem est
 2 ingressus. Tulit prae se auri mille et quingenta
 quindecim pondo,¹ argenti viginta milia, signati de-
 3 narium triginta quattuor milia et quingentos. L.
 Stertinius ex ulteriore Hispania, ne temptata quidem
 triumphi spe, quinquaginta milia pondo argenti in
 4 aerarium intulit et de manubiis duos fornices in foro
 boario ante Fortunae aedem et matris Matutae, unum
 in maximo circo fecit et his fornicibus signa aurata
 5 inposuit. Haec per hiemem ferme acta.

¹ quindecim pondo *Gronovius*: pondo *B*: pondo quindecim
ed. Moguntina 1518.

¹ This town and sanctuary were in the neighbourhood of Veii.

² The temple, in which the mint was located, stood on the northern summit of the Capitoline.

³ The Esquiline Gate was on the eastern side of the city; the Vicus Tuscus led south from the Forum along the Cermalus, the extension of the Palatine towards the Capitoline; the Appian Way left the city by the Porta Capena.

⁴ See XXXI. l. 11, where he is called Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus.

⁵ Livy does not specify the unit here, but comparison with the next clause suggests that this is silver bullion. The coins

ordered to expiate the prodigies which were reported. B.C. 196
 Publius Villius, a Roman knight, while travelling into the Sabine country, was struck by lightning and he and his horse were killed; the temple of Feronia, in the district of Capena,¹ was struck by lightning; near the temple of Juno Moneta² the points of two spears burst into flame; a wolf entered through the Esquiline Gate, passed through the most crowded part of the city into the Forum, through the Vicus Tuscus and the Cermalus, and escaped almost unharmed by the Porta Capena.³ These prodigies were atoned for with full-grown victims.

XXVII. At the same time Gnaeus Cornelius Blasio,⁴ who had been the predecessor of Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus in the governorship of Nearer Spain, entered the city in ovation by authorization of the senate. He displayed in the procession fifteen hundred and fifteen pounds of gold, twenty thousand pounds⁵ of silver, and thirty-four thousand five hundred *denarii* of coined silver. Lucius Stertinius,⁶ returning from Farther Spain, without even putting in a claim to a triumph, deposited in the treasury fifty thousand pounds of silver, and out of the booty erected two arches in the Forum Boarium in front of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta,⁷ and one in the Circus Maximus, and on these arches he placed gilded statues. These were the events of the winter.

of the following phrase are probably Spanish and comparable in value to the Roman *denarius*.

⁶ He had gone to Spain with Blasio (XXXI. l. 11).

⁷ These may be the well-known temples called by these names and still standing in this region. The arches were probably formal entrances to the temples.

Hibernabat eo tempore Elatiae T. Quinctius, a quo cum multa socii peterent, Boeoti petierunt impetraveruntque ut, qui suae gentis militassent apud
 6 Philippum, sibi restituerentur. Id a Quinctio facile impetratum, non quia satis dignos eos credebat, sed quia Antiocho rege iam suspecto favor conciliandus
 7 nomini Romano apud civitates erat. Restitutis iis confestim apparuit quam nulla inita apud Boeotos gratia esset; nam ad Philippum legatos gratias agentes ei pro redditis hominibus, perinde atque ipsis¹ et non Quinctio et Romanis id datum esset,
 8 miserunt et comitiis proximis Boeotarchen ob nullam aliam causam Brachyllem quendam, quam quod praefectus Boeotorum apud regem militantium fuisset,
 9 fecerunt praeteritis Zeuxippo et Pisistrato aliisque, 10 qui Romanae societatis auctores fuerant. Id aegre et in praesentia hi passi et in futurum etiam metum ceperunt: cum ad portas prope sedente exercitu Romano ea fierent, quidnam se futurum esse profectis
 11 in Italiam Romanis, Philippo ex propinquo socios adiuvante et infesto iis, qui partis adversae fuissent?

XXVIII. Dum Romana arma in propinquo haberent, tollere Brachyllem, principem fautorum regis, statuerunt. Et tempore ad eam rem capto, cum in publico epulatus reverteretur domum temulentus prosequentibus mollibus viris, qui ioci causa convivio celebri

¹ ipsis *Weissenborn*: ipsis iis *B.*

¹ If the text is right as it stands here, Livy implies that Quinctius transmitted to Philip, with his approval, the request, and that the Boeotians ignored his intercession on their behalf.

² A typical Greek coinage, used as the title of the presiding magistrate of a Greek state.

BOOK XXXIII. xxvii. 5-xxviii. 3

Titus Quinctius was at this time wintering at B.C. 196 Elatia, and when the allies were making many requests of him, the Boeotians asked and were permitted to recover their fellow-countrymen who had served with Philip. Quinctius readily granted this, not because he thought they really deserved it, but because in view of the suspicions entertained about King Antiochus he was anxious to win sympathy for the Roman people among the Greek states. When these had been restored, it at once became clear how little gratitude he had won from the Boeotians; for they sent ambassadors to Philip, thanking him for restoring their countrymen, just as if that boon had been granted to them and not to Quinctius and the Romans,¹ and at the next election they chose as Boeotarch² one Brachyllas, for no other reason than that he had commanded the Boeotians who had served with the king, passing over Zeuxippus and Pisistratus and others who had sponsored the alliance with Rome. These men were incensed at this action for the moment and also fearful for the future: since such things happened with the Roman army encamped almost at the gates, what in the world would become of them when the Romans had gone back to Italy, and Philip, from his kingdom near by, was aiding his friends and opposing those who had belonged to the other party?

XXVIII. While they had the Roman army close at hand, they determined to do away with Brachyllas, the principal partisan of the king. They chose for this an occasion when, after a public dinner, he was returning to his home in a drunken state and accompanied by a crowd of effeminate creatures who had been present as entertainers at the crowded dinner.

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interfuerant, ab sex armatis, quorum tres Italici, tres Aetoli erant, circumventus occiditur. Fuga comitum et quiritatio facta et tumultus per totam urbem discurrentium cum luminibus; percussores proxima
 4 porta evaserunt. Luce prima contio frequens velut ex ante indicto aut voce praeconis convocata in theatro erat. Palam ab suo comitatu et obscenis illis viris
 5 fremebant interfectum, animis autem Zeuxippum
 6 auctorem destinabant caedis. In praesentia placuit comprehendi eos qui simul fuissent, quaestionemque
 7 ex iis haberi. Qui dum quaeruntur, Zeuxippus¹ constanti animo avertendi ab se criminis causa in contionem progressus errare ait homines, qui tam atrocem caedem pertinere ad illos semiviros crederent,
 8 multaque in eam partem probabiliter est argumentatus, quibus fidem apud quosdam fecit numquam, si sibi conscius esset, oblaturum se multitudini mentionemve eius caedis nullo lacescente facturum fuisse;
 9 alii non dubitare impudenter² obviam crimini eundo suspicionem averti. Torti post paulo insontes, cum scirent ipsi nihil, opinione omnium pro indicio Zeuxippum et Pisistratum nominaverunt nullo adiecto, cur
 10 scire quicquam viderentur, argumento. Zeuxippus tamen cum Stratonida quodam nocte perfugit Tanagram, suam magis conscientiam quam indicium
 11 hominum nullius rei consciorum metuens; Pisistratus

¹ Zeuxippus *Hertz*: Zeuxippus et *B.*² impudenter *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: inprudenter *B.*

He was set upon by six armed men, of whom three B.C. 196 were Italians and three Aetolians, and killed. His companions scattered; there was a search and the noise of guards with torches hurrying through the whole city; the assassins escaped by the nearest gate. At daybreak there was a full assembly in the theatre, as if at a meeting called in advance or summoned by the voice of a herald. Openly the cry was that he had been killed by his own suite and the degenerates who were with him, but in their thoughts they pointed to Zeuxippus as instigator of the murder. For the time being, it was voted that the men who were with him should be arrested and questioned. While they were being examined, Zeuxippus, with ready courage, in order to divert suspicion from himself, came into the assembly, and declared that those men were mistaken who put the responsibility for so cruel a murder upon those eunuchs, and he put forth many plausible arguments to that effect, and by these he created the assurance in some that, if he had felt any sense of guilt, he would never have exposed himself to the crowd or made any reference to this murder without being called upon to do so; others had no doubt that he was shamelessly trying to avert suspicion by volunteering to meet the charge. A little later the innocent witnesses were tortured, and, knowing nothing themselves, mentioned Zeuxippus and Pisistratus, treating as evidence the general suspicion, but citing no proof to show that they had any knowledge of the affair. Zeuxippus, nevertheless, and a certain Stratonidas fled to Tanagra by night, fearing his own conscience more than the testimony of men who knew nothing about the crime; Pisistratus paid no attention to

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spretis indicibus Thebis mansit. Servus erat Zeuxippi, totius internuntius et minister rei, quem indicem Pisistratus timens eo ipso timore¹ ad indicium protraxit. Litteras ad Zeuxippum mittit ut servum
 12 conscium tolleret: non tam idoneum ad celandam rem eum videri sibi quam ad agendam fuerit. Has qui tulerat litteras iussus Zeuxippo dare quam primum,
 13 quia non statim conveniendi eius copia fuit, illi ipsi servo, quem ex omnibus domino fidissimum credebat, tradit et adicit a Pisistrato de re magno opere perti-
 14 nente ad Zeuxippum esse. Conscientia ictus, cum extemplo traditurum eas affirmasset, aperit perlectisque litteris pavidus Thebas refugit et ad magis-
 15 tratus indicium defert. Et Zeuxippus quidem fuga servi motus Anthedonem, tutiorem exilio locum ratus, concessit; de Pisistrato aliisque quaestiones tormentis habitae et sumptum supplicium est.

XXIX. Efferavit ea caedes Thebanos Boeotosque omnes ad execrabile odium Romanorum, credentes non sine consilio imperatoris Romani Zeuxippum, principem gentis, id facinus conscisse. Ad rebellan-
 2 dum neque vires neque ducem habebant; proximum bello quod erat, in latrocinium versi alios in hospitibus, alios vagos per hiberna milites ad varios commeantes
 3 usus excipiebant. Quidam in ipsis itineribus ad notas

¹ timore *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: timore rem *B.*

¹ The meaning appears to be that Pisistratus, by advising Zeuxippus to do away with the slave, thereby brought about the very thing he was trying to prevent, viz., the giving of testimony by the slave, since the latter, learning the substance of the message, took steps to protect himself. This seems a more natural interpretation of *protraxit* than to translate

the witnesses and remained in Thebes. Zeuxippus B.C. 196 had a slave, the go-between and agent in the whole affair, and fearing him as an informer, Pisistratus, by reason of that very fear, brought him forth to give evidence.¹ He sent word to Zeuxippus advising him to get rid of the slave who was his accomplice: he seemed to him, he said, less skilful in concealing an act than in performing it. The messenger had orders to deliver this letter to Zeuxippus as soon as possible, but being unable to find him at once, he gave it to that very same slave, whom he believed to be most faithful to his master of all the slaves, adding that it came from Pisistratus and contained information of the greatest interest to Zeuxippus. The slave, conscious of guilt, promised to deliver it at once, but opened it and having read it fled in terror to Thebes and laid his testimony before the magistrates. And Zeuxippus, frightened at the flight of his slave, retired to Anthedon, thinking it a safer place of exile; Pisistratus and others were examined under torture and executed.

XXIX. This murder roused the Thebans and all the Boeotians to a frenzy of hatred against the Romans, for they thought that Zeuxippus, a leading man in the state, would not have committed such a crime without the cognizance of the Roman commander. They had neither army nor leader for a rebellion; turning to what was most like war, to brigandage, they cut off some soldiers in the taverns, others as they travelled about on various errands during the winter season. Some on the public highways were lured by decoys into planned

¹ "summoned," "haled into court," or "caused to turn state's evidence."

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latebras ab insidiantibus, pars in deserta per fraudem
 4 deversoria deducti opprimebantur; postremo non
 tantum ab odio sed etiam aviditate praedae ea facinora
 fiebant, quia negotiandi ferme causa argentum in
 5 zonis habentes in com meatibus erant. Cum primo
 pauci, deinde in dies plures desiderarentur, infamis
 esse Boeotia omnis coepit, et timidius quam in hostico
 6 egredi castris miles. Tum Quinctius legatos ad
 quaerendum de latrociniis per civitates mittit. Pluri-
 mae caedes circa Copaidem paludem inventae; ibi
 ex limo eruta extractaque ex stagno cadavera saxis
 aut amphoris, ut pondere traherentur in profundum,
 adnexa; multa facinora Acraephae et Coroneae facta
 7 inveniebantur. Quinctius primo noxios tradi sibi
 iussit et pro quingentis militibus—tot enim interempti
 8 erant—quingenta talenta Boeotos conferre. Quorum
 neutrum cum fieret, verbis tantum civitates excusarent
 nihil publico consilio factum esse, missis Athenas et
 in Achaiam legatis, qui testarentur socios iusto pioque
 9 se bello persecuturum Boeotos, et cum parte copiarum
 Ap. Claudio Acraephiam ire iusso ipse cum parte
 Coroneam circumsidit vastatis prius agris qua ab
 10 Elatia duo diversa agmina iere. Hac percussi clade
 Boeoti, cum omnia terrore ac fuga completa essent,
 legatos mittunt. Qui cum in castra non admitterentur

ambushes, some were brought by trickery to deserted inns and killed; finally, such crimes were committed not only from hatred, but also from greed of booty, because the soldiers who were usually travelling on business had money in their purses on their journeys. While at first the losses were small, but then grew larger day by day, all Boeotia began to have a bad name, and the soldiers were more afraid to leave camp than if they were in hostile territory. Then Quinctius sent agents among the cities to inquire into the charges of robbery. Most of the murders, it was found, had been committed around the Copaic swamp; there bodies were dug out of the muck and drawn from the marshes, with stones or jugs fastened to them so that the weight might drag them deeper into the mire; many other crimes were found to have been committed at Acraephia and Coronea. Quinctius at first ordered the criminals to be delivered to him by the Boeotians and a fine paid of five hundred talents for the five hundred soldiers, for so many had been killed. When the cities obeyed neither order, but merely made the verbal excuse that no act had been committed with official sanction, having sent ambassadors to Athens and into Achaëa, to call the allies to witness that he was about to wage lawful and rightful war upon the Boeotians, he ordered Appius Claudius to proceed against Acraephia with part of the forces and himself with another detachment invested Coronea, after first devastating the country through which both columns marched from Elatia. The Boeotians, dismayed by this calamity, when the whole region was filled with terror and flight, sent ambassadors. When these were not admitted to the camp, the

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- 11 Achaei Atheniensesque supervenerunt. Plus auctori-
tatis Achaei habuerunt deprecantes quia, ni impetras-
sent pacem Boeotis bellum simul gerere decreverant.
12 Per Achaeos et Boeotis copia adeundi adloquendique
Romanum facta est iussisque tradere noxios et multae
nomine triginta conferre talenta pax data et ab
oppugnatione recessum.

XXX. Paucos post dies decem legati ab Roma
venerunt, quorum ex consilio pax data Philippo in
2 has leges est, ut omnes Graecorum civitates, quae in
Europa quaeque in Asia essent, libertatem ac suas
haberent leges; quae earum sub ditione Philippi
fuissent, praesidia ex iis Philippus deduceret vacuasque
3 traderet Romanis ante Isthmiorum tempus; dedu-
ceret et ¹ ex iis, quae in Asia essent, Euromo Peda-
sisque et Bargyliis et Iaso et Myrina et Abydo et Thaso
4 et Perintho: eas quoque enim placere liberas esse;
de Cianorum libertate Quinctium Prusiae, Bithynorum
regi, scribere, quid senatui et decem legatis placuisset;
5 captivos transfugasque reddere Philippum Romanis
et naves omnes tectas tradere praeter quinque et
regiam unam inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam
6 sedecim versus remorum agebant; ne plus quinque
milia armatorum haberet neve elephantum ullum;
bellum extra Macedoniae fines ne iniussu senatus
7 gereret; mille talentum daret populo Romano, dimi-

¹ deduceret et *Kreyssig*: duceret ut *B*.

¹ This is the probable meaning, though the Latin is obscure.

² In XXXII. xxxiv. 6 Philip asserts that he aided Prusias to capture this town; Polybius (XV. xxii), on the other hand, says that Philip took it. Livy's accounts are at least consistent with one another.

³ The last two clauses are omitted by Polybius (XVIII. xlv), and seem not to have been observed.

Achaean and Athenian arrived. The pleas of the Achaean had more weight, because, if they did not obtain peace for the Boeotians, they had decided to join the war upon them.¹ Through the Achaean an opportunity was gained for the Boeotians to visit and address the Roman, and they were ordered to hand over the criminals and pay thirty talents by way of fine, and were granted peace and the discontinuance of the siege. B.C. 196

XXX. A few days later the ten commissioners arrived from Rome, and with their approval peace was granted to Philip on these terms: that all the Greek cities which were in Europe or in Asia should enjoy their liberty and laws; that, whatever cities had been under the sway of Philip, from these Philip should withdraw his garrisons and should hand them over to the Romans, free of his troops, before the time of the Isthmian Games; that he should withdraw also from the following cities in Asia: Euromum and Pedasa and Bargyliae and Iasus and Myrina and Abydus and Thasos and Perinthus (for it was determined that these too should be free); that, regarding the liberation of the Ciani, Quinctius should write to Prusias, king of Bithynia, the decision of the senate and the ten commissioners;² that Philip should turn over to the Romans the prisoners and deserters, all his warships except five, and one royal galley of almost unmanageable size, which was propelled by sixteen tiers of oars; that he should have a maximum of five thousand soldiers and no elephants at all; that he should wage no war outside Macedonia without the permission of the senate;³ that he should pay to the Roman people an indemnity of one thousand talents, half at

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dium praesens, dimidium pensionibus decem annorum.
 8 Valerius Antias quaternum milium pondo argenti
 vectigal in decem annos impositum regi tradit;
 Claudius in annos triginta quaterna milia pondo et
 9 ducena,¹ in praesens² viginti milia pondo. Idem
 nominatim adiectum scribit, ne cum Eumene Attali
 10 filio—novus is tum rex erat—bellum gereret. In
 haec obsides accepti, inter quos Demetrius Philippi
 filius. Adicit Antias Valerius Attalo absentem Aeginam
 11 insulam elephantosque dono datos et Rhodiis Stratoni-
 ceam Cariaeque alias urbes quas Philippus tenuisset;
 Atheniensibus insulas datas Parum, Imbrum, Delum,
 Scyrum.

XXXI. Omnibus Graeciae civitatibus hanc pacem
 approbantibus soli Aetoli decretum decem legatorum
 2 clam mussantes carpebant; litteras inanes vana specie
 libertatis adumbratas esse; cur enim alias Romanis
 tradi urbes nec nominari eas, alias nominari et sine
 3 traditione liberas iuberi esse, nisi quod, quae in Asia
 sint, liberentur, longinquitate ipsa tutiores, quae in
 Graecia sint, ne nominatae quidem intercipientur,
 Corinthus et Chalcis et Oreus cum Eretria et Deme-
 4 triade? Nec tota ex vano criminatio erat. Dubita-
 batur enim de Corintho et Chalcide et Demetriade,
 quia in senatus consulto, quo missi decem legati ab
 urbe erant, ceterae Graeciae atque Asiae urbes haud
 5 dubie liberabantur, de iis tribus urbibus legati, quod

¹ ducena *Weissenborn*: ducentum *B.*

² in praesens *Madvig*: praesens *B.*

¹ The talent is calculated to be the equivalent of eighty Roman pounds, so that the figures here given vary a good deal. Livy's account is that of Polybius (XVIII. xlv).

once and half in ten annual instalments. Valerius B.O. 196
Antias states that a tribute of four thousand pounds of silver annually for ten years was imposed upon the king; Claudius fixes the payments at four thousand two hundred pounds annually for thirty years and twenty thousand pounds immediately.¹ The same writer mentions an explicit provision that he should not wage war with Eumenes, son of Attalus—he was the new king there. Hostages were taken to insure performance, among them Demetrius, the son of Philip. Valerius Antias adds that the island of Aegina and the elephants were presented as a gift to Attalus, who was absent, that the Rhodians were given Stratonicea and other cities in Caria which Philip had held, and the Athenians the islands of Paros, Imbros, Delos, and Scyros.

XXXI. While all the Greek cities approved this settlement, only the Aetolians with secret grumblings criticized the decision of the ten commissioners: mere words had been trimmed up with the empty show of liberty; why were some cities delivered to the Romans without being named, others specified and ordered to be free without such delivery, unless the purpose was that those which were in Asia, being more secure by reason of their remoteness, should be set free, but those which were in Greece, not being named, should become Roman property, to wit, Corinth and Chalcis and Oreus along with Eretria and Demetrias? Their complaint was not altogether groundless. For there was some uncertainty with respect to Corinth and Chalcis and Demetrias, because in the decree of the senate, under which the ten commissioners were sent from Rome, the other cities of Greece and Asia were beyond question set free, but regarding these three

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tempora rei publicae postulassent, id e re publica
6 fideque sua facere ac statuere iussi erant. Antiochus
rex erat, quem transgressurum in Europam, cum
primum ei vires suae satis placuissent, non dubita-
bant; ei tam opportunas ad occupandum patere urbes
7 nolebant. Ab Elatia profectus Quinctius Anticyram
cum decem legatis, inde Corinthum traiecit. Ibi
consilia de libertate Graeciae dies prope totos in
8 concilio decem legatorum agitabantur. Identidem
Quinctius liberandam omnem Graeciam, si Aetolorum
linguas retundere, si veram caritatem ac maiestatem
9 apud omnes nominis Romani vellent esse, si fidem
facere ad liberandam Graeciam non ad transferendum
10 a Philippo ad se imperium sese mare traiecisse. Nihil
contra ea de libertate urbium alii dicebant; ceterum
ipsis tutius esse manere paulisper sub tutela praesidii
Romani quam pro Philippo Antiochum dominum
11 accipere. Postremo ita decretum est: Corinthus
redderetur Achaeis, ut in Acrocorintho tamen praesi-
dium esset; Chalcidem ac Demetriadem retineri
donec cura de Antiocho decessisset.

XXXII. Isthmiorum statum ludicrum aderat, sem-
per quidem et alias frequens cum propter spectaculi
studium insitum genti, quo certamina omnis generis
2 artium viriumque et pernicitatis visuntur, tum quia

cities the commissioners were instructed to take such action as the public interest should have proved to demand, in accordance with the general good and their own sense of honour. There was King Antiochus, who, there was no doubt, would invade Europe as soon as his forces seemed adequate; they did not wish to leave these cities, so favourably located, open to his occupancy. Quinctius with the ten commissioners moved from Elatia to Anticyra and thence to Corinth. There plans for the liberation of Greece were discussed almost every day at meetings of the ten commissioners. Quinctius urged repeatedly that all Greece should be set free, if they wished to stop the muttering of the Aetolians and to create genuine affection and respect for the Roman name among all the Greeks, and if they wished to convince them that they had crossed the sea to liberate Greece and not to transfer dominion from Philip to themselves. The others said nothing opposed to this as regards the freedom of the cities, but they believed it safer for the Greeks themselves to remain for a while under the protection of Roman garrisons than to receive Antiochus as lord in place of Philip. Finally, this decision was reached: Corinth should be given over to the Achaeans, a garrison, however, to be retained in Acrocorinthus; Chalcis and Demetrias should be held until the anxiety about Antiochus should have passed.

XXXII. The appointed time of the Isthmian Games was at hand, a spectacle always, even on other occasions, attended by crowds, on account of the fondness, native to the race, for exhibitions in which there are trials of skill in every variety of art as well as of strength and swiftness of foot; moreover, they came because, on account of the favourable situation of the place, lying

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propter opportunitatem loci, per duo diversa maria
 omnium rerum usus ministrantis humano generi,
 3 concilium Asiae Graeciaeque is mercatus erat; tum
 vero non ad solitos modo usus undique convenerant,
 sed expectatione erecti, qui deinde status futurus
 Graeciae, quae sua fortuna esset; alii alia non taciti
 solum opinabantur, sed sermonibus etiam ferebant
 Romanos facturos; vix cuiquam persuadebatur Graecia
 4 omni cessuros. Ad spectaculum consederant, et
 praeco cum tubicine, ut mos est, in mediam aream,
 unde sollempni carmine ludicrum indici solet, processit
 5 et tuba silentio facto ita pronuntiat: "Senatus
 Romanus et T. Quinctius imperator Philippo rege
 Macedonibusque devictis liberos, immunes, suis legi-
 bus esse iubet Corinthios, Phocenses, Locrensesque
 omnes et insulam Euboeam et Magnetas, Thessalos,
 6 Perrhaebos, Achaeos Phthiotas." Percensuerat omnes
 gentes quae sub ditione Philippi regis fuerant. Audita
 voce praeconis maius gaudium fuit quam quod univer-
 7 sum homines acciperent. Vix satis credere se quisque
 audisse, et alii alios intueri mirabundi velut ad somni
 vanam speciem; quod ad quemque pertinebat, suarum
 aurium fidei minimum credentes, proximos interro-
 8 gabant. Revocatus praeco, cum unusquisque non
 audire modo sed videre libertatis suae nuntium averet,
 9 iterum pronuntiavit eadem. Tum ab certo iam

between the two opposite seas and furnishing mankind B.C. 196 with abundance of all wares, the market was a meeting-place for Asia and Greece. But at this time they had assembled from all quarters not only for the usual purposes, but especially because they were consumed with wonder what thenceforth the state of Greece would be, and what their own condition; they not only had their own silent thoughts, some believing one thing and others another, but discussed openly what the Romans would do; almost no one was convinced that they would withdraw from all Greece. They had taken their seats at the games and the herald with the trumpeter, as is the custom, had come forth into the midst of the arena, where the games are regularly opened with a ritual chant, and proclaiming silence with a trumpet-call, the herald read the decree: "The Roman senate and Titus Quinctius, *imperator*, having conquered King Philip and the Macedonians, declare to be free, independent, and subject to their own laws, the Corinthians, the Phocians, all the Locrians, the island of Euboea, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, the Perrhaebians, and the Phthiotic Achaeans." He had named all the states which had been subject to King Philip. When the herald's voice was heard there was rejoicing greater than men could grasp in its entirety. They could scarce believe that they had heard aright, and they looked at one another marvelling as at the empty vision of a dream; they asked their neighbours what concerned each one, unwilling to trust the evidence of their own ears. The herald was recalled, each one desiring not only to hear but to behold the man who brought the tidings of his freedom, and again the herald read the same decree. Then, when the ground

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gaudio tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus totiensque
 repetitus, ut facile appareret nihil omnium bonorum
 10 multitudini gratius quam libertatem esse. Ludicrum
 deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi
 nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent; adeo unum
 gaudium praeoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum
 voluptatum.

XXXIII. Ludis vero dimissis cursu prope omnes
 2 tendere ad imperatorem Romanum, ut ruente turba
 in unum adire, contingere dextram cupientium,
 coronas lemniscosque iacientium haud procul periculo
 3 fuerit. Sed erat trium ferme et triginta annorum,
 et cum robur iuventae tum gaudium ex tam insigni
 4 gloriae fructu vires suppeditabat. Nec praesens tan-
 tummodo effusa est laetitia, sed per multos dies gratis
 5 et cogitationibus et sermonibus renovata: esse aliquam
 in terris gentem quae sua inpena, suo labore ac
 6 periculo bella gerat pro libertate aliorum nec hoc
 finitimis aut propinquae vicinitatis hominibus aut
 7 terris continentibus iunctis praestet, sed maria trai-
 ciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum iniustum imperium
 sit, ubique ius, fas, lex potentissima sint. Una voce
 praeconis liberatas omnis Graeciae atque Asiae urbes;
 8 hoc spe concipere audacis animi fuisse, ad effectum
 adducere et virtutis et fortunae ingentis.

XXXIV. Secundum Isthmia Quinctius et decem
 2 legati legationes regum gentiumque audivere. Primi
 omnium regis Antiochi vocati legati sunt. Iis eadem

¹ Valerius Maximus (IV. viii. 5) naïvely says that the loud and prolonged shouting produced air-pockets into which the birds flying above the arena dropped!

for their joy was certain, such a storm of applause B.C. 196 began and was so often repeated¹ that it was easily apparent that of all blessings none pleases a throng more than liberty. The contests were then rapidly finished, no man's eyes or thoughts being fixed upon the sight; joy alone had so completely replaced their perception of all other delightful things.

XXXIII. When the games were over, almost everyone rushed towards the Roman commander, so that he was endangered by the crowd that rushed to one place, desiring to draw near him, to touch his hand, and showering garlands and chaplets upon him. But he was only about thirty-three years old, and both the vigour of youth and the joy he felt at so remarkable a reward of fame gave him strength. Nor did the rejoicing spend itself at once, but was renewed for many days in thoughts and expressions of gratitude: there was one people in the world which would fight for others' liberties at its own cost, to its own peril and with its own toil, not limiting its guaranties of freedom to its neighbours, to men of the immediate vicinity, or to countries that lay close at hand, but ready to cross the sea that there might be no unjust empire anywhere and that everywhere justice, right, and law might prevail. By the single voice of a herald, they said, all the cities of Greece and Asia had been set free; to conceive hopes of any such thing as this required a bold mind; to bring it to pass was the proof of immense courage and good fortune as well.

XXXIV. After the Isthmian Games Quinctius and the ten commissioners received the embassies from the kings and states. First of all, the representatives of King Antiochus were summoned. As they made about the same deceptive speech that they had

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fere quae Romae egerant verba sine fide rerum iactan-
 3 tibus nihil iam perplexe, ut ante, cum dubiae res
 incolumi Philippo erant, sed aperte denuntiatum, ut
 excederet Asiae urbibus, quae Philippi aut Ptolomaei
 regum fuissent, abstineret liberis civitatibus, neu
 quam¹ lacesseret armis: et in pace et in libertate
 4 esse debere omnes ubique Graecas urbes. Ante omnia
 denuntiatum ne in Europam aut ipse transiret aut
 5 copias traiceret. Dimissis regis legatis conventus
 civitatum gentiumque est haberi coeptus; eoque
 maturius peragebatur, quod decreta decem legatorum
 6 in civitates² nominatim pronuntiabantur. Orestis—
 Macedonum ea gens est—quod primi ab rege defecis-
 sent, suae leges redditae. Magnetes et Perrhaebi et
 7 Dolopes liberi quoque pronuntiati. Thessalorum genti
 praeter libertatem concessam Achaei Phthiotae dati,
 Thebis Phthioticis et Pharsalo excepta. Aetolos de
 Pharsalo et Leucade postulantes ut ex foedere sibi
 8 restituerentur ad senatum reiecerunt. Phocenses
 Locrensesque, sicut ante fuerant, adiecta decreti
 9 auctoritate iis contribuerunt. Corinthus et Triphylia
 et Heraea—Peloponnesi et ipsa urbs est—reddita
 10 Achaeis. Oreum et Eretriam decem legati Eumeni
 regi, Attali filio, dabant dissentiente Quinctio; ea
 una res in arbitrium senatus reiecta est; senatus
 libertatem his civitatibus dedit Carysto adiecta.

¹ neu quam *Madvig*: ne umquam *B.*² in civitates *Crévier*: ciuitates *B.*

previously made at Rome, no ambiguous answer was B.C. 196
 now given, as on the former occasion, when the future was uncertain and Philip was unconquered, but clear warning was given him, to withdraw from the cities in Asia which had belonged to King Philip or King Ptolemy, to keep his hands off the free states and molest none of them in war: all the Greek cities everywhere must enjoy both peace and liberty. Before all, he was warned not to cross to Europe in person nor to send troops there. After the departure of the king's ambassadors, a council of the cities and states began, and its work was accomplished the more speedily because the decisions of the ten commissioners were addressed to the states by name. To the Orestae—that is a tribe of the Macedonians—their own laws were restored, because they had been the first to revolt against the king. The Magnesians, Perrhaebians, and Dolopians were likewise declared free. The Thessalian people, in addition to receiving their liberty, were granted the Phthiotic Achaeans with the exception of Phthiotic Thebes and Pharsalus. The Aetolians demanded that Pharsalus and Leucas should be restored to them in accordance with the treaty, and their petition was referred to the senate. The Phocians and the Locrians were annexed to them, as they had formerly been, the sanction of a decree having been added, Corinth and Triphylia and Heraea—this too is a city in the Peloponnesus—were given back to the Achaeans. Oreus and Eretria the ten commissioners gave to King Eumenes, the son of Attalus, despite the protests of Quinctius; this one question was referred to the decision of the senate; the senate bestowed freedom upon these states, with the addition of Carystus. Lychnidus

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11 Pleurato Lychnidus et Parthini dati; Illyriorum
utraque gens sub ditione Philippi fuerant. Amynan-
drum tenere iusserunt castella quae per belli tempus
Philippo capta ademisset.

XXXV. Dimisso conventu decem legati, partiti munia
inter se, ad liberandas suae quisque regionis civitates
2 discesserunt, P. Lentulus Bargylas, L. Stertinius
Hephaestiam et Thasum et Thraeciae urbes, P. Villius
et L. Terentius ad regem Antiochum, Cn. Cornelius
3 ad Philippum. Qui¹ de minoribus rebus editis man-
datis percunctatus, si consilium non utile solum sed
4 etiam salutare admittere auribus posset, cum rex
gratias quoque se acturum diceret, si quid quod in
5 rem suam esset expromeret, magno opere ei suavit,
quoniam pacem impetrasset, ad societatem amici-
6 tiamque petendam mitteret Romam legatos, ne, si
quid Antiochus moveret, expectasse et temporum
opportunitates captasse ad rebellandum videri posset.
7 Ad Tempe Thessalica Philippus est conventus. Qui
cum se missurum extemplo legatos respondisset,
8 Cornelius Thermopylas, ubi frequens Graeciae statis
diebus esse solet conventus—Pylaicum² appellant—
9 venit; Aetolos praecipue monuit constanter et fideliter
10 in amicitia populi Romani permanerent. Aetolorum
principes alii leniter questi sunt quod non idem erga
suam gentem Romanorum animus esset post victoriam
11 qui in bello fuisset, alii ferocius incusarunt expo-

¹ qui *Gronovius* : cui *B*.

² conventus—Pylaicum *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : Pylai con-
ventus *B* : conventus, Phylaicum *ed. Moguntina* 1518.

¹ For the Pylaic Council and its possible identity with the
Amphictyonic Council, see XXXI. xxxii, 3 and the note.

and the Parthini were given to Pleuratus; both of B.C. 196 these Illyrian states had been under the control of Philip. They directed Amynder to hold the forts which he had taken from Philip during the period of the war.

XXXV. After the dismissal of the council the ten commissioners, dividing up the tasks among themselves, went their several ways, each to liberate the cities in his own territory. Publius Lentulus went to Bargyliae, Lucius Stertinius to Hephaestia and Thasos and the cities of Thrace, Publius Villius and Lucius Terentius to King Antiochus, Gnaeus Cornelius to Philip. He, after performing the less important tasks assigned him, asked the king whether he was disposed to listen to advice that was both sound and profitable. When the king replied that he would receive it gratefully, if he suggested anything advantageous to him, Cornelius urged him earnestly, now that he had been granted peace, to send ambassadors to Rome to ask for a treaty of alliance and friendship, lest, if Antiochus made any disturbance, he might seem to have dallied and to have watched for an opportunity to revolt. The meeting with Philip took place at Thessalian Tempe. When he had replied that he would at once send ambassadors, Cornelius went to Thermopylae, where a full meeting of the states of Greece is held on stated days—they call this the Pylaic council;¹ the Aetolians especially he advised to abide resolutely and faithfully by the alliance with the Roman people. Some of the Aetolian leaders complained mildly that the attitude of the Romans towards their people was not the same after their victory as it had been during the war, others more loudly reproached and taunted them, saying

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braruntque non modo vinci sine Aetolis Philippum, sed ne transire quidem in Graeciam Romanos potuisse. 12 Adversus ea respondere, ne in altercationem excederet res, cum supersedisset Romanus, omnia eos aequa impetraturos si Romam misissent dixit. Itaque ex auctoritate eius decreti legati sunt. Hunc finem bellum cum Philippo habuit.

XXXVI. Cum haec in Graecia Macedoniaque et Asia gererentur, Etruriam infestam prope coniuratio 2 servorum fecit. Ad quaerendam opprimendamque eam M'. Acilius Glabrio praetor, cui inter cives peregrinosque iurisdictio obtigerat, cum una ex duabus legione urbana est missus, alios . . . ,¹ alios iam² congregatos pugnando vicit; ex his multi occisi, multi 3 capti; alios verberatos crucibus adfixit, qui principes coniurationis fuerant, alios dominis restituit.

4 Consules in provincias profecti sunt. Marcellum Boiorum ingressum fines fatigato per diem totum milite via facienda castra in tumulo quodam ponentem Corolamus quidam, regulus Boiorum, cum magna 5 manu adortus ad tria milia hominum occidit; et illustres viri aliquot in illo tumultuario proelio ceciderunt, inter quos praefecti socium T. Sempronius Gracchus et M. Iunius Silanus et tribuni militum de 6 legione secunda M. Ogulnius et P. Claudius. Castra tamen ab Romanis impigre permunita retentaque, cum hostes prospera pugna elati nequiquam oppugnas- 7 sent. Stativis deinde iisdem per dies aliquot sese

¹ *lacunam indic. Madvig.*

² *alios iam Madvig: iam B.*

¹ This is a guess at the meaning of the lost text.

that Philip could not have been conquered without B.C. 196
 the Aetolians, and, more than that, the Romans could not even have crossed to Greece. The Roman, after declining to reply to this, lest the argument degenerate into a quarrel, said that they would obtain full justice if they appealed to Rome. Therefore, on his suggestion, ambassadors were decided upon. This was the end of the war with Philip.

XXXVI. While these events were taking place in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia, a slave insurrection rendered Etruria almost a battle-field. Manius Acilius Glabrio, the praetor exercising jurisdiction in cases between citizens and aliens, was sent with one of the two city legions to investigate and suppress it, and destroyed part of them, cutting them off in detail,¹ part of them by encountering them in a body; many of them were killed and many captured; some, who had been the instigators of the revolt, he scourged and crucified, others he turned over to their masters.

The consuls departed to their provinces. As Marcellus was entering the territory of the Boi, and was pitching camp on a certain hill, his troops being exhausted by building roads all the day, a chieftain of the Boi, Corolamus by name, fell upon him with a large force and killed about three thousand of his men; some distinguished men fell in that surprise attack, among them Titus Sempronius Gracchus and Marcus Iunius Silanus, commanders of allied detachments, and Marcus Ogulnius and Publius Claudius, military tribunes of the second legion. The camp, however, was strongly fortified and stubbornly held by the Romans, when the enemy, elated by their victory, had assaulted it in vain. Forsomedaysafterthat he remained in the same camp, while he was treating the wounded

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tenuit, dum et saucios curaret et a tanto¹ terrore
 8 animos militum reficeret. Boi, ut est gens minime
 ad morae taedium ferendum patiens, in castella sua
 9 vicosque passim dilapsi sunt. Marcellus Pado con-
 festim traiecto in agrum Comensem, ubi Insubres
 Comensibus ad arma excitis castra habebant, legiones
 ducit. Galli, feroces Boiorum ante dies paucos pugna,
 in ipso itinere proelium committunt; et primo adeo
 10 acriter invaserunt ut antesignanos impulerint. Quod
 ubi Marcellus animadvertit, veritus ne moti semel
 pellerentur, cohortem Marsorum cum opposuisset,
 equitum Latinorum omnes turmas in hostem emisit.
 11 Quorum cum primus secundusque impetus rettudisset
 inferentem se ferociter hostem, confirmata et reliqua
 acies Romana restitit primo, deinde signa acriter
 12 intulit. Nec ultra sustinere certamen Galli quin
 13 terga verterent atque effuse fugerent. In eo proelio
 supra quadraginta milia hominum caesa Valerius
 Antias scribit, octoginta² septem signa militaria
 capta et carpenta septingenta triginta duo et aureos
 torques multos, ex quibus unum magni ponderis
 Claudius in Capitolio Iovi donum in aede positum
 14 scribit. Castra eo die Gallorum expugnata direpta-
 que, et Comum oppidum post dies paucos captum.
 Castella inde duodetriginta ad consulem defecerunt.
 15 Id quoque inter scriptores ambigitur, utrum in
 Boios prius an Insubres consul exercitum duxerit
 adversamque prospera pugna oblitteraverit, an victoria
 ad Comum parta deformata clade in Bois accepta
 sit.

XXXVII. Sub haec tam varia fortuna gesta L.

¹ a tanto *Gronovius*: tanto *B*.

² octoginta *Kreyssig*: octingenta *B*.

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and restoring the courage of his men after so serious an alarm. The Boi—a people intolerant of the tiresomeness of delay—gradually dispersed to their forts and towns. Marcellus quickly crossed the Po and led the legions into the district of Comum, where the Insubres were encamped after calling the Comenses to arms. The Gauls, encouraged by the success of the Boi a few days before, attacked while still in march formation, and their first charge was so vigorous that it drove in the Roman front line. When Marcellus observed this and feared that once broken they would be routed, he threw in a cohort of the Marsi and then sent all the squadrons of the Latin cavalry against the enemy. Their first and second charges dulled the edge of the enemy's spirited attack, and the rest of the Roman line, with renewed courage, first resisted and then charged fiercely. The Gauls did not continue the contest longer, but turned and fled in all directions. Valerius Antias writes that more than forty thousand men perished in that battle, and that eighty-seven standards were taken and seven hundred and thirty-two wagons and many necklaces of gold, one of which, of great weight, Claudius says was deposited in the temple on the Capitoline as a gift to Jupiter. The Gallic camp was captured and plundered that day, and the town of Comum was taken a few days later. After that, twenty-eight strongholds went over to the consul. This question, too, is debated by the writers, whether the consul led his army against the Boi first or the Insubres, and whether the victory wiped out the memory of the defeat or the success gained at Comum was marred by the defeat among the Boi.

XXXVII. During this period of alternating fortunes the other consul Lucius Furius Purpurio

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Furius Purpurio alter consul per tribum Sapiniam in
 2 Boios venit. Iam castro Mutilo appropinquabat cum,
 veritus ne intercluderetur simul a Bois Liguribusque,
 exercitum eadem via qua adduxerat reduxit et magno
 3 circuitu per aperta eoque tuta loca ad collegam per-
 venit. Inde iunctis exercitibus primum Boiorum
 agrum usque ad Felsinam oppidum populantes per-
 4 agraverunt. Ea urbs ceteraque circa castella et Boi
 fere omnes praeter iuventutem, quae praedandi causa
 in armis erat—tunc in devias silvas recesserat—in
 deditionem venerunt. In Ligures inde traductus
 5 exercitus. Boi negligentius coactum agmen Romano-
 rum, quia ipsi procul abesse viderentur, improvise
 aggressuros se rati per occultos saltus secuti sunt.
 6 Quos non adepti, Pado repente navibus traiecto
 Laevos Libuosque cum pervastassent, redeuntes inde
 per Ligurum extremos fines cum agresti praeda in
 7 agmen incidunt Romanum. Proelium celerius acrius-
 que commissum quam si tempore locoque ad certamen
 8 destinato praeparatis animis concurrissent. Ibi, quan-
 tam vim ad stimulandos animos ira haberet, apparuit;
 nam ita caedis magis quam victoriae avidi pugnarunt
 Romani, ut vix nuntium cladis hosti relinquerent.
 9 Ob has res gestas consulum litteris Romam adlatis
 supplicatio in triduum decreta est. Brevi post Mar-
 cellus consul Romam venit, triumphusque ei magno

¹ See XXXI. ii. 6 and note.

BOOK XXXIII. XXXVII. 1-9

invaded the territory of the Boi by way of the *tribus* B.O. 196 *Sapinia*.¹ When he was already approaching the fortified town of Mutilum, fearing that he would be cut off by the Boi and Insubres together, he led the army back by the same way he had come, and after a long roundabout march through country that was open, and therefore safe, he joined his colleague. Thenceforth with united forces they penetrated first the Boian territory as far as Felsina, plundering as they went. This city and all the forts in the neighbourhood and all the Boi except the men of military age, who were in arms in the hope of plunder—they had at this time retired into the pathless forests—surrendered. The army was then led against the Ligures. The Boi, with the intention of falling suddenly upon the Roman column, which would not be under strict discipline, since the Boi would be believed to be far away, followed by secret paths. Failing to overtake them, and suddenly crossing the Po in boats, when they had laid waste the country of the Laevi and Libui, and were returning from there loaded with the spoils of the country along the edges of the Ligurian territory, they encountered the Roman column. A battle began, more sudden and furious than if they had clashed with minds prepared to fight at a predetermined time and place. There it was apparent how much stimulus passion can apply to courage; for the Romans fought with so much greater desire for slaughter than for victory that they left the enemy hardly a messenger to tell of the defeat. By reason of these achievements, when the letters of the consuls were received in Rome, the senate decreed a thanksgiving of three days. A little later the consul Marcellus arrived in Rome, and was voted a

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10 consensu patrum est decretus. Triumphavit in magis-
 11 tratu de Insubribus Comensibusque; Boiorum triumphum
 12 spem collegae reliquit, quia ipsi proprie adversa pugna
 in ea gente evenerat, cum collega secunda. Multa
 spolia hostium captivis carpentis travecta, multa
 militaria signa; aeris lata trecenta viginti milia,
 argenti bigati ducenta triginta quattuor milia. In
 pedites singulos dati octogeni aeris, triplex equiti
 centurionique.

XXXVIII. Eodem anno Antiochus rex, cum hiber-
 nasset Ephesi, omnes Asiae civitates in antiquam
 2 imperii formulam redigere est conatus. Et ceteras
 quidem, aut quia locis planis positae erant aut quia
 parum moenibus armisque ac iuventuti fidebant,
 3 haud difficulter videbat iugum accepturas; Zmyrna
 et Lampsacus libertatem usurpabant, periculumque
 erat ne, si concessum iis foret quod intenderent,
 Zmyrnam in Aeolide Ioniaque, Lampsacum in Helles-
 4 ponto aliae¹ urbes sequerentur. Igitur et ipse ab
 Epheso ad Zmyrnam obsidendam misit et quae Abydi
 copiae erant praesidio tantum modico relicto duci ad
 5 Lampsacum oppugnandam iussit. Nec vi tantum
 terrebat, sed per legatos leniter adloquendo casti-
 gandoque temeritatem ac pertinaciam spem cona-
 6 batur facere, brevi quod peterent habituros, sed cum
 satis et ipsis et omnibus aliis appareret, ab rege

¹ aliae ed. *Frobeniana* 1531 : aliquae B.

¹ There is no indication that Furius received a triumph, and this fact has been used to discredit the account of his earlier triumph. See the note to XXXI. xlvii. 4 above.

² This spelling is attested by the Livy MSS. and by MSS. in general.

triumph with the complete agreement of the senators. B.C. 198
 While still in office he triumphed over the Ligures and Comenses; the hope of a triumph over the Boi he left to his colleague, because he personally had suffered defeat at the hands of that people, but had been victorious when associated with his colleague.¹ Many spoils of the enemy were transported in captured carts, and many standards; three hundred and twenty thousand *asses* of bronze and two hundred and thirty-four thousand pieces of coined silver were carried. Each infantryman was given eighty *asses*, each cavalryman and centurion thrice that sum.

XXXVIII. In the same year King Antiochus, after wintering at Ephesus, tried to coerce all the cities of Asia into acknowledging the sovereignty which he had once exercised over them. And he saw that the others, either because they were situated on level ground, or because they did not trust their walls or their weapons or their fighting men, would readily accept his yoke; Zmyrna² and Lampsacus were contending for their independence, and there was danger that if they were allowed what they demanded, other cities in Aeolis and Ionia would follow the example of Zmyrna, those on the Hellespont, of Lampsacus. He therefore sent troops from Ephesus to invest Zmyrna and ordered his troops at Abydus to leave only a small guard there and march to attack Lampsacus. Nor did he seek only to frighten them by this show of force, but also through the mouths of his agents by courteous address and mild reproach for their rashness and stubbornness, to create the hope that they would soon have what they desired, but only when it was clear both to them and to everyone else that their liberty had been granted by the king

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impetratam eos libertatem, non per occasionem raptam
 7 habere. Adversus quae respondebatur, nihil neque
 mirari neque suscensere Antiochum debere, si spem
 libertatis differri non satis aequo animo paterentur.
 8 Ipse initio veris navibus ab Epheso profectus Helles-
 pontum petit, terrestres copias traici ab Abydo Cher-
 9 sonesum iussit. Cum ad Madytum, Chersonesi urbem,
 terrestri navalem exercitum iunxisset, quia clauserant
 portas, circumdedit moenia armatis; et iam opera
 admoventi deditio facta est. Idem metus Sestum
 incolentes aliasque Chersonesi urbes in deditioem
 10 dedit. Lysimachiam inde omnibus simul navalibus
 terrestribusque copiis venit. Quam cum desertam
 11 ac stratam prope omnem ruinis invenisset—ceperant
 autem direptamque incenderant Thraces paucis ante
 annis—cupido eum restituendi nobilem urbem et loco
 12 sitam opportuno cepit. Itaque omnia simul est
 aggressus et tecta murosque restituere et partim
 redimere servientes Lysimachenses, partim fuga sparsos
 per Hellespontum Chersonesumque conquirere et
 13 contrahere, partim novos colonos spe commodorum
 14 proposita adscribere et omni modo frequentare; simul,
 ut Thracum summoveretur metus, ipse parte dimidia
 terrestrium copiarum ad depopulanda proxima Thraciae
 est profectus, partem navalesque omnes socios reliquit
 in operibus reficiendae urbis.

XXXIX. Sub hoc tempore et L. Cornelius, missus
 ab senatu ad dirimenda inter Antiochum Ptolomae-

and not attained through mere grasping at opportunity. To this they responded that Antiochus should be neither surprised nor angry if they were not inclined to submit with indifference to their hope of liberty being deferred. At the beginning of spring Antiochus himself left Ephesus with his fleet and sailed for the Hellespont and ordered his land forces to be transported from Abydus to Chersonesus. When he had united his army and navy at Madytus, a city in the Chersonesus, since the people had closed their gates, he surrounded the walls with armed men; and the town surrendered as he was on the point of moving forward his engines. Fear of the same fate caused the people of Sestus and other towns of the Chersonesus to yield. Thence he proceeded with all his forces, naval and military alike, to Lysimachia. When he had found it almost entirely abandoned and in ruins (the Thracians had captured, plundered, and burned it a few years before), he was seized by the desire of rebuilding a city so famed and so advantageously situated. Therefore he undertook everything at once; to rebuild the houses and walls, to ransom some of the Lysimachenses who were in slavery, to seek out and bring back some of them who had scattered in flight through the Hellespont and Chersonesus, to attract new colonists by the prospects of advantage held out to them, and to populate the city in every possible manner; at the same time, in order to dispel their fear of the Thracians, he set out in person with half his land forces to devastate the neighbouring parts of Thrace, leaving the rest and all the naval allies engaged in the work of rebuilding the city.

XXXIX. At this time, too, Lucius Cornelius, sent by the senate to arbitrate the difference between the

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2 umque reges certamina, Selymbriae substitit, et decem
 legatorum P. Lentulus a Bargyliis, P. Villius et L.
 Terentius ab Thaso Lysimachiam petierunt. Eodem
 et ab Selymbria L. Cornelius et ex Thracia paucos
 3 post diebus Antiochus convenerunt. Primus con-
 gressus cum legatis et deinceps invitatio benigna et
 hospitalis fuit; ut de mandatis statuque praesenti
 4 Asiae agi coeptum est, animi exasperati sunt. Romani
 omnia acta eius, ex quo tempore ab Syria classem
 solvisset, displicere senatui non dissimulabant resti-
 tuique et Ptolomaeo omnes civitates quae dicionis
 5 eius fuissent aequum censebant; nam quod ad eas
 civitates attineret quas a Philippo possessas Antiochus
 per occasionem, averso Philippo in Romanum bellum,
 6 interceptisset, id vero ferendum non esse, Romanos
 per tot annos terra marique tanta pericula ac labores
 7 exhausisse, Antiochum belli praemia habere. Sed
 ut in Asiam adventus eius dissimulari ab Romanis
 tamquam nihil ad eos pertinens potuerit, quid?
 Quod iam etiam in Europam omnibus navalibus
 terrestribusque copiis transierit, quantum a bello
 aperte Romanis indicto abesse? Illum quidem, etiam
 si in Italiam traiciat, negaturum; Romanos autem
 non expectaturos, ut id posset facere.

XL. Adversus ea Antiochus mirari se dixit Romanos
 tam diligenter inquirere quid regi Antiocho faciendum
 aut quousque terra marique progrediendum fuerit,

kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, stopped at Selymbria, B.C. 196 and some of the ten commissioners, Publius Lentulus from Bargyliae and Publius Villius and Lucius Terentius from Thasos, came to Lysimachia. Also, Lucius Cornelius from Selymbria and Antiochus from Thrace arrived there a few days later. There was a preliminary meeting with the ambassadors and then a kindly and hospitable reception, but when the debate over their instructions and the present situation in Asia began, there were displays of temper. The Romans did not conceal the fact that his conduct, from the time he set sail from Syria, was displeasing to the senate, and they also deemed it right that all the cities which had belonged to Ptolemy should be restored to him; for, as regards the cities formerly held by Philip, which Antiochus had taken the opportunity to seize while Philip was engaged in the Roman war, they regarded it as surely unendurable that the Romans should have suffered so many toils and dangers for so many years on land and sea and that Antiochus should carry off the prizes of war. But, granting that the Romans pretended to ignore his advance into Asia as an act which did not concern them, what then? What of the fact that he was even then crossing into Europe with all his fleets and armies, and how far did that differ from an open declaration of war on the Romans? He, of course, would deny it, even if he crossed into Italy, but the Romans would not wait for him to have the power to do this.

XL. To this Antiochus replied that he was surprised that the Romans were making such diligent inquiry into what King Antiochus should do or how far he should advance by land or sea, and that they

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2 ipsos non cogitare Asiam nihil ad se pertinere, nec
magis illis inquirendum esse quid Antiochus in Asia,
quam Antiocho quid in Italia populus Romanus faciat.
3 Quod ad Ptolomaeum attineat, cui ademptas civitates
querantur, sibi cum Ptolomaeo et amicitiam esse, et
4 id agere ut brevi etiam adfinitas iungatur. Ne ex¹
Philippi quidem adversa fortuna spolia ulla se petisse
aut adversus Romanos in Europam traiecisse; sed
qua Lysimachi quondam regnum fuerit, quo victo
omnia quae illius fuissent iure belli Seleuci facta sint,
5 existimare suae dicionis esse. Occupatis maioribus
suis rerum aliarum cura primo quaedam ex iis Ptolo-
maeum, inde et Philippum usurpanda aliena² posses-
6 sionis causa tenuisse. Chersonesus quidem et proxima
Thraciae quae circa Lysimachiam sint quem dubitare
quin Lysimachi fuerint? Ad ea recipienda in anti-
quum ius venisse et Lysimachiam deletam Thracum

¹ ne ex *Bekker* : nec ex *B*.

² usurpanda aliena *Madvig* : usurpandae alienae *B*.

¹ In 193 B.C. (XXXV. xiii. 4) Ptolemy married the daughter of Antiochus : preliminary arrangements for this may have been under way at this time.

It may be noted that just as Antiochus silenced the Rhodian ambassadors by quoting to them the complimentary speeches of Rome (see xx. 8 above), so he now silences the Romans by quoting to them a treaty of which they, apparently, knew nothing before and which weakened their case a good deal. Open covenants would have saved the free-speaking Romans a good deal of embarrassment in the east.

² One of Alexander's generals, who had carved out a kingdom for himself in this region. He was defeated by Seleucus, founder of the Seleucid dynasty, to which Antiochus belonged, in 281 B.C. (XXXIV. lviii. 5; Justin XVII. 1).

³ See xxxviii. 1 above.

did not see that Asia was no concern of theirs, and that they had no more right to ask what Antiochus was doing in Asia than Antiochus had to ask what the Roman people was doing in Italy. So far as Ptolemy was concerned, the loss of whose cities was a subject of complaint, he already had a treaty of friendship with Ptolemy and was taking steps which would soon lead to a tie of relationship as well.¹ He had not even taken advantage of Philip's ill fortune to seize and plunder, nor had he entered Europe to threaten the Romans; but all the country which had once been the kingdom of Lysimachus,² and which, on his defeat, had passed with his other possessions into the hands of Seleucus by right of conquest, he considered his own. While his forefathers were busy with the disposition of other matters, possession of some of these towns had been seized, first by Ptolemy,³ then by Philip,⁴ usurping the property-rights of others.⁵ Who could doubt that Lysimachus had been lord of the Chersonesus and the neighbouring parts of Thrace which are around Lysimachia? He himself had come only to recover his ancient possessions and to found anew Lysimachia,

¹ See XXXI. xvi. 4. Antiochus had apparently suffered along with Ptolemy from the depredations committed by Philip under the authority of the treaty which he had made with Antiochus to plunder the young Ptolemy (see the Introductory Note).

² In XXXV. xvi. the argument turns on the Roman legal doctrine of *possessio* (the unchallenged occupancy of a piece of property for a specified period), which under certain conditions could confer a valid title. Antiochus means that Ptolemy and Philip had violently interrupted his own *possessio* and had thus robbed him of property which he was trying to recover. The propriety of attributing to Antiochus this much acquaintance with Roman law might be questioned.

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impetu de integro condere, ut Seleucus filius eam sedem regni habeat.

XLI. His disceptationibus per dies aliquot habitis rumor sine ullo satis certo auctore allatus de morte Ptolomaei regis, ut nullus exitus imponeretur sermonibus effecit. Nam et dissimulabat pars utraque se audisse, et L. Cornelius, cui legatio ad duos reges, Antiochum Ptolomaeumque, mandata erat, spatium modici temporis ad conveniendum Ptolomaeum petebat, ut, priusquam moveretur aliquid in nova possessione regni, praeveniret in Aegyptum, et Antiochus suam fore Aegyptum, si tum occupasset, censebat. Itaque dimissis Romanis relictoque Seleuco filio cum terrestribus copiis ad restituendam ut instituerat Lysimachiam, ipse omni classe navigat Ephesum, legatis ad Quinctium missis, qui ad fidem faciendam nihil novaturum regem de societate agerent. Oram Asiae legens pervenit in Lyciam, Patarisque cognito vivere Ptolomaeum navigandi quidem in Aegyptum omissum consilium est; Cyprum nihilo minus petens, cum Chelidoniatarum promunturium superasset, paulisper seditione remigum est retentus in Pamphylia circa Eurymedontem amnem. Inde profectum eum ad capita quae vocant Sari fluminis foeda tempestas adorta prope cum omni classe demersit. Multae fractae, multae eiectae naves, multae ita haustae mari ut nemo in terram enaverit. Magna vis hominum ibi interiit, non remigum modo militumque ignotae turbae

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destroyed by the attack of the Thracians, that his son B.C. 196 Seleucus might make it the capital of his kingdom.

XLI. They had spent some days in such debates when an unauthenticated rumour that King Ptolemy was dead caused no conclusion to be reached by their conversations. For each party pretended not to have heard it, and Lucius Cornelius, to whom had been entrusted the embassy to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, requested an adjournment of a short time, that he might visit Ptolemy, his purpose being that he might arrive in Egypt before any revolution should occur while the throne was changing hands, while Antiochus believed that Egypt would be his if he should have succeeded in gaining possession of it at this time. So he dismissed the Romans, leaving his son Seleucus with the army to rebuild Lysimachia according to plan, and himself sailed for Ephesus with his entire fleet, sending ambassadors to Quinctius to say, with a view to creating confidence, that the king would do nothing to modify their alliance. Skirting the coast of Asia, he came to Lycia, and learning at Patara that Ptolemy was alive, he gave up his design of sailing to Egypt; nevertheless, he set out for Cyprus, and when he had passed the promontory of Chelidoniae, he was delayed for a while in Pamphylia near the mouth of the Eurymedon river by a mutiny among his rowers. When he resumed his voyage and was off the mouth of the river which they call Sarus, a terrific storm almost overwhelmed him and his whole fleet. Many ships were wrecked, many driven ashore, many so swallowed up in the sea that no one escaped to the shore. A large number of men perished, not only rowers and the nameless mass of soldiers, but some of the nobles,

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9 sed etiam insignium regis amicorum. Collectis reliquis naufragii, cum res non in eo essent ut Cyprum temptaret, minus opulento agmine quam profectus erat, Seleuciam rediit. Ibi subduci navibus iussis—iam enim et hiems instabat—ipse in hiberna Antiochiam concessit. In hoc statu regum erant res.

XLII. Romae eo primum anno tresviri epulones facti C. Licinius Lucullus tribunus plebis, qui legem de creandis iis tulerat, et P. Manlius et P. Porcius Laeca. Iis triumviris item ut pontificibus¹ lege² datum est togae praetextae habendae ius. Sed magnum certamen cum omnibus sacerdotibus eo anno fuit quaestoribus urbanis, Q. Fabio Labeoni et L. Aurelio. Pecunia opus erat quod ultimam pensionem pecuniae in bellum collatae persolvi placuerat privatis. 4 Quaestores ab auguribus pontificibusque quod stipendium per bellum non contulissent petebant. Ab sacerdotibus tribuni plebis nequiquam appellati, omniumque annorum per quos non dederant exactum 5 est. Eodem anno duo mortui pontifices, novique in eorum locum suffecti, M. Marcellus consul in locum C. Semproni Tuditani, qui praetor in Hispania deces-

¹ pontificibus *Pighius* : pontifici *B.*

¹ A college of three (later seven) priests, entrusted with the responsibility of conducting the feasts of the gods (see note on XXXI. viii. 2). Election of members now replaces the older method of co-optation, under which each college filled vacancies in its own ranks.

² The toga worn by the ordinary citizen was of white or natural-coloured wool. This purple-bordered toga was reserved to boys who had not reached manhood (at which time they put on the ordinary toga) and to civil and religious dignitaries.

³ These were minor magistrates responsible for the care of public funds.

friends of the king. Collecting the remnants left B.C. 196 from the wreck, and being in no condition to try an expedition to Cyprus, he returned to Seleucia with a train less rich than that with which he had set out. There he ordered the ships to be hauled up on land—for winter was now at hand—and went into winter quarters at Antioch. The affairs of the kings were in this state.

XLII. At Rome, in this year for the first time, the *tresviri epulones*¹ were elected—Gaius Licinius Lucullus, tribune of the people, who had proposed the law for their election, Publius Manlius, and Publius Porcius Laeca. These triumvirs, like the pontiffs, were given the right to wear the *toga praetexta*.² But a bitter struggle broke out that year between the whole body of priests and the city quaestors,³ Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Aurelius. Money was needed because it had been decided to pay to the private lenders the last instalment of the money contributed for the war.⁴ The quaestors demanded it of the augurs and pontiffs because they had not paid the taxes during the war. The priests appealed in vain to the tribunes of the people, and the money was collected for the whole period in which it had not been paid.⁵ In the same year two pontiffs died and new ones were appointed in their place, the consul Marcus Marcellus to replace Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus, who had fallen while serving as praetor in Spain, and Lucius

¹ See XXXI. xiii. 2–9 and the note.

² Exemption from the payment of taxes seems not to have been a prerogative of the priesthoods. Perhaps in the confusion of the war period, they had for a time evaded payment, and had continued to do so after the war closed. At this time collection in full of all back-taxes was made: this seems to be the implication of the words *omnium annorum*.

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- serat, et L. Valerius Flaccus in locum M. Corneli
 6 Cethegi. Et Q. Fabius Maximus augur mortuus est
 admodum adulescens, priusquam ullum magistratum
 caperet; nec eo anno augur in eius locum est suffectus.
 7 Comitia inde consularia habita a M. Marcello con-
 sule. Creati consules L. Valerius Flaccus et M.
 Porcius Cato. Praetores inde facti Cn. Manlius
 Volso, Ap. Claudius Nero, P. Porcius Laeca, C.
 Fabricius Luscinus, C. Atinius¹ Labeo, P. Manlius.
 8 Eo anno aediles curules, M. Fulvius Nobilior et
 C. Flaminius, tritici deciens centena milia binis aeris
 populo discripserunt. Id C. Flamini honoris causa
 ipsius patrisque advexerant Siculi Romam; Flaminius
 9 gratiam eius communicaverat cum collega. Ludi
 Romani et apparati magnifice sunt et ter toti in-
 10 staurati. Aediles plebis, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus
 et C. Scribonius Curio,² multos pecuarios ad populi
 iudicium adduxerunt; tres ex his condemnati sunt;
 ex eorum multaticia pecunia aedem in insula Fauni
 11 fecerunt. Ludi plebei per biduum instaurati, et
 epulum fuit ludorum causa.

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- XLIII. L. Valerius Flaccus et M. Porcius Cato
 consules idibus Martiis, quo die magistratum inierunt,
 de provinciis cum ad senatum rettulissent, patres
 2 censuerunt, quoniam in Hispania tantum glisceret
 bellum ut iam consulari et duce et exercitu opus
 esset, placere consules Hispaniam citeriorem Itali-

¹ Luscinus, C. Atinius Labeo *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: Labeo *B.*

² Curio *Drakenborch*: curio maximus *B.*

¹ They had probably rented public pasture lands but had trespassed on land which they had not leased.

² The island in the Tiber was in general sacred to Aesculapius (cf. X. xlvii. 7 for the introduction of this divinity), but other temples were erected there (XXXIV. liii. 7).

Valerius Flaccus in place of Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. B.C. 196
 Quintus Fabius Maximus the augur also died while still a young man, before he had held any public office, and this year no augur was chosen in his stead.

Marcus Marcellus the consul presided over the consular elections, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato were announced as successful. Then the praetors were chosen, Gnaeus Manlius Volso, Appius Claudius Nero, Publius Porcius Laeca, Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, Gaius Atinius Labeo, and Publius Manlius.

In that year the curule aediles, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Gaius Flaminius, distributed to the people one million measures of grain at two *asses* per measure. The Sicilians had brought this to Rome as a mark of respect to Gaius Flaminius himself and to his father; Flaminius had shared the credit for it with his colleague. The Roman Games were celebrated splendidly and were thrice repeated entire. The plebeian aediles, Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Gaius Scribonius Curio, brought many grazers¹ to trial before the people; three of them were convicted, and out of the money paid by them as fines they built a temple to Faunus on the Island.² The Plebeian Games were repeated for two days and a banquet held on the occasion of the games.

XLIII. When Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus B.C. 195
 Porcius Cato the consuls had, on the Ides of March, on which day they were inaugurated, laid before the senate the question of the provinces, the Fathers voted it as their decision that, since so great a war was raging in Spain that it now needed a consular commander and a consular army, the consuls should either arrange between themselves or cast lots for

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amque provincias aut comparare inter se aut sortiri;
 3 utri Hispania provincia evenisset, eum duas legiones
 et quindecim milia socium Latini nominis et octin-
 gentos equites secum portare et naves longas viginti
 4 ducere; alter consul duas scriberet legiones; iis
 Galliam obtineri provinciam satis esse fractis proximo
 5 anno Insubrum Boiorumque animis. Cato Hispaniam,
 Valerius Italiam est sortitus. Praetores deinde pro-
 vincias sortiti, C. Fabricius Luscinus urbanam, C.
 Atinius Labeo peregrinam, Cn. Manlius Volso Siciliam,
 Ap. Claudius Nero Hispaniam ulteriorem, P. Porcius
 Laeca Pisas, ut ab tergo Liguribus esset; P. Manlius
 6 in Hispaniam citeriorem adiutor consuli datus. T.
 Quinctio suspectis non solum Antiocho et Aetolis,
 sed iam etiam Nabide, Lacedaemoniorum tyranno,
 prorogatum in annum imperium est, duas legiones
 ut haberet. In eas si quid supplementi opus esset,
 consules scribere et mittere in Macedoniam iussi.
 7 Ap. Claudio praeter legionem quam Q. Fabius habue-
 rat, duo milia peditum et ¹ ducentos equites novos
 8 ut scriberet permissum. Par numerus peditum equi-
 tumque novorum et P. Manlio in citeriorem Hispaniam
 decretus et legio eadem quae fuerat sub Q. Minucio
 9 praetore data. Et P. Porcio Laecae ad Etruriam circa
 Pisas decem milia peditum et quingenti equites ex
 Gallico exercitu decreti. In Sardinia prorogatum
 imperium Ti. Sempronio Longo.

¹ peditum et *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : et *B.*

Nearer Spain and Italy as their provinces; that B.O. 195 whichever received Spain as his province should take with him two legions, fifteen thousand of the allies of the Latin confederacy and eight hundred cavalry, and should take with him twenty war-ships; that the other consul should recruit two legions; that the province of Gaul could be adequately defended with these, since the spirits of the Insubres and the Boi had been broken the previous year. Cato received Spain in the drawing and Valerius Italy. Then the praetors received their assignments: Gaius Fabricius Luscinus the city jurisdiction, Gaius Atinius Labeo that between citizens and aliens, Gnaeus Manlius Volso Sicily, Appius Claudius Nero Farther Spain, Publius Porcius Laeca Pisae, that he might be in the rear of the Ligures, and Publius Manlius was assigned to Nearer Spain as assistant to the consul. Since not only Antiochus and the Aetolians were causes of concern, but now, in addition, Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, the authority of Titus Quinctius was extended for a year, with the command of two legions. If any addition to these forces should be needed, the consuls were directed to enlist them and send them to Macedonia. Appius Claudius was permitted to enrol two thousand infantry and two hundred new cavalry in addition to the legion which Quintus Fabius had commanded. An equal number of new infantry and cavalry was authorized for Publius Manlius in Nearer Spain, and he was given the same legion which had served under the praetor Quintus Minucius. Also, to Publius Porcius Laeca were assigned ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry for service in Etruria in the neighbourhood of Pisae. In Sardinia, the command of Tiberius Sempronius Longus was extended.

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XLIV. Provinciis ita distributis consules, priusquam ab urbe proficiscerentur, ver sacrum ex decreto pontificum iussi¹ facere, quod A. Cornelius Mammula praetor voverat de senatus sententia populique iussu Cn. Servilio C. Flaminio consulibus. Annis post uno et viginti factum est quam votum. Per eosdem dies C. Claudius Appi filius Pulcher augur in Q. Fabi Maximi locum, qui priore anno mortuus erat, lectus inauguratusque est.

4 Mirantibus iam vulgo hominibus quod Hispania movisset bellum neglegi, litterae a Q. Minucio adlatae sunt se ad Turdam oppidum cum Budare et Baesadine, imperatoribus Hispanis, signis collatis prospere pug-
5 nasse; duodecim milia hostium caesa, Budarem imperatorem captum, ceteros fusos fugatosque. His litteris lectis minus terroris ab Hispanis erat, unde ingens bellum expectatum fuerat; omnes curae, utique post adventum decem legatorum, in Antiochum
6 regem conversae. Hi expositis prius quae cum Philippo acta essent et quibus legibus data pax, non minorem belli molem instare ab Antiocho docuerunt:
7 ingenti classe, egregio terrestri exercitu in Europam eum traiecisse et nisi avertisset vana spes, ex vaniore rumore orta, Aegypti invadendae, mox bello Graeciam arsuram fuisse; neque enim ne Aetolos quidem quieturos, cum ingenio inquietam tum iratam Romanis

¹ iussi *Baumgarten-Crusius*: iussit *B.*

¹ This vow taken in 217 B.C. and its text are found in XXII. ix. 10-x. 6 (the name of the praetor given there is M. Aemilius, instead of A. Cornelius Mammula. Such confusions are too frequent in Livy or in the MSS.). A briefer description of the *ver sacrum* is given also in XXXIV. xliv. 3 below, where reference is made to the repetition of the celebration because of flaws in the performance of 195 B.C. The essence of the rite is the dedication to the gods of all animals born within a designated period in the "spring."

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XLIV. When the provinces had been thus assigned, B.C. 196 the consuls, before they left the city, were instructed, in accordance with the decision of the priests, to conduct the ceremony of the "sacred spring" which the praetor Aulus Cornelius Mammula had vowed by decree of the senate and vote of the people, in the consulship of Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius Flaminius. The performance took place twenty-one years after the vow.¹ At this time Gaius Claudius Pulcher, son of Appius, was chosen augur in place of Quintus Fabius Maximus, who had died the year before, and was installed in office.

When everyone wondered why the war which Spain had begun was receiving so little attention, a letter arrived from Quintus Minucius, saying that he had fought successfully in a pitched battle near the town of Turda with Budares and Baesadines, the Spanish commanders; that twelve thousand of the enemy had been killed, Budares their general captured, and the rest routed and put to flight. When this letter was read, less fear was felt with respect to Spain, where a great war had been anticipated; all their anxieties, especially after the return of the ten commissioners, were centred on King Antiochus. These reported what had been done in the matter of Philip and on what terms peace had been granted, and gave warning that a war of no less magnitude was threatened by Antiochus: he had already invaded Europe with a huge fleet and a splendid army, and if an idle hope—sprung from an idler rumour—of invading Egypt, had not diverted his attention, Greece would presently be flaming with war; for not even the Aetolians would remain quiet, a people both naturally restless and ill-disposed towards the Romans. There was,

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8 gentem. Haerere et aliud in visceribus Graeciae
ingens malum, Nabim, nunc Lacedaemoniorum, mox,
si liceat, universae Graeciae futurum tyrannum,
avaritia et crudelitate omnes fama celebratos tyrannos
9 aequantem; cui si Argos velut arcem Peloponneso
impositam tenere liceat, deportatis in Italiam Romanis
exercitibus nequiquam liberatam a Philippo Graeciam
fore, pro rege si nihil aliud longinquo, vicinum tyran-
num dominum habituram.

XLV. Haec cum ab tam gravibus auctoribus, qui
omnia per se ipsos explorata adferrent, audirentur,
2 maior res, quod ad Antiochum attineret, maturanda
magis, quoniam rex quacumque de causa in Syriam
3 concessisset, de tyranno consultatio visa est. Cum
diu disceptatum esset, utrum satis iam causae vide-
retur, cur decerneretur bellum, an permetterent T.
Quinctio, quod ad Nabim Lacedaemonium attineret,
faceret, quod e re publica censeret esse, permiserunt,
4 eam rem esse rati, quae maturata dilatave non ita
magni momenti ad summam rem publicam esset;
5 magis id animadvertendum esse, quid Hannibal et
Carthaginienses, si cum Antiocho bellum motum foret,
acturi essent.

6 Adversae Hannibali factionis homines principibus
Romanis, hospitibus¹ quisque suis, identidem scribe-
bant nuntios litterasque ab Hannibale ad Antiochum
7 missas, et ab rege ad eum clam legatos venisse; ut

¹ hospitibus *Jacobs* : hostibus *B.*

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they said, another great evil in Greece, clinging to its B.C. 196
vitals, Nabis, now tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, but soon, if it were permitted, to be tyrant of all Greece, the equal in greed and cruelty of all the tyrants known to fame; if he were allowed to hold Argos, which dominates Peloponnesus almost like a citadel, when the Roman armies were withdrawn to Italy, the liberation of Greece from Philip would prove to have been in vain, and in place of a king who was at least far distant, if nothing else could be said for him, they would have as master a tyrant close at hand.

XLV. When they heard words like these from men whose opinion carried such weight, especially on matters which they had investigated personally, the more important question, that which concerned Antiochus, called more for urgent action, but since the king for some reason or other had gone back to Syria, the question of the tyrant was rather one for debate. After it had long been debated whether there seemed sufficient cause for declaring war, or whether the decision should be left to Titus Quinctius, they gave him the responsibility of taking such action, in the case of Nabis the Lacedaemonian, as would be to the advantage of the state, thinking that such action, whether accelerated or retarded, was not of so very great importance to the general interest of the state; it was more to be considered what Hannibal and the Carthaginians would do if war should break out with King Antiochus.

The members of the faction opposed to Hannibal kept writing, each to his own friends among the leaders at Rome, that Hannibal had been sending messengers and letters to Antiochus and receiving from the king his secret agents; that, as some wild

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feras quasdam nulla mitescere arte, sic immitem et implacabilem eius viri animum esse; marcescere oti situ queri civitatem et inertia sopiri nec sine armorum
8 sonitu excitari posse. Haec probabilia memoria prioris belli per unum illum non magis gesti quam moti faciebat. Irritaverat etiam recenti facto multorum potentium animos.

XLVI. Iudicum ordo Carthagine ea tempestate dominabatur, eo maxime quod iidem perpetui iudices
2 erant. Res fama vitaeque omnium in illorum potestate erat. Qui unum eius ordinis offendisset, omnes adversos habebat, nec accusator apud infensos iudices
3 deerat. Horum in tam impotenti regno—neque enim civiliter nimis opibus utebantur—praetor factus
4 Hannibal vocari ad se quaestorem iussit. Quaestor id pro nihilo habuit; nam et adversae factionis erat et, quia ex quaestura in iudices, potentissimum ordinem, referebatur, iam pro futuris mox opibus
5 animos gerebat. Enimvero indignum id ratus Hannibal viatorem ad prendendum quaestorem misit subductumque in contionem non ipsum magis quam ordinem iudicum, prae quorum superbia atque opibus nec leges quicquam essent nec magistratus, accusavit.
6 Et ut secundis auribus accipi orationem animadvertit et infimorum quoque libertati gravem esse superbiam
7 eorum, legem extemplo promulgavit pertulitque, ut

¹ It consisted of about one hundred members.

beasts can in no wise be tamed, so this man's temper B.C. 195 was violent and implacable; that he complained that a nation wasted away in a state of peace and could be aroused from its stupor only by the din of arms. The recollection of the recent war, not more waged than caused by this one man, made these accounts seem plausible. He had, moreover, provoked the wrath of the leading citizens of Carthage by his recent conduct.

XLVI. The order of judges¹ at that time was in control in Carthage, principally because the same men were judges for life. The property, reputation, and life of every citizen were in their hands. A man who offended one of the judges made enemies of them all, nor was there any lack of persons to bring accusations before hostile judges. Under their administration, marked by such violence—for they did not use their excessive wealth in the spirit of a free state—Hannibal had been elected praetor and summoned a quaestor to report to him. The quaestor ignored the order; for he belonged to the opposing faction, and since he would be promoted from the quaestorship to the all-powerful order of judges, he already displayed arrogance proportioned to the power he would presently exercise. Hannibal, thinking this conduct highly improper, sent a messenger to arrest the quaestor, and haling him before the assembly, assailed him and not less the order of judges, in comparison with whose pride of place and power the laws were as nought, and the magistrates as well. When he saw that his speech was well received, and that their haughty spirits menaced the liberty of the lowest classes also, he immediately proposed and enacted a law, that judges should be elected for one year

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in singulos annos iudices legerentur, neu¹ quis bien-
nium continuum iudex esset. Ceterum quantam eo
facto ad plebem inierat gratiam, tantum magnae partis
8 principum offenderat animos. Adiecit et aliud, quo
bono publico sibi proprias simultates irritavit. Vecti-
galia publica partim negligentia dilabebantur, partim
praedae ac divisui et principum quibusdam et magis-
9 tratibus erant, et pecunia quae in stipendium Romanis
suo quoque anno penderetur, deerat, tributumque
grave privatis imminere videbatur.

XLVII. Hannibal postquam vectigalia quanta ter-
restria maritimaque essent et in quas res erogarentur
animadvertit, et quid eorum ordinarii rei publicae
usus consumerent, quantum peculatus averteret,
2 omnibus residuis pecuniis exactis, tributo privatis
remisso satis locupletem rem publicam fore ad vectigal
praestandum Romanis pronuntiavit in contione et
praestitit promissum.

3 Tum vero ii, quos paverat per aliquot annos publicus
peculatus, velut bonis ereptis, non furtorum manubiis²
extortis infensi et irati Romanos in Hannibalem, et
4 ipsos causam odii quaerentes, instigabant. Ita diu
repugnante P. Scipione Africano, qui parum ex
dignitate populi Romani esse ducebat subscribere
5 odiis accusatorum Hannibalis et factionibus Cartha-
giniensium inserere publicam auctoritatem nec satis

¹ neu *Duker* : ne *B.*

² manubiis *Madvig* : manibus *B.*

¹ In 191 B.C. (XXXVI. iv. 7), Carthage offered to pay at once all the remaining instalments on her indemnity. It might be inferred that Hannibal's reforms had proved successful.

each, and that no one should be a judge for two consecutive terms. But whatever influence he gained in this way with the commons, to the same extent he roused the animosity of a large party among the nobility. Moreover, by another act he served the public interest but roused personal enmities against himself. The public revenues were being partly wasted through carelessness, partly appropriated as their booty and spoils of office by some of the prominent men and magistrates, and money to pay the tribute to the Romans each successive year was lacking, and a heavy assessment seemed to threaten the citizens.¹ B.C. 198

XLVII. When Hannibal had investigated the revenues, how much was collected as taxes on land and as duty at the ports, for what purposes it was spent, how much the ordinary expenses of the state required, and how much embezzlement took from the treasury, he asserted in the assembly that the state would be rich enough, if it collected the revenues not otherwise used and omitted the assessment on individual citizens, to pay its debt to the Romans, and this assertion he was able to make good.

But now the men whom embezzlement from the treasury had maintained for many years, as if they were being robbed of their property instead of being made to give up the profits of their thefts, in passion and anger tried to bring upon Hannibal the wrath of the Romans, who were themselves seeking an excuse for venting their hatred upon him. So, although Publius Scipio Africanus resisted this tendency for a long time, urging that it was undignified for the Roman people to become parties to the animosities of Hannibal's accusers, to lend the support of official prestige to party strife at Carthage, and, not satisfied with having

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habere bello vicisse Hannibalem, nisi velut accusatores calumniam in eum iurarent ac nomen deferrent, 6 tandem pervicerunt ut legati Carthaginem mitterentur, qui ad senatum eorum arguerent Hannibalem 7 cum Antiocho rege consilia belli faciendi inire. Legati tres missi, Cn. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, Q. Terentius Culleo. Qui cum Carthaginem venissent, ex consilio inimicorum Hannibalis quaerentibus 8 causam adventus dici iusserunt, venisse se ad controversias quae cum Masinissa rege Numidarum 9 Carthaginensibus essent dirimendas. Id creditum vulgo; unum Hannibalem se peti ab Romanis non fallebat et ita pacem Carthaginensibus datam esse ut inexpiabile bellum adversus se unum maneret. 10 Itaque cedere tempori et fortunae statuit; et praeparatis iam ante omnibus ad fugam, obversatus eo die in foro avertendae suspicionis causa, primis tenebris vestitu forensi ad portam cum duobus comitibus ignaris consilii est egressus.

XLVIII. Cum equi quo in loco iusserat praesto fuissent, nocte Byzacium—ita regionem quandam agri vocant—transgressus, postero die ad mare inter 2 Acyllam et Thapsum ad suam turrem pervenit. Ibi eum parata instructaque remigio excepit navis. Ita Africa Hannibal excessit, saepius patriae quam suum 3 eventum miseratus. Eodem die in Cercinam insulam traiecit. Ubi cum in portu naves aliquot Phoenicum

¹ The legal procedures referred to in technical language are: *subscribere*: to sign one's name as seconding a prosecution brought by another without necessarily participating in the action; *calumniam iurare*: to swear that a prosecutor is acting in good faith; *nomen deferre*: to report the defendant's name to a magistrate as one who should be prosecuted on some charge.

BOOK XXXIII. XLVII. 5—XLVIII. 3

conquered Hannibal in battle, acting, so to speak, as his prosecutors, to assert good faith and bring charges against him,¹ they at length prevailed upon the senate to send an embassy to Carthage which should lay charges before their senate that Hannibal was conspiring with King Antiochus to foment war. Three ambassadors were sent—Gnaeus Servilius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Quintus Terentius Culleo. When they arrived in Carthage, on the advice of Hannibal's enemies, they caused the answer to be given to those who asked what their errand was, that they had come to put an end to the disputes which had arisen between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of the Numidians. This was generally accepted; but Hannibal did not fail to see that he and he alone was the object of the Romans' attack and that peace had been granted to the Carthaginians with the reservation that with him alone there should be implacable war. So he decided to give way to the emergency and his fate; and having already made all his preparations in advance for his departure, he spent that day in the forum in order to avert suspicion and at dusk, clad in his ordinary dress, he made his way to the gate with two companions who were ignorant of his design. B.C. 195

XLVIII. When he had found the horses ready in the place he had ordered them to be, he crossed by night the territory which they call Byzacium and arrived next day at his castle on the coast between Acylla and Thapsus. There a ship was waiting for him, manned and equipped. Thus Hannibal left Africa, bewailing his country's fate more often than his own. The same day he reached the island of Cercina. Since there were in port many Phoenician

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onerarias cum mercibus invenisset et ad egressum eum e nave concursus salutantium esset factus, percunctantibus legatum se Tyrum missum dici iussit. 4 Veritus tamen ne qua earum navis nocte profecta Thapsum aut Hadrumetum nuntiaret se Cercinae visum, sacrificio apparari iusso magistros navium mercatoresque invitari iussit et vela cum antennis 5 ex navibus conrogari, ut umbraclum¹—media aestas 6 forte erat—cenantibus in litore fieret. Quanto res et tempus patiebatur apparatu celebratae eius diei epulae sunt; multoque vino in serum noctis con- 7 vivium productum. Hannibal, cum² primum fallendi eos qui in portu erant tempus habuit, navem solvit. 8 Ceteri sopiti cum postero die tandem ex somno pleni crapulae surrexissent, ad id quod serum erat, aliquot horas referendis in naves collocandisque³ et aptandis armamentis absumpserunt.

9 Carthagine⁴ multitudinis adsuetae domum Hannibal's frequentare concursus ad vestibulum aedium 10 est factus. Ut non comparere eum vulgatum est, in forum turba convenit principem civitatis quaerentium; 11 et alii fugam conscisse, id quod erat, alii fraude Romanorum interfectum, idque magis vulgo fremebant, variosque vultus cerneres ut in civitate aliorum alias partes foventium et factionibus discordi; visum deinde Cercinae eum tandem allatum est.

XLIX. Et Romani legati cum in senatu exposuis-

¹ umbraclum *Madvig*: umbraetum *B.*

² cum *ed. Leidensis* 1553: quod *B.*

³ collocandisque *Kreyssig*: collocandis *B.*

⁴ Carthagine *Weissenborn*: Carthagine et *B.*

vessels, loaded with merchandise, and crowds of B.C. 195 people came to pay their respects to him as he landed, he bade that the answer be given to their questions that he had been sent on an embassy to Tyre. Fearing nevertheless that one of these ships might leave at night and take the word to Thapsus or Hadrumetum that he had been seen at Cercina, he ordered preparations made for a sacrifice and the ship-captains and merchants invited to dinner and the sails and yards borrowed from their ships to provide a canopy—it chanced to be midsummer—for the diners on the shore. The dinner was given that day with all the pomp the situation and the time permitted, and the feasting was prolonged until late into the night with abundance of wine. As soon as Hannibal found an opportunity to elude the men who were in the harbour, he set sail. The rest were sound asleep, and when they finally woke from slumber the next day, still heavy with wine, too late to accomplish anything, they spent some hours with the rigging, carrying it back to the ships, setting it up, and adjusting it.

At Carthage, the crowd of people which was accustomed to visit Hannibal gathered about the doors of his house. When it was generally known that he could not be found, the crowd rushed to the forum, demanding their foremost citizen; some said that he had escaped, which was the case, others that he had been murdered at the instigation of the Romans, and this aroused the greater resentment; one could see the various looks natural in a state made up of men of opposing parties and torn by factional strife; finally word came that he had been seen at Cercina.

XLIX. The Roman ambassadors stated in the senate that proof had been furnished the Fathers at

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sent compertum patribus Romanis esse, et Philippum regem ante ab Hannibale maxime accensum bellum
 2 populo Romano fecisse, et nunc litteras nuntiosque ab eo ad Antiochum et Aetolos missos, consiliaque inita impellendae ad defectionem Carthagini, nec alio eum quam ad Antiochum regem profectum; haud quieturum eum antequam bellum¹ toto orbe
 3 terrarum concisset;² id ei non debere impune esse, si satisfacere Carthaginienses populo Romano vellent nihil eorum sua voluntate nec publico consilio factum
 4 esse; Carthaginienses responderunt quidquid aequum censuissent Romani, facturos esse.

5 Hannibal prospero cursu Tyrum pervenit exceptusque a conditoribus Carthagini, ut ab altera patria, vir tam clarus omni genere honorum, paucos moratus dies
 6 Antiochiam navigat. Ibi profectum iam regem in Asiam cum audisset filiumque eius sollemne ludorum ad Daphnen celebrantem convenisset, comiter ab eo
 7 exceptus nullam moram navigandi fecit. Ephesi regem est consecutus, fluctuantem adhuc animo incertumque de Romano bello; sed haud parvum momentum ad animum eius moliendum adventus
 8 Hannibalis fecit. Aetolorum quoque eodem tempore alienati ab societate Romana animi sunt, quorum legatos Pharsalum et Leucadem et quasdam alias civitates ex primo foedere repetentes senatus ad T. Quinctium reiecit.

¹ eum antequam bellum *Kreyssig*: eum quam bellum antequam *B*.

² concisset *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: consoisset *B*.

BOOK XXXIII. XLIX. I-8

Rome, first, that King Philip had made war upon the Roman people mainly at the instigation of Hannibal, second, that recently letters and messages had been sent by him to Antiochus and the Aetolians, stating that plans had been considered for drawing Carthage into the revolt, and that he had gone nowhere else than to Antiochus; he would never rest, they said, until he had roused the whole world to war; they added that such conduct should not go unpunished if the Carthaginians wished to convince the Roman people that none of these things had been done with their approval or with public sanction. The Carthaginians responded that they would do whatever the Romans should have determined was proper. B.C. 195

Hannibal arrived at Tyre after a prosperous voyage and was received by the founders of Carthage as coming from a second home-land, a man so distinguished by every kind of honour. After a brief stay he sailed to Antioch, and when, on his arrival there, he heard that the king had already gone to Asia, he met his son, who was holding the ritual games at Daphne, and after a courteous reception he set sail without delay. At Ephesus he overtook the king, still wavering in mind and undecided about the war with Rome, but the arrival of Hannibal was no small factor in making up his mind. At that time, too, the Aetolians were inclined to abandon their alliance with Rome, since the ambassadors whom they had sent to recover Pharsalus and Leucas and certain other cities in accordance with the original treaty had been referred by the senate to Titus Quinctius.

LIBRI XXXIII PERIOCHA

T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS procos. cum Philippo ad Cynoscephalas in Thessalia acie victo debellavit. L. Quinctius Flaminius, ille frater procos., Acarnanas, Leucade urbe quod caput est Acarnanum expugnata, in deditionem accepit. Pax petenti Philippo Graecia liberata data est. Attalus ab Thebis ob subitam valetudinem Pergamum translatus decessit. C. Sempronius Tuditanus praetor ab Celtiberis cum exercitu caesus est. L. Furius Purpurio et Claudius Marcellus coss. Boios et Insubres Gallos subegerunt. Marcellus triumphavit. Hannibal frustra in Africa bellum molitus et ob hoc Romanis per epistulas ab adversae¹ factionis principibus delatus propter metum Romanorum, qui legatos ad senatum Carthaginiensium de eo miserant, profugus ad Antiochum, Syriae regem, se contulit bellum adversus Romanos parantem.

¹ ab adversae *Jahn* : adversae *codd.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXIII

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS the proconsul ended the war by defeating Philip in battle at Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly. Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, the brother of the proconsul, received the surrender of the Acarnanes after capturing Leucas, the capital of the Acarnanes. Peace was granted to Philip, who petitioned for it, and Greece was set free. Attalus, moved from Thebes to Pergamum on account of a sudden illness, died. Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus the praetor with his army was slain by the Celtiberi. Lucius Furius Purpurio and Claudius Marcellus the consuls defeated the Boi and the Insubrian Gauls. Marcellus triumphed. Hannibal, having vainly plotted war in Africa, and for this reason having been betrayed to the Romans through the letters of leading men of the opposing party, on account of his fear of the Romans, who had sent ambassadors to the senate of the Carthaginians, fled and took refuge with Antiochus, king of Syria, who was planning war against the Romans.

BOOK XXXIV

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I. INTER bellorum magnorum aut vixdum finitorum aut imminentium curas intercessit res parva dictu, sed quae studiis in magnum certamen excesserit. 2 M. Fundanius et L. Valerius tribuni plebi ad plebem 3 tulerunt de Oppia lege abroganda. Tulerat eam C. Oppius tribunus plebis Q. Fabio Ti. Sempronio consulibus, in medio ardore Punici belli, ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haberet neu vestimento versicolori uteretur neu iuncto vehiculo in urbe oppidove aut propius inde mille passus nisi sacrorum 4 publicorum causa veheretur. M. et P. Iunii Bruti tribuni plebis legem Oppiam tuebantur nec eam se abrogari passuros aiebant; ad suadendum dissuadendumque multi nobiles prodibant; Capitolium turba hominum faventium adversantiumque legi 5 complebatur. Matronae nulla nec auctoritate nec verecundia nec imperio virorum contineri limine poterant, omnes vias urbis aditusque in forum obsidebant viros descendentes ad forum orantes ut florente re publica, crescente in dies privata omnium fortuna, matronis quoque pristinum ornatum reddi 6 paterentur. Augebatur haec frequentia mulierum

¹ Sempronius was consul with Fabius (Cunctator) in 215 B.C., and with his son in 213 B.C. The former date for the law is more probable: see vi. 9 and viii. 3 below.

² Particularly one trimmed with purple.

BOOK XXXIV

I. AMID the anxieties of great wars, either scarce B.C. 196 finished or soon to come, an incident occurred, trivial to relate, but which, by reason of the passions it aroused, developed into a violent contention. Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, tribunes of the people, proposed to the assembly the abrogation of the Oppian law. The tribune Gaius Oppius had carried this law in the heat of the Punic War, in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius,¹ that no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold or wear a parti-coloured² garment or ride in a carriage in the City or in a town within a mile thereof, except on the occasion of a religious festival. The tribunes Marcus and Publius Iunius Brutus were supporting the Oppian law, and averred that they would not permit its repeal; many distinguished men came forward to speak for and against it; the Capitoline was filled with crowds of supporters and opponents of the bill. The matrons could not be kept at home by advice or modesty or their husbands' orders, but blocked all the streets and approaches to the Forum, begging the men as they came down to the Forum that, in the prosperous condition of the state, when the private fortunes of all men were daily increasing, they should allow the women too to have their former distinctions restored. The crowd of women

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in dies; nam etiam ex oppidis conciliabulisque¹
7 conveniebant. Iam et consules praetoresque et
alios magistratus adire et rogare audebant; ceterum
minime exorabilem alterum utique consulem, M.
Porcium Catonem, habebant, qui pro lege quae
abrogabatur ita disseruit:

II. " Si in sua quisque nostrum matre familiae,
Quirites, ius et maiestatem viri retinere instituisset,
minus cum universis feminis negotii haberemus;
2 nunc domi victa libertas nostra impotentia muliebri
hic quoque in foro obteritur et calcatur, et quia
singulas non continuimus² universas horremus.
3 Equidem fabulam et fictam rem ducebam esse,
virorum omne genus in aliqua insula coniuratione
4 muliebri ab stirpe sublatum esse; ab nullo genere
non summum periculum est, si coetus et concilia et
secretas consultationes esse sinas. Atque ego vix
statuere apud animum meum possum, utrum peior
5 ipsa res an peiore exemplo agatur; quorum alterum
ad nos consules reliquosque magistratus, alterum ad
vos, Quirites, magis pertinet. Nam utrum e re
publica sit necne id quod ad vos fertur, vestra existi-
6 matio est, qui in suffragium ituri estis; haec con-
sternatio muliebris, sive sua sponte sive auctoribus
vobis, M. Fundani et L. Valeri, facta est, haud dubie
ad culpam magistratum pertinens, nescio vobis,

¹ conciliabulisque *ed. Moguntina* 1518: conciliabulis *B.*

² continuimus *Hertz*: potuimus *B.*

¹ Cato must refer to the story of Hypsipyle (Herodotus VI. 138; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 15), who, however, saved her father Thoas, king of Lemnos, when all the other men on the island were murdered by the women.

² Cato's point is that it was the duty of the magistrates to suppress the gathering of the women as a disturbance of the peace and that it was the duty of the citizens to defeat the

BOOK XXXIV. I. 6-II. 6

grew larger day by day; for they were now coming B.C. 195
in from the towns and rural districts. Soon they
dared even to approach and appeal to the consuls,
the praetors, and the other officials, but one consul,
at least, they found adamant, Marcus Porcius Cato,
who spoke thus in favour of the law whose repeal
was being urged.

II. "If each of us, citizens, had determined to
assert his rights and dignity as a husband with respect
to his own spouse, we should have less trouble with
the sex as a whole; as it is, our liberty, destroyed
at home by female violence, even here in the Forum
is crushed and trodden underfoot, and because we
have not kept them individually under control, we
dread them collectively. For my part, I thought it
a fairy-tale and a piece of fiction that on a certain
island all the men were destroyed, root and branch,
by a conspiracy of women;¹ but from no class is
there not the greatest danger if you permit them
meetings and gatherings and secret consultations.
And I can scarcely decide in my own mind whether
the act itself or the precedent it sets is worse; the
act concerns us consuls and other magistrates;
the example, citizens, rather concerns you.² For
whether the proposal which is laid before you is
in the public interest or not is a question for you
who are soon to cast your votes; but this female
madness, whether it is spontaneous or due to your
instigation, Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius,
but which beyond question brings discredit upon
the magistrates—I do not know, I say, whether
this madness is more shameful for you, tribunes,

proposal to repeal, lest success at this time embolden the
women to interfere with legislation on other occasions.

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7 tribuni, an consulibus magis sit deformis: vobis, si
 feminas ad concitandas tribunicias seditioes iam
 adduxistis; nobis, si ut plebis¹ quondam, sic nunc
 8 mulierum secessione leges accipiendae sunt. Equi-
 dem non sine rubore quodam paulo ante per medium
 agmen mulierum in forum perveni. Quod nisi me
 verecundia singularum magis maiestatis et pudoris
 quam universarum tenuisset, ne compellatae a
 9 consule viderentur, dixissem: 'Qui hic mos est in
 publicum procurrendi et obsidendi vias et viros
 alienos appellandi? Istud ipsum suos quaeque domi
 10 rogare non potuistis? An blandiores in publico
 quam in privato et alienis quam vestris estis?
 Quamquam ne domi quidem vos, si sui iuris finibus
 matronas contineret pudor, quae leges hic rogarentur
 11 abrogarenturve, curare decuit.' Maiores nostri
 nullam, ne privatam quidem rem agere feminas sine
 tutore auctore voluerunt, in manu esse parentium,
 fratrum, virorum; nos, si diis placet, iam etiam rem
 publicam capessere eas patimur et foro quoque et
 12 contionibus et comitiis immisceri. Quid enim nunc
 aliud per vias et compita faciunt quam rogationem
 tribunorum plebi suadent, quam² legem abrogandam
 13 censent? Date frenos impotenti naturae et in-
 domito animali et sperate ipsas modum licentiae
 14 facturas; nisi vos feceritis, minimum hoc eorum est,

¹ si ut plebis *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: sicut *B*: sicut plebis *ϵ*.

² quam *Harant*: aliam *B*.

¹ The plebeian secession of 494 B.C.

² A woman was never *sui iuris* and was not a person in the legal sense. If she was not under the *potestas* of a father or the *manus* of a husband, a *tutor* was appointed to act for her in legal matters.

³ See note on XXXI. vii. 2 above.

or for the consuls: for you, if you have brought B.C. 195
 these women here to support tribunical seditions;
 for us, if we must accept laws given us by a secession
 of women, as formerly by a secession of plebeians.¹
 For myself, I could not conceal my blushes a while
 ago, when I had to make my way to the Forum
 through a crowd of women. Had not respect for
 the dignity and modesty of some individuals among
 them rather than of the sex as a whole kept me silent,
 lest they should seem to have been rebuked by a
 consul, I should have said, 'What sort of practice
 is this, of running out into the streets and blocking
 the roads and speaking to other women's husbands?
 Could you not have made the same requests, each
 of your own husband, at home? Or are you more
 attractive outside and to other women's husbands
 than to your own? And yet, not even at home,
 if modesty would keep matrons within the limits
 of their proper rights, did it become you to concern
 yourselves with the question of what laws should
 be adopted in this place or repealed.' Our ancestors
 permitted no woman to conduct even personal
 business without a guardian to intervene in her
 behalf;² they wished them to be under the control
 of fathers, brothers, husbands; we (Heaven help
 us!) allow them now even to interfere in public
 affairs, yes, and to visit the Forum and our informal
 and formal sessions.³ What else are they doing
 now on the streets and at the corners except urging
 the bill of the tribunes and voting for the repeal
 of the law? Give loose rein to their uncontrollable
 nature and to this untamed creature and expect
 that they will themselves set bounds to their licence;
 unless you act, this is the least of the things enjoined

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quae iniquo animo feminae sibi aut moribus aut legibus iniuncta¹ patiuntur. Omnium rerum libertatem, immo licentiam, si vere dicere volumus, desiderant.

III. " Quid enim, si hoc expugnaverint, non temptabunt? Recensete omnia muliebria iura quibus licentiam earum adligaverint maiores vestri per quaeque eas² subiecerint viris; quibus omnibus constrictas vix tamen continere potestis. Quid?
 2 Si carpere singula et extorquere³ et exaequari ad extremum viris patiemini, tolerabiles vobis eas fore
 3 creditis? Extemplo, simul pares esse coeperint, superiores erunt. At hercule ne quid novum in eas rogetur recusant, non ius sed iniuriam deprecantur,
 4 immo, ut quam accepistis iussistis suffragiis vestris legem, quam usu tot annorum et experiendo comprobastis, hanc ut abrogetis, id est, ut unam tollendo
 5 legem ceteras infirmetis. Nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est; id modo quaeritur si maiori parti et in summam prodest. Si, quod cuique privatim officiet ius, id destruet ac demolietur, quid attinebit universos rogare leges, quas mox abrogare in quos latae sunt
 6 possint? Volo tamen audire quid sit, propter quod matronae consternatae procucurrerint in publicum
 7 ac vix foro se et contione abstineant. Ut captivi ab Hannibale redimantur parentes, viri, liberi, fratres

¹ iniuncta *Gronovius*: iniunctum *B.*

² quaeque eas *Wulsch*: quaeque *B.*

³ extorquere *ed. Moguntina 1518*: extorqueri *B.*

upon women by custom or law and to which they submit with a feeling of injustice. It is complete liberty or, rather, if we wish to speak the truth, complete licence that they desire. B.O. 195

III. "If they win in this, what will they not attempt? Review all the laws with which your forefathers restrained their licence and made them subject to their husbands; even with all these bonds you can scarcely control them. What of this? If you suffer them to seize these bonds one by one and wrench themselves free and finally to be placed on a parity with their husbands, do you think that you will be able to endure them? The moment they begin to be your equals, they will be your superiors. But, by Hercules, they object to the passage of any new law against them, they complain not of law but of wrongs done them; what they want, rather, is that you repeal this law which you have approved and ratified and which in the trial and experience of so many years you have found good: in other words, that by abolishing this one law you weaken the force of all the rest. No law is entirely convenient for everyone; this alone is asked, whether it is good for the majority and on the whole. If every law which harms anyone in his private affairs is to be repealed and discarded, what good will it do for all the citizens to pass laws which those at whom they are aimed will at once annul? I should like to know what it is which has caused the panic-stricken matrons to rush out into the streets and barely refrain from entering the Forum and a public meeting. Is it that our captives, their fathers, husbands, sons or brothers, may be ransomed from Hannibal? Such

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earum? Procul abest absitque semper talis fortuna rei publicae; sed tamen, cum fuit, negastis hoc piis
8 precibus earum. At non pietas nec sollicitudo pro suis, sed religio congregavit eas: matrem Idaeam a Pessinunte ex Phrygia venientem accepturae sunt. Quid honestum dictu saltem seditioni praetenditur
9 muliebri? 'Ut auro et purpura fulgamus' inquit 'ut carpentis festis profestisque diebus, velut triumphantes de lege victa et abrogata et captis et ereptis suffragiis vestris per urbem vectemur; ne ullus modus sumptibus, ne luxuriae sit.'

IV. "Saepe me querentem de feminarum, saepe de virorum nec de privatorum modo sed etiam magistratum sumptibus audistis, diversisque duobus vitiis, avaritia et luxuria, civitatem laborare, quae pestes
2 omnia magna imperia everterunt. Haec ego, quo melior laetiorque in dies fortuna rei publicae est imperiumque crescit—et iam in Graeciam Asiamque transcendimus omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas et regias etiam attrectamus gazas—eo plus horreo,
3 ne illae magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas.
4 Infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracusis illata sunt huic urbi. Iam nimis multos audio Corinthi et Athenarum ornamenta laudantes mirantesque et

¹ See XXII. lxi. 3, where Livy records the refusal to redeem the Romans captured at Cannae.

² The worship of the Magna Mater was imported into Rome in 204 B.C., and the stone which symbolized the goddess was received by the women (XXIX. x. 5; xiv. 10).

³ Marcellus transferred to Rome works of art captured in Syracuse in 212 B.C. and thereby began a revolution in Roman taste (XXV. xl. 2). The pun on the military meaning of *infesta signa* can be more easily noted than reproduced.

⁴ The *ornamenta* brought from Corinth were usually of bronze (hence bronze dishes and small statuary were com-

a calamity to the state is far away, and may it always B.C. 195
 be; but yet, when it did happen, you refused this
 to their pious prayers.¹ But it was not affection
 nor anxiety about their dear ones which had brought
 them together: it was a religious rite, and they were
 about to receive the Idaean Mother as she came
 from Pessinus in Phrygia.² What pretext, respect-
 able even to mention, is now given for this insurrect-
 ion of the women? 'That we may glitter with
 gold and purple,' says one, 'that we may ride in
 carriages on holidays and ordinary days, that we
 may be borne through the city as if in triumph over
 the conquered and vanquished law and over the
 votes which we have captured and wrested from you;
 that there may be no limits to our spending and
 our luxury.'

IV. "You have often heard me complaining of the
 extravagance of the women and often of the men, both
 private citizens and magistrates even, and lamenting
 that the state is suffering from those two opposing
 evils, avarice and luxury, which have been the de-
 struction of every great empire. The better and the
 happier becomes the fortune of our commonwealth
 day by day and the greater the empire grows—and
 already we have crossed into Greece and Asia, places
 filled with all the allurements of vice, and we are hand-
 ling the treasures of kings—the more I fear that these
 things will capture us rather than we them. Tokens
 of danger, believe me, were those statues³ which
 were brought to this city from Syracuse. Altogether
 too many people do I hear praising the baubles⁴
 of Corinth and Athens and laughing at the fictile
 monly called "Corinthia" in Rome) and from Athens painted
 vases.

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5 *antefixa* fictilia deorum Romanorum ridentes. Ego
 hos malo propitios deos et ita spero futuros, si in
 6 suis manere sedibus patiemur. Patrum nostrorum
 memoria per legatum Cineam Pyrrhus non virorum
 modo sed etiam mulierum animos donis temptavit.
 Nondum lex Oppia ad coercendam luxuriam mulie-
 brem lata erat; tamen nulla accepit. Quam causam
 7 fuisse censetis? Eadem fuit quae maioribus nostris
 nihil de hac re lege sanciundi; nulla erat luxuria
 8 quae coereretur. Sicut ante morbos necesse est
 cognitos esse quam remedia eorum, sic cupiditates
 prius natae sunt quam leges quae iis modum facerent.
 9 Quid legem Liciniam excitavit de quingentis iugeribus
 nisi ingens cupido agros continuandi? Quid legem
 Cinciam de donis et muneribus nisi quia vectigalis
 iam et stipendiaria plebs esse senatui coeperat?
 10 Itaque minime mirum est nec Oppiam nec aliam
 ullam tum legem desideratam esse quae modum
 sumptibus mulierum faceret, cum aurum et purpuram
 11 data et oblata ultro non accipiebant. Si nunc cum
 illis donis Cineas urbem circumiret, stantes in publico
 12 invenisset quae acciperent. Atque ego nonnullarum
 cupiditatum ne causam quidem aut rationem inire
 possum. Nam ut, quod alii liceat, tibi non licere
 aliquid fortasse naturalis aut pudoris aut indigna-
 tionis habeat, sic aequato omnium cultu quid unaquae-

¹ The *antefixa* were ornaments placed on the ends of ridge-poles and on roof-corners of temples. Those used in early Rome were frequently of terra-cotta (*fictilia*), and these seemed old-fashioned to changed tastes.

² See *Periocha* XIII.

³ One clause of the famous law of 367 B.C. limited to five hundred *iugera* the amount of public land that any individual might hold (VI. xxxv. 5).

⁴ By this law of 204 B.C. advocates were forbidden to charge

BOOK XXXIV. IV. 4-12

antefixes¹ of our Roman gods. I prefer that these gods be propitious to us, and I trust that they will be if we allow them to remain in their own dwellings. In the memory of our forefathers Pyrrhus, through his agent Cineas, tried to corrupt with gifts the minds of our men and women as well.² Not yet had the Oppian law been passed to curb female extravagance, yet not one woman took his gifts. What do you think was the reason? The same thing which caused our ancestors to pass no law on the subject: there was no extravagance to be restrained. As it is necessary that diseases be known before their cures, so passions are born before the laws which keep them within bounds. What provoked the Licinian law³ about the five hundred *iugera* except the uncontrolled desire of joining field to field? What brought about the Cincian law⁴ except that the plebeians had already begun to be vassals and tributaries to the senate? And so it is not strange that no Oppian or any other law was needed to limit female extravagance at the time when they spurned gifts of gold and purple voluntarily offered to them. If it were to-day that Cineas were going about the city with those presents he would have found women standing in the streets to receive them. And for some desires I can find no reason or explanation. For though it may perhaps cause some natural shame or even anger that what is denied to you is permitted to another, yet, when the dress of all is made alike, what is

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fees for their services or to circumvent the law by accepting presents from their clients. Among the possible purposes was the desire to relieve the commons of financial and other obligations to the aristocracy.

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13 que vestrum veretur ne in se conspiciatur? Pessimus quidem pudor est vel parsimoniae vel paupertatis; sed utrumque lex vobis demit, cum id quod
 14 habere non licet non habetis. 'Hanc' inquit 'ipsam exaequationem non fero' illa locuples. 'Cur non insignis auro et purpura conspicior? Cur paupertas aliarum sub hac legis specie latet, ut quod habere non possunt habiturae, si liceret, fuisse
 15 videantur?' Vultis hoc certamen uxoribus vestris inicere, Quirites, ut divites id habere velint quod nulla alia possit; pauperes, ne ob hoc ipsum contemnantur, supra vires se extendant? Ne eas¹
 16 simul pudere quod non oportet coeperit, quod oportet non pudebit. Quae de suo poterit, parabit; quae
 17 non poterit, virum rogabit. Miserum illum virum, et qui exoratus et qui non exoratus erit, cum quod
 18 ipse non dederit datum ab alio videbit. Nunc vulgo alienos viros rogant et, quod maius est, legem et suffragia rogant et a quibusdam impetrant. Adversus te et rem tuam et liberos tuos exorabilis es; simul lex modum sumptibus uxoris tuae facere
 19 desierit, tu numquam facies. Nolite eodem loco existimare, Quirites, futuram rem quo fuit antequam lex de hoc ferretur. Et hominem improbum non accusari tutius est quam absolvi, et luxuria non mota

¹ ne eas *Lentz* : ne *B.*

BOOK XXXIV. IV. 12-19

there which any of you fears will not be conspicuous B.C. 195
in herself? The worst kind of shame, I tell you,
is that derived from stinginess or poverty; but the
law takes from you the chance of either, since you
do not have what it is not allowed you to have.
'It is just this equality that I will not put up with,'
says yonder rich woman. 'Why do I not stand out
conspicuous by reason of gold and purple? Why
does the poverty of other women lie concealed under
cover of this law, that it may seem that, had it been
legal, they would have owned what it is not in their
power to own?' Do you wish, citizens, to start
a race like this among your wives, so that the rich
shall want to own what no other woman can have
and the poor, lest they be despised for their poverty,
shall spend beyond their means? Once let these
women begin to be ashamed of what they should
not be ashamed, and they will not be ashamed of
what they ought. She who can buy from her own
purse will buy; she who cannot will beg her husband.
Poor wretch that husband, both he who yields and
he who yields not, since what he will not himself
give he will see given by another man. Now they
publicly address other women's husbands, and,
what is more serious, they beg for a law and votes,
and from sundry men they get what they ask. In
matters affecting yourself, your property, your
children, you, Sir, can be importuned; once the law
has ceased to set a limit to your wife's expenditures
you will never set it yourself. Do not think, citizens,
that the situation which existed before the law was
passed will ever return. It is safer for a criminal
to go unaccused than to be acquitted; and luxury,
left undisturbed, would have been more endurable

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20 tolerabilior esset quam erit nunc, ipsis vinculis, sicut
 21 ferae bestiae, irritata,¹ deinde emissa.² Ego nullo
 modo abrogandam legem Oppiam censeo; vos quod
 faxitis, deos omnes fortunare velim."

V. Post haec tribuni quoque plebi qui se inter-
 cessuros professi erant, cum pauca in eandem
 sententiam adiecissent, tum L. Valerius pro rogatione
 ab se promulgata ita disseruit: " Si privati tantum-
 modo ad suadendum dissuadendumque id quod ab
 nobis rogatur processissent, ego quoque, cum satis
 dictum pro utraque parte existimarem, tacitus
 2 suffragia vestra expectassem; nunc cum vir gravis-
 simus, consul M. Porcius, non auctoritate solum, quae
 tacita satis momenti habuisset, sed oratione etiam
 longa et accurata insectatus sit rogationem nostram,
 3 necesse est paucis respondere. Qui tamen plura
 verba in castigandis matronis quam in rogatione
 nostra dissuadenda consumpsit, et quidem ut in
 dubio poneret, utrum id quod reprobaret matronae
 4 sua sponte an nobis auctoribus fecissent. Rem
 defendam, non nos, in quos iecit magis hoc consul
 5 verbo tenus quam ut re insimularet. Coetum et
 seditionem et interdum secessionem muliebrem
 appellavit, quod matronae in publico vos rogassent
 ut legem in se latam per bellum temporibus duris in
 pace et florenti ac beata re publica abrogaretis.
 6 Verba magna quae rei augendae causa conquirantur.

¹ irritata *Gronovius* : irritatae *B.*

² emissa *Gronovius* : emissae *B.*

then than it will be now, when it has been, like a wild beast, first rendered angry by its very fetters and then let loose. My opinion is that the Oppian law should on no account be repealed; whatever is your decision, I pray that all the gods may prosper it." B.O. 196

V. After this the tribunes of the people who had declared that they would veto the bill spoke briefly to the same effect, and then Lucius Valerius argued thus for the measure which he had proposed: "If only private citizens had come forward to support or oppose the measure which we have placed before you, I too, since I judged that enough had been said on each side, should have waited in silence for your ballots; now, since that most influential man, the consul Marcus Porcius, has attacked our proposal not only with his authority, which unexpressed would have had enough of weight, but also in a long and carefully-prepared speech, it is necessary to make a brief reply. And yet he used up more words in reproving the matrons than he did in opposing our bill, and, in fact, left it in doubt whether the conduct for which he rebuked the matrons was spontaneous or inspired by us. I propose to defend the measure rather than ourselves, at whom the consul directed his insinuations, more to have something to say than to make a serious charge. This gathering of women he called a sedition and sometimes 'a female secession,' because the matrons, in the streets, had requested you to repeal, in a time of peace and in a rich and prosperous commonwealth, a law that was passed against them in the trying days of a war. I know that there is this and still other vigorous language, which has been sought out to make the argument

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et haec et alia esse scio, et M. Catonem oratorem non solum gravem sed interdum etiam trucem esse
 7 scimus omnes, cum ingenio sit mitis. Nam quid tandem novi matronae fecerunt, quod frequentes in causa ad se pertinente in publicum processerunt? Numquam ante hoc tempus in publico apparuerunt?
 8 Tuas adversus te Origines revolvam. Accipe quotiens id fecerint, et quidem semper bono publico. Iam a principio, regnante Romulo, cum Capitolio ab Sabinis capto medio in foro signis collatis dimicaretur, nonne intercurso matronarum inter acies duas
 9 proelium sedatum est? Quid? Regibus exactis cum Coriolano Marcio duce legiones Volscorum castra ad quintum lapidem posuissent, nonne id agmen, quo obruta haec urbs esset, matronae averterunt? Iam urbe capta a Gallis, quo redempta urbs est? Nempe aurum matronae consensu omnium in publicum
 10 contulerunt. Proximo bello, ne antiqua repetam, nonne et, cum pecunia opus fuit, viduarum pecuniae adjuverunt aerarium et, cum dii quoque novi ad opem ferendam dubiis rebus accerserentur, matronae universae ad mare profectae sunt ad matrem Idaeam
 11 accipiendam? Dissimiles, inquis, causae sunt. Nec mihi causas aequare propositum est; nihil novi

¹ The amplification of an argument was a recognized rhetorical device; to an opponent it would easily seem to be an exaggeration.

² Valerius quotes or pretends to quote from Cato's own historical work, which treated of early Roman history. The *Origines* had not actually been written at the time of the feminist agitation (Nepos, Cato 3; Quintilian XII. xi. 23, etc.). The scroll form of the ancient book explains the choice of the verb *revolvam*.

BOOK XXXIV. v. 6-11

sound more convincing;¹ we all know, too, that B.C. 195
 Marcus Cato is an orator not only powerful but
 sometimes even savage, though he is kind of heart.
 What new thing, pray, have the matrons done in
 coming out into the streets in crowds in a case that
 concerned them? Have they never before this
 moment appeared in public? Let me unroll your
 own *Origines* against you.² Hear how often they
 have done it and always, indeed, for the general good.
 Even in the beginning, while Romulus was king,
 when the Capitoline had been taken by the Sabines
 and pitched battle was raging in the centre of the
 Forum, was not the fighting stopped by the rush of the
 matrons between the two battle-lines?³ What of this?
 When, after the expulsion of the kings, the Volscian
 legions led by Marcius Coriolanus had encamped
 at the fifth milestone, did not the matrons turn
 away from us the army which would have destroyed
 our city?⁴ When the City was later captured by
 the Gauls, how was it ransomed? Why, the matrons
 by unanimous consent contributed their gold to the
 public use.⁵ In the recent war (not to go to remoter
 times), did not the widows, when there was a scarcity
 of money, aid the treasury with their wealth,⁶ and
 when new gods too were brought in to help us in
 our crisis, did not the matrons in a body go down
 to the sea to receive the Idaean Mother? These
 cases, you say, are different. It is not my purpose
 to prove them similar; it suffices if I prove that this

¹ The story is told in I. ix. 1-xiii. 5.

² The story is told in II. xxxv. 6-xl. 10.

³ This story is told in v. 1-7.

⁴ See XXIV. xviii. 14.

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- 12 factum purgare satis est. Ceterum quod in rebus
ad omnes pariter, viros feminas, pertinentibus fecisse
eas nemo miratus est, in causa proprie ad ipsas
pertinente miramur fecisse? Quid autem fecerunt?
13 Superbas, me dius fidius, aures habemus si, cum
domini servorum non fastidiant preces, nos rogari ab
honestis feminis indignamur.

VI. " Venio nunc ad id de quo agitur. In quo
duplex consulis oratio fuit; nam et legem ullam
omnino abrogari est indignatus, et eam praecipue
2 legem quae luxuriae muliebris coercendae causa lata
esset. Et illa communis pro legibus visa consularis
oratio est, et haec adversus luxuriam severissimis
3 moribus conveniebat; itaque periculum est, nisi quid
in utraque re vani sit docuerimus, ne quis error vobis
4 offundatur. Ego enim quem ad modum ex iis legibus,
quae non in tempus aliquod sed perpetuae utilitatis
causa in aeternum latae sunt, nullam abrogari debere
fateor, nisi quam aut usus coarguit aut status aliquis
5 rei publicae inutilem fecit, sic quas tempora aliqua
desiderarunt leges, mortales, ut ita dicam, et tem-
6 poribus ipsis mutabiles esse video. Quae in pace
lata sunt, plerumque bellum abrogat; quae in bello,
pax, ut in navis administratione alia in secunda alia
7 in adversa tempestate usui sunt. Haec cum ita
natura distincta sint, ex utro tandem genere ea lex
esse videtur, quam abrogamus? Quid? Vetus regia
8 lex, simul cum ipsa urbe nata aut, quod secun-

is nothing new. But what no one wonders that all, B.C. 195
 men and women alike, have done in matters that concern them, do we wonder that the women have done in a case peculiarly their own? What now have they done? We have proud ears, upon my word, if, although masters do not scorn to hear the petitions of slaves, we complain that we are appealed to by respectable women.

VI. "I come now to the matter which is under discussion. On this point the consul's argument was twofold: for he protested against the repeal of any law at all, and particularly of that law which was designed to limit feminine luxury. The former argument, a general appeal on behalf of the laws, was becoming to a consul; the latter, against luxury, was consistent with his strict moral code; accordingly, unless I reveal the fallacy in both, there is a danger that some misconception may blind your eyes. For while I acknowledge that, of these laws which have been passed, not for a particular occasion, but as permanent institutions because of their enduring benefit, none should be repealed, unless experience shows it to be useless or some emergency in the state renders it valueless, yet I see that certain laws which crises in the state have demanded are, so to speak, mortal, and subject to change as conditions themselves change. Laws passed in time of peace, war frequently annuls, and peace those passed in times of war, just as in handling a ship some means are useful in fair weather and others in a storm. Since they are so distinguished by nature, to which class, I ask, does the law which we are trying to repeal seem to belong? Well? Is it an ancient regal law, born with the City itself, or, what is next to that, one

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dum est, ab decemviris ad condenda iura creatis in
 duodecim tabulis scripta, sine qua cum maiores nostri
 non existimarint decus matronale servari posse,
 nobis quoque verendum sit ne cum ea pudorem
 9 sanctitatemque feminarum abrogemus? Quis igitur
 nescit novam istam legem esse, Q. Fabio et Ti.
 Sempronio consulibus viginti ante annis latam?
 Sine qua cum per tot annos matronae optimis moribus
 vixerint, quod tandem ne abrogata ea effundantur
 10 ad luxuriam periculum est? Nam si ista lex vetus¹
 aut ideo lata esset ut finiret libidinem muliebrem,
 verendum foret ne abrogata incitaret; cur sit autem
 11 lata, ipsum indicabit² tempus. Hannibal in Italia
 erat, victor ad Cannas; iam Tarentum, iam Arpos,
 12 iam Capuam habebat; ad urbem Romam admoturus
 exercitum videbatur; defecerant socii; non milites
 in supplementum, non socios navales ad classem
 tuendam, non pecuniam in aerario habebamus; servi
 quibus arma darentur, ita ut pretium pro iis bello
 13 perfecto dominis solveretur, emebantur; in eandem
 diem³ pecuniae frumentum et cetera quae belli usus
 postulabant praebenda publicani se conducturos
 professi erant; servos ad remum numero ex censu
 14 constituto cum stipendio nostro dabamus; aurum et
 argentum omne ab senatoribus eius rei initio orto in
 publicum conferebamus; viduae et pupilli pecunias
 suas in aerarium deferebant; cautum erat quo ne
 plus auri et argenti facti, quo ne plus signati argenti

¹ lex vetus *Meyerhoefer* : lex *B.*

² indicabit *Gronovius* : indicavit *B.*

³ eandem diem *Gelenius* : eadem die *B.*

¹ Tarentum did not surrender to him until 213 or 212 B.C. (XXV. xi. 20).

² *I.e.*, after the war; cf. XXIII. xlix. 1-3.

inscribed on the twelve tables by the decemvirs B.C. 195 appointed to codify the law? Is it a law without which our ancestors held that a matron's virtue could not be preserved, and which we too must fear to repeal lest along with it we repeal the modesty and purity of our women? Who is there, then, who does not know that this is a new law, passed twenty years ago, in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius? Since for so many years our matrons lived virtuous lives without it, what danger is there that when it is repealed they will rush into riotous luxury? For if it were an ancient law, or passed for the purpose of holding feminine caprice under restraint, there would be danger that its abrogation would rouse their passion; but the occasion itself will tell you why the law was passed. Hannibal was in Italy, victorious at Cannae; he already held Tarentum,¹ Arpi, Capua; he seemed ready to march on our city of Rome; our allies had deserted us; we had no troops in reserve, no naval allies to maintain the fleet, no money in the treasury; slaves were being purchased for employment as soldiers, on condition that the price should be paid their owners after the war; the contractors agreed to furnish grain and other things demanded by the war on the same settlement-day;² we furnished slaves for rowers in proportion to our census-ratings, and ourselves bore the costs;³ we all, following the example set by the senators, gave our gold and silver for the public use; widows and minors deposited their money in the treasury; we were forbidden to have at home more than a certain quantity of gold or silver plate or

¹ In 214 B.C. (XXIV. xi. 7-9), the senate took the action here described; cf. also XXVI. xxxv. 1-xxxvi. 12.

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- 15 et aeris domi haberemus: tali tempore in luxuria et ornatu matronae occupatae erant ut ad eam coerendam Oppia lex desiderata sit, cum, quia Cereris sacrificium lugentibus omnibus matronis intermissum erat, senatus finiri luctum triginta diebus iussit?
- 16 Cui non apparet inopiam et miseriam civitatis, quia¹ omnium privatorum pecuniae in usum publicum vertendae erant, istam legem scripsisse, tam diu mansuram quam diu causa scribendae legis mansisset?
- 17 Nam si, quae tunc temporis causa aut decrevit senatus aut populus iussit, in perpetuum servari oportet, cur pecunias reddimus privatis? Cur publica
- 18 praesenti pecunia locamus? Cur servi qui militent non emuntur? Cur privati non damus remiges sicut tunc dedimus?

VII. " Omnes alii ordines, omnes homines mutationem in meliorem statum rei publicae sentient: ad coniuges tantum nostras pacis et tranquillitatis
2 publicae fructus non perveniet? Purpura viri utemur, praetextati in magistratibus, in sacerdotiis; liberi nostri praetextis purpura togis utentur; magistratibus in coloniis municipiisque, hic Romae infimo generi, magistris vicorum, togae praetextae
3 habendae ius permittemus, nec ut vivi solum habeant tantum insigne, sed etiam ut cum eo crementur

¹ quia *Gronovius*: et quia *B*.

¹ This statement is not quite consistent with the proposal of M. Valerius Laevinus in 210 B.C. (XXVI. xxxvi. 5-8). The speaker for rhetorical effect ignores the fact that the sumptuary laws he mentions were passed at different times.

² This happened in 216 B.C. (XXII. lvi. 4).

³ Valerius argues that the Oppian law was merely one of a series of emergency measures by which all elements in the state were affected. To leave this one law in force would

coined silver or bronze;¹ at such a time were the B.O. 195
 matrons so absorbed in luxury and adornment that the Oppian law was needed to restrain them, when, since the rites of Ceres had to be omitted because all the women were in mourning, the senate limited the period of mourning to thirty days?² Who fails to see that the poverty and distress of the state wrote that law, since all private property had to be diverted to public use, and that the law was to remain in force so long as the cause of its enactment lasted?³ For, if whatever emergency measure was passed by senatorial decree or popular vote should be for ever observed, why do we repay the loans advanced by private citizens? Why do we let contracts calling for cash payment? Why are slaves not bought to serve in the armies? Why do not private citizens furnish rowers as we did then?

VII. "All other orders, all men, will feel the change for the better in the state; shall our wives alone get no enjoyment from national peace and tranquillity? Shall we men wear purple and walk clad in the *toga praetexta*⁴ while holding priesthoods and offices? Shall our sons wear togas bordered with purple? Shall officials⁵ in the colonies and the municipal towns, and here in Rome, the ward-masters,⁶ the lowest official rank, be allowed to wear the *toga praetexta*, and enjoy so great a distinction not only during life, but even after death be burned with mean continued discrimination against one element, the women, after the other methods had been abandoned.

¹ See the note on XXXIII. xlii. 1.

² While not strictly possessed of these privileges, communities of these types freely imitated Roman customs.

³ These officials had certain duties in connection with the games, and so enjoyed special privileges.

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mortui: feminis dumtaxat purpurae usu¹ interdicens? Et, cum tibi viro liceat purpura in vestem stragulam uti, matrem familiae tuam purpureum amiculum habere non sines, et equus tuus speciosius
 4 instratus erit quam uxor vestita? Sed in purpura, quae teritur absumitur, iniustam² quidem, sed aliquam tamen causam tenacitatis video; in auro vero, in quo praeter manupretium³ nihil intertrimenti fit, quae malignitas est! Praesidium potius in eo est et ad privatos et ad publicos usus, sicut experti
 5 estis. Nullam aemulationem inter se singularum, quoniam nulla haberet, esse aiebat. At hercule universis dolor et indignatio est, cum sociorum Latini nominis uxoribus vident ea concessa ornamenta
 6 quae sibi adempta sint, cum insignes eas esse auro et purpura, cum illas vehi per urbem, se pedibus sequi, tamquam in illarum civitatibus, non in sua, imperium
 7 sit. Virorum hoc animos vulnerare posset; quid muliercularum censetis, quas etiam parva movent?
 8 Non magistratus nec sacerdotia nec triumphi nec insignia nec dona aut spolia bellica iis contingere
 9 possunt; munditiae et ornatus et cultus, haec feminarum insignia sunt, his gaudent et gloriantur, hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt maiores nostri.
 10 Quid aliud in luctu quam purpuram atque aurum deponunt? Quid cum eluxerunt sumunt? Quid in

¹ usu *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: usui *B.*

² iniustam *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: in his iustam *B.*

³ manupretium *Bekker*: manui pretium *B.*

¹ So in Petronius (lxxi. 9), Trimalchio wishes himself to be represented on his monument wearing the accumulated distinctions won in his public career.

² Cf. vi. 14 and the note above,

³ To balance Cato's pun on *signa*, Valerius makes one on

it :¹ shall women and women alone be forbidden the use of purple? And when you, a man, are allowed to have purple on your outer garment, will you not permit your wife to own a purple cloak, and will the trappings of your horse be more splendid than the dress of your wife? In the matter of purple, which is worn out and destroyed, I see some reason—not a good one, it is true—for niggardliness; but in regard to gold, in which there is no loss except the cost of manufacture, what spitefulness does the law show! It is rather a safeguard for use in both private and public emergency, as in fact you have experienced.² He said there would be no rivalry among individuals if no one owned anything. But, by Hercules, there is mourning and anger among all when they see the wives of allies of the Latin confederacy permitted the ornaments which are refused to them, when they see them decked out in gold and purple, when they see them riding through the city, and themselves following on foot, as if dominion resided in the Latin towns and not in Rome. A thing like this would hurt the feelings even of men: what do you think is its effect upon weak women, whom even little things disturb? No offices, no priesthoods, no triumphs, no decorations, no gifts, no spoils of war can come to them; elegance of appearance, adornment, apparel—these are the woman's badges of honour; in these they rejoice and take delight; these our ancestors called the woman's world.³ What else do they lay aside in times of mourning than purple and jewellery? What do they put on when they have finished their time of mourning? What do they add save more

mundus, which signifies both *universe* and *adornment*. See note on sect. 15 below.

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- 11 gratulationibus supplicationibusque nisi excellen-
 tiorem ornatum adiciunt? Scilicet, si legem Oppiam
 abrogaritis, non vestri arbitrii erit si quid eius vetare
 volueritis, quod nunc lex vetat; minus filiae, uxores,
 12 sorores etiam quibusdam in manu erunt—numquam
 salvis suis exiit servitus muliebris; et ipsae
 libertatem quam viduitas et orbitas facit detestantur.
 13 In vestro arbitrio suum ornatum quam in legis
 malunt esse; et vos in manu et tutela, non in servitio
 debetis habere eas et malle patres vos aut viros
 14 quam dominos dici. Invidiosis nominibus utebatur
 modo consul seditionem muliebrem et secessionem
 appellando. Id enim periculum est ne Sacrum
 montem, sicut quondam irata plebs, aut Aventinum
 capiant. Patiendum huic infirmitati est, quodcumque
 15 vos censueritis. Quo plus potestis, eo moderatius
 imperio uti debetis.”

VIII. Haec cum contra legem proque lege dicta
 essent, aliquanto maior frequentia mulierum postero
 2 die sese in publicum effudit, unoque agmine omnes
 Brutorum ianuas obsederunt, qui collegarum roga-
 tioni intercedebant, nec ante abstiterunt quam
 3 remissa intercessio ab tribunis est. Nulla deinde
 dubitatio fuit quin omnes tribus legem abrogarent.
 Viginti annis post abrogata est quam lata.

¹ Under the stricter Roman law, a woman was throughout life under the *potestas* of her father or his representative or the *manus* of her husband. Valerius makes the point that this domestic authority will be resumed in full with the repeal of the law, and that the same restrictions which the law provided can be enforced if desired.

² This pair of speeches seems to make an elaborate rhetorical exercise, with careful attention, at least in Cato's speech, to characterization of the speaker. It must be admitted, how-

splendid jewels in times of congratulation and thanks-
 giving? Of course, if you repeal the Oppian law, B.C. 196
 you will have no authority if you wish to forbid any
 of these things which now the law forbids; daughters,
 wives, even sisters of some will be less under control
 —never while their males survive is feminine slavery
 shaken off; and even they abhor the freedom which
 loss of husbands and fathers gives.¹ They prefer
 to have their finery under your control and not the
 law's; you too should keep them in control and
 guardianship and not in slavery, and should prefer
 the name of father or husband to that of master.
 The consul a while ago used words intended to
 create prejudice when he spoke of female 'sedition'
 and 'secession.' For the danger, he tells you, is that
 they will seize the Sacred Mount or the Aventine,
 as the angered plebeians once did: in reality their
 frail nature must endure whatever you decree. The
 greater the authority you exercise, the greater the
 self-restraint with which you should use your power."²

VIII. When these speeches against and for the
 bill had been delivered, the next day an even greater
 crowd of women appeared in public, and all of them
 in a body beset the doors of the Bruti, who were
 vetoing their colleagues' proposal, and they did not
 desist until the threat of veto was withdrawn by the
 tribunes. After that there was no question that all
 the tribes would vote to repeal the law. The law
 was repealed twenty years after it was passed.

ever, that the psychology of Cato is more cleverly presented
 than his style, for critics find little trace of the real Cato in the
 speech. None of the fragments of the actual speech of Cato
 (collected, e.g., in Meyer's *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*,
 s.v.) is to be found in Livy.

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4 M. Porcius consul, postquam abrogata lex Oppia
est, extemplo viginti quinque navibus longis, quarum
5 est eodem exercitu convenire iusso et edicto per
oram maritimam misso navibus omnis generis
contractis ab Luna proficiscens edixit ut ad portum
Pyrenaei sequerentur; inde se frequenti classe ad
6 hostes iturum. Praetervecti Ligustinos montes
sinumque Gallicum ad diem quam dixerat con-
venerunt. Inde Rhodam ventum et praesidium
7 Hispanorum quod in castello erat vi deiectum. Ab
Rhoda secundo vento Emporias perventum. Ibi
copiae omnes praeter socios navales in terram
expositae.

IX. Iam tunc Emporiae duo oppida erant muro
divisa. Unum Graeci habebant, a Phocaea, unde et
2 Massilienses, oriundi, alterum Hispani; sed Graecum
oppidum in mare expositum totum orbem muri
minus quadringentos passus patentem habebat,
Hispanis retractior a mare trium milium passuum
3 in circuitu murus erat. Tertium genus Romani
coloni ab divo Caesare post devictos Pompei liberos
adiecti. Nunc in corpus unum confusi omnes His-
panis prius, postremo et Graecis in civitatem
4 Romanam adscitis. Miraretur qui tum cerneret,
aperto mare ab altera parte, ab altera Hispanis,
tam fera et bellicosa gente, obiectis, quae res eos
tutaretur. Disciplina erat custos infirmitatis, quam

¹ Since one of Pompey's sons fell in the battle of Munda (45 B.C.), the establishment of the colony was probably the work of Caesar (the other son of Pompey survived to contend with Augustus).

BOOK XXXIV. VIII. 4-IX. 4

Marcus Porcius the consul, as soon as the Oppian B.C. 195 law was abrogated, at once set out for the harbour of Luna with twenty-five warships, of which five belonged to the allies, having ordered his army to muster at the same place and sent a proclamation along the coast to collect ships of every kind; as he set out from Luna he issued an order that they should follow him to the port of Pyrenaeus, and thence he would proceed against the enemy with all the fleet. They sailed past the Ligurian mountains and the Gallic gulf and joined him on the day he had set. Thence they sailed to Rhoda and ejected by violence a guard of Spaniards that was in the fortress. From Rhoda with favouring winds they came to Emporiae, and there landed all the forces except the naval allies.

IX. Even at that time Emporiae consisted of two towns separated by a wall. One was inhabited by Greeks from Phocaea, whence came the Massilienses also, the other by the Spaniards; but the Greek town, being entirely open to the sea, had only a small extent of wall, of less than four hundred paces in length, while the Spaniards, who were farther back from the sea, had a wall three miles around. A third class of inhabitants, Roman colonists, was added by the deified Caesar¹ after the final defeat of the sons of Pompey, and at present all are fused into one mass, the Spaniards first, and later the Greeks, having been received into Roman citizenship. One who saw them at that time would wonder what secured the safety of the Greeks, with the open sea on one side and the Spaniards, so fierce and warlike a people, their neighbours on the other. Discipline was their protector against their weakness,

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5 inter validiores optime timor continet. Partem
muri versam in agros egregie munitam habebant,
una tantum in eam regionem porta imposita, cuius
adsiduus custos semper aliquis ex magistratibus
6 erat. Nocte pars tertia civium in muris excubabat;
neque moris causa tantum aut legis, sed quanta si
hostis ad portas esset et servabant vigiliam et cir-
cumibant cura. Hispanum neminem in urbem
recipiebant; ne ipsi quidem temere urbe excedebant.
8 Ad mare patebat omnibus exitus. Porta ad His-
panorum oppidum versa numquam nisi frequentes,
pars tertia fere, cuius proxima nocte vigiliae in muris
9 fuerant, egrediebantur. Causa exeundi haec erat:
commercio eorum Hispani, imprudentes maris,
gaudebant mercarique et ipsi ea quae externa navibus
inveherentur et agrorum exigere fructus volebant.
Huius mutui usus desiderium, ut Hispana urbs
10 Graecis pateret, faciebat. Erant etiam eo tutiores
quod sub umbra Romanae amicitiae latebant quam
sicut minoribus viribus quam Massilienses pari
colebant fide. Tum quoque consulem exercitumque
11 comiter ac benigne acceperunt. Paucos ibi moratus
dies Cato, dum exploraret ubi et quantae hostium
copiae essent, ut ne mora quidem segnis esset, omne
12 id tempus exercendis militibus consumpsit. Id erat

¹ Livy may be thinking of the discipline enforced by circumstances upon cities like Sparta.

which among more vigorous peoples is best maintained when there is cause for fear.¹ The part of the wall which faced the interior they kept strongly fortified, with only a single gate leading in that direction, and at this one of the magistrates was posted as a continuous guard. At night a third of the citizens kept vigil on the walls; they did this not merely as a result of custom or in obedience to the law, but they posted their sentinels and sent out their patrols with all the care they would have used had the enemy been at their gates. No Spaniard was admitted to the city, nor did the Greeks themselves leave the city without good cause. Towards the sea the gates were open to all. Through the gate which led to the Spanish town they never passed except in large bodies, usually the third which had maintained the watch on the walls the night before. The cause of going out of the town was this: the Spaniards, who had no experience with the sea, enjoyed transacting business with them, and wanted both to buy the foreign merchandise which they brought in in their ships and to dispose of the products of their farms. The desire for the benefits of this interchange caused the Spanish city to be open to the Greeks. They were safer, too, for the reason that they were under the shelter of the Roman friendship, which they cultivated with resources inferior to those of the Massilienses but with equal devotion. At this time also they received the consul and his army with courtesy and kindness. Cato delayed there a few days, until he could find out where the forces of the enemy lay and what strength they possessed, and, not to be idle even in that time of waiting, he spent the whole period in drilling his

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forte tempus anni ut frumentum in areis Hispani haberent; itaque redemptoribus vetitis frumentum parare ac Romam dimissis "bellum" inquit "se ipsum alet." Profectus ab Emporiis agros hostium urit vastatque, omnia fuga et terrore complet.

X. Eodem tempore M. Helvio decedenti ex ulteriore Hispania cum praesidio sex milium, dato ab Ap. Claudio praetore, Celtiberi agmine ingenti ad oppidum Iliturgi occurrunt.¹ Viginti milia armorum fuisse Valerius scribit, duodecim milia ex iis caesa, oppidum Iliturgi receptum et puberes omnes interfectos. Inde ad castra Catonis Helvius pervenit et, quia tuta iam ab hostibus regio erat, praesidio in ulteriorem Hispaniam remisso Romam est profectus et ob rem feliciter gestam ovans urbem est ingressus. Argenti infecti tulit in aerarium decem quattuor milia pondo septingenta triginta duo et signati bigatorum septendecim milia viginti tres et Oscensis argenti centum undeviginti milia quadringentos undequadragesima. Causa triumphi negandi senatui fuit quod alieno auspicio et in aliena provincia pugnasset. Ceterum biennio post redierat, cum provincia successori Q. Minucio tradita annum insequentem retentus ibi longo et gravi fuisset morbo. Itaque duobus modo mensibus ante Helvius ovans

¹ occurrunt ς : accurrunt *B*.

¹ Helvius had been governor of this province since 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxviii. 2); Claudius succeeded him in 195 B.C.

² Silver was produced in the region of Osca. The coins were probably Spanish *denarii* with Iberian inscriptions.

³ In XXXIII. xxvi. 1 Minucius received the province of Nearer Spain, and so did not succeed Helvius. Probably

troops. It happened to be the time of year when B.C. 195 the Spaniards had the grain on their threshing-floors; he therefore forbade the contractors to purchase any and sent them back to Rome, saying, "This war will support itself." Leaving Emporiae, he burned and laid waste the fields of the enemy and filled everything with flight and terror.

X. At the same time, as Marcus Helvius¹ was retiring from Farther Spain, accompanied by a guard of six thousand men furnished by Appius Claudius the praetor, the Celtiberi with a large force fell upon him near the town of Iliturgi. Valerius writes that there were twenty thousand men there, that twelve thousand of them were killed, the town of Iliturgi taken and all the adults put to death. After that Helvius came to the camp of Cato, and, because this region was now safe from the enemy, sent his guard back to Farther Spain and set out for Rome, and by reason of his victory entered the city in an ovation. He deposited in the treasury fourteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-two pounds of uncoined silver, seventeen thousand and twenty-three *denarii* stamped with the two-horse chariot, and one hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and forty-nine silver coins of Osca.² The reason for the senate's refusal of a triumph was that he had fought under another's auspices and in another's province. But it was not until two years later that he had returned home, though he had turned his province over to his successor Quintus Minucius,³ having been detained there the following year by a long and serious illness. So he entered Rome in an ovation

Helvius accomplished little in his province and the confusion in the records resulted.

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urbem est ingressus quam successor eius Q. Minucius
7 triumpharet. Hic quoque tulit argenti pondo tri-
ginta quattuor milia octingenta et bigatorum
septuaginta tria milia et Oscensis argenti ducenta
septuaginta octo milia.

XI. In Hispania interim consul haud procul
2 Emporiis castra habebat. Eo legati tres ab Iler-
getum regulo Bilistage, in quibus unus filius erat,
venerunt querentes castella sua oppugnari nec spem
ullam esse resistendi, nisi praesidium Romanus
3 misisset;¹ tria milia militum satis esse, nec hostes,
si tanta manus venisset, mansuros. Ad ea consul
moveri quidem se vel periculo eorum vel metu dicere;
4 sed sibi nequaquam tantum copiarum esse ut, cum
magna vis hostium haud procul absit, et quam mox
signis collatis dimicandum sit in dies expectet,
dividendo exercitum minuere tuto vires possit.²
5 Legati, ubi haec audierunt, flentes ad genua consulis
provolvuntur, orant ne se in rebus tam trepidis
deserat: quo enim se, repulsos ab Romanis, ituros?
6 Nullos se socios, nihil usquam in terris aliud spei
7 habere. Potuisse se extra id periculum esse, si
decedere fide, si coniurare cum ceteris voluissent.
Nullis minis, nullis terriculis se motos, sperantes
8 satis opis et auxilii sibi in Romanis esse. Id si
nullum sit, si sibi a consule negetur, deos hominesque
se testes facere invitos et coactos se, ne eadem quae

¹ praesidium Romanus misisset *Bekker*: praesidium
romanus missis et *B*: praesidio romanus miles esset *M*.

² possit *Voss*: posset *B M*.

¹ One of the loyal tribes (XXIX. ii. 5).

BOOK XXXIV. x. 6-xi. 8

only two months before his successor Quintus B.C. 195 Minucius celebrated his triumph. He too brought with him thirty-four thousand eight hundred pounds of silver and seventy-three thousand coined *denarii* and two hundred and seventy-eight thousand pieces of Oscan silver.

XI. Meanwhile in Spain the consul was encamped not far from Emporiae. Thither came from Bili-stages, chieftain of the Ilergetes,¹ three ambassadors, one of whom was his son, complaining that their strongholds were being besieged and that there was no hope of offering resistance unless the Roman sent aid; three thousand soldiers were sufficient, and if so great a force arrived, the enemy would not await them. To this the consul replied that he was indeed moved both by their danger and their fear; but he had by no means enough troops, since a great number of the enemy was close at hand and he expected every day to have to meet them in pitched battle (he had no idea how soon), to allow him safely to weaken himself by dividing his army. When the ambassadors heard this, they wept and threw themselves at the consul's feet, and begged him not to abandon them in such a crisis: where would they turn, rejected by the Romans? They had no allies, no other hope anywhere in the world. They might have escaped the existing danger if they had been willing to violate their pledges and unite with the rest, but no threats and no prospects of danger had moved them, since they hoped to have a sufficient help and assistance in the Romans. If this were not the case, and they were refused by the consul, they called gods and men to witness that unwilling and under compulsion, to avoid the fate which the

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Saguntini passi sint patiantur, defecturos et cum ceteris potius Hispanis quam solos perituros esse.

XII. Et illo quidem die sic sine responso dimissi. Consulem nocte quae insecuta est anceps cura agitare ;
2 nolle deserere socios, nolle minuere exercitum, quod
aut moram sibi ad dimicandum aut in dimicando
3 periculum adferre posset. Stat sententia non
minuere copias, ne quid interim hostes inferant
ignominiae ; sociis spem pro re ostentandam censet ;
4 saepe vana pro veris, maxime in bello, valuisse, et
credentem se aliquid auxilii habere, perinde atque
haberet, ipsa fiducia et sperando atque audendo
5 servatum. Postero die legatis respondet,¹ quam-
quam vereatur ne suas vires aliis eas commodando
minuat, tamen se illorum temporis ac periculi magis
6 quam sui rationem habere. Denuntiari militum
parti tertiae ex omnibus cohortibus iubet, ut cibum
quem in naves imponant mature coquant navesque
7 in diem tertium expediri.² Duos ex legatis Bilistagi
atque Ilergetibus nuntiare ea iubet ; filium reguli
comiter habendo et muneribus apud se retinet.
8 Legati non ante profecti quam impositos in naves
milites viderunt ; id pro haud dubio iam nuntiantes
non suos modo sed etiam hostes fama Romani auxilii
adventantis impleverunt.

XIII. Consul, ubi satis quod in speciem fuit

¹ respondet *Siesbye* : respondit *B M*.

² expediri *Perizonius* : expediri iussit *B*.

BOOK XXXIV. XI. 8-XIII. I

Saguntines suffered, they would join the rebellion and perish with the rest of the Spaniards rather than alone. B.C. 195

XII. And on that day they were dismissed thus, unanswerd. During the night which followed, a double care distressed the consul: he was unwilling to abandon his allies, unwilling to weaken his army, an action which might either delay his engaging or cause danger in the fight. His decision not to weaken his forces remained unchanged, lest he suffer the disgrace of defeat at the hands of the enemy; he determined to offer to the allies hope instead of actuality: often, and especially in war, appearances have had the effect of realities, and the man who believes that help is at hand acts as if he really had it, and by this very confidence, which inspires both hope and daring, is saved. On the following day he answered the ambassadors that, although he feared that he would diminish his own strength by lending part of it to them, yet he was paying regard to their emergency and peril rather than to himself. He ordered warning to be given to one-third of the soldiers of each cohort to cook food in good season and put it on board ship, and the ships to be made ready for sailing the third day. He directed two of the ambassadors to take this news to Bilistages and the Ilergetes; the chief's son he kept with him, persuading him with kindly treatment and with gifts. The ambassadors did not leave until they saw the soldiers marching on board the ships; reporting this as unquestioned fact, they filled not only their own people but also the enemy with the news of the approaching Roman aid.

XIII. The consul, when enough of a show had

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ostentatum est, revocari ex navibus milites iubet;
 2 ipse, cum iam id tempus anni appeteret quo geri res
 possent, castra hiberna tria milia passuum ab Empo-
 riis posuit. Inde per occasiones nunc hac parte
 nunc illa, modico praesidio castris relicto praedatum
 3 milites in hostium agros ducebat. Nocte ferme
 proficiscebantur, ut et quam longissime a castris
 procederent et inopinantes opprimerent. Et exer-
 cebat ea res novos milites et hostium magna vis
 excipiebatur; nec iam egredi extra munimenta
 4 castellorum audebant. Ubi satis ad hunc modum¹
 et suorum et hostium animos est expertus, convocari
 tribunos praefectosque et equites omnes et cen-
 5 turiones iussit. "Tempus" inquit "quod saepe op-
 tastis venit, quo vobis potestas fieret virtutem vestram
 ostendendi. Adhuc praedonum magis quam bel-
 6 lantium militastis more; nunc iusta pugna hostes
 cum hostibus conferetis manus; non agros inde
 7 populari sed urbium opes exhaurire licebit. Patres
 nostri, cum in Hispania² Carthaginensium et impera-
 tores et³ exercitus essent, ipsi nullum in ea militem
 haberent, tamen addi hoc in foedere voluerunt, ut
 8 imperii sui Hiberus fluvius esset finis; nunc cum duo
 praetores, cum consul, cum tres exercitus Romani
 Hispaniam obtineant, Carthaginensium decem iam
 prope annis nemo in his provinciis sit, imperium nobis
 9 citra Hiberum amissum est. Hoc armis et virtute

¹ satis ad hunc modum *Duker*: admodum *B*: satis admodum *ed. Moguntina* 1518.

² in Hispania *edd. vett.*: Hispania *B*.

³ et *Gronovius*: ibi et *B*.

¹ Cato economizes time by combining practice-marches with fighting, and increases the distance covered on each raid by beginning his march during the night.

BOOK XXXIV. XIII. 1-9

been given to keep up appearances, ordered the soldiers to disembark; and he himself, since now the time of the year was drawing near when active operations could be carried on, established a winter camp three miles from Emporiae. Thence as occasion offered, now in this direction and now in that, leaving small guards at the camp, he led the soldiers into the enemy's country to seek plunder. They usually set out at night, so as to march as far as possible from the camp and to take the enemy off their guard. By this means¹ he hardened his recruits and captured a great number of the enemy; no longer did they venture to go outside the fortifications of their stations. When he had in this way sufficiently tested the tempers of his own men and the enemy, he called into conference the tribunes and prefects and all the cavalry and centurions. "The time," he said, "which you have often longed for is at hand, when you will have the opportunity of making display of your courage. So far you have fought more like guerillas than like soldiers; now, foe facing foe, you will meet in regular battle. Henceforth you will be able, not to pillage country districts, but to drain the wealth of cities. Our fathers, when the Carthaginians had both generals and armies in Spain, and they themselves had not a single soldier here, still demanded that it be stated in the treaty that the Ebro river should be the boundary of their empire;² now, when there are two praetors, a consul, and three Roman armies stationed in Spain, and for nearly ten years no Carthaginian has been in these provinces, our empire on this side of the Ebro has been lost. This it is your task to recover

¹ See the note on XXXI. vii. 3.

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reciperetis oportet et nationem rebellantem magis
temere quam constanter bellantem iugum quo se
10 exiit accipere rursus cogatis." In hunc modum
maxime adhortatus pronuntiat se nocte ad castra
hostium ducturum. Ita ad corpora curanda dimissi.

XIV. Nocte media, cum auspicio operam dedisset,
profectus, ut locum quem vellet priusquam hostes
sentirent caperet, praeter castra hostium circumducit
et prima luce acie instructa sub ipsum vallum tres
2 cohortes mittit. Mirantes barbari ab tergo appa-
3 ruisse Romanum discurrere et ipsi ¹ ad arma. Interim
consul apud suos " nusquam nisi in virtute spes est,
4 milites," inquit " et ego sedulo ne esset feci. Inter
castra nostra et nos medii hostes et ab tergo hostium
ager est. Quod pulcherrimum idem tutissimum:
5 in virtute spem positam habere." Sub haec cohortes
recipi iubet, ut barbaros simulatione fugae eliceret.
Id quod crediderat evenit. Pertimuisse et cedere
rati Romanos porta erumpunt et quantum inter
castra sua et aciem hostium relictum erat loci armatis
6 complent. Dum trepidant acie instruenda, consul
iam paratis ordinatisque omnibus incompositos
adgreditur. Equites primos ab utroque cornu in
pugnam induxit. Sed in dextro extemplo pulsus
cedentesque trepidi etiam pediti terrorem intulere.

¹ et ipsi *Duker* : ipsi *B.*

BOOK XXXIV. XIII. 9-XIV. 6

with your arms and your daring, and to compel this nation, which is rather in rebellion rashly than warring with steadiness of purpose, to accept again the yoke which it has thrown off." After encouraging them in about this fashion, he announced that he would lead them against the enemy's camp that night, and so dismissed them to seek rest. B.C. 195

XIV. At midnight, after taking the auspices in due form, he set out, that he might choose the place he wished before the enemy was aware of his coming, led his troops beyond the camp of the enemy, and at daybreak, drawing up his line of battle, he sent three cohorts close to the very rampart. The barbarians, marvelling that the Romans had appeared in their rear, themselves ran to arms. Meanwhile the consul harangued his troops: "Nowhere, soldiers, is there any hope except in your courage, and I have deliberately acted so that there should be none. Between us and our camp is the enemy, and in the rear is the enemy's country. What is most glorious is also the safest: to place our hopes in valour." After this he ordered the cohorts recalled, to draw the enemy out of their camp by the pretence of flight. What he had anticipated occurred. Thinking that the Romans were retreating in terror, they rushed out of the gate and filled with soldiers all the space that was left between the camp and the enemy's battle-line. While they were in the confusion of forming their array, the consul, who had everything already prepared and in order, fell upon them in their disorder. The cavalry was the first to enter the battle on both flanks, but on the right they were at once repulsed, and retiring in fear they even caused a panic among the infantry. When the

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7 Quod ubi consul vidit, duas cohortes delectas ab dextro latere hostium circumduci iubet et ab tergo se ostendere priusquam concurrerent peditum acies. 8 Is terror obiectus hosti rem metu Romanorum equitum inclinatum aequavit; tamen adeo turbati erant dextrae alae pedites equitesque ut quosdam consul 9 manu ipse reppererit verteritque in hostem. Ita et quamdiu missilibus pugnatum est, anceps pugna erat, et iam ab dextra parte, unde terror et fuga 10 coeperat, aegre Romanus restabat; ab sinistro cornu et a fronte urgebantur barbari et cohortes a 11 tergo instantes pavidi respiciebant. Ut emissis soliferreis phalaricisque gladios strinxerunt, tum velut redintegrata est pugna. Non caecis ictibus procul ex improvise vulnerabantur, sed pede collato tota in virtute ac viribus spes erat.

XV. Fessos iam suos consul ex secunda acie subsidiariis cohortibus in pugnam inductis accendit. 2 Nova acies facta; integri recentibus telis fatigatos adorti hostes primum acri impetu velut cuneo perculerunt, deinde dissipatos in fugam averterunt; 3 effuso per agros cursu castra repetebantur. Ubi omnia fuga completa vidit Cato, ipse ad secundam legionem, quae in subsidio posita erat, revehitur et signa prae se ferri plenoque gradu ad castra hostium 4 oppugnanda succedere iubet. Si quis extra ordinem

consul observed this, he ordered two picked cohorts N.O. 195 to march around the right flank of the enemy and to show themselves in the rear before the infantry masses clashed. The alarm which thus confronted the enemy equalized the disadvantage caused by the flight of the Roman cavalry; but so greatly had the infantry and cavalry on the right flank been thrown into confusion that the consul himself seized with his hand some of them and turned them around to face the enemy. And so, as long as the fight was being carried on with missiles, the issue was uncertain; on the right, where the panic and flight had begun, the Roman resisted with difficulty, while on the left and in the centre the barbarians were hard pressed and looked back with dread at the cohorts which were coming up in their rear. When they drew their swords after hurling their darts and javelins, then the battle, so to speak, took on new life. For they no longer received unexpected random wounds from a distance, but closing foot to foot put all their hope in courage and in strength.

XV. As his men grew weary, the consul rekindled their spirits by bringing up reserve cohorts from the second line. A new line was established; fresh troops with unused weapons attacked the exhausted enemy and first, with a furious attack in wedge-formation, pushed them back, then scattered them and put them to flight; with headlong speed they made across the fields for camp. When Cato saw everything filled with confusion, he rode back to the second legion, which was in reserve, and ordered it to advance at quickened pace to attack the enemy's camp. If a soldier in too great eagerness got ahead of the rank, he himself rode up between the lines and

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avidius procurrit, et ipse interequitans sparo percutit
 5 et tribunos centurionesque castigare iubet. Iam
 castra oppugnabantur, saxisque et sudibus et omni
 genere telorum summovebantur a vallo Romani.
 Ubi recens admota legio est, tum et oppugnantibus
 animus crevit et infensius hostes pro vallo pugnabant.
 6 Consul omnia oculis perlustrat ut, qua minima vi
 resistatur, ea parte irrumpat. Ad sinistram portam
 infrequentes videt; eo secundae legionis principes
 7 hastatosque inducit. Non sustinuit impetum eorum
 statio quae portae apposita erat; et ceteri, postquam
 intra vallum hostem vident, ipsi castris exuti¹ signa
 8 armaque abiciunt. Caeduntur in portis, suomet ipsi
 9 agmine in arto haerentes. Secundani terga hostium
 caedunt, ceteri castra diripiunt. Valerius Antias
 supra quadraginta milia hostium caesa eo die scribit;
 Cato ipse, haud sane detrectator laudum suarum,
 multos caesos ait, numerum non adscribit.

XVI. Tria eo die laudabilia fecisse putatur, unum,
 quod circumducto exercitu procul navibus suis
 castrisque, ubi spem nusquam nisi² in virtute habe-
 2 rent, inter medios hostes proelium commisit; alterum,
 quod cohortes ab tergo hostibus obiecit; tertium,
 quod secundam legionem ceteris omnibus effusis ad
 sequendos hostes pleno gradu sub signis compositam
 instructamque subire ad portam castrorum iussit.

¹ ipsi castris exuti ed. *Moguntina* 1518 : ipsi exsutis *B.*

² nusquam nisi *Ussing* : nisi *B.*

struck him with his spear-shaft, and ordered the tribunes and centurions to punish him. By this time the camp was being attacked and the Romans driven back from the rampart with stones and poles and every sort of missile. But when the new legion came up, the vigour of the attackers increased, and the enemy fought with greater desperation in defence of their rampart. The consul scanned everything with his gaze, that he might break through wherever the resistance was weakest. He saw that there were few defenders at the left gate, and there he led the *principes* and *hastati* of the second legion. The guard which was posted at the gate did not resist their onset; and the rest, seeing the enemy within the fortification, having lost their camp, likewise threw away their standards and arms. They were cut to pieces at the gates, where they were held fast in the narrow passages by their own numbers. The soldiers of the second legion attacked them in the rear, the rest plundered the camp. Valerius Antias relates that more than forty thousand of the enemy fell that day; Cato himself, a man not much inclined to be grudging in his own praise, says that many were killed, but does not give a definite number.

XVI. Three praiseworthy acts he is credited with having performed that day; first, that he had led the army around far from his ships and camp and engaged in the midst of the enemy, where his men had no hope except in their own courage; second, that he had thrown the cohorts against the enemy's rear; third, that he had ordered the second legion, when all the rest were disordered by their pursuit of the enemy, to march up to the gate of the camp at quickened pace but in orderly and disciplined formation under their

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3 Nihil deinde a victoria cessatum. Cum receptui
 signo dato suos¹ spoliis onustos in castra reduxisset,
 paucis horis noctis ad quietem datis ad praedandum
 4 in agros duxit. Effusus, ut sparsis hostibus fuga,
 praedati sunt. Quae res non minus quam pugna
 pridie adversa Emporitanos Hispanos accolasque
 5 eorum in deditionem compulit. Multi et aliarum
 civitatum, qui Emporias perfugerant, dediderunt se.
 Quos omnes appellatos benigne vinoque et cibo
 6 curatos domos dimisit. Confestim inde castra movit,
 et quacumque incedebat agmen legati dedentium
 7 civitates suas occurrebant, et cum Tarraconem
 venit, iam omnis cis Hiberum Hispania perdomita
 erat, captivique et Romani et socium ac Latini
 nominis, variis casibus in Hispania oppressi, donum
 8 consuli a barbaris reducebantur. Fama deinde
 vulgatur consulem in Turdetaniam exercitum duc-
 turum et ad devios montanos profectum etiam
 9 falso perlatum est. Ad hunc vanum et sine auctore
 ullo rumorem Bergistanorum civitatis septem castella
 defecerunt. Eos educto² exercitu consul sine
 10 memorando proelio in potestatem redegit.³ Haud
 ita multo post eidem, regresso Tarraconem consule,
 priusquam inde quoquam procederet, defecerunt.
 Iterum subacti; sed non eadem venia victis fuit. Sub
 corona veniere omnes, ne saepius pacem sollicitarent.

¹ suos ζ : suis *B* : milites *M*.

² eos educto *Gronovius* : eos deducto *B* : eo deducto *M*.

³ redegit ζ : redegat *B* : redigit *M*.

¹ There were apparently two districts of this name, one near Saguntum, the other, and more important, near the south-western coast and so outside Cato's province. It is evident, however, from xvii. 1 ff. that a co-ordinated campaign against the latter people was planned.

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standards. Later on there was no resting idle after his victory. When, after giving the signal to retire, he had led his men back to camp laden with booty, he gave them a few hours for rest and led them out to plunder. They ravaged more widely, since the enemy was scattered in flight. This had no less influence than the defeat of the previous day in causing the Spaniards of Emporiae and their neighbours to submit. Many citizens of other states as well, who had taken refuge in Emporiae, surrendered. All of these the consul treated kindly, and after refreshing them with wine and food sent them home. He then speedily moved his camp, and wherever the column went ambassadors met him, surrendering their cities, and by the time he reached Tarraco, all Spain on this side of the Ebro had been subdued, while captives, both Romans and Latins of the confederacy, who had been overtaken by various misfortunes in Spain, were brought in and presented to the consul by the barbarians. Then the story was circulated that the consul meant to lead the army into Turdetania,¹ and it was falsely reported to the mountaineers of the outlying districts that he had already set out. On this idle and unauthenticated rumour seven forts of the Bergistani² revolted, but the consul led out his army and reduced them to submission without any battle worth mentioning. A little later, when the consul had returned to Tarraco but before he moved from that place, the same peoples revolted and were again subdued, but the same indulgence was not granted to the conquered. They were all sold at auction, in order to prevent their disturbing the peace too frequently.

² This people cannot be located.

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XVII. Interim P. Manlius praetor exercitu vetere
 a Q. Minucio, cui successerat, accepto, adiuncto et
 Ap. Claudii Neronis ex ulteriore Hispania vetere item
 2 exercitu, in Turdetaniam proficiscitur. Omnium
 Hispanorum maxime imbelles habentur Turdetani;
 freti tamen multitudine sua obviam ierunt agmini
 3 Romano. Eques immissus turbavit extemplo aciem
 eorum. Pedestre proelium nullius ferme certaminis
 fuit; milites veteres, periti hostium bellique, haud
 4 dubiam pugnam fecerunt. Neque tamen ea pugna
 debellatum est; decem milia Celtiberum mercede
 Turduli conducunt alienisque armis parabant bellum.
 5 Consul interim rebellione Bergistanorum ictus,
 ceteras quoque civitates ratus per occasionem idem
 facturas, arma omnibus cis Hiberum Hispanis adimit.
 6 Quam rem adeo aegre passi ut multi mortem sibimet
 ipsi consciscerent, ferox genus, nullam vitam rati
 7 sine armis esse. Quod ubi consuli renuntiatum est,
 senatores omnium civitatum ad se vocari iussit atque
 iis "non nostra" inquit "magis quam vestra refert
 vos non rebellare, si quidem id maiore Hispanorum
 malo quam exercitus Romani labore semper adhuc
 8 factum est. Id ut ne fiat, uno modo arbitror caveri
 9 posse, si effectum erit ne possitis rebellare. Volo
 id quam mollissima via consequi. Vos quoque in ea
 re consilio me adiuvate. Nullum libentius sequar

¹ In XXXIII. xliii. 5-8, Livy says that Manlius was sent to Nearer Spain as *adiutor consulis* but had troops, including those formerly under Minucius, under his command. His situation was, then, quite irregular, and his operations outside his superior's province of questionable legality, and there may be some confusion with his subsequent appointment to Farther Spain in 182 B.C. (XL. i. 2).

BOOK XXXIV. xvii. 1-9

XVII. Meanwhile Publius Manlius the praetor B.C. 195 had taken over the veteran army from Quintus Minucius whom he had succeeded, and uniting with it the army, also made up of veterans, of Appius Claudius Nero from Farther Spain, set out for Turdetania.¹ The Turdetani were considered the least warlike of all the Spaniards, yet, relying on their numbers, they went out to meet the Roman column. The cavalry, sent against them, at once broke their line, and the infantry engagement was almost no battle at all; the veteran soldiers, well acquainted with the enemy and his manner of fighting, rendered the result certain. Yet the war was not ended by that battle: the Turduli hired ten thousand Celtiberi and prepared to carry on the war with the weapons of strangers. The consul meanwhile, alarmed by the rebellion of the Bergistani, and thinking that other states as well would follow their example if occasion offered, disarmed all the Spaniards on this side of the Ebro. This action they took so hard that many committed suicide, a high-spirited people, who thought that life without arms was not worth living. When this was reported to the consul, he ordered the senators of all the states summoned to his presence and addressed them thus: "It is not more to our interest than to yours that you should not rebel, inasmuch as this has always happened with greater misfortune to the Spaniards than trouble to the Roman army. I think that there is only one way to prevent this—to arrange matters so that you will not be able to rebel. I wish to accomplish this in the gentlest possible manner. Do you, then, aid me with your advice on this matter. I shall follow no counsel more gladly than that which you your-

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10 quam quod vosmet ipsi attuleritis." Tacentibus
spatium se ad deliberandum dierum paucorum dare
11 dixit. Cum revocati secundo quoque concilio tacuis-
sent, uno die muris omnium dirutis, ad eos qui nondum
parebant profectus, ut in quamque regionem venerat,
omnes qui circa incolebant populos in deditionem
12 accepit. Segesticam tantum, gravem atque opu-
lentam civitatem, vineis et pluteis cepit.

XVIII. Eo maiorem habebat difficultatem in
subigendis hostibus quam qui primi venerant in
Hispaniam, quod ad illos taedio imperii Cartha-
2 giniensium Hispani deficiebant, huic ex usurpata
libertate in servitutem velut adserendi erant; et ita
mota omnia accepit, ut alii in armis essent, alii
obsidione ad defectionem cogerentur nec, nisi in
tempore subventum foret, ultra sustentaturi fuerint.
3 Sed in consule ea vis animi atque ingenii fuit ut
omnia maxima minimaque per se adiret atque ageret
4 nec cogitaret modo imperaretque, quae in rem essent,
sed pleraque ipse per se transigeret nec in quemquam
omnium gravius severiusque quam in semet ipsum
5 imperium exerceret, parsimonia et vigiliis et labore
cum ultimis militum certaret nec quicquam in exercitu
suo praecipui praeter honorem atque imperium
haberet.

XIX. Difficilius bellum in Turdetania praetori
P. Manlio Celtiberi mercede exciti ab hostibus,

¹ *In servitutem adserere* is the technical legal phrase for trying to establish in court the fact that one is owner of a slave (III. xliv. 5).

selves shall give me." When they were silent, he n.o. 125 said that he would give them a space of a few days for reflection. When they were recalled, and had kept silent at the second council also, on one day he destroyed the walls of all the towns and proceeded against those who were not yet submissive, and as he passed through region after region, he accepted the surrender of all the neighbouring states. Segestica alone, an important and rich city, he captured with sheds and mantlets.

XVIII. He had the greater difficulty in reducing the enemy than those who had first gone to Spain, because the Spaniards transferred their allegiance to his predecessors through weariness of the authority of the Carthaginians, but in his case the task was, so to speak, to claim them as slaves ¹ after they had had a taste of liberty; and everything was in such commotion that some were in arms, some were being compelled by siege to join the uprising, and, unless prompt assistance were sent them, would not be able to hold out longer. But in the consul there was such vigour of mind and character that he attended to and performed all business, great and small, and he not only planned and gave orders for what was advantageous, but himself executed most of them; he exercised sterner and severer discipline over no one in all the army than over himself, and in frugality and vigilance and exertion he vied with the lowest of his soldiers, and except for his rank and his authority he enjoyed no distinction as compared with the rest of the army.

XIX. The Celtiberi who had been hired by the enemy, as has been said before, made the war in Turdetania more difficult for the praetor Publius

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sicut ante dictum est, faciebant. Itaque eo consul
2 accersitus litteris praetoris legiones duxit. Ubi eo
venit, castra separatim Celtiberi et Turdetani
habebant. Cum Turdetanis extemplo levia proelia
incursantes in stationes eorum Romani facere
semperque victores ex quamvis temere coepto
3 certamine abire. Ad Celtiberos in colloquium tri-
bunos militum ire consul atque iis trium condicionum
4 electionem ferre iubet, primam, si transire ad
Romanos velint et duplex stipendium accipere quam
5 quantum a Turdetanis pepigissent; alteram, si
domos abire, publica fide accepta, nihil eam rem
noxiae futuram quod hostibus se Romanorum
6 iunxissent; tertiam, si utique bellum placeat, diem
locumque constituent ubi secum armis decernant.
7 A Celtiberis dies ad consultandum petita. Con-
cilium immixtis Turdetanis habitum magno cum
8 tumultu; eo minus decerni quicquam potuit. Cum
incerta bellum an pax cum Celtiberis essent, com-
meatus tamen haud secus quam in pace ex agris
castellisque hostium Romani portabant, deni saepe
munimenta eorum, velut communi pacto commercio,
9 privatis indutiis ingredientes. Consul ubi hostes ad
pugnam elicere nequit, primum praedatum sub signis
aliquot expeditas cohortes in agrum integrae regionis
10 ducit, deinde audito Saguntiae Celtiberum omnes
sarcinas impedimentaue relictas, eo perguit ducere
ad oppugnandum. Postquam nulla moventur re,

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Manlius. Therefore the consul, summoned by a B.C. 195 message from the praetor, led his legions there. When he arrived, the Celtiberi and the Turdetani were in separate camps. With the Turdetani the Romans immediately began to skirmish, attacking their outguards, and they always came off victorious, no matter how rashly they had attacked. The consul ordered some of the military tribunes to go to confer with the Celtiberi and to offer them their choice of three proposals: first, if they wished to come over to the Roman side and receive twice the pay they had agreed to accept from the Turdetani; second, if they wished to go home after receiving a public pledge that the fact of their having joined the enemies of Rome should not cause them any damage; third, if battle was their desire under any conditions, that they should name a time and place for an armed settlement with him. The Celtiberi asked for time to consider the proposals. A council was held, at which the Turdetani crowded in, causing great excitement; for that reason a decision was impossible. Although it was uncertain whether their relation with the Celtiberi was one of war or peace, the Romans, nevertheless, just as if it were a time of peace, were bringing provisions from the farms and strongholds, often going in squads of ten into their fortifications under private truces, as if the right of trade had been officially recognized. When the consul failed to draw the enemy out to battle, he first sent certain light-armed cohorts out to ravage the fields of a region hitherto unattacked, then, hearing that the baggage and equipment of the Celtiberi was all at Saguntia, he proceeded to attack that town. When he found that nothing would

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persoluto stipendio non suis modo sed etiam praetoris militibus relictoque omni exercitu in castris praetoris ipse cum septem cohortibus ad Hiberum est regressus.

XX. Ea tam exigua manu oppida aliquot cepit. Defecere ad eum Sedetani, Ausetani, Suessetani. 2 Lacetanos, deviam et silvestrem gentem, cum insita feritas continebat in armis, tum conscientia, dum consul exercitusque Turdulo bello esset¹ occupatus, 3 depopulatorum subitis incursionibus sociorum. Igitur ad oppidum eorum oppugnandum consul ducit non Romanas modo cohortes sed iuventutem etiam merito 4 infensorum iis sociorum. Oppidum longum, in latitudinem haudquaquam tantundem patens habebant. Quadringentos inde ferme passus constituit 5 signa. Ibi delectarum cohortium stationem relinquens praecepit iis ne se ex eo loco ante moverent quam ipse ad eos venisset; ceteras copias ad ulteriorem partem urbis circumducit. Maximum ex omnibus auxiliis numerum Suessetanae iuventutis habebat; eos ad murum oppugnandum subire iubet. 6 Quorum ubi arma signaque Lacetani cognovere, memores quam saepe in agro eorum impune persultassent, quotiens ipsos signis collatis fudissent fugassentque, patefacta repente porta universi in 7 eos erumpunt. Vix clamorem eorum, nedum impetum, Suessetani tulere. Quod postquam, sicut 8 futurum ratus erat, consul fieri etiam vidit, equo citato subter murum hostium ad cohortes avehitur

¹ esset *Madvig*: est *B M*.

¹ The troops were usually paid only once during a campaign, usually at the end of the season.

provoke them to battle, he paid¹ not only his own B.C. 195 soldiers but those of the praetor and with seven cohorts (the rest being left in the praetor's camp) returned to the Ebro.

XX. With this small force he captured several towns. The Sedetani, the Ausetani, and the Suessetani came over to him. The Lacetani, a remote and forest-dwelling race, were kept under arms, partly by their native savageness, partly by their consciousness of having pillaged the allies in sudden raids while the consul and the army were engaged in the campaign in Turdetania. Therefore the consul led to the attack upon their citadel not only the Roman cohorts but the young men of the allies, who were justly incensed at them. Their town was long, but was not extensive in breadth in proportion. He halted at a distance of about four hundred paces from it. There he left a guard of chosen cohorts, ordering them not to stir from that place until he came to them in person; the rest of the troops he led to the farther side of the town. The largest contingent among all his auxiliaries was furnished by the young men of the Suessetani; these he ordered to assault the wall. When the Lacetani recognized their arms and standards, and recalled how often they had offered them insults with impunity in their own lands and how often they had routed them and put them to flight in pitched battle, they suddenly threw open the gate and attacked them in a body. The Suessetani scarcely waited for them to raise the shout, much less for them to charge. When the consul saw that this was turning out as he had expected it would, he put spurs to his horse and rode off under the enemy's wall to the

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atque eas arreptas, effusis omnibus ad sequendos
9 Suessetanos, qua silentium ac solitudo erat in urbem
inducit priusque omnia cepit quam se reciperent
Lacetani. Mox ipsos nihil praeter arma habentes
in deditionem accepit.

XXI. Confestim inde victor ad Bergium castrum
ducit. Receptaculum id maxime praedonum erat,
et inde incursiones in agros pacatos provinciae eius
2 fiebant. Transfugit inde ad consulem princeps
Bergistanus et purgare se ac populares coepit: non
esse in manu ipsis rem publicam; praedones receptos
3 totum suae potestatis id castrum fecisse. Consul
eum domum redire conficta aliqua probabili cur
4 afuisset causa iussit; cum se muros subisse cerneret
intentosque praedones ad tuenda moenia esse, tum
uti cum suae factionis hominibus meminisset arcem
5 occupare. Id uti praeceperat factum; repente
anceps terror hinc muros ascendentibus Romanis,
illinc arce capta barbaros circumvasit. Huius potitus
loci consul eos qui arcem tenuerant liberos esse cum
6 cognatis suaque habere iussit, Bergistanos ceteros
quaestori ut venderet imperavit, de praedonibus
7 supplicium sumpsit. Pacata provincia vectigalia
magna instituit ex ferrariis argentariisque quibus
8 tum institutis locupletior in dies provincia fuit. Ob

cohorts, and bringing them into action, since the enemy had all scattered to pursue the Suessetani, he led them into the city on the side where all was silence and solitude and was in complete control before the Lacetani returned. Having nothing left to them but their arms, they presently surrendered. B.C. 195

XXI. The conqueror then quickly led his troops to the fort of Bergium. This was now primarily a nest of robbers, and from it raids were being made on the pacified districts of this province. A leader of the Bergistani escaped from it to the consul and began to apologize for himself and his fellow-citizens: their own state was not under their control, he said; the robbers, once admitted to the town, had brought it completely under their own dominion. The consul directed him to go back home, having provided himself with a plausible explanation for his absence; when he should see the Romans approaching the walls and the robbers intent on defending the fortifications, he, with the men of his own party, would remember to seize the citadel. This was done according to instructions; suddenly a double terror gripped the barbarians, as on one side the Romans were climbing the walls and on the other the citadel had been taken. The consul took possession of the place and ordered the men who had occupied the citadel and their relatives to be free, and to enjoy possession of their property, and, directing the quaestor to sell the other Bergistani, he put the robbers to death. Having restored order in the province, he arranged for the collection of large revenues from the iron and silver mines, and as a result of the regulations made at that time the wealth of the province increased every day.

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has res gestas in Hispania supplicationem in triduum patres decreverunt.

XXII. Eadem aestate alter consul L. Valerius Flaccus in Gallia cum Boiorum manu propter Litanam
2 silvam signis collatis secundo proelio conflixit. Octo
3 milia Gallorum caesa traduntur; ceteri omisso
bello in vicos suos atque agros dilapsi. Consul
reliquum aestatis circa Padum Placentiae et Cre-
monae exercitum habuit restituitque quae in iis
oppidis bello diruta fuerant.

4 Cum hic status rerum in Italia Hispaniaque esset,
T. Quinctio in Graecia ita hibernis actis ut exceptis
Aetolis, quibus nec pro spe victoriae praemia conti-
gerant, nec diu quies placere poterat, universa
Graecia simul pacis libertatisque perfruens bonis
5 egregie statu suo gauderet nec magis in bello vir-
tutem Romani ducis quam in victoria temperantiam
iustitiamque et moderationem miraretur, senatus
consultum quo bellum adversus Nabim Lacedae-
6 monium decretum erat adfertur. Quo lecto Quinctius
conventum Corinthum omnium sociarum civitatum
legationibus in diem certam edicit. Ad quam ubi
frequentes undique principes convenerunt, ita uti
ne¹ Aetoli quidem abessent, tali oratione est usus:
7 "Bellum adversus Philippum non magis communi
animo consilioque Romani et Graeci gesserunt quam

¹ uti ne *Kreyssig*: ut in ea *B*.

¹ The sources for the foregoing account of the Spanish campaign are the annalists and, probably, Cato himself. To what extent the language and style of the passage have been influenced by Cato's own work has not been determined. With xxii. 4 Polybius becomes Livy's main source.

² In XXXIII. xlv. 3 Livy says that the decision was left

BOOK XXXIV. XXI. 8-XXII. 7

By reason of these achievements in Spain the Fathers B.C. 193 decreed a thanksgiving for three days.¹

XXII. During the same summer the other consul, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, engaged in pitched battle with a force of the Boi near the forest of Litana and defeated them. Eight thousand of the Gauls are said to have fallen; the rest gave up the war and scattered to their villages and fields. For the rest of the summer the consul kept his army at Placentia and Cremona, in the neighbourhood of the Po, and rebuilt the parts of those cities which had been destroyed in the war.

While this was the state of affairs in Italy and Spain, Titus Quinctius had spent the winter in Greece in such a fashion that, with the exception of the Aetolians, who had neither gained rewards of victory in proportion to their hopes nor proved able to be long satisfied with quiet, all Greece, enjoying to the full the blessings of peace and liberty combined, was happy in its condition, and admired the Roman commander's bravery in war no more than his self-control, justice, and moderation after victory, and at this time the decree of the senate which declared war against Nabis the Lacedaemonian was delivered to him.² When he had read this decree, Quinctius announced a council, to be held at Corinth on a designated day, and made up of delegations from all the allied states. When the prominent men in great numbers had come from all quarters to this meeting, not even the Aetolians being unrepresented, he addressed them as follows: "The war against Philip was waged by the Romans and Greeks with feelings in the hands of Quinctius, and the following narrative is based on that assumption.

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8 utrique suas causas belli habuerunt. Nam et
 Romanorum amicitiam nunc Carthaginienses hostes
 9 eorum iuvando, nunc hic sociis nostris oppugnandis
 violaverat et in vos talis fuit ut nobis, etiam si
 nostrarum oblivisceremur iniuriarum, vestrae iniuriae
 satis digna causa belli fuerit. Hodierna consultatio
 10 tota ex vobis pendet. Refero enim ad vos utrum
 Argos, sicut scitis ipsi, ab Nabide occupatos pati
 11 velitis sub ditione eius esse, an aequum censeatis
 nobilissimam vetustissimamque civitatem, in media
 Graecia sitam, repeti in libertatem et eodem statu
 quo ceteras urbes Peloponnesi et Graeciae esse.
 12 Haec consultatio, ut videtis, tota de re pertinente ad
 vos est; Romanos nihil contingit, nisi quatenus
 liberatae Graeciae unius civitatis servitus non plenam
 13 nec integram gloriam esse sinit. Ceterum, si vos
 nec cura eius civitatis nec exemplum nec periculum
 movet, ne serpat latius contagio eius mali, nos aequi
 bonique facimus. De hac re vos consulo, staturus eo
 quod plures censueritis."

XXIII. Post orationem Romani imperatoris per-
 2 censi aliorum sententiae coeptae sunt. Cum
 legatus Atheniensium quantum poterat gratiis
 agendis Romanorum in Graeciam merita extulisset,
 3 "imploratos¹ adversus Philippum tulisse opem, non
 rogatos ultro adversus tyrannum Nabim offerre

¹ imploratos *Voss*: imploratos auxilium *B.*

BOOK XXXIV. XXII. 7-XXIII. 3

and aims no less common than their several reasons B.O. 195
 for entering the war. For he had violated his friendship with the Romans, now by aiding their enemies the Carthaginians, now by attacking our allies in this country, and towards you he conducted himself in such a way that your wrongs, even if we did not remember our own injuries, were a sufficiently good reason why we should take up the quarrel. To-day's decision depends entirely on you. I lay before you the question whether you wish to permit Argos, which, as you know, has been seized by Nabis, to remain under his control, or whether you think it proper that this most famous and ancient city, situated in the heart of Greece, should be restored to liberty and enjoy the same condition as the other cities of the Peloponnesus and Greece. This question, as you see, is one which is altogether your concern; it does not touch the Romans at all, except in so far as the slavery of one city of liberated Greece does not permit their fame to be perfect and complete. But if no concern for that city nor the example thus set nor the danger that the contagion of that evil may spread affects you, that is, so far as we are concerned, well and good. I ask your opinions on this matter, and shall abide by whatever decision the majority of you shall reach."

XXIII. After this speech from the Roman commander, they began to ascertain the views of the others. When the Athenian ambassador had, to the extent of his capacity, and with effusive thanks, extolled the Romans' services to Greece, saying that "when appealed to they had given aid against Philip, and were of their own accord and without an appeal offering assistance against Nabis," and had

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auxilium " indignatusque esset haec tanta merita
 sermonibus tamen aliquorum carpi futura calumni-
 4 antium, cum fateri potius praeteritorum gratiam
 5 deberent, apparebat incessi Aetolos. Igitur
 Alexander, princeps gentis, invectus primum in
 Athenienses, libertatis quondam duces et auctores,
 adsentationis propriae gratia communem causam
 6 prodentes, questus deinde ¹ Achaeos, Philippi quon-
 dam milites, ad postremum inclinata fortuna eius
 transfugas, et Corinthum recepisse et id agere ut
 7 Argos habeant, Aetolos, primos hostes Philippi,
 semper socios Romanorum, pactos in foedere suas
 8 urbes agrosque fore devicto Philippo, fraudari
 Echino et Pharsalo, insimulavit fraudis Romanos
 quod vano titulo libertatis ostentato Chalcidem et
 Demetriadem praesidiis tenerent, qui Philippo
 cunctanti deducere inde praesidia obicere semper
 9 soliti sint ² "numquam, donec Demetrias Chalcisque
 et Corinthus tenerentur, liberam Graeciam fore,"
 10 postremo quia manendi in Graecia retinendique
 11 exercitus Argos et Nabim causam facerent. De-
 portarent legiones in Italiam; Aetolos polliceri aut
 condicionibus et voluntate sua Nabim praesidium
 Argis deducturum aut vi atque armis coacturos in
 potestate consentientis Graeciae esse.

¹ deinde *Aldus* : deinde est *B*.

² sint : sunt *B M*.

¹ See XXXIII. xiii. 7-13 and the notes.

lamented that these services, great as they were, B.C. 198 were nevertheless criticized in the talk of certain persons who threw out dark hints about the future, though they should rather be confessing their gratitude for the past, it was clear that he was attacking the Aetolians. Therefore Alexander, a leading man of that people, assailed first the Athenians, once the leaders and champions of liberty, now the betrayers of the common cause from their desire to win a place for themselves by adulation, then he complained that the Achaeans, the one-time soldiers of Philip, then finally deserters from him as his fortunes declined, had regained Corinth and in addition were trying to obtain Argos, while the Aetolians, foes to Philip from the beginning, allies to the Romans at all times, although they had agreed in the treaty¹ that the cities and fields were to be theirs when Philip was defeated, were being cheated out of Echinus and Pharsalus; he also charged the Romans with deceit, in that, while they held out the empty name of liberty, they were holding with their garrisons Chalcis and Demetrias, despite the fact that they had been wont to object, when Philip hesitated to withdraw his troops from these towns, that "while Demetrias and Chalcis and Corinth were in his hands, Greece would never be free," and finally, in that they were making Argos and Nabis an excuse for remaining in Greece and keeping their army there. Let them, he said, transport their legions to Italy; adding that the Aetolians promised either that Nabis would withdraw his garrison from Argos voluntarily and under terms imposed by them, or that they would compel him by force of arms to yield to the will of united Greece.

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XXIV. Haec vaniloquentia primum Aristaenum,
 2 praetorem Achaeorum, excitavit. " Ne istuc " inquit
 " Iuppiter optimus maximus sirit Iunoque regina,
 cuius in tutela Argi sunt, ut illa civitas inter tyrannum
 Lacedaemonium et latrones Aetolos praemium sit
 3 posita in eo discrimine ut miserius a vobis recipiatur
 quam ab illo capta est. Mare interiectum ab istis
 praedonibus non tuetur nos, T. Quincti; quid si in
 media Peloponneso arcem sibi fecerint futurum
 nobis est? Linguam tantum Graecorum habent, sicut
 4 speciem hominum; moribus ritibusque efferatioribus
 quam ulli barbari, immo quam immanes beluae
 vivunt. Itaque vos rogamus, Romani, ut et ab
 Nabide Argos reciperetis et ita res Graeciae consti-
 tuatis ut ab latrocinio quoque Aetolorum satis
 5 pacata haec relinquatis." Romanus, cunctis undique
 increpantibus Aetolos, responsurum se fuisse iis
 dixit, nisi ita infensos omnes in eos videret ut sedandi
 3 potius quam irritandi essent. Contentum itaque
 opinione ea quae de Romanis Aetolisque esset,
 referre se dixit quid de Nabidis bello placeret, nisi
 7 redderet Achaeis Argos. Cum omnes bellum decres-
 sent, auxilia ut pro viribus suis quaeque civitates
 mitterent est hortatus. Ad Aetolos legatum etiam
 misit, magis ut nudaret animos, id quod evenit, quam
 spe impetrari posse.

XXV. Tribunis militum ut exercitum ab Elatia

¹ Iuno Acraea or Iuno Argiva may be meant; cf. XXXII. xxiii. 10. Iuno Regina was more specifically a Roman divinity, as is Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, but is not out of place on the lips of an Argive who was under the protection of Iuno.

BOOK XXXIV. XXIV. 1-XXV. 1

XXIV. This boastful speech first provoked Aristae- B.C. 195
 nus, praetor of the Achaeans, to speak: "May Jupiter
 Optimus Maximus and Queen Juno,¹ under whose
 protection Argos is, forbid that that city be the prize
 to be contended for by the Spartan tyrant and the
 Aetolian robbers, in such a critical moment that its
 recovery by you would be a greater misery than its
 possession by him. The sea that lies between does
 not protect us from those brigands, Titus Quinctius;
 what will become of us if they establish their citadel
 in the heart of the Peloponnesus? They have only
 the tongue of Greeks, as they have only the shape of
 men; they live under rules and practices more
 savage than any barbarians, yes, than any wild
 beasts. Therefore we beg you, Romans, both to
 recover Argos from Nabis and to establish the affairs
 of Greece in such a way as to leave us well protected
 from the brigandage of the Aetolians as well."
 When men from all sides were uniting in censuring
 the Aetolians, the Roman said that he would have
 answered them, did he not see that all men were so
 enraged at them that they required to be soothed
 rather than provoked. He said that he was content
 with the opinions expressed about the Romans and
 the Aetolians, and therefore put the question what
 they would do about a war against Nabis if he would
 not give Argos back to the Achaeans. When a
 unanimous decree for war had been passed, he urged
 them that each state should send auxiliaries in pro-
 portion to its strength. He even sent an ambassador
 to the Aetolians, more for the purpose of laying bare
 their intentions (and in this he succeeded) than from
 the hope that he could gain their adherence.

XXV. He ordered the tribunes of the soldiers to

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2 arcesserent imperavit. Per eosdem dies et Antiochi
 legatis de societate agentibus respondit nihil se
 absentibus decem legatis sententiae habere; Romam
 3 eundum ad senatum iis esse. Ipse copias adductas
 ab Elatia ducere Argos pergit; atque ei circa Cleonas
 Aristaenus praetor cum decem milibus Achaeorum,
 equitibus mille occurrit, et haud procul inde iunctis
 4 exercitibus posuerunt castra. Postero die in campum
 Argivorum descenderunt et quattuor ferme milia
 5 ab Argis locum castris capiunt. Praefectus praesidii
 Laconum erat Pythagoras, gener idem tyranni et
 uxoris eius frater, qui sub adventum Romanorum et
 utrasque arces—nam duas habent Argi—et loca alia
 quae aut opportuna aut suspecta erant validis prae-
 6 sidiis firmavit; sed inter haec agenda pavorem
 iniectum adventu Romanorum dissimulare haud-
 quaquam poterat; et ad externum terrorem intestina
 7 etiam seditio accessit. Damocles erat Argius,
 adulescens maioris animi quam consilii, qui primo,
 iureiurando interposito, de praesidio expellendo cum
 idoneis conlocutus, dum vires adicere coniurationi
 8 studet, incautior fidei aestimator fuit. Conloquentem
 eum cum suis satelles a praefecto missus cum accer-
 seret, sensit proditum consilium esse hortatusque
 9 est ¹ coniuratos qui aderant, ut potius quam extorti
 morerentur, arma secum caperent. Atque ita cum

¹ hortatusque est *Kreyssig*: hortatusque *B*.

¹ Elatia was the regular winter headquarters of Flamininus; cf. XXXIII. xxvii. 5.

² Nabis had married Apega, probably the sister of Pythagoras (XXXII. xl. 10-11; Polyb. XVIII. xvii.; cf. XIII. vii); Pythagoras in turn had married the daughter of Nabis.

BOOK XXXIV. xxv. 1-9

summon the army from Elatia.¹ About this time, B.C. 195
 too, ambassadors from Antiochus arrived to discuss an alliance, but received the reply that he had nothing to say in the absence of the ten commissioners; it would be necessary for them to go to Rome and apply to the senate. He then proceeded to lead the assembled forces from Elatia towards Argos, and in the vicinity of Cleonae Aristaenus the praetor met him with ten thousand Achaean infantry and one thousand cavalry, and uniting their forces they encamped a short distance away. The next day they marched down into the plain of the Argives and selected for their camp a position about four miles from Argos. The commander of the Spartan garrison was Pythagoras, at once the son-in-law and brother-in-law of the tyrant,² and at the approach of the Romans he posted strong guards on both citadels (for Argos has two citadels) and likewise on other places that were favourably situated or open to attack; but while he was taking this action he could not conceal the fear which the coming of the Romans caused, and on top of the danger from outside there was also a mutiny within. There was an Argive named Damocles, a young man of greater spirit than discretion, who, after exchanging oaths, began conferring with suitable persons regarding expelling the garrison, and, in his desire to add strength to his conspiracy, proved to be too careless in his estimation of fidelity. When an agent sent by the prefect summoned him as he was talking to one of his party, he perceived that the plot had been betrayed and urged the conspirators who were with him to join him in armed resistance rather than perish under torture. And so with a few of his friends he rushed

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paucis in forum pergit ire clamitans ut qui salvam rem publicam vellent auctorem et ducem se libertatis
 10 sequerentur. Haud sane movit quemquam, quia nihil usquam spei propinquae, nedum satis firmi
 11 praesidii cernebant. Haec vociferantem eum Lacedaemonii circumventum cum suis interfecerunt.
 12 Comprensi deinde quidam et alii. Ex iis occisi plures, pauci in custodiam coniecti; multi ¹ proxima nocte funibus per murum demissi ad Romanos perfugerunt.

XXVI. Quinctius adfirmantibus iis, si ad portas
 2 exercitus Romanus fuisset, non sine effectu futurum eum motum fuisse et, si propius castra admoverentur, non quieturos Argivos, misit expeditos pedites equitesque, qui circa Cylarabim—gymnasium id est minus
 3 trecentos passus ab urbe—cum erumpentibus a porta Lacedaemoniis proelium commiserunt atque eos haud magno certamine compulerunt in urbem. Et castra eo ipso loco ubi pugnatum erat imperator
 4 Romanus posuit. Diem inde unum in speculis fuit, si quid novi motus oreretur; postquam oppressam metu civitatem vidit advocat consilium de oppug-
 5 nandis Argis. Omnium principum Graeciae praeter Aristaenum eadem sententia erat, cum causa belli non alia esset, inde potissimum ordiendum bellum.²
 6 Quinctio id nequaquam placebat, et Aristaenum contra omnium consensum disserentem cum haud
 7 dubia approbatione audivit; et ipse adiecit, cum pro

¹ multi *Ascensius*: *om. B.*

² ordiendum bellum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ordiendi belli *B*: ordiundi bellum *M.*

into the forum, crying out that all who wished the safety of the state should follow him as the sponsor and leader of freedom. He roused almost no one, since they saw no immediate prospect of success anywhere, and not even any considerable material strength. As he was uttering such appeals, the Lacedaemonians surrounded him and his party and put them to death. Then some of the others were arrested, and most of these were executed, a few imprisoned. During the following night many let themselves down over the wall by means of ropes and took refuge with the Romans. B.C. 196

XXVI. When these men assured him that if the Roman army had been at the gates the uprising would not have been so futile, and that the Argives would not remain quiet if he moved his camp nearer the city, Quinctius sent the light infantry and cavalry, who engaged with a party of Lacedaemonians who rushed out of the gate near Cylarabis—a gymnasium less than three hundred paces from the city—and without great effort drove them back into the town. Then the Roman general placed his camp on the spot where the battle had occurred. He spent the next day watching to see if any new disturbance would arise; when he saw that the state had been overawed he called a council to consider laying siege to Argos. The opinion of all the Greek chieftains except Aristaenus was the same, that since there was no other cause for the war than that city, the war should by preference begin there. Quinctius was by no means of the same opinion, and he listened with unmistakable approval to the argument of Aristaenus, which was opposed to this generally held view; and he even asked what, since the war had

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Argivis adversus tyrannum bellum susceptum sit, quid minus conveniens esse quam omisso hoste Argos
 8 oppugnari? Se vero caput belli Lacedaemonem et tyrannum petiturum. Et dimisso consilio frumentatum expeditas cohortes misit. Quod maturi erat circa, demessum et convectum est; viride, ne hostes mox haberent, protritum et corruptum.
 9 Castra deinde movit et Parthenio superato monte praeter Tegeam tertio die ad Caryas posuit castra. Ibi priusquam hostium intraret agrum sociorum
 10 auxilia expectavit. Venerunt Macedones a Philippo mille et quingenti et Thessalorum equites quadringenti. Nec iam auxilia, quorum adfatim erat, sed commeatus finitimis urbibus imperati morabantur
 11 Romanum. Navales quoque magnae copiae conveniebant; iam ab Leucade L. Quinctius quadraginta navibus venerat, iam Rhodiae duodeviginti tectae naves, iam Eumenes rex circa Cycladas insulas erat cum decem tectis navibus, triginta lembis mixtisque aliis minoris formae navigiis.
 12 Ipsorum quoque Lacedaemoniorum exules permulti, tyrannorum iniuria pulsii, spe recipiendae patriae in
 13 castra Romana convenerunt. Multi autem erant, iam per aliquot aetates, ex quo tyranni tenebant
 14 Lacedaemonem, alii ab aliis expulsi. Princeps erat exulum Agesipolis, cuius iure gentis regnum Lacedaemone erat, pulsus infans ab Lycurgo tyranno post

¹ The next sentence reveals the exaggeration of the statement: Cleomenes was tyrant during the period 235-221 B.C. (Polyb. II. xlvii).

been undertaken for the sake of the Argives and B.C. 195 against the tyrant, was less consistent than to let the enemy alone and attack Argos? For his part, he would seek the main objective of the war, Sparta and the tyrant. Accordingly he dismissed the council and sent light cohorts out to forage. The ripe grain was harvested and brought into camp; the unripe was trampled down and destroyed, to prevent the enemy from enjoying it later. Then he moved his camp and crossing Mount Parthenius and passing Tegea he encamped on the third day near Caryae. There, before he entered the enemy's country he waited for the auxiliaries of the allies. Fifteen hundred Macedonians came from Philip and four hundred Thessalian cavalry. It was no longer auxiliaries, of whom there were plenty, that delayed the Roman commander, but the supplies that the neighbouring states had been ordered to contribute. Also, great fleets were assembling: Lucius Quinctius had now arrived from Leucas with forty ships, together with eighteen warships of the Rhodians, and King Eumenes was off the Cyclades islands with ten warships, thirty cruisers and with them other vessels of smaller size. Many exiles of the Lacedaemonians, driven out by the misdeeds of the tyrants, also came to the Roman camp in the hope of being restored to their homes. There were many who had been driven out by one tyrant or another, through the several generations¹ which had elapsed since tyrants first got control of Sparta. The chief of the exiles was Agesipolis, to whom the throne of Lacedaemon belonged by right of birth, who had been exiled in his childhood by the tyrant Lycurgus after the death of Cleomenes,

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mortem Cleomenis, qui primus tyrannus Lacedaemone fuit.

XXVII. Cum terra marique tantum belli circumstaret tyrannum, et prope nulla spes esset vere suas hostiumque aestimanti vires, non tamen omisit bellum, sed a Creta mille delectos iuventutis eorum excivit, cum mille iam haberet, et tria milia mercenariorum militum, decem milia popularium cum castellanis agrestibus in armis habuit et fossa valloque urbem communivit; et ne quid intestini motus oreretur, metu et acerbitate poenarum tenebat animos quoniam ut salvum vellent tyrannum sperare non poterat. Cum suspectos quosdam civium haberet, eductis in campum omnibus copiis—Dromon ipsi vocant—positis armis ad contionem vocari iubet Lacedaemonios atque eorum contioni satellites armatos circumdedit; et pauca praefatus, cur sibi omnia timenti caventique ignoscendum in tali tempore foret, et ipsorum referre si quos suspectos status praesens rerum faceret, prohiberi potius ne quid moliri possint quam puniri molientes; itaque quosdam se in custodia habiturum donec ea quae instet tempestas praetereat; hostibus repulsis, a quibus, si modo proditio intestina satis caveatur, minus periculi esse, extemplo eos emissurum; sub

who had been the first to hold the tyranny in B.C. 195 Sparta.

XXVII. When so great a war on land and sea was threatening the tyrant, though on a true estimate of his own strength and that of the enemy he could see almost no hope of success, he nevertheless did not neglect his preparations for war, but summoned from Crete a thousand of their chosen youths, in addition to a thousand who were already with him; he had also in his force three thousand mercenaries and ten thousand of his own countrymen along with the rural guards, and he fortified the city with a moat and rampart. To prevent any internal disorder, he held the people in check with terror and severe punishments, since he could not hope that they would wish well to a tyrant. Since he entertained suspicions regarding certain citizens, he led out his entire force into a plain—they call it Dromos—and stacking arms bade the Spartans to be summoned to a meeting and surrounded the gathering with armed guards. Then he made some brief opening remarks, showing why he should be pardoned in such an emergency, when he feared everything and guarded against everything, and that it was to their own interest, if the present state of affairs made him suspect certain citizens, that these persons should be prevented from making any attempt upon him rather than punished for making the attempt; he would accordingly hold certain persons under guard until the storm which was threatening should pass; when the enemy was driven off—and there was less danger from them if only internal treachery could be prevented—he would at once release them; after this he ordered the

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haec citari nomina octoginta ferme principum
iuventutis iussit atque eos, ut quisque ad nomen
responderat, in custodiam tradidit; nocte insequenti
9 omnes interfecti. Ilotarum deinde quidam—hi sunt
iam inde antiquitus castellani, agreste genus—trans-
fugere voluisse insimulati per omnes vicos sub
verberibus acti necantur. Hoc terrore obstipuerant
multitudinis animi ab omni conatu novorum con-
10 siliorum. Intra munitiones copias continebat, nec
parem se ratus, si dimicare acie vellet, et urbem
relinquere tam suspensis, et incertis omnium animis
metuens.

XXVIII. Quinctius satis iam omnibus paratis
profectus ab stativis die altero ad Sellasiam super
Oenunta fluvium pervenit, quo in loco Antigonus,
Macedonum rex, cum Cleomene, Lacedaemoniorum
2 tyranno, signis collatis dimicasse dicebatur. Inde
cum audisset descensum difficilis et artae viae esse,
brevis per montes circuitu praemissis qui munirent
viam, lato satis et patenti limite ad Eurotam amnem,
3 sub ipsis prope fluentem moenibus, pervenit. Ubi
castra metantes Romanos Quinctiumque ipsum cum
equitibus atque expeditis praegressum auxiliares
tyranni adorti in terrorem ac tumultum coniecerunt
nihil tale expectantes, quia nemo iis obvius toto itinere
4 fuerat, ac velut pacato agro transierant. Ali-
quamdiu peditibus equites, equitibus pedites vocanti-

¹ Probably a variant on the more familiar *Helots*.

names of about eighty of the most prominent young B.C. 195
 men to be read, and each one, as he answered to his name, was turned over to the guards; during the next night he put them all to death. Then some of the Ilotae,¹ a rural people, who had been country-dwellers from remote antiquity, were charged with trying to desert, driven with whips through all the streets, and put to death. By thus inspiring fear he stunned the minds of the crowd and prevented any attempt at revolution. He kept his troops within the walls, thinking himself unequal to the enemy, if he should dare to risk a battle, and fearing to leave the city while all men's minds were in such suspense and uncertainty.

XXVIII. Quinctius had now made adequate preparations and had left his base and on the second day arrived at Sellasia above the Oenus river, at which place it was said that Antigonus, king of the Macedonians, had contended in pitched battle with Cleomenes, the tyrant of the Lacedaemonians. Having learned that the descent was through a difficult and narrow pass, he sent men ahead to build a road over a short bypass over the mountains, and came by a sufficiently wide and open way to the river Eurotas, which flows almost under the very walls of the city. When the Romans were laying out their camp and Quinctius himself with the cavalry and light infantry had gone on ahead, the auxiliary forces of the tyrant attacked and threw them into panic and disorder, since they anticipated no such event, because no enemy had shown himself on their entire march and they had passed through an apparently peaceful country. For a time there was confusion as the cavalry called to the infantry and the infantry

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bus, cum in se cuique minimum fiduciae esset, trepidatum est; tandem signa legionum super-
 5 venerunt et, cum primi agminis cohortes inductae in proelium essent, qui modo terrori fuerant, trepi-
 6 dantes in urbem compulsi sunt. Romani, cum tantum a muro recessissent ut extra ictum teli essent, acie
 directa¹ paulisper steterunt; postquam nemo
 7 hostium contra exhibat, redierunt in castra. Postero die Quinctius prope flumen praeter urbem sub ipsas
 Menelai montis radices ducere copias instructas pergit; primae legionariae cohortes ibant, levis
 8 armatura et equites agmen cogeabant. Nabis intra murum instructos paratosque sub signis habebat
 mercenarios milites, in quibus omnis fiducia erat,
 9 ut ab tergo hostem adgrederetur. Postquam extremum agmen praeteriit, tum ab oppido, eodem
 quo pridie eruperant, tumultu pluribus simul locis
 10 erumpunt. Ap. Claudius agmen cogeabat; qui ad id quod futurum erat, ne inopinatum accideret,
 praeparatis suorum animis signa extemplo convertit
 11 totumque in hostem agmen circumegit. Itaque, velut rectae acies concurrissent, iustum aliquamdiu
 proelium fuit; tandem Nabidis milites in fugam inclinarunt; quae minus infesta ac² trepida fuisset,
 ni Achaei locorum prudentes institissent. Ii et caedem ingentem ediderunt et dispersos passim fuga
 plerosque armis exuerunt. Quinctius prope Amyclas
 12 posuit castra; unde cum perpopulatus omnia cir-

¹ *derecta Bessler*: *decreta B*: *erecta M*.² *infesta ac M. Müller*: *ac M*: *om. B*.¹ The word *rectae* (literally "straight") in this context appears to mean the orderly alinement of a force drawn up

BOOK XXXIV. XXVIII. 4-12

to the cavalry, since each lacked confidence in itself; B.C. 195
 finally, the standards of the legions came up, and when the leading cohorts of the column were thrown into the fight, those who had a moment before been a cause of terror were driven in panic into the city. The Romans retired so far from the wall that they were beyond spear-range, and forming their line waited for a while; when no enemy came out against them, they retired to the camp. The next day Quinctius began to lead his troops in array along the river and past the city to the foot of Mount Menelaus; at the head marched the legionary cohorts and the light infantry and the cavalry formed the rear-guard. Inside the wall Nabis had formed and made ready his mercenaries, in whom he placed most confidence, to attack the enemy in the rear. When the tail of the column had passed, they burst from the town through several gates at once, with the same fury as the day before. Appius Claudius was bringing up the rear; he had prepared the minds of his men for what was likely to occur, lest it catch them unawares, and he at once faced about and presented a solid front to the enemy. So, just as if organized¹ battle-lines had met, there was a regular battle for a while; at length the soldiers of Nabis turned in flight; and this would have been less hazardous and dangerous if the Achaeans, who knew the ground, had not pressed them hard. They caused great slaughter and disarmed many of them as they scattered in flight in every direction. Quinctius encamped near Amyclae, and from that base he laid waste all the well-populated and pleasant for battle, and stands in contrast with the column, the formation adopted on the march.

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cumiecta urbi frequentis et amoeni agri loca esset, nullo iam hostium porta excedente castra movit ad fluvium Eurotam. Inde vallem Taygeto subiectam agrosque ad mare pertinentes evastat.

XXIX. Eodem fere tempore L. Quinctius maritimae orae oppida partim voluntate, partim metu
2 aut vi recepit. Certior deinde factus Gytheum oppidum omnium maritimarum rerum Lacedaemoniis receptaculum esse nec procul a mari castra Romana
3 abesse, omnibus id copiis adgredi constituit. Erat eo tempore valida urbs, et multitudine civium inco-
4 larumque et omni bellico apparatu instructa. In tempore Quinctio rem haud facilem adgredienti rex Eumenes et classis Rhodiorum supervenerunt.
5 Ingens multitudo navalium sociorum e tribus contracta classibus intra paucos dies omnia quae ad oppugnationem urbis terra marique munitae facienda
6 opera erant effecit. Iam testudinibus admotis murus subruebatur, iam arietibus quatiebatur. Itaque una crebris ictibus eversa est turris quodque
7 circa muri erat casu eius prostratum; et Romani simul a portu, unde aditus planior erat, ut distenderent ab apertiore loco hostes, simul per pate-
8 factum ruina iter irrumpere conabantur. Nec multum afuit quin qua intenderant penetrarent; sed tardavit impetum eorum spes obiecta dedendae
9 urbis, mox deinde eadem turbata. Dexagoridas

country districts which surrounded the city, and when no enemy now left the gates he moved his camp to the river Eurotas. Next he devastated the valley that lies below Taygetus and the fields that stretched towards the sea. B.C. 195

XXIX. At about the same time Lucius Quinctius received the surrender of the towns on the coast, some by their own choice, some from fear or as a result of attack. Then, having learned that the town of Gytheum was the Lacedaemonians' storehouse of naval supplies of all kinds and that the Roman camp was not far from the sea, he determined to attack the town with his whole force. It was at that time a strongly fortified place, well supplied with large numbers of citizens and immigrants and with all military equipment. At an opportune moment for Quinctius, who was undertaking a difficult task, King Eumenes and the Rhodian fleet appeared. A huge crowd of naval allies, assembled from the three fleets, within a few days made ready all the engines necessary for the siege of a city strongly fortified by land and sea. Soon mantlets were brought up and the wall was being undermined and shaken by battering-rams. So one tower was overthrown by the repeated blows, and the adjacent wall was ruined by its fall; and the Romans attempted at once to force their way in from the harbour side, whence the approach was more level, to distract the enemy's attention from the more exposed place, and also through the breach made by the falling of the wall. Nor were they far from winning to the place they sought, but their attack was slowed up by the hope held out to them, but soon after found delusive, that the city would capitulate. Dexagoridas and Gorgopas

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et Gorgopas pari imperio praeerant urbi. Dexa-
goridas miserat ad legatum Romanum traditurum
10 se urbem; et cum ad eam rem tempus et ratio
convenisset, a Gorgopa proditor interficitur, intentius-
que ab uno urbs defendebatur. Et difficilior facta
oppugnatio erat ni T. Quinctius cum quattuor
11 milibus delectorum militum supervenisset. Is cum
supercilio haud procul distantis tumuli ab urbe
instructam aciem ostendisset, et ex altera parte
L. Quinctius ab operibus suis terra marique instaret,
12 tum vero desperatio Gorgopan quoque coegit id
13 consilii quod in altero morte vindicaverat capere, et
pactus ut abducere inde milites quos praesidii causa
14 habebat liceret, tradidit Quinctio urbem. Priusquam
Gytheum traderetur, Pythagoras, praefectus Argis
relictus, tradita custodia urbis Timocrati Pellenensi
cum mille mercennariis militibus et duobus milibus
Argivorum Lacedaemonem ad Nabim venit.

XXX. Nabis sicut primo adventu Romanae classis
et traditione oppidorum maritimae orae conterritus
2 erat, sic parva spe cum acquievisset Gytheo ab suis
retento, postquam id quoque traditum Romanis
audivit esse et,¹ cum ab terra omnibus circa hostilibus
3 nihil spei esset, a mari quoque toto se interclusum,
cedendum fortunae ratus caduceatorem primum in
castra misit ad explorandum si paterentur legatos

¹ esse et *Drakenborch* : esse *B.*

were in command of the city, with equal authority. B.C. 195
 Dexagoridas had sent word to the Roman lieutenant that he would give up the city, and when the time and method of procedure had been agreed upon, the traitor was slain by Gorgopas and the city was more vigorously defended by him alone. And the continuance of the siege would have been more difficult if Titus Quinctius had not come up with four thousand picked troops. When he had revealed his line of battle, drawn up on the brow of a hill no great distance from the city, and on the other side Lucius Quinctius was pressing the assault from his works on land and sea, then despair compelled Gorgopas too to adopt the plan which he had punished with death in another's case, and bargaining that he should be permitted to lead away the soldiers whom he had had as a garrison, he surrendered the city to Quinctius. Before Gytheum was surrendered, Pythagoras, the prefect who had been left at Argos, turned over the guardianship of the city to Timocrates of Pellene and with a thousand mercenaries and two thousand Argives joined Nabis in Lacedaemon.

XXX. Although Nabis had been greatly alarmed at the approach of the Roman fleet and the surrender of the coast towns, yet he had rested on a slender hope as long as Gytheum was held by his troops; when he learned that it too had been given over to the Romans and that, while on land there was no hope, all the country being in the hands of the enemy, he was entirely cut off from the sea as well, considering that he must yield to fortune, he first sent a herald to the camp to find out whether they would permit ambassadors to be sent to them.

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4 ad se mitti. Qua impetrata re Pythagoras ad
 imperatorem venit nullis cum aliis mandatis quam ut
 5 tyranno colloqui cum imperatore liceret. Consilio
 advocato cum omnes dandum colloquium censuissent,
 6 dies locusque constituitur. In mediae regionis
 tumulos modicis copiis sequentibus cum venissent,
 relictis ibi in statione conspecta utrimque cohortibus
 7 Nabis cum delectis custodibus corporis, Quinctius
 cum fratre et Eumene rege et Sosila Rhodio et
 Aristaeno, Achaeorum praetore, tribunisque militum
 paucis descendit.

XXXI. Ibi permissio seu ¹ dicere prius seu audire
 mallet, ita coepit tyrannus: " Si ipse per me, T.
 Quincti vosque qui adestis, causam excogitare cur
 mihi aut indixissetis bellum aut inferretis possem,
 2 tacitus eventum fortunae meae expectassem; nunc
 imperare animo nequivi ² quin, priusquam perirem,
 cur periturus essem scirem. Et hercules, si tales
 3 essetis quales esse Carthaginienses fama est, apud
 quos nihil societatis fides sancti haberet, in me quoque
 vobis quid faceretis minus pensi esse non mirarer;
 4 nunc cum vos intueor, Romanos esse video, qui
 rerum divinarum foedera, humanarum fidem socialem
 5 sanctissimam habeatis; cum me ipse respexi, eum
 me ³ esse spero, cui et publice, sicut ceteris Lace-
 daemoniis, vobiscum vetustissimum foedus sit et meo

¹ seu *Duker*: ut seu *B.*

² nequivi *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: nequeo *B.*

³ eum me *Siesbye*: eum *B.*

¹ The exactness of this statement cannot be verified. There seems to be no record of an earlier treaty, yet in 205 B.C. (XXIX. xii. 14) Nabis is mentioned as an ally. The negotiations of 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxxix. 10-xl. 4) make no mention of such an alliance.

BOOK XXXIV. xxx. 3-xxxI. 5

When this was granted Pythagoras came to the commander with no other message than that the tyrant be granted an interview with the general. When a council was summoned and all agreed that an interview should be granted, a time and place were appointed. They arrived with moderate escorts at some hills in the intervening country, and both parties, leaving their cohorts on guard in plain sight, came down to the meeting-place, Nabis with a picked body-guard, Quinctius with his brother, King Eumenes, Sosilas the Rhodian, Aristaenus, praetor of the Achaeans, and a few military tribunes. B.C. 196

XXXI. When the tyrant had been given the option of speaking first or of listening, he began thus: "If, Titus Quinctius and you others who are present, I had been able to discover for myself any reason why you should have declared or should now be waging war upon me, I should have waited in silence for the decision as to my fate; but as it is, I have been unable to control my curiosity to know, before I perish, why I am to perish. And, by Hercules, if you were such men as the Carthaginians are reputed to be, among whom no sanctity attaches to a pledge of alliance, as regards myself too I should not wonder that you take little thought as to how you are acting; but now, as I look at you, I see that you are Romans, men who hold treaties to be the most sacred of divinely-established institutions, and a pledge to be the most sacred of human ties. When I look at myself, I hope that I see myself as one who, as a member of the state, in common with the other Lacedaemonians, has enjoyed a most ancient treaty¹ with you, and who on his own account and in his own person has recently,

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nomine privatim amicitia ac societas, nuper Philippi
6 bello renovata. At enim ego eam violavi et everti
7 quod Argivorum civitatem teneo. Quo modo hoc
tuear? Re an tempore? Res mihi duplicem de-
fensionem praebet; nam et ipsis vocantibus ac
tradentibus urbem eam accepi, non occupavi, et
accepi cum Philippi partium, non in vestra societate
8 esset. Tempus autem eo me liberat quod, cum iam
Argos tenerem, societas mihi vobiscum convenit et
ut vobis mitterem ad bellum auxilia, non ut Argis
9 praesidium deducerem, pepigistis. At hercule in ea
controversia quae de Argis est, superior sum et
aequitate rei, quod non vestram urbem, sed hostium.
10 quod volentem, non vi coactam, accepi, et vestra
confessione, quod in condicionibus societatis Argos
11 mihi reliquistis; ceterum nomen tyranni et facta me
premunt, quod servos ad libertatem voco, quod in
12 agros inopem plebem deduco. De nomine hoc
respondere possum, me, qualiscumque sum, eundem
esse qui fui cum tu ipse mecum, T. Quincti, societatem
13 pepigisti. Tum me regem appellari a vobis memini
nunc tyrannum vocari video. Itaque, si ego nomen
imperii mutassem, mihi meae inconstantiae, cum
14 vos mutetis, vobis vestrae reddenda ratio est. Quod

BOOK XXXIV. XXXI. 5-14

during the war with Philip, renewed this friendship B.C. 196
 and alliance. But, you say, I have violated and
 overturned it because I hold the city of Argos.
 How shall I defend myself against this charge?
 By the aid of the facts or by consideration of the
 time? The facts give me a double defence: first,
 when the citizens themselves invited me and turned
 the city over to me, I accepted it, not seized it;
 second, I received it when the city belonged to
 Philip's faction and was not in league with you.
 The time likewise acquits me of that charge, since
 the alliance between you and me was arranged at
 a time when I was already in possession of Argos, and
 your stipulation was that I should send you assist-
 ance for the war, not that I should withdraw my
 garrison from Argos. But, by Hercules, in the
 dispute which concerns Argos, I come out the
 victor both by the justice of my case, because I
 received a city which belonged not to you but to
 the enemy, received it by its own act and not
 through compulsion; and by your own admission,
 since by the terms of our alliance you left Argos in
 my hands. But my title of tyrant and my behaviour
 argue against me, because I summon slaves to the
 enjoyment of freedom and establish the needy
 commons upon the soil. As to my title, I can give
 this reply, that, whatever I am, I was the same
 when you yourself, Titus Quinctius, made the
 alliance with me. At that time I recall that you
 saluted me as king; at this time I see that I am
 called tyrant. Therefore, if I had changed the title
 of my office, I should have to explain my incon-
 sistency; since you are changing it, you must give
 reason for your own. As to the fact that I have

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ad multitudinem servis liberatis auctam et egentibus
 divisum agrum attinet, possum quidem et in hoc me
 15 iure temporis tutari: iam feceram haec, qualiacum-
 que sunt, cum societatem mecum pepigistis et
 16 auxilia in bello adversus Philippum accepistis; sed
 si nunc ea fecissem, non dico ' quid in eo vos laesissem
 aut vestram amicitiam violassem? ' sed illud, me more
 17 atque instituto maiorum fecisse. Nolite ad vestras
 leges atque instituta exigere ea quae Lacedaemone
 fiunt. Nihil comparare singula necesse est. Vos a
 censu equitem, a censu peditem legitis, et paucos
 excellere opibus, plebem subiectam esse illis vultis;
 18 noster legum lator non in paucorum manu rem
 publicam esse voluit, quem vos senatum appellatis,
 nec excellere unum aut alterum ordinem in civitate,
 sed per aequationem fortunae ac¹ dignitatis fore
 credidit ut multi essent qui arma pro patria ferrent.
 19 Pluribus me ipse egisse quam pro patria² sermonis
 brevitate fateor; et breviter peroratum esse potuit,
 nihil me, postquam vobiscum institui amicitiam, cur
 eius vos paeniteret commisisse."

XXXII. Ad haec imperator Romanus: " Amicitia
 2 et societas nobis nulla tecum, sed cum Pelope, rege
 Lacedaemoniorum iusto ac legitimo, facta est, cuius
 ius tyranni quoque, qui postea per vim tenuerunt

¹ ac *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ad *B.*

² patria *Madvig*: patrio *B.*

¹ This was the basis of the constitution of Servius Tullius. The exactness of these statements regarding Roman and Spartan legislation need not be examined for this purpose.

² The senators, who generally belonged in the higher census-classes.

³ *Lycurgus.*

increased population by freeing slaves and have distributed land to the poor, I can defend myself against this charge by the plea of the time as I did before: I had already done all this, such as it is, at the time when you arranged the alliance with me and accepted my aid in the war against Philip; but if I had just recently done this, I should not ask, 'What harm have I done you in this way, or how have I broken the treaty?' but merely say that I had acted according to the tradition and custom of our ancestors. Do not weigh what is done in Lacedaemon on the scales of your own laws and institutions. It is unnecessary to make a detailed comparison. You choose your cavalry and your infantry according to their census-ratings,¹ and you desire that a few² should excel in wealth and that the commons should be under their control; our law-giver³ ordained that the state should not be in the hands of the few, whom you call the senate, and that no one order should predominate in the state, but he believed that by equalizing wealth and rank it would come to pass that there would be many to bear arms for the country. I admit that I have spoken at greater length than suits the traditional brevity of our speech;⁴ and I might have summed up briefly by stating that since I entered upon my friendship with you, I have done nothing to make you regret it."

XXXII. The Roman commander responded thus: "We have never made any treaty of friendship and alliance with you, but with Pelops, the lawful and legitimate king of the Spartans, whose rights the tyrants, who afterwards exercised violent sway in

⁴ The Spartans were traditionally "laconic."

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Lacedaemone imperium, quia nos¹ bella nunc
 Punica, nunc Gallica, nunc alia ex aliis occupaverant,
 usurparunt, sicut tu quoque hoc Macedonico bello
 3 fecisti. Nam quid minus conveniret quam eos qui
 pro libertate Graeciae adversus Philippum gereremus
 bellum cum tyranno instituere amicitiam? Et
 tyranno qui umquam fuit saevissimo et violentissimo
 4 in suos? Nobis vero, etiam si Argos nec cepisses per
 fraudem nec teneres, liberantibus omnem Graeciam
 Lacedaemon quoque vindicanda in antiquam liberta-
 tem erat atque in leges suas, quarum modo tamquam
 5 aemulus Lycurgi mentionem fecisti. An, ut ab
 Iaso et Bargyliis praesidia Philippi deducantur,
 curae erit nobis; Argos et Lacedaemonem, duas
 clarissimas urbes, lumina quondam Graeciae, sub
 pedibus tuis relinquemus, quae titulum nobis
 6 liberatae Graeciae servientes deforment? At enim
 cum Philippo Argivi senserunt. Remittimus hoc
 tibi, ne nostram vicem irascaris. Satis compertum
 habemus duorum aut summum trium in ea re, non
 7 civitatis culpam esse, tam hercule quam in te tuoque
 praesidio accersendo accipiendoque in arcem nihil
 8 est² publico consilio actum. Thessalos et Phocenses
 et Locrenses consensu omnium scimus partium
 Philippi fuisse; tamen cum cetera liberavimus
 Graecia; quid tandem censes in Argivis, qui insontes
 9 publici consilii sint, facturos? Servorum ad liberta-
 tem vocatorum et egentibus hominibus agri divisi

¹ nos *H. J. Müller*: eos *B M.* ² est *Hertz*: siin *B*: sit *γ.*

¹ These statements cannot be verified, and Pelops cannot be positively identified.

² Rome's protection of remote towns is mentioned to present a sharp contrast with what follows.

³ Nabis' indignation at Argos provokes an ironical reply.

Sparta, since we were kept busy by wars, now with Carthage, now with Gaul, now with one state after another, had usurped, just as you too have done during this recent Macedonian war.¹ What would be less consistent than for a people that was fighting against Philip for the liberation of Greece to make a treaty of friendship with a tyrant? And a treaty with a tyrant the most savage and lawless that ever lived? Even if you had neither taken Argos through fraud nor continued to hold it in the same way, we should be compelled, while we were setting all Greece free, to restore Sparta as well to its ancient liberty and its laws, which you have mentioned as if you were an imitator of Lycurgus. It will be our responsibility that Philip's garrisons are withdrawn from Iasus and Bargyliae;² shall we leave Argos and Lacedaemon, two most celebrated cities, once the lights of Greece, under your feet, that their slavery may tarnish our glory as liberators of Greece? But, you say, the Argives were on the side of Philip. We do not at all ask *you* to be indignant with them on our account.³ We have convincing proof that the blame for this rests on two or at most three men, not on the state, just as, by Hercules, when *you*, Nabis, with *your* garrison were invited and received into the citadel, nothing was done with official sanction. We know that the people of Thessaly and Phocis and Locris joined the party of Philip with the general approval of those peoples; nevertheless, we have set them free along with the rest of Greece; what then do you think we shall do in the case of the Argives, who are innocent of any official decision? You said that we were charging you with inviting slaves to

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crimina tibi obici dicebas, non quidem nec ipsa mediocria; sed quid ista sunt prae iis quae a te tuisque cotidie alia super alia facinora eduntur?

10 Exhibe liberam contionem vel Argis vel Lacedaemone, si audire iuvat vera dominationis impotentis-

11 simae crimina. Ut alia omnia vetustiora omittam, quam caedem Argis Pythagoras iste, gener tuus, paene in oculis meis edidit? Quam tu ipse, cum iam

12 prope in finibus Lacedaemoniorum essem? Age dum, quos in contione comprehensos omnibus audientibus civibus tuis te in custodia habiturum esse pronuntiasti, iube vinctos produci: miseri

13 parentes, quos falso lugent, vivere sciant. At enim, ut iam ita sint haec, quid ad vos, Romani? Hoc tu dicas liberantibus Graeciam? Hoc iis qui, ut liberare possent, mare traiecerunt, terra marique

14 gesserunt bellum? Vos tamen, inquis, vestramque amicitiam ac societatem proprie non violavi. Quotiens vis te id arguam fecisse? Sed nolo pluribus;

15 summam rem complectar. Quibus igitur rebus amicitia violatur? Nempe his maxime duabus, si socios meos pro hostibus habeas, si cum hostibus te

16 coniungas. Utrumque a te factum est; nam et Messenen, uno atque eodem iure foederis quo et Lacedaemonem in amicitiam nostram acceptam, socius ipse sociam nobis urbem vi atque armis

¹ Nabis captured Messene in 201 B.C. (Polyb. XVI. xiii). Both Nabis and Messene were included on the side of Rome in the treaty with Philip in 205 B.C. (xxix. xii. 14).

BOOK XXXIV. xxxii. 9-16

become free and dividing the land among poor B.O. 193 men, nor are these trivial accusations; but what are they in comparison with the crimes which are every day committed in endless succession by you and your followers? Hold a free assembly in either Argos or Lacedaemon, if you want to hear true accusations against a most lawless despotism. To pass over all other crimes of more distant date, what a slaughter did that Pythagoras, your son-in-law, cause at Argos almost under my eyes? Of what were you yourself guilty, at a time when I was practically on the frontiers of the Spartans? Come, bid those men be led out in chains whom you arrested in the assembly and announced in the hearing of all your fellow-citizens that you would hold in confinement: let their wretched parents see that those whom they are mourning without cause are alive. But, you say, granting now that all this is so, how does this concern you, O Romans? Can you say that to the deliverers of Greece? Can you say that to men who have crossed the sea and waged war on land and sea that they might accomplish this liberation? Yet you say, I have not personally violated your friendship and alliance. In how many instances do you want me to prove that you have done so? I shall not be long, but shall sum up the whole matter. In what ways, then, is friendship violated? Chiefly, no doubt, in these two ways: if you treat my allies as enemies, and if you associate yourself with my enemies. Both of these things you have done; for, in the first place, Messene, a city received into our friendship under one and the same treaty as Sparta, a city that was our ally, you, also our ally, captured by force of arms;¹ in

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17 cepisti et cum Philippo, hoste nostro, non societatem
 solum sed, si diis placet, adfinitatem etiam per
 18 Philoclen, praefectum eius, pepigisti et ut¹ bellum
 adversus nos gerens mare circa Maleum infestum
 navibus piraticis fecisti et plures prope cives Romanos
 19 quam Philippus cepisti atque occidisti, tutiorque
 Macedoniae ora quam promunturium Maleae com-
 meatus ad exercitus nostros portantibus navibus
 20 fuit. Proinde parce, sis, fidem ac iura societatis
 iactare et omissa populari oratione tamquam tyrannus
 et hostis loquere."

XXXIII. Sub haec Aristaenus nunc monere Nabim,
 nunc etiam orare ut, dum liceret, dum occasio esset,
 2 sibi ac fortunis suis consuleret; referre deinde
 nominatim tyrannos civitatum finitimarum coepit,
 qui deposito imperio restitutaque libertate suis non
 tutam modo sed etiam honoratam inter cives senectu-
 3 tem egissent. His dictis in vicem auditisque nox
 prope diremit colloquium. Postero die Nabis Argis
 se cedere ac deducere praesidium, quando ita
 Romanis placeret, et captivos et perfugas redditurum
 4 dixit; aliud si quid postularent, scriptum ut ederent
 5 petiit, ut deliberare cum amicis posset. Ita et
 tyranno tempus datum ad consultandum est, et
 Quinctius etiam sociorum etiam principibus adhibitis
 6 habuit consilium. Maximae partis sententia erat
 perseverandum in bello esse et tollendum tyrannum;

¹ et ut *Duker*: et *B.*

BOOK XXXIV. xxxii. 16—xxxiii. 6

the second place, you arranged not only an alliance B.C. 195
with Philip, our enemy, but also (Heaven help us!)
a personal relationship through the intervention of
his prefect Philocles, and, just as if you were making
regular war upon us, you rendered the sea around
Malea dangerous with your pirate ships, and you
captured and killed more Roman citizens, almost,
than Philip did, and the coast of Macedonia was
safer than the promontory of Malea for the ships
that were transporting supplies for our armies. Cease
then, if you please, to utter fine-sounding words about
loyalty and treaty obligations, and dropping your
popular style speak as a tyrant and an enemy."

XXXIII. After this Aristaenus began first to
advise Nabis and then to plead with him, while he
was in a position to do so and while there was oppor-
tunity, to consider his own interests and prospects,
and then to recall by name the tyrants of the neigh-
bouring states who had laid down their authority and
restored liberty to their subjects and so had passed
not only a secure but also an honourable old age
among their fellow-citizens. After this interchange
of speeches, the approach of night broke up the
conference. The next day Nabis agreed to with-
draw from Argos and lead away his garrison, since
this was the Romans' pleasure, and to give back
the prisoners and deserters; if they had further
demands, he requested that they deliver them in
writing, that he might discuss them with his friends.
So an interval was granted the tyrant for his de-
liberations, and Quinctius also held a council to
which he summoned the chiefs of the allies. The
opinion of the majority was that they should
continue the war and get rid of the tyrant; never

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numquam aliter tutam libertatem Graeciae fore;
 7 satius multo fuisse non moveri bellum adversus eum
 8 quam omitti motum; et ipsum velut comprobata
 dominatione firmiorem futurum auctore iniusti
 imperii adsumpto populo Romano et exemplo multos
 in aliis civitatibus ad insidiandum libertati civium
 9 suorum incitaturum. Ipsius imperatoris animus ad
 pacem inclinatioer erat. Videbat enim compulso intra
 moenia hoste nihil praeter obsidionem restare, eam
 10 autem ancipitem¹ fore et diuturnam; non enim
 Gytheum, quod ipsum tamen traditum, non expug-
 natum esset, sed Lacedaemonem, validissimam
 11 urbem viris armisque, oppugnaturus. Unam spem
 fuisse, si qua admoventibus exercitum dissensio inter
 ipsos ac seditio excitari posset; cum signa portis
 12 prope inferri cernerent, neminem se movisse. Adicie-
 bat et cum Antiocho infidam pacem Villium legatum
 inde redeuntem nuntiare; multo maioribus quam
 ante terrestribus navalibusque copiis in Europam
 13 eum transisse. Si occupasset obsidio Lacedaemonis
 exercitum, quibus aliis copiis adversus regem tam
 14 validum ac potentem bellum gesturos? Haec pro-
 palam dicebat; illa tacita suberat cura, ne novus
 consul Graeciam provinciam sortiretur et inchoata
 belli victoria successoris tradenda esset.

¹ ancipitem *M. Müller* : *om. B.*

under other conditions would the liberty of Greece B.C. 195 be assured; it would have been much better not to have begun the war against him than to discontinue it when once begun; and he, having obtained a quasi-approval of his despotism, would be more firmly established for having won the sanction of the Roman people for his unjust rule, and by his example would prompt many in other states to plot against the freedom of their citizens. The mind of the commander himself was more inclined towards peace. For he saw that with the enemy driven inside his fortifications nothing remained but a siege, but the siege would be of uncertain issue and long duration, since they would invest, not Gytheum (and this, besides, had been surrendered, not captured), but Lacedaemon, a city exceedingly powerful in men and arms. There had been, he continued, one real hope, if dissension and insurrection among the Spartans themselves could have been begun while they were bringing up the army; when they saw the standards almost carried into the gates, no one had stirred. He added that Villius, the ambassador, had reported on his return that the peace with Antiochus could not be depended upon, and that he had crossed into Europe with far greater military and naval forces than before. If the siege of Sparta, he asked, kept the army busy, with what other troops would they conduct the war against a king so mighty and powerful? Such was his spoken argument; unexpressed was another anxiety, that a new consul might obtain the province of Greece from the lots, and that he might be compelled to hand over to a successor an incomplete victory in the war.

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XXXIV. Cum adversus tendendo nihil moveret socios, simulando se transire in eorum sententiam omnes in adsensum consilii sui traduxit. "Bene vertat," inquit "obsideamus Lacedaemonem quando ita placet; illud modo ne fallat: cum ¹ res tam lenta quam ipsi scitis, oppugnatio urbium sit et obsidentibus prius saepe quam obsessis taedium adferat, iam nunc hoc ita proponere vos animis oportet, hibernandum circa Lacedaemonis moenia esse. Quae mora si laborem tantum ac periculum haberet, ut et animis et corporibus ad sustinenda ea parati essetis hortarer vos; nunc impensa quoque magna eget in opera, in machinationes et tormenta quibus tanta urbs oppugnanda est, in commeatus vobis nobisque in hiemem expediendos. Itaque, ne aut repente trepidetis aut rem inchoatam turpiter destituatis, scribendum ante vestris civitatibus censeo explorandumque quid quaeque animi, quid virium habeat. Auxiliorum satis superque habeo; sed quo plures sumus pluribus rebus egebimus. Nihil iam praeter nudum solum ager hostium habet. Ad hoc hiems accedet ad comportandum ex longinquo difficilis." Haec oratio primum animos omnium ad respicienda sua ² cuiusque ³ domestica mala convertit, segnitiam, invidiam et obtrectionem domi manentium adversus militantes, libertatem difficilem ad consensum, inopiam publicam, malignitatem conferendi ex privato. Versis itaque subito voluntatibus faceret

¹ cum *Madvig*: ceterum cum *B.*

² sua *Ussing*: om. *B.*

³ cuiusque *H. J. Müller*: cuique *B.*

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XXXIV. When by arguing on the other side he B.C. 195 produced no effect among the allies, by pretending to go over to their opinion he brought all into agreement with his plan. "May success attend us," he said, "and let us lay siege to Sparta, since that is your will: but do not be deceived about this: since the siege of cities is a slow business, as you know, which often exhausts the patience of the besiegers sooner than that of the besieged, you ought even now to hold this prospect before your minds, that we must winter around the walls of Lacedaemon. If this delay involved merely toil and danger, I should urge you to prepare both minds and bodies to resist them; but now it demands much money also, for siege-works, for engines and artillery with which we must attack so strong a town, and for the purchase of provisions for you and us against the winter. Therefore, to prevent any sudden fear or a disgraceful abandonment of an unfinished enterprise, I propose that you should write to your states in advance, to ascertain what is the temper and what the strength of each. Of troops to aid me, I have enough and more; but the more numerous we are, the more supplies we shall require. The enemy's country already offers nothing but the naked soil. Besides, winter will soon be here, making it difficult to transport supplies from a distance." This speech at once directed the minds of all to thoughts of the domestic difficulties of each, the sloth, the ill-will, and the jealousy of those who stayed at home towards the soldiers in the field, the liberty that made agreement difficult, the public poverty, the unwillingness to make contributions from private funds. Their inclinations accordingly suffered a sudden change,

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quod e re publica populi Romani sociorumque esse crederet imperatori permiserunt.

XXXV. Inde Quinctius adhibitis legatis tantum
2 tribunisque militum condiciones in quas pax cum tyranno fieret has conscripsit: sex mensium indutiae ut essent Nabidi Romanisque et Eumeni regi et Rhodiis; legatos extemplo mitterent Romam T. Quinctius et Nabis, ut pax ex auctoritate senatus
3 confirmaretur; et qua die scriptae condiciones pacis editae Nabidi forent, ea dies ut indutiarum principium esset, et ut ex ea die intra decimum diem ab Argis ceterisque oppidis quae in Argivorum agro essent praesidia omnia deducerentur vacuaque et libera
4 traderentur Romanis, et ne quod inde mancipium regium publicumve aut privatum educeretur, si qua ante educta forent dominis recte restituerentur;
5 naves quas civitatibus maritimis ademisset redderet neve ipse navem ullam praeter duos lembos, qui non plus quam sedecim remis agerentur, haberet;
6 perfugas et captivos omnibus sociis populi Romani civitatibus redderet et Messeniis omnia quae com-
7 parerent quaeque domini cognossent; exulibus quoque Lacedaemoniis liberos coniuges restitueret, quae earum viros sequi voluissent, invita ne qua
8 exulis comes esset; mercennariorum militum Nabidis,

¹ I.e. Eumenes.

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and they granted authority to the commander to do B.C. 195
what he considered consistent with the general
interest of the Roman people and the allies.

XXXV. Quinctius then summoned only his lieutenants and the tribunes of the soldiers, and wrote down the terms on which peace should be made with the tyrant: that there should be a truce of six months between Nabis and the Romans, King Eumenes, and the Rhodians; that Titus Quinctius and Nabis should at once send ambassadors to Rome, that the peace might be ratified by the authority of the senate; that the day on which the written conditions of peace should be delivered to Nabis should be the beginning of the armistice, and that ten days from that time the garrisons should be withdrawn from Argos and the other towns in Argive territory, and that they be handed over to the Romans, empty and free of troops, and that no slave, whether belonging to the king¹ or to the state or to a private individual, should be removed, and if any had been previously removed they should be duly returned to their owners; that he should give back the ships which he had taken from the cities on the sea, and that he should not have any ship except two small vessels which were propelled by not more than sixteen oars; that he should restore the fugitives and captives to all the cities allied with the Roman people and to the Messenians all the property which could be found and which the owners could identify; that he should likewise return to the Lacedaemonian exiles their children and their wives who were willing to attend their husbands, provided that no wife should against her will follow a husband into exile; that all property should be duly restored

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qui aut in civitates suas aut ad Romanos transissent,
 9 iis res suae omnes recte redderentur; in Creta insula
 ne quam urbem haberet; quas habuisset, redderet
 Romanis; ne quam societatem cum ullo Cretensium
 aut quoquam alio institueret neu bellum gereret;
 10 civitatibus omnibus, quasque ipse ¹ restituisset quae-
 que se suaque in fidem ac dicionem populi Romani
 tradidissent, omnia praesidia deduceret seque ipse
 11 suosque ab iis abstineret; ne quod oppidum neu
 quod castellum in suo alienove agro conderet; obsides,
 ea ita futura, daret quinque, quos imperatori Romano
 placuisset, et filium in iis suum, et talenta centum
 argenti in praesenti et quinquaginta talenta in
 singulos annos per annos octo.

XXXVI. Haec conscripta castris propius urbem
 2 motis Lacedaemonem mittuntur. Nec sane quic-
 quam eorum satis placebat tyranno, nisi quod praeter
 spem reducendorum exulum mentio nulla facta erat;
 maxime autem omnium ea res offendebat, quod et
 naves et maritimae civitates ademptae erant.
 3 Fuerat autem ei magno fructui mare, omnem oram
 a Maleo ² praedatoriis navibus infestam habenti;
 iuventutem praeterea civitatum earum ad supple-
 mentum longe optimi generis militum habebat.
 4 Has condiciones quamquam ipse in secreto volu-
 taverat cum amicis, vulgo tamen omnes fama fere-

¹ ipse *Bekker*: et ipse *B*.² a Maleo *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: maleo *B*.

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to the mercenary soldiers of Nabis who had deserted B.C. 195
either to their own states or to the Romans; that he should retain possession of no town in Crete, and those which he had held he should turn over to the Romans; that he should form no alliance with any people of the Cretans or anyone else, and should wage no war with them; that from all the cities, both those which he had given up and those which had put themselves and their possessions under the protection and control of the Roman people, he should withdraw his garrisons and should keep himself and his troops away from them; that he should found no city or fort on his own or another's territory; that he should give five hostages that these conditions should be observed, such as were satisfactory to the Roman commander, and among them his son, and should pay one hundred talents of silver immediately and fifty talents per year for eight years.

XXXVI. These articles were reduced to writing and delivered to Lacedaemon, the camp having been moved nearer to the town. Nothing in them was really pleasing to the tyrant, except that, contrary to his expectations, no mention was made of any restoration of the exiles; but the most offensive clause was that which deprived him of the ships and the cities on the coast. The sea, indeed, had been of great profit to him, since his pirate boats had attacked the whole coast from the promontory of Malea; besides, he found the soldiers of these cities made by far the best kind of fighting men. Although he had discussed these conditions with his advisers in secret, nevertheless everyone was discussing them in common talk, since it is the nature

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bant, vanis, ut ad ceteram fidem, sic ad secreta
 5 tegenda satellitum regionum ingeniis. Non tam
 omnia universi quam ea quae ad quemque pertinerent
 singuli carpebant. Qui exulum coniuges in matri-
 monio habebant aut ex bonis eorum aliquid posse-
 derant, tamquam amissuri, non reddituri, indigna-
 6 bantur. Servis liberatis a tyranno non irrita modo
 futura libertas, sed multo foedior quam fuisset ante,
 servitus, redeuntibus in iratorum dominorum potes-
 7 tatem ante oculos obversabatur. Mercennarii milites
 et pretia militiae casura in pace aegre ferebant et
 reditum sibi nullum in civitates videbant, infensas
 non tyrannis magis quam satellitibus eorum.

XXXVII. Haec inter se primo in circulis ¹ serentes
 2 fremere; deinde subito ad arma discurrerunt. Quo
 tumultu cum per se satis irritatam multitudinem
 3 cerneret tyrannus, contionem advocari iussit. Ubi
 cum ea quae imperarentur ab Romanis exposuisset
 et graviora atque indigniora quaedam falso adfinxis-
 set, et ad singula nunc ab universis nunc a partibus
 contionis acclamaretur, interrogavit quid se res-
 4 pondere ad ea aut quid facere vellet. Prope una
 voce omnes nihil responderi et bellum geri iusserunt;
 et pro se quisque, qualia multitudo solet, bonum
 animum habere et bene sperare iubentes, fortes

¹ in circulis ed. *Moguntina* 1518: circulos *B*.

of the courtiers of kings to be untrustworthy in all respects, but especially for keeping secrets. People generally did not criticize the terms as a whole so much as individuals found fault with those that concerned themselves. Those who had married the wives of exiles, or had possessed themselves of parts of their property, mourned as if they were to be robbed, and were not to restore the property of others. Before the eyes of the slaves who had been freed by the tyrant was the vision not only of their vainly-gained liberty but of a slavery much more grievous than before, since they were returned to the authority of angered masters. The mercenaries saw with regret that the rewards of service would diminish in peace, and they likewise knew that they could not return to their own states, which were not more opposed to tyrants than to their servants.

XXXVII. At first they made these complaints as they discussed the terms in their own gatherings; then suddenly they ran to arms. When the tyrant perceived that the people had of their own accord become angry enough, he ordered an assembly summoned. When he had explained there the demands made by the Romans, and had falsely represented some of them as more burdensome and unjust than they actually were, and when each point was received with signs of disapproval, now from the whole assembly, now from one part or another, he asked what answer they wanted him to give and what they wished him to do. Almost unanimously they bade him give no answer but to continue the war, and each one individually, as a crowd is wont to do, counselled him to be of good cheer and good hope, reminding him that fortune favoured

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5 fortunam adiuuare aiebant. His vocibus incitatus tyrannus et Antiochum Aetolosque adiuturos pronuntiat, et sibi ad obsidionem sustinendam copiarum
6 adfatim esse. Exciderat pacis mentio ex omnium animis et in stationes non ultra quieturi discurrunt. Paucorum excursio lacescentium et emissa iacula extemplo et ¹ Romanis dubitationem quin bellandum
7 esset exemerunt. Leuia inde proelia per quadri-
dum primum sine ullo satis certo eventu commissa;
8 quinto die prope iusta pugna adeo paventes in oppidum Lacedaemonii compulsi sunt, ut quidam milites Romani terga fugientium caedentes per intermissa, ut tunc erant, moenia urbem intrarint.

XXXVIII. Et tunc quidem Quinctius satis eo terrore coercitis excursionibus hostium nihil praeter ipsius oppugnationem urbis superesse ratus, missis qui omnes navales socios a Gytheo accerserent, ipse interim cum tribunis militum ad visendum urbis
2 situm moenia circumuehitur. Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta; tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque obiecerant murum; altiora loca et difficilia aditu stationibus armatorum pro munimento obiectis
3 tutabantur. Ubi satis omnia inspexit, corona oppug-
nandum ratus omnibus copiis—erant autem Romanorum sociorumque, simul peditum equitumque, simul terrestrium ac navalium copiarum, ad quinquaginta milia hominum—urbem cinxit. Alii scalas,

¹ et ϵ : qui et *B*.

¹ The fortification of Sparta is differently dated by other ancient writers.

the brave. Inspired by such speeches, the tyrant B.C. 195 announced that he would have the support of Antiochus and the Aetolians, and that he had abundant strength to withstand the siege. All thoughts of peace had gone from their minds and they rushed to their posts, unable to remain quiet longer. The sally of a few skirmishers and the weapons which they hurled at once removed from the Romans any doubt that the war would go on. For the first four days there were only minor engagements with no very certain result; on the fifth day, in a regular battle, the Lacedaemonians were driven back into the town in such confusion that some of the Romans, as they were cutting down the fugitives, entered the city through the gaps which at that time existed in the wall.

XXXVIII. And for the time Quinctius, having put a stop to the enemy's raids by reason of the alarm he had given them, and thinking that there was no alternative to the investment of the city, sent messengers to bring up the marines from Gytheum, and himself with the tribunes of the soldiers rode around the walls to reconnoitre the city's position. Sparta had at one time been without a wall; the tyrants had recently constructed a wall in the open and flat places;¹ the higher ground and that difficult to approach was defended by guards of soldiers instead of a fortification. When he had made a sufficiently complete reconnaissance, thinking that he should attack from an encircling line, he stationed around the city his whole force—there were altogether, Romans and allies, foot and horse, soldiers and marines, about fifty thousand men. Some bore ladders, others torches, others

alii ignem, alii alia, quibus non oppugnarent modo sed etiam terrerent, portabant. Iussi sublato clamore subire undique omnes, ut, qua primum occurrerent quave opem ferrent, ad omnia simul paventes
 5 Lacedaemonii ignorarent. Quod roboris in exercitu erat trifariam divisum; parte una a Phoebeo, altera a Dictynneo, tertia ab eo loco quem Heptagonias appellant—omnia autem haec aperta sine muro loca
 6 sunt—adgredi iubet. Cum tantus undique terror urbem circumvasisset, primo tyrannus et ad clamores repentinos et ad nuntios trepidos motus, ut quisque maxime laboraret locus, aut ipse occurrebat aut
 7 aliquos mittebat; deinde circumfuso undique pavore ita obtorpuit ut nec dicere quod in rem esset nec audire posset nec inops modo consilii sed vix mentis compos esset.

XXXIX. Romanos primo sustinebant in angustiis Lacedaemonii, ternaque acies tempore uno locis diversis pugnabant; deinde crescente certamine
 2 nequaquam erat proelium par. Missilibus enim Lacedaemonii pugnabant, a quibus se et magnitudine scuti perfacile Romanus tuebatur miles, et
 3 quod alii vani, alii leves admodum ictus erant. Nam propter angustias loci confertamque turbam non modo ad emittenda cum procursu, quo plurimum concitantur, tela spatium habebant, sed ne ut de
 4 gradu quidem libero ac stabili conarentur. Itaque ex adverso missa tela nulla in corporibus, rara in

other things, with which to attack and likewise to B.C. 196 cause terror. The main body of his army he formed in three columns: his order was to attack with one on the side of the Phoebeum, with the second at the Dictynneum, with the third in the quarter which they call Heptagoniae—all these were open places without walls. The city being thus encircled on every side with terror, the tyrant at first, actively attending to the sudden shouts and the panic-stricken messages, just as each spot was in greatest straits, either went to meet the enemy in person or despatched assistance; later on, as the confusion increased on all sides, he was so benumbed by terror that he was unable either to order what was appropriate or to hear the reports, and not only lost his power of judgment but was almost bereft of reason.

XXXIX. At first the Lacedaemonians held up the Roman attack in the narrow approaches, and the three lines were fighting in different places at the same time; then, as the fighting grew more severe, the battle was by no means equal. For the Spartans were fighting with long-distance weapons, from which the Roman soldier protected himself with great ease, partly by the size of his shield, partly because some javelins missed their mark and others fell only lightly. For on account of the limited space and the throngs of soldiers, they not only had no room from which to hurl them on the run, which gives them the greatest momentum, but they lacked even room to try to throw them from an unimpeded and solid footing. Consequently, of the weapons hurled from directly opposite none pierced the

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5 scutis haerebant; ab circumstantibus ex superioribus
locis vulnerati quidam sunt; mox progressos iam
etiam ex tectis non tela modo sed tegulae quoque
6 inopinantes perculerunt. Sublatis deinde supra
capita scutis continuatisque ita inter se, ut non modo
ad caecos ictus sed ne ad inserendum quidem ex
propinquo telum loci quicquam esset, testudine facta
7 subibant. Et primae angustiae paulisper sua hos-
tiumque refertae turba tenuerunt; postquam in
patientiore viam urbis paulatim urgentes hostem
processere, non ultra vis eorum atque impetus
8 sustineri poterant. Cum terga vertissent Lace-
daemonii et fuga effusa superiora peterent loca,
Nabis quidem, ut capta urbe trepidans, quam ipse
9 evaderet circumspectabat; Pythagoras cum ad
cetera animo officioque ducis fungebatur, tum vero
unus ne caperetur urbs causa fuit; succendi enim
10 aedificia proxima muro iussit. Quae cum momento
temporis arsissent, ut adiuvantibus ignem, qui alias
ad extinguendum opem ferre solent, ruere in
11 Romanos tecta, nec tegularum modo fragmenta sed
etiam ambusta tigna ad armatos pervenire et flamma
late fundi, fumus terrorem etiam maiorem quam
12 periculum facere. Itaque et qui extra urbem erant
Romanorum, tum maxime impetum facientes, re-

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bodies, and few even the shields; some of the B.C. 196
 Romans were wounded by troops on their flanks who occupied the higher ground; presently, as they advanced, some unexpected wounds were suffered from spears and even tiles hurled from the house-tops. Then they held their shields above their heads and fitted them so closely together that no space was left for random shots or even for the insertion of a javelin from near at hand, and having formed their *testudo* they forced their way forward. The first narrow streets they entered, crowded with their own troops and those of the enemy, delayed them for a while; after they came out into the wider avenues of the city, gradually driving back the enemy, the violence of their assault could not be resisted longer. When the Lacedaemonians had turned to flee, and in headlong flight were seeking the higher ground, Nabis too, trembling as if the city had been taken, looked about him for a way to escape; Pythagoras not only displayed the courage and performed the functions of a commander in other respects, but was, moreover, the sole reason why the city was not captured, for he ordered the buildings nearest the wall to be set on fire. When these had flamed up in an instant, and the men who ordinarily would be accustomed to bring aid to put out the fire were helping it to burn more fiercely, the roofs were collapsing upon the Romans, and not only pieces of tile but half-burned beams were falling upon the soldiers and flames were shooting far out, while the smoke too was creating greater terror than danger. And so those of the Romans who were outside the city and were just at that moment making their most violent attack,

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cessere a muro, et qui iam intraverant, ne incendio
ab tergo oriente intercluderentur ab suis, receperunt
13 sese; et Quinctius, postquam quid rei esset vidit,
receptui canere iussit. Ita iam capta prope urbe
revocati in castra redierunt.

XL. Quinctius plus ex timore hostium quam ex
re ipsa spei nactus, per triduum insequens territavit
eos, nunc proeliis laccessendo, nunc operibus inter-
2 saepiendo quaedam, ne exitus ad fugam esset. His
comminationibus compulsus tyrannus Pythagoram
rursus oratorem misit; quem Quinctius primo asper-
natus excedere castris iussit, dein suppliciter orantem
3 advolutumque genibus tandem audivit. Prima ora-
tio fuit omnia permittentis arbitrio Romanorum;
4 dein cum ea velut vana et sine effectu nihil proficeret,
eo deducta est res ut iis condicionibus quas ex scripto
paucis ante diebus editae erant indutiae fierent,
pecuniaque et obsides accepti.

5 Dum oppugnatur tyrannus, Argivi, nuntiis aliis
super¹ alios adferentibus tantum non iam captam
6 Lacedaemonem esse erecti et ipsi, simul eo quod
Pythagoras cum parte validissima praesidii exces-
serat, contempta paucitate eorum qui in arce erant,
duce Archippo quodam praesidium expulerunt;
7 Timocratem Pellenensem, quia clementer prae-

¹ super *P. R. Müller* : prope super *B.*

¹ Livy here uses *orator* in its original sense.

retired from the wall, and likewise those who had B.C. 195 already entered, lest they be cut off from their own men by the fire which was rising in their rear, fell back, and Quinctius, when he saw what the situation was, ordered the signal sounded for a retirement. And so, when they had almost captured the city they were recalled and returned to their camp.

XL. Quinctius found more cause for hope in the enemy's panic than in the actual success he had gained, and for three days following kept them in a state of terror, sometimes harrying them with assaults, sometimes blocking open spaces with siege-works, that no way might be left open for escape. Under the pressure of these repeated threats the tyrant again sent Pythagoras to plead for him,¹ but Quinctius at first scornfully ordered him to be expelled from the camp, but later, when he begged like a suppliant and threw himself at his feet, he at length granted him an audience. The beginning of his speech was an offer of complete submission to the decision of the Romans, but when this accomplished nothing, being held to be idle and unavailing, matters were then brought to this point that a truce should be concluded on the basis of the terms which had been delivered in writing a few days before, and the money and hostages were received.

While the tyrant was being besieged, the Argives, when man after man brought the news that Lacedaemon was all but captured, themselves took heart, for the additional reason that Pythagoras had departed with the strongest contingent of the garrison, and making light of the few who were in the citadel, they chose one Archippus as leader and drove out the garrison; as for Timocrates of Pellene,

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fuerat, vivum fide data emiserunt. Huic laetitiae Quinctius supervenit pace data tyranno dimissisque ab Lacedaemone Eumene et Rhodiis et L. Quinctio fratre ad classem.

XLI. Laeta civitas celeberrimum festorum dierum ac nobile ludicrum Nemeorum, die stata propter belli mala praetermissum, in adventum Romani exercitus ducisque indixerunt praefeceruntque ludis
2 ipsum imperatorem. Multa erant quae gaudium cumularent: reducti cives ab Lacedaemone erant, quos nuper Pythagoras quosque ante Nabis abduxe-
3 rat; redierant qui post compertam a Pythagora coniurationem et caede iam coepta effugerant; libertatem ex longo intervallo libertatisque auctores Romanos, quibus causa bellandi cum tyranno ipsi fuissent, cernebant. Testata quoque ipso Nemeorum
4 die voce praeconis libertas est Argivorum. Achaeis quantum restituti Argi in commune Achaiae concilium laetitiae adferebant, tantum serva Lacedaemon relicta et lateri adhaerens tyrannus non
5 sincerum gaudium praebebant; Aetoli vero eam rem omnibus conciliis lacerare: cum Philippo non ante desitum bellari quam omnibus excederet
6 Graeciae urbibus; tyranno relictam Lacedaemonem; regem autem legitimum, qui in Romanis fuerit

¹ See xxv. 7-12 above.

² Argos had come under the control of Philip in 198 B.C. (XXXII. xxv. 11) and Livy exaggerates somewhat, as he frequently does.

BOOK XXXIV. XL. 7—XLI. 6

because he had ruled them with kindness, they B.C. 195 allowed him to leave alive under a safeguard. In the midst of their rejoicing Quinctius came to them, having granted peace to the tyrant and sent away from Lacedaemon Eumenes and the Rhodians and his brother Lucius Quinctius to the fleet.

XLI. The most popular of the festivals, the famous spectacle of the Nemean Games, which had been omitted at the usual time because of the misfortunes of war, was now, on the arrival of the Roman army and commander, proclaimed by the joyful citizens, who had chosen the general himself to preside at the games. There were many things which added to their joy: those of their countrymen had been brought back from Lacedaemon, who had been taken there by Pythagoras recently and by Nabis earlier; the men had come back who had escaped after the discovery of the conspiracy¹ by Pythagoras and after the executions had begun; they saw liberty recovered after a long interval,² and they beheld the authors of that liberty,—the Romans, whose cause for warring with the tyrant they had themselves been. Moreover, the freedom of the Argives was proclaimed by the voice of the herald on the very day of the Nemean Games. As regards the Achaeans, whatever joy the restoration of Argos to the common council of Achaea brought to them was rendered incomplete to the same degree by the fact that Lacedaemon was left enslaved, with the tyrant close at hand; the Aetolians, too, attacked the position of affairs at all their meetings: with Philip, they said, there had been no cessation from war until he had evacuated all the cities of Greece; Sparta was abandoned to the tyrant, and its legal king, though

LIVY

A. U. C.
559

castris, ceterosque nobilissimos cives in exilio victos; Nabidis dominationis satellitem factum populum Romanum. Quinctius ab Argis Elatiam, unde ad bellum Spartanum profectus erat, copias reduxit.

8 Sunt qui non ex oppido proficiscentem bellum
9 gessisse tyrannum tradant, sed castris adversus
Romana positis castra diuque cunctatum, quia
Aetolorum auxilia expectasset, coactum ad extremum
acie configere impetu in pabulatores suos a Romanis
10 facto; eo proelio victum castrisque exutum pacem
petisse, cum cecidissent quattuordecim milia mili-
tum, capta plus quattuor milia essent.

XLII. Eodem fere tempore et a T. Quinctio de rebus ad Lacedaemonem gestis et a M. Porcio consule ex Hispania litterae adlatae. Utriusque nomine in dies ternos supplicatio ab senatu decreta
2 est. L. Valerius consul, cum post fusos circa Litanam
3 silvam Boios quietam provinciam habuisset, comi-
tiorum causa Romam rediit et creavit consules P.
Cornelium Scipionem Africanum iterum et Ti.
Sempronium Longum. Horum patres primo anno
4 secundi Punici belli consules fuerant. Praetoria
inde comitia habita; creati P. Cornelius Scipio et
duo Cn. Cornelii, Merenda et Blasio, et Cn. Domitius
Ahenobarbus et Sex. Digitius et T. Iuventius Thalna.
Comitiis perfectis consul in provinciam rediit.

¹ These are obviously the Roman annalists, whose variant account Livy prefixes to the narrative of western affairs which follows. His source for the war with Nabis was a portion of Polybius which is now lost.

² Cato's thanksgiving has already been reported in **xxi. 8** above.

BOOK XXXIV. XLI. 6—XLII. 4

in the Roman camp, and other citizens of the highest station, would live in exile; the Roman army had become the ready agent of Nabis' despotism. From Argos Quinctius led his troops back to Elatia, whence he had set out to the Spartan war. B.C. 195

There are some¹ who say that the tyrant fought the war, not by making sallies from the town, but by placing his camp face to face with the Roman, and that after long delay, because he was waiting for aid from the Aetolians, he was in the end compelled to fight in battle array when the Romans attacked his foragers; defeated in that battle and expelled from his camp, he asked for peace, after fourteen thousand of his men had been killed and more than four thousand captured.

XLII. At about the same time letters arrived both from Titus Quinctius, narrating what had happened before Lacedaemon, and from Marcus Porcius the consul, from Spain. Thanksgivings of three days each were decreed by the senate in the names of both.² Lucius Valerius the consul, having enjoyed peace in his province after the defeat of the Boi near the forest of Litana, returned to Rome to hold the elections, and announced the choice of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (for the second time) and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. Their fathers had been consuls in the first year of the Second Punic War. Next the praetorian elections were held; the choice fell on Publius Cornelius Scipio, Gnaeus Cornelius Merenda and Gnaeus Cornelius Blasio, Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Sextus Digitius, and Titus Iuventius Thalna. After the elections were over the consul returned to the province.

LIVY

A.U.C.
559

5 Novum ius eo anno a Ferentinatibus temptatum,
ut Latini qui in coloniam Romanam nomina dedissent
6 cives Romani essent. Puteolos Salernumque et
Buxentum adscripti coloni qui nomina dederunt, et
cum ob id se pro civibus Romanis ferrent, senatus
iudicavit non esse eos cives Romanos.

A.U.C.
560

XLIII. Principio anni quo P. Scipio Africanus
iterum et Ti. Sempronius Longus consules fuerunt,
2 legati Nabidis tyranni Romam venerunt. Iis extra
urbem in aede Apollinis senatus datus est. Pax
quae cum T. Quinctio convenisset ut rata esset
petierunt impetraruntque.

3 De provinciis cum relatum esset, senatus frequens
in eam sententiam ibat ut, quoniam in Hispania et
Macedonia debellatum foret, consulibus ambobus
4 Italia provincia esset. Scipio satis esse Italiae unum
consulem censebat; alteri Macedoniam decernendam
esse. Bellum grave ab Antiocho imminere. Iam
ipsum sua sponte in Europam transgressum; quid
5 deinde facturum censerent, cum hinc Aetoli, haud
dubie hostes, vocarent ad bellum, illinc Hannibal,
Romanis cladibus insignis imperator, stimulare?
6 Dum de provinciis consulum disceptatur, praetores
7 sortiti sunt; Cn. Domitio urbana iurisdictio, T.

¹ These colonies were founded in 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxix. 3).

² The Ferentinates had the status of *socii Latini nominis*; the other colonies mentioned consisted of *cives Romani* (xlv. 1 below). The senate's decision establishes the principle that Roman citizenship can not be acquired by Latins by enrolment in Roman colonies, although Roman citizens could acquire Latin status by enrolment in Latin colonies.

BOOK XXXIV. XLII. 5-XLIII. 7

This year the people of Ferentinum tried to secure B.C. 195
a new privilege, to wit, that Latins who had registered as applicants for membership in a Roman colony should be Roman citizens. For such of them as had given in their names were enrolled as colonists of Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum,¹ and since they had on that account conducted themselves as Roman citizens, the senate gave judgment that they were not Roman citizens.²

XLIII. In the beginning of the year in which B.C. 191
Publius Scipio Africanus (for the second time) and Tiberius Sempronius Longus were consuls, the ambassadors of the tyrant Nabis came to Rome. An audience before the senate was granted them outside the City in the temple of Apollo. They requested that the peace which had been agreed upon with Titus Quinctius be ratified, and this was granted to them.

When the question of the provinces was brought up, a full meeting of the senate adopted a proposal that, since the wars in Spain and Macedonia had been finished, both consuls should have Italy as their province. Scipio was of the opinion that one consul sufficed for Italy and that Macedonia should be decreed to the other. His arguments were that a great war was threatened by Antiochus, who had already and without provocation crossed into Europe; what did they think he would do then, with the Aetolians, avowed enemies, on one side calling him to the war, and on the other Hannibal, a general distinguished for his defeats of the Romans, urging him on? While the debate about the consular provinces was in progress, the praetors cast lots; the city jurisdiction fell to Gnaeus Domitius, that

LIVY

A.U.C.
560

Iuventio peregrina evenit, P. Cornelio Hispania
ulterior, Sex. Digito citerior, duobus Cn. Cornelis
Blasioni Sicilia, Merendae Sardinia. In Macedoniam
8 novum exercitum transportari non placuit, eum qui
esset ibi reduci in Italiam a Quinctio ac dimitti; item
eum exercitum dimitti qui cum M. Porcio Catone in
9 Hispania esset; consulibus ambobus Italiam pro-
vinciam esse, et duas urbanas scribere eos legiones,
ut dimissis quos senatus censuisset exercitibus octo
omnino Romanae legiones essent.

XLIV. Ver sacrum factum erat priore anno, M.
2 Porcio et L. Valerio consulibus. Id cum P. Licinius
pontifex non esse recte factum collegio primum,
deinde ex auctoritate collegii patribus renuntiasset,
de integro faciendum arbitrato pontificum censuerunt
ludosque magnos, qui una voti essent, tanta pecunia
3 quanta adsoleret faciendos; ver sacrum videri pecus
quod natum esset inter kal. Martias et pridie kal.
Maias P. Cornelio et Ti. Sempronio consulibus.

4 Censurum inde comitia sunt habita. Creati cen-
sures Sex. Aelius Paetus et C. Cornelius Cethegus.
Principem senatus ¹ P. Scipionem consulem, quem et
priores censes legerant, legerunt. Tres omnino
senatores, neminem curuli honore usum, prae-

¹ senatus *ed. Mediolanensis* 1505: senatum *B M.*

² See XXXIII. xlv. 2 and the note.

³ See XXII. x. 7.

⁴ The *princeps senatus* was usually chosen from the senators who had held the censorship. He was the first of the senators to be called upon to give his vote.

⁵ This fact was not mentioned in XXXII. vii. 2, where the previous censorship was reported. Scipio himself was one of the censors in 199 B.C.

⁶ This constituted exclusion from the senate.

BOOK XXXIV. XLIII. 7-XLIV. 4

between citizens and aliens to Titus Iuventius, B.C. 194
 Farther Spain to Publius Cornelius, Nearer Spain to
 Sextus Digitius, Sicily to Gnaeus Cornelius Blasio
 and Sardinia to Merenda. It was decided that a
 new army should not be taken over to Macedonia
 and that the troops who were there should be
 brought back by Titus Quinctius and demobilized;
 likewise the army which was with Marcus Porcius
 Cato in Spain should be disbanded; that both
 consuls should have Italy as province and should
 enrol two city legions, so that after the discharge
 of those prescribed by the senate there should be
 in all eight Roman legions.

XLIV. The "sacred spring" had been celebrated
 in the previous year, during the consulship of Marcus
 Porcius and Lucius Valerius.¹ Since Publius Licinius
 the pontiff had announced, first to the college, and
 then, by the direction of the college, to the senate,
 that this had not been properly performed, the
 Fathers voted that it should be celebrated anew
 under the supervision of the pontiffs, and that the
 Great Games, which had been vowed at the same
 time,² should be performed with the customary appro-
 priation of the necessary funds; the "sacred spring"
 was defined as including all the animals born between
 the Calends of March and the day preceding the
 Calends of May in the consulship of Publius Cornelius
 and Tiberius Sempronius.

The election of censors was then held, and Sextus
 Aelius Paetus and Gaius Cornelius Cethegus were
 chosen. As *princeps senatus*³ they made the consul
 Publius Scipio their choice, who had been the choice
 of the previous censors as well.⁴ They passed over⁵
 only three senators, none of whom had held a curule

LIVY

A.U.C.
560

5 terierunt. Gratiam quoque ingentem apud eum ordinem pepererunt, quod ludis Romanis aedilibus curulibus imperarunt ut loca senatoria secernerent a populo; nam antea in promiscuo spectabant. Equitibus quoque perpaucis adempti equi, nec in ullum ordinem saevitum. Atrium Libertatis et villa publica ab iisdem refecta amplificataque.

6 Ver sacrum ludique Romani votivi, quos voverat Ser. Sulpicius Galba consul, facti. Cum spectaculo
7 eorum occupati animi hominum essent, Q. Pleminius, qui propter multa in deos hominesque scelera Locris admissa in carcerem coniectus fuerat, comparaverat homines qui pluribus simul locis urbis nocte incendia facerent, ut in consternata nocturno tumultu civitate
8 refringi carcer posset. Ea res indicio consciorum¹ palam facta delataque ad senatum est. Pleminius in inferiorem demissus carcerem est necatusque.

XLV. Coloniae civium Romanorum eo anno deductae sunt Puteolos, Volturnum, Liternum, treceni
2 homines in singulas. Item Salernum Buxentumque coloniae civium Romanorum deductae sunt. Deduxere triumviri Ti. Sempronius Longus, qui tum consul erat, M. Servilius, Q. Minucius Thermus.
3 Ager divisus est qui Campanorum fuerat. Sipontum

¹ consciorum *ς* : consociorum *B* : sociorum *M*.

¹ These buildings were used by the censors.

² Livy is probably wrong as to the *praenomen* of Sulpicius, who is probably the consul who, in 200 B.C., vowed games (XXXI. ix. 6-10).

³ See XXXI. xii. 2 and the note.

⁴ This was probably the lower cell of the Mamertine Prison.

⁵ See XXXII. xxix. 4.

⁶ The apparent meaning is that these colonies were on land which had been taken from the Campanians in punishment for their revolt during the Second Punic War.

BOOK XXXIV. XLIV. 4--XLV. 3

office. They won great favour with that order in another way, since at the Roman Games they ordered the curule aediles to separate the senatorial seats from those of the commons; for up to that time the seats from which they watched the games were taken indiscriminately. Very few of the knights were degraded by the taking away of their horses, nor was severity shown towards any rank. The *atrium Libertatis* and the *villa publica*¹ were rebuilt and enlarged by the same censors. B.C. 194

The "sacred spring" was celebrated and the votive Roman Games performed according to the vow made by Servius Sulpicius Galba.² While men's minds were intent upon this spectacle, Quintus Pleminius,³ who, on account of the many crimes against gods and men which he had committed at Locri, had been thrown into prison, had arranged that men should at night set fire to the city in several places, so that in a state panic-stricken by the disturbance at night the prison might be broken open. This was revealed by the testimony of his accomplices and was laid before the senate. Pleminius was transferred to the lower prison⁴ and put to death.

XLV. Colonies of Roman citizens were that year founded at Puteoli, Volturnum, Liternum, three hundred to each. Also, colonies of Roman citizens were established at Salernum and Buxentum. The triumvirs who established them were Tiberius Sempronius Longus (one of the consuls of the year), Marcus Servilius and Quintus Minucius Thermus.⁵ The land which had belonged to the Campanians was divided among them.⁶ Likewise at Sipontum, in

LIVY

A.U.C.
560

item in agrum qui Arpinorum fuerat coloniam civium Romanorum alii triumviri, D. Iunius Brutus, M. Baebius Tamphilus, M. Helvius, deduxerunt. Tempsam item et Crotonem coloniae civium Romanorum deductae. Tempsanus ager de Bruttis captus erat; Brutti Graecos expulerant; Crotonem Graeci habebant. Triumviri Cn. Octavius, L. Aemilius Paulus, C. Laetorius Crotonem, Tempsam L. Cornelius Merula, Q. * *,¹ C. Salonius deduxerunt.

6 Prodigia quoque alia visa eo anno Romae sunt, alia nuntiata. In foro et comitio et Capitolio sanguinis guttae visae sunt. Et terra aliquotiens pluit et caput Vulcani arsit. Nuntiatum est Nare amni² lac fluxisse, pueros ingenuos Arimini sine oculis ac naso, et in Piceno agro non pedes, non manus habentem natum. Ea prodigia ex pontificum decreto procurata. Et sacrificium novemdiale factum est, quod Hadriani nuntiaverant in agro suo lapidibus pluvisse.

XLVI. In Gallia L. Valerius Flaccus proconsul circa Mediolanium cum Gallis Insubribus et Bois, qui Dorulato duce ad concitandos Insubres Padum transgressi erant, signis collatis depugnavit. Decem milia hostium sunt caesa. Per eos dies collega eius M. Porcius Cato ex Hispania triumphavit. Tulit in eo triumpho argenti infecti viginti quinque milia pondo, bigati centum viginti tria milia, Oscensis quingenta quadraginta, auri pondo mille quadrin-

¹ Merula, Q. * * *Gelenius*: merulaque B: merulaque et M.

² Nare amni *J. Gronovius*: anni B, lacunam indicans.

¹ The gender of *quingenta* shows that *milia* must be supplied.

territory which had belonged to the Arpini, a colony B.C. 194 of Roman citizens was founded by other triumvirs, Decimus Iunius Brutus, Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, and Marcus Helvius. Colonies of Roman citizens were established at Tempesa and Croton. The land of Tempesa had been taken from the Brutti, who in turn had expelled the Greeks; Croton had been held by the Greeks. The triumvirs for Croton were Gnaeus Octavius, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and Gaius Laetorius; for Tempesa, Lucius Cornelius Merula, Quintus . . ., and Gaius Salonius.

Also, prodigies that year were both seen at Rome and reported from other places. In the Forum and the comitium and on the Capitoline drops of blood were seen, showers of earth fell several times, and the head of Vulcan burst into flames. It was announced that milk had flowed in the river Nar, that free-born children without eyes or noses had been born at Ariminum, and in the Picene country one without feet or hands. These prodigies were expiated by order of the pontiffs, and a nine-day sacrifice was performed because the Hadriani reported that a shower of stones had fallen in their country.

XLVI. In Gaul the proconsul Lucius Valerius Flaccus, in the vicinity of Milan, fought a pitched battle with the Insubrian Gauls and the Boi, who, led by Dorulatus had crossed the Po to rouse the Insubres to arms, and defeated them. Ten thousand of the enemy fell. About the same time his colleague Marcus Porcius Cato triumphed over Spain. He carried in his triumph twenty-five thousand pounds of silver bullion, one hundred and twenty-three thousand silver *denarii*, five hundred and forty thousand ¹ silver coins of Osca, and one thousand four hundred pounds

LIVY

A.U.C.
569

3 genta. Militibus ex praeda divisit in singulos
ducenos septuagenos aeris, triplex equiti.
4 Ti. Sempronius consul in provinciam profectus in
Boiorum primum agrum legiones duxit. Boiorix
tum regulus eorum cum duobus fratribus tota gente
concitata ad rebellandum castra locis apertis posuit,
ut appareret dimicaturos si hostis fines intrasset.
5 Consul ubi quantae copiae, quanta fiducia esset hosti
sensit, nuntium ad collegam mittit ut, si videretur
ei, maturaret venire: se tergiversando in adventum
6 eius rem extracturum. Quae causa consuli cunc-
tandi, eadem Gallis, praeterquam quod cunctatio
hostium animos faciebat, rei maturandae erat ut,
priusquam coniungerentur consulum copiae, rem
7 transigerent. Per biduum tamen nihil aliud quam
steterunt parati ad pugnandum, si quis contra
egrederetur; tertio subiere ad vallum castraque simul
8 ab omni parte adgressi sunt. Consul arma extemplo
capere milites iussit; armatos inde paulisper con-
tinuit, ut et stolidam fiduciam hosti augeret et
disponeret copias, quibus quaeque portis erumperent.
9 Duae legiones duabus principalibus portis signa
10 efferre iussae. Sed in ipso exitu ita conferti obstitere
Galli ut clauderent viam. Diu in angustiis pugnatum
est; nec dextris magis gladiisque gerebatur res

BOOK XXXIV. XLVI. 2-10

of gold. From the booty, he gave to each of his soldiers two hundred and seventy *asses*, and thrice that amount to each trooper. B.C. 194

Tiberius Sempronius the consul proceeded to his province and first invaded the country of the Boi. Boiorix, their chieftain at the time, with his two brothers, had aroused the whole people to revolt and had placed his camp in open country, so that it was clear that they would fight if the enemy entered their territory. When the consul saw how great was their strength and what confidence filled the enemy, he sent word to his colleague that, if he saw fit, he should make haste to arrive: that he, assuming the defensive, would drag matters out until his arrival. The same motive which the consul had for delay was also for the Gauls (not to mention the fact that the enemy's hesitation gave them courage), a reason for acting quickly so as to finish the campaign before the armies of the consuls were united. For two days, however, they did nothing more than stand ready to engage if anyone came out to meet them; on the third day they advanced towards the rampart and attacked the camp on all sides at once. The consul immediately ordered his men to take up arms; then he kept them under arms for a while, that he might increase the foolish confidence of the enemy and arrange his forces by the gates through which they would severally make their sally. Two legions were ordered to march out by the two main gates. But at the actual opening of the gates the Gauls met them in such close array that they blocked the road. For a long time they fought in these confined spaces; it was a matter not so much of hands and swords as of making

LIVY

A. U. C.
560

quam scutis corporibusque ipsis obnixi urgebant,
 11 Romani, ut signa foras efferrent, Galli, ut aut in
 castra ipsi penetrarent aut exire Romanos pro-
 12 hiberent. Nec ante in hanc aut illam partem
 moveri acies potuerunt quam Q. Victorius primi pili
 centurio et C. Atinius tribunus militum, quartae
 hic, ille secundae legionis, rem in asperis proeliis
 saepe temptatam, signa adempta signiferis in hostes
 13 iniecerunt. Dum repetunt enixe signum, priores
 secundani se porta eiecerunt.

XLVII. Iam hi extra vallum pugnabant quarta
 legione in porta haerente, cum alius tumultus ex
 2 aversa parte castrorum est exortus. In portam
 quaestoriam irruerant Galli resistentesque perti-
 nacius occiderant L. Postumium quaestorem, cui
 Tympano fuit cognomen, et M. Atinium et P.
 Sempronium, praefectos socium, et ducentos ferme
 3 milites. Capta ab ea parte castra erant, donec
 cohors extraordinaria, missa a consule ad tuendam
 quaestoriam portam, et eos qui intra vallum erant
 partim occidit, partim expulit castris et irrumpentibus
 4 obstitit. Eodem fere tempore et quarta legio cum
 duabus extraordinariis cohortibus porta erupit. Ita
 simul tria proelia circa castra locis distantibus erant
 clamoresque dissoni ad incertos suorum eventus a
 praesenti certamine animos pugnantium avertabant.

¹ The loss of the standard was the worst disaster that could befall them.

² This gate, on the side opposite the enemy, was usually called the *porta decumana*.

³ With a consular army of two legions there were four cohorts not forming organic parts of the legions and so called *extraordinariae*. The nearest equivalent in our modern terminology seems to be the one I have employed. Two other such cohorts are mentioned in the next sentence.

their way by pushing against one another with shields B.C. 194 and bodies, the Romans trying to force a way out for their standards, the Gauls trying either to enter the camp or to prevent the Romans from leaving it. Nor could the lines be moved in either direction until Quintus Victorius, a senior centurion, and Gaius Atinius, tribune of the soldiers, the latter of the fourth, the former of the second legion, resorting to a device often tried in desperate encounters, snatched the standards from the hands of their bearers and threw them into the midst of the enemy.¹ In their eager struggle to get back their standard, the soldiers of the second legion were the first to force their way through the gate.

XLVII. They were now fighting outside the rampart, the fourth legion being still inside the gate, when a new uproar was heard on the opposite side of the camp. The Gauls had broken through the *porta quaestoria*² and after stubborn resistance had slain the quaestor Lucius Postumius, whose surname was Tympanus, and Marcus Atinius and Publius Sempronius, commanders of allied detachments, and about two hundred of their men. They had gained possession of the camp in that quarter, until an attached³ cohort, sent by the consul to defend the *porta quaestoria*, killed some of the Gauls who had entered the camp, drove others outside the rampart, and blocked the entrance against those who were attacking the gate. At almost the same instant the fourth legion with two attached cohorts burst through the gate. So there were three battles at once in different places around the camp, and the confused shouts distracted the minds of the fighters from their own immediate combats to the uncertain fortunes

LIVY

A. U. C.
560

5 Usque ad meridiem aequis viribus ac prope pari spe
pugnatum est. Labor et aestus mollia et fluida
corpora Gallorum et minime patientia sitis cum
decedere pugna coegisset, in paucos restantes im-
6 castra. Signum inde receptui ab consule datum est ;
ad quod pars maior receperunt sese, pars certaminis
studio et spe potiundi castris hostium perstitit ad
7 vallum. Eorum paucitate contempta Galli universi
ex castris eruperunt ; fusi inde Romani, quae imperio
consulis noluerant, suo pavore ac terrore castra
repetunt. Ita varia hinc atque illinc, nunc fuga
8 nunc victoria fuit ; Gallorum tamen ad undecim
milia, Romanorum quinque milia sunt occisa. Galli
recepere in intima finium sese ; consul Placentiam
legiones duxit.

XLVIII. Scipionem alii coniuncto exercitu cum
collega per Boiorum Ligurumque agros populantem
isse, quoad progredi silvae paludesque passae sint,
scribunt, alii nulla memorabili gesta re Romam
comitiorum causa redisse.

2 Eodem hoc anno T. Quinctius Elatiae, quo in
hiberna reduxerat copias, totum hiemis tempus iure
dicundo consumpsit mutandisque its, quae aut ipsius
Philippi aut praefectorum eius licentia in civitatibus
facta erant, cum suae factionis hominum vires au-

of their comrades. Until noon the battle went on B.C. 191 with equal strength and with nearly the same hopes. When fatigue and heat had compelled the Gauls, with their soft and feeble bodies and their small capacity for enduring thirst, to retire from the fight, the Romans charged the few that were left and drove them, broken, to their camp. Thereupon the consul ordered the recall sounded; at this the majority turned back, but part, in their eagerness to fight and their hope of capturing the enemy's camp, pushed on to the rampart. The whole mass of Gauls, in disdain of their small number, rushed out from their camp; the Romans in turn were put to flight and returned to their camp in consequence of their own terror and panic, although they had refused to retire at their commander's order. Thus there were varied fortunes on both sides, now defeat and now victory; yet about eleven thousand of the Gauls fell and five thousand of the Romans. The Gauls retired into the interior of their country, while the consul led his legions to Placentia.

XLVIII. Some say that Scipio united his army with that of his colleague and marched through the territory of the Boi and Ligures, plundering as he went, as far as the forests and marshes permitted, others that without accomplishing anything worth recording, he returned to Rome to hold the elections.

In that same year Titus Quinctius at Elatia, where he had put his troops into winter quarters, spent the entire period of the winter in administering justice and in undoing the arrangements in the cities which had been caused by the arbitrary conduct of Philip and his prefects, since by increasing the power of the men of their own faction they diminished the

LIVY

4. 1. 1. 0.
560

3 gendo ius ac libertatem aliorum deprimerent. Veris
initio Corinthum conventu edicto venit. Ibi omnium
civitatum legationes in contionis modum circumfusas
4 est adlocutus, orsus ab inita primum Romanis amicitia
cum Graecorum gente et imperatorum qui ante se
5 in Macedonia fuissent, suisque rebus gestis. Omnia
cum approbatione ingenti sunt audita, praeterquam
cum ad mentionem Nabidis ventum esset; id minime
6 conveniens liberanti Graeciam videbatur, tyrannum
reliquisse non suae solum patriae gravem, sed omnibus
circa civitatibus metuendum, haerentem visceribus
nobilissimae civitatis.

XLIX. Nec ignarus huius habitus animorum
Quinctius, si sine excidio Lacedaemonis fieri potuisset,
fatebatur pacis cum tyranno mentionem admitten-
2 dam auribus non fuisse; nunc, cum aliter quam
ruina gravissimae¹ civitatis opprimi non posset,
satius visum esse tyrannum debilitatum ac totis
prope viribus ad nocendum cuiquam ademptis
3 relinqui, quam intermori vehementioribus, quam
quae pati posset, remediis civitatem sinere, in ipsa
vindicta libertatis perituram. Praeteritorum com-
4 memorationi subiecit, proficisci sibi in Italiam atque
5 omnem exercitum deportare in animo esse; Deme-
triadis Chalcidisque praesidia intra decimum diem
audituros deducta, Acrocorinthum ipsis extemplo
videntibus vacuam² Achaeis traditurum, ut omnes
scirent utrum Romanis an Aetolis mentiri mos esset,

¹ gravissimae ζ: grauissima B.

² vacuam Ascensius: uacuum B.

BOOK XXXIV. XLVIII. 2-XLIX. 5

privilege and liberty of the rest. In the beginning B.C. 194 of spring he summoned a council and went to Corinth. There he addressed the embassies of all the states, gathered around as for an assembly: he began with the time when the first friendship was instituted between the Romans and the Greek people, and reviewed the achievements of the commanders who had preceded him in Macedonia, and his own. The whole speech was received with great applause, except when mention was made of Nabis; it seemed by no means consistent for the liberator of Greece to have left a tyrant, who was not only a burden to his own country but a source of danger to all the cities in the neighbourhood, clinging to the vitals of a most famous state.

XLIX. Quinctius, being aware of their feelings on this point, confessed that had it been possible without the destruction of Sparta, he would never have listened to any suggestion of peace with the tyrant; as it was, since he could not be crushed without causing the ruin of a most powerful state, it had seemed better that the tyrant be left helpless and almost entirely stripped of weapons with which to harm anyone, than to permit the city to be destroyed by remedies too violent to be endured, and to perish in the very act of recovering its liberty. He added to his account of the past, that it was his intention to leave for Italy and take his entire army with him; within ten days they would hear that Demetrias and Chalcis had been evacuated, and Acrocorinthus, under their own eyes, he would turn over to the Achaeans free from troops, that all might know whether the habit of lying belonged to the Romans or the Aetolians, who in all their talk had

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560

6 qui male commissam libertatem populo Romano
 sermonibus distulerint et mutatos pro Macedonibus
 7 Romanos dominos. Sed illis nec quid dicerent nec
 quid facerent, quicquam umquam pensi fuisse;
 reliquas, civitates monere ut ex factis,¹ non ex dictis,
 amicos pensent intellegantque quibus credendum et
 8 a quibus cavendum sit. Libertate modice utantur;
 temperatam eam salubrem et singulis et ² civitatibus
 esse, nimiam et aliis gravem et ipsis qui habeant
 9 praecipitem et effrenatam esse. Concordiae in civi-
 tatibus principes et ordines inter se, et in commune
 omnes civitates consulerent. Adversus consentientes
 nec regem quemquam satis validum nec tyrannum
 10 fore; discordiam et seditionem omnia opportuna
 insidiantibus facere, cum pars quae domestico
 certamine inferior sit externo potius se applicet
 11 quam civi cedat. Alienis armis partam, externa
 fide redditam libertatem sua cura custodirent ser-
 varentque, ut populus Romanus dignis datam liber-
 tatem ac munus suum bene positum sciret.

L. Has velut parentis voces cum audirent, manare
 omnibus gaudio lacrimae, adeo ut ipsum quoque
 2 confunderent dicentem. Paulisper fremitus appro-
 bantium dicta fuit monentiumque aliorum alios ut
 eas voces velut oraculo missas in pectora animosque

¹ ex factis ζ : factis B.

² et ed. Frobeniana 1535: om. B.

spread abroad the story that the cause of liberty B.C. 194 had been unwisely entrusted to the Roman people, and that the Greeks had only changed masters, the Romans for the Macedonians. But these were men who weighed lightly what they said or did; he counselled the other states to judge their friends by their actions, not their words, and to reflect carefully on whom they should trust and against whom they should be on their guard. They should use their liberty with discretion; controlled, it was salutary to individuals and to states; uncontrolled, it was both a burden to others and a source of impetuous and lawless action to its possessors. He advised the leaders in the states and the other orders to strive for harmony among themselves, and all the cities to take measures for the general good. Against men who acted in unison neither king nor tyrant would be strong enough to do harm; strife and dissension furnished every opportunity to plotters, since the party which was defeated in an internal struggle would rather join hands with a foreigner than yield to a countryman. The liberty which had been gained by the arms of others and restored to them by the good faith of aliens, they should keep and guard by their own efforts, that the Roman people might know that liberty had been given to men who deserved it and that their gift had been well bestowed.

L. When they heard these words, as from a father's lips, tears of joy dropped from every eye, so that they even interrupted him in the midst of his speech. For a while there was the murmur of those who approved his words and of those who urged one another to let that utterance sink into the mind and heart as if it had been spoken by an oracle. Then,

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3 demitterent. Silentio deinde facto petiit ab iis ut
 cives Romanos, si qui apud eos in servitute essent,
 conquisitos intra duos menses mitterent ad se in
 Thessaliam; ne ipsis quidem honestum esse in
 4 liberata terra liberatores eius servire. Omnes
 acclamarunt gratias se inter cetera etiam ob hoc
 agere, quod admoniti essent ut tam pio, tam neces-
 5 sario officio fungerentur. Ingens numerus erat bello
 Punico captorum, quos Hannibal, cum ab suis non
 6 redimerentur, venum dederat. Multitudinis eorum
 argumentum sit, quod Polybius scribit centum
 talentis eam rem Achaeis stetisse, cum quingenos
 denarios pretium in capita, quod redderetur dominis,
 statuissent. Mille enim ducentos ea ratione Achaia
 7 habuit. Adice nunc pro portione, quot verisimile
 sit Graeciam totam habuisse.

8 Nondum conventus dimissus erat, cum respiciunt
 praesidium ab Acrocorintho descendens protinus duci
 9 ad portam atque abire. Quorum agmen imperator
 secutus prosequentibus cunctis, servatorem liberato-
 remque acclamantibus, salutatis dimissisque iis eadem
 10 qua venerat via Elatiam rediit. Inde cum omnibus
 copiis Ap. Claudium legatum dimittit. Per Thes-
 saliam atque Epirum ducere Oricum iubet atque se
 ibi opperiri; inde namque in animo esse exercitum
 11 in Italiam traicere. Et L. Quinctio fratri, legato et
 praefecto classis, scribit ut onerarias ex omni Graeciae
 ora eodem contraheret.

LI. Ipse Chalcidem profectus, deductis non a

BOOK XXXIV. L. 2-LI. I

when they had become silent, he asked them that any Roman citizens who might be in slavery in their states should be sought out and sent to him in Thessaly; it was unbecoming even for themselves that the liberators should be slaves in the land they had set free. All cried out that they owed him thanks for this too, among other things, because he had reminded them to perform so just and necessary an obligation. There was a great number of them, captives in the Punic War, whom Hannibal had sold when they were not ransomed by their relatives. It is an indication of their number that Polybius writes that this cost the Achaeans one hundred talents, although they had fixed the price per head to be paid to their owners at five hundred *denarii*. On that basis Achaea had one thousand two hundred. Calculate now, in proportion to this, how many there probably were in all Greece. B.C. 194

The meeting had not been dismissed when they saw the garrison coming down from Acrocorinthus, marching towards the gate, and departing. The commander followed their column with all the assembly attending him and proclaiming him their preserver and liberator, and when he had taken leave of them and dismissed them he returned to Elatia over the same route by which he had come. Thence he sent his lieutenant Appius Claudius away with all his troops, with orders to march through Thessaly and Epirus to Oricum and await him there, for it was his intention to transport the army thence to Italy. He also wrote to his brother Lucius Quinctius, his lieutenant and commander of the fleet, to assemble there transports from all the coast of Greece.

LI. He himself went to Chalcis, withdrawing the

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Chalcide solum sed etiam ab Oreo atque Eretria
 praesidiis, conventum ibi Euboicarum habuit civita-
 2 tium admonitosque in quo statu rerum accepisset eos
 3 et in quo relinqueret dimisit. Demetriadem inde
 4 proficiscitur; deductoque praesidio prosequentibus
 cunctis, sicut Corinthi et Chalcide, pergīt ire in
 Thessaliam, ubi non liberandae modo civitates erant,
 sed ex omni colluvione et confusione in aliquam
 5 tolerabilem formam redigendae. Nec enim tem-
 porum modo vitiis¹ ac violentia et licentia regia
 turbati erant, sed inquieto etiam ingenio gentis, nec
 comitia nec conventum nec concilium ullum non per
 seditionem ac tumultum iam inde a principio ad
 6 nostram usque aetatem traducentes. A censu maxime
 et senatum et iudices legit potentio remque eam
 partem civitatum fecit cui salva et tranquilla omnia
 esse magis expediebat.

LII. Ita cum percensuisset Thessaliam, per Epirum
 2 Oricum, unde erat traiecturus, venit. Ab Orico
 copiae omnes Brundisium transportatae. Inde per
 totam Italiam ad urbem prope triumphantes non
 minore agmine rerum captarum quam suo prae se
 3 acto venerunt. Postquam Romam ventum est,
 senatus extra urbem Quinctio ad res gestas edisse-
 rendas datus est triumphusque meritis ab lubentibus
 4 decretus. Triduum triumphavit. Die primo arma,

¹ vitiis *Ascensius* : diuitiis *B.*

garrisons not from Chalcis alone but from Oreus and Eretria also, called a council there of the Euboean states and let them go after reminding them in what condition he had found them and in what he was leaving them. From there he proceeded to Demetrias; and having withdrawn the garrison he departed with all the citizens escorting him, as had happened at Corinth and Chalcis, and continued his journey to Thessaly, where there were the states not only to be set free, but also to be brought into some reasonable condition of order after all the chaos and confusion. For they had been thrown into confusion not only by the faults of the times and the king's lawless and violent behaviour, but also by the restless character of the people, which from the earliest times down to the present day has never conducted a meeting or an assembly or a council without dissension and rioting. He chose the senate and magistrates mainly on the basis of property and strove to make that element in the community more influential which found it advantageous to have everything peaceful and quiet.

LII. When he had thus completed the organization of Thessaly, he marched through Epirus to Oricum, whence he planned to set sail. From Oricum all his troops were conveyed across to Brundisium. Thence they proceeded all the way through Italy to Rome in a virtual triumph, the captured articles forming as long a column as the troops which marched ahead of him. When they arrived in Rome, Quinctius was granted an audience with the senate outside the city for the narration of his achievements, and a well-deserved triumph was voted by the eager senators. The triumph lasted

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560

tela signaque aerea et marmorea transtulit, plura Philippo adempta quam quae ex civitatibus ceperat; secundo aurum argentumque factum infectumque et
 5 signatum. Infecti argenti fuit quadraginta tria milia¹ pondo et ducenta septuaginta, facti vasa multa omnis generis, caelata pleraque, quaedam eximiae artis; et ex aere multa fabrefacta; ad hoc clipea
 6 argentea decem. Signati argenti octoginta quattuor milia fuere Atticorum; tetrachma² vocant; trium fere denariorum in singulis argenti est pondus.
 7 Auri pondo fuit tria milia septingenta quattuordecim et clipeum unum ex auro totum et Philippei nummi aurei quattuordecim milia quingenti quattuordecim.
 8 Tertio die coronae aureae, dona civitatum, tralatae
 9 centum quattuordecim; et hostiae ductae et ante currum multi nobiles captivi obsidesque, inter quos Demetrius, regis Philippi filius, fuit et Armenes,
 10 Nabidis tyranni filius, Lacedaemonius. Ipse deinde Quinctius in urbem est invectus. Secuti currum milites frequentes ut³ exercitu omni ex provincia
 11 deportato. His duceni quinquageni aeris in pedites
 12 divisi, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. Praebuerunt speciem triumpho capitibus rasis secuti qui servitute exempti fuerant.

LIII. Exitu anni huius Q. Aelius⁴ Tubero tribunus

¹ quadraginta tria milia *Madvig*: cf. *Plut. Flam. 14*: et *acto B.*

² tetrachma *Bekker*: detrachiã *B.*

³ ut *Bekker*: in *B.*

⁴ Q. Aelius *Sigonius*: p. *aemilius B.*

¹ The shaven head was a mark of the slavery from which they had been rescued.

three days. On the first day the procession displayed the arms, weapons, and statues of bronze and marble, more of which had been captured from Philip than received from the cities of Greece; and on the second day the gold and silver, wrought, unwrought, and minted. Of unwrought silver he had forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy pounds; of wrought silver there were many vases of all varieties, most of them embossed and some of remarkable workmanship; there were besides many fashioned from bronze, and in addition ten shields of silver. Of minted silver there were eighty-four thousand Attic coins called "tetrachma," and the weight of silver in them is about equivalent to three *denarii* each. There were three thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds of gold, one shield made completely of gold, and fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen gold coins with the image of Philip upon them. On the third day one hundred and fourteen golden crowns, gifts from the cities, were carried past; the victims were in the procession, and in front of the chariot there were many noble prisoners and hostages, among whom were Demetrius, the son of King Philip, and the Spartan Armenes, son of the tyrant Nabis. After them Quinctius himself entered the city. Following the chariot were throngs of soldiers, since the whole army had been brought back from the province. Each of these received in the distribution two hundred and fifty *asses* for the infantry, twice that amount for the centurions, and thrice for the cavalry. A striking sight in the procession was furnished by the prisoners who had been released from slavery, following with shaven heads.¹

LIII. At the end of this year Quintus Aelius

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A.U.C.
560

- plebis ex senatus consulto tulit ad plebem plebesque scivit uti duae Latinae coloniae una in Bruttios altera
 2 in Thurinum agrum deducerentur. His deducendis triumviri creati, quibus in triennium imperium esset, in Bruttios Q. Naevius, M. Minucius Rufus, M. Furius Crassipes, in Thurinum agrum A. Manlius, Q. Aelius, L. Apustius. Ea bina comitia Cn. Domitius praetor urbanus in Capitolio habuit.
- 3 Aedes eo anno aliquot dedicatae sunt: una Iunonis Matutae in foro olitorio, vota locataque quadriennio ante a C. Cornelio consule Gallico bello; censor idem
 4 dedicavit; altera Fauni; aediles eam biennio ante ex multatio argento faciendam locarant C. Scribonius et Cn. Domitius, qui praetor urbanus eam
 5 dedicavit. Et aedem Fortunae Primigeniae in colle Quirinali dedicavit Q. Marcius Ralla,¹ duumvir ad
 6 id ipsum creatus; voverat eam decem annis ante Punico bello P. Sempronius Sophus consul, locaverat
 7 idem censor. Et in insula Iovis aedem C. Servilius duumvir dedicavit; vota erat sex annis ante Gallico bello ab L. Furio Purpurione praetore, ab eodem postea consule locata. Haec eo anno acta.

¹ Ralla ed. Frobeniana 1531: ahala B.

² In 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxx. 10) Cornelius vowed a temple to Iuno Sospita. Iuno Matuta seems not to be mentioned elsewhere in classical Latin.

³ In 204 B.C. (XXIX. xxxvi. 8) P. Sempronius Tuditanus vowed a temple to this Praenestine divinity. Livy's account contains other difficulties, since Tuditanus was censor before he was consul (in 209 B.C.: XXVII. xi. 7), and no P. Sempronius Sophus is known who was consul and censor during this period.

⁴ In XXXI. xxi. 12 Furius vows a temple to Dii Iovis during his praetorship in 200 B.C. In XXXV. xli. 8 Livy says that he vowed one temple to Jupiter while praetor and another while consul, and had both built on the Capitoline.

BOOK XXXIV. LIII. 1-7

Tubero, the tribune of the people, on the authority B.C. 194 of the senate, proposed to the people and the assembly voted that two Latin colonies should be founded, one among the Brutti, the other in the country around Thurii. Triumvirs were chosen to establish these colonies, whose authority should continue through three years; for the colony among the Brutti, Quintus Naevius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Marcus Furius Crassipes; for the colony in the land of Thurium, Aulus Manlius, Quintus Aelius, and Lucius Apustius. These two elections were conducted by the city praetor Gnaeus Domitius on the Capitoline.

Several temples were dedicated that year: one to Iuno Matuta¹ in the Forum Olitorium, which had been vowed and contracted for four years before in the Gallic war by the consul Gaius Cornelius, who also, while censor, dedicated it; the second to Faunus; two years earlier the contract for its construction out of the money received as fines had been let out by the aediles Gaius Scribonius and Gnaeus Domitius, the latter of whom dedicated it while city praetor. Also, Quintus Marcius Ralla, a duumvir created for this purpose, dedicated a temple to Fortuna Primigenia on the Quirinal hill; Publius Sempronius Sophus the consul had vowed this temple ten years before, during the Punic war, and as censor he had let the contract.² Likewise, on the Island, Gaius Servilius the duumvir dedicated a temple to Jupiter; it had been vowed six years before in the Gallic war by the praetor Lucius Furius Purpurio, and contracted for by the same man as consul.³ These were the events of that year.⁴

⁴ This sentence has been misplaced, either by Livy or by a scribe, since the following chapter deals with the same year.

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560

LIV. P. Scipio ex provincia Gallia ad consules subrogandos venit. Comitia consulum fuere, quibus creati sunt L. Cornelius Merula et Q. Minucius
 2 Thermus. Postero die creati sunt praetores L. Cornelius Scipio, M. Fulvius Nobilior, C. Scribonius, M. Valerius Messala, L. Porcius Licinus et C.
 3 Flaminius. Megalesia ludos scaenicos A. Atilius Serranus, L. Scribonius Libo aediles curules primi
 4 fecerunt. Horum aedilium ludos Romanos primum senatus a populo secretus spectavit praebuitque sermones, sicut omnis novitas solet, aliis tandem,
 5 quod multo ante debuerit, tributum existimantibus amplissimo ordini, aliis demptum ex dignitate populi, quicquid maiestati patrum adiectum esset, interpretantibus et omnia discrimina talia, quibus ordines discernentur, et concordiae et libertatis aequae
 6 minuendae esse. Ad quingentesimum quinquagesimum octavum¹ annum in promiscuo spectatum esse; quid repente factum cur immisceri sibi in cavea
 7 patres plebem nollent? Cur dives pauperem consensorem fastidiret? Novam, superbam libidinem, ab nullius ante gentis senatu neque desideratam
 8 neque institutam. Postremo ipsum quoque Africanum, quod consul auctor eius rei fuisset, paenituisse ferunt. Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo proba-

¹ quinquagesimum octavum *Glareanus*: octavum *B.*

¹ These games in honour of the Magna Mater (see iii. 8 above and the note) were celebrated in April.

² They had been given for some time in connection with other games (XXXI. iv. 5 and the note).

³ See xlv. 5 above.

⁴ In xlv. 5 above Livy states that this proposal was made by the censors; however, Cicero (*de harusp. resp.* 24) and Valerius Maximus (IV. v. 1; in II. iv. 3 he attributes it to Scipio Aemilianus) assert that it originated with Scipio.

BOOK XXXIV. LIV. 1-8

LIV. Publius Scipio came back from the province B.C. 194 of Gaul to choose the new consuls. The consular elections were held, at which Lucius Cornelius Merula and Quintus Minucius Thermus were returned. On the following day the praetors were elected, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Gaius Scribonius, Marcus Valerius Messala, Lucius Porcius Licinus, and Gaius Flaminius. At the Megalesian Games¹ dramatic performances² were for the first time introduced by the curule aediles Aulus Atilius Serranus and Lucius Scribonius Libo. At the Roman Games given by these aediles, the senate for the first time looked on segregated from the common people,³ and this caused gossip, as every novelty usually does, some thinking that this distinction, which should have been granted long before, was at last bestowed upon a most honourable body; others taking the view that whatever was added to the majesty of the senate was subtracted from the dignity of the commons, and that all such discriminations, which tended to draw the orders apart, were dangerous to impartial harmony and freedom. For five hundred and fifty-eight years, they said, people had looked on from seats chosen at random; what had suddenly happened to make the Fathers unwilling to have the plebeians mingle with them in the crowd, or the rich man scorn the poor man as his neighbour at the show? This was a novel and arrogant caprice, never desired nor practised by the senate of any other people. It is reported that in the end even Africanus had repented that in his consulship he had suggested this innovation.⁴ So difficult it is to prove the need of any variation from ancient custom; people always prefer to stand by

LIVY

A.U.C.
560

bile est; veteribus, nisi quae usus evidenter arguit, stari malunt.

A.U.C.
561

LV. Principio anni quo L. Cornelius Q. Minucius consules fuerunt, terrae motus ita crebri nuntiabantur ut non rei tantum ipsius sed feriarum quoque ob id
2 indictarum homines taederet; nam neque senatus haberi neque res publica administrari poterat sacrificando expiandoque occupatis consulibus.
3 Postremo decemviris adire libros iussis, ex responso
4 eorum supplicatio per triduum fuit. Coronati ad omnia pulvinaria supplicaverunt, edictumque est ut omnes qui ex una familia essent supplicarent pariter. Item ex auctoritate senatus consules edixerunt ne quis, quo die terrae motu nuntiato feriae indictae
5 essent, eo die alium terrae motum nuntiaret. Provincias deinde consules prius tum praetores sortiti.
6 Cornelio Gallia, Minucio Ligures evenerunt; sortiti praetores C. Scribonius urbanam, M. Valerius peregrinam, L. Cornelius Siciliam, L. Porcius Sardiniam, C. Flaminius Hispaniam citeriorem, M. Fulvius Hispaniam ulteriorem.

LVI. Nihil eo anno belli expectantibus consulibus
2 litterae M. Cinci—praefectus is Pisis erat—adlatae, Ligurum viginti milia armatorum coniuratione per omnia conciliabula universae gentis facta Lunensem

BOOK XXXIV. LIV. 8-LVI. 2

the old ways, unless experience convincingly proves B.C. 194 them bad.

LV. In the beginning of this year, the consulship B.C. 193 of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, earthquakes were reported with such frequency that people grew tired, not only of the cause itself, but of the ceremonies prescribed on that account; for the senate could not be convened nor public business transacted, since the consuls were busy with sacrifices and rites of expiation. Finally, the decemvirs were directed to consult the Books, and in accordance with their report a three-day period of prayer was ordered. Men with garlands on their heads made supplications at all the couches of the gods, and a decree was published that all who were of one family should offer their prayers collectively. Likewise, on the recommendation of the senate, the consuls proclaimed that on any day on which an earthquake had been reported and rites ordained, no one should report another earthquake. Then the consuls first and afterwards the praetors drew lots for the provinces. Gaul fell to Cornelius, the Ligures to Minucius; the allotment to the praetors gave the city jurisdiction to Gaius Scribonius, that between citizens and aliens to Marcus Valerius, Sicily to Lucius Cornelius, Sardinia to Lucius Porcius, Nearer Spain to Gaius Flaminius, and Farther Spain to Marcus Fulvius.

LVI. Though the consuls expected no war that year, a letter came from Marcus Cincius—he was the prefect at Pisae—announcing that twenty thousand of the Ligures were in arms, had caused a conspiracy to be formed in all the towns of the whole tribe, and had first devastated the fields around Luna and then

LIVY

A.U.C.
581

primum agrum depopulatos, Pisanum deinde finem
 3 transgressos omnem oram maris peragrassae. Itaque
 Minucius consul, cui Ligures provincia evenerat, ex
 auctoritate senatus in rostra escendit et edixit ut
 4 legiones duae urbanae, quae superiore anno con-
 scriptae essent, post diem decimum Arretii adessent;
 in earum locum se duas legiones urbanas scripturum.
 5 Item sociis et Latino nomini, magistratibus legatisque
 eorum, qui milites dare debebant, edixit ut in
 6 Capitolio se adirent. Iis quindecim milia peditum
 et quingentos equites, pro numero cuiusque iuniorum,
 7 discipis et inde ex Capitolio protinus ire ad portam
 et, ut maturaretur res, proficisci ad dilectum iussit.
 8 Fulvio Flaminioque terna milia Romanorum peditum,
 centeni equites in supplementum et quina milia
 socium Latini nominis et duceni equites decreti,
 mandatumque praetoribus ut veteres dimitterent
 9 milites cum in provinciam venissent. Cum milites
 qui in legionibus urbanis erant frequentes tribunos
 plebei adissent, uti causas cognoscerent eorum,
 quibus aut emerita stipendia aut morbus causae
 essent, quo minus militarent, eam rem litterae Ti.
 10 Sempronii discusserrunt, in quibus scriptum erat
 Ligurum decem milia in agrum Placentinum venisse
 et eum usque ad ipsa coloniae moenia et Padi ripas
 11 cum caedibus et incendiis perpopulatos esse; Boio-
 rum quoque gentem ad rebellionem spectare. Ob

¹ The allies furnished troops by roster, so that not all of them were called on for men at the same time; usually those nearest the seat of war were selected when there was any freedom of choice.

² The levy was divided among the several states in proportion to population, and the consul's list gave to each the numbers of infantry and cavalry to be furnished.

BOOK XXXIV. LVI. 2-11

had entered the territory of Pisae and overrun the whole sea-coast. Therefore Minucius, the consul to whom the Ligures had been allotted as his province, on the authorization of the senate mounted the rostra and proclaimed that the two city legions which had been enlisted the previous year should assemble at Arretium the tenth day hence; in their place he would enrol two city legions. Also he sent notice to the allies of the Latin confederacy, that is, to their magistrates and ambassadors, who were under the obligation to furnish soldiers,¹ that they should meet him on the Capitoline. For these he made up a list amounting to fifteen thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, in accordance with the quota of young men in each state,² and ordered them to go straight from the Capitoline to the gate and, in order to expedite the matter, proceed to hold the levy. Fulvius and Flaminius each received three thousand Roman infantry and one hundred cavalry as reinforcements, with five thousand infantry of the allies and the Latin confederacy and two hundred cavalry, and the praetors were instructed to discharge their veterans on their arrival in the province. When numerous soldiers who were in the city legions had appealed to the tribunes of the people to look into the cases of those who had given completed service or illness as bases for claims of exemption from military service, dispatches from Tiberius Sempronius put an end to their attempt: in these he wrote that ten thousand of the Ligures had entered the territory of Placentia and had laid it waste with slaughter and fire up to the very walls of the colony and the banks of the Po; the nation of the Boi was also considering a rebellion. For these reasons the

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eas res tumultum esse decrevit senatus; tribunos plebei non placere causas militares cognoscere, quo
 12 minus ad edictum conveniretur. Adiecerunt etiam ut socii nominis Latini, qui in exercitu P. Cornelii Ti. Sempronii fuissent et dimissi ab iis consulibus essent ut, ad quam diem L. Cornelius consul edixisset et
 13 in quem locum edixisset Etruriae, convenirent, et uti L. Cornelius consul in provinciam proficiscens in oppidis agrisque qua iturus esset, si quos ei videretur milites scriberet armaretque et duceret secum dimittendique ei quos eorum quandoque vellet ius esset.

LVII. Postquam consules dilectu habito profecti in provincias sunt, tum T. Quinctius postulavit ut de iis quae cum decem legatis ipse statuisset senatus audiret eaque, si videretur, auctoritate sua con-
 2 firmaret; id eos facilius facturos si legatorum verba, qui ex universa Graecia et magna parte Asiae
 3 quique ab regibus venissent, audissent. Eae legationes a C. Scribonio praetore urbano in senatum introductae sunt benigneque omnibus responsum.
 4 Cum Antiocho quia longior disceptatio erat, decem legatis, quorum pars aut in Asia aut Lysimachiae
 5 apud regem fuerant, delegata est. T. Quinctio mandatum ut adhibitis iis legatorum regis verba audiret

¹ *Tumultus* becomes almost a technical term for uprisings in Gaul; cf., e.g., XXXI. x. 1, 5; xi. 2; xlviii. 7.

BOOK XXXIV. LVI. II-LVII. 5

senate decreed that a state of civil war¹ existed, and B.C. 193 that it was their pleasure that the tribunes of the people should not investigate the cases of soldiers to prevent their mustering according to the proclamation. They added also that the allies of the Latin confederacy who had been in the army of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius and had been discharged by those consuls should assemble on the day and at the place in Etruria which the consul Lucius Cornelius had announced in his proclamation, and that the consul Lucius Cornelius, on his way to the province, should enlist, in the towns and rural districts along his route, whatever soldiers he saw fit, should arm them and lead them with him, and that he should have the privilege of discharging whichever of them he desired and at whatever time.

LVII. After the consuls had conducted their levies and departed to their provinces, Titus Quinctius demanded that the senate should listen to an account of the arrangements which he, in concert with the ten commissioners, had made, and should, if it was their pleasure, ratify them by their vote; they would accomplish this more easily if they would hear the words of the ambassadors who had come from all Greece and a great part of Asia and those who had come from the kings. These embassies were introduced to the senate by the city praetor, Gaius Scribonius, and were accorded a courteous reception. Since the discussion with Antiochus was of longer duration, it was referred to the ten commissioners, part of whom had met the king either in Asia or at Lysimachia. Titus Quinctius was instructed to hear, in the company of the commissioners, what the king's ambassadors had to say, and to make such a reply

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responderetque iis, quae ex dignitate atque utilitate
6 populi Romani responderi possent. Menippus et
Hegesianax principes regiae legationis erant. Ex
iis Menippus ignorare se dixit quidnam perplexi sua
legatio haberet, cum simpliciter ad amicitiam
7 petendam iungendamque societatem venissent. Esse
autem tria genera foederum, quibus inter se pacis-
cerentur amicitias civitates regesque: unum, cum
bello victis dicerentur leges; ubi enim omnia ei
qui armis plus posset dedita essent, quae ex iis
habere victos quibus multari eos velit, ipsius ius
8 atque arbitrium esse; alterum, cum pares bello
aequo foedere in pacem atque amicitiam venirent;
tunc enim repeti reddique per conventionem res et,
si quarum turbata bello possessio sit, eas aut ex
formula iuris antiqui aut ex partis utriusque commodo
9 componi; tertium esse genus cum, qui numquam
hostes fuerint, ad amicitiam sociali foedere inter se
iungendam coeant; eos neque dicere nec accipere leges;
10 id enim victoris et victi esse. Ex eo genere cum
Antiochus esset, mirari se quod Romani aequum
censeant leges ei dicere, quas Asiae urbium liberas
et immunes, quas stipendiarias esse velint, quas
11 intrare praesidia regia regemque vetent. Cum
Philippo enim hoste pacem, non cum Antiocho
amico societatis foedus ita sancendum esse.

BOOK XXXIV. LVII. 5-11

to them as was consistent with the dignity and the B.C. 193
interest of the Roman people. Menippus and Hegesianax were the leaders of the king's embassy. On their behalf, Menippus said that he did not see what there was in their embassy that was so difficult, since they had come merely to ask for friendship and conclude an alliance. There were three kinds of treaties, he said, by which states and kings concluded friendships: one, when in time of war terms were imposed upon the conquered; for when everything was surrendered to him who was the more powerful in arms, it is the victor's right and privilege to decide what of the conquered's property he wishes to confiscate; the second, when states that are equally matched in war conclude peace and friendship on terms of equality; under these conditions demands for restitution are made and granted by mutual agreement, and if the ownership of any property has been rendered uncertain by the war, these questions are settled according to the rules of traditional law or the convenience of each party; the third exists when states that have never been at war come together to pledge mutual friendship in a treaty of alliance; neither party gives or accepts conditions; for that happens when a conquering and a conquered party meet. Since Antiochus was in this last class, he wondered on what account the Romans deemed it right to impose terms upon him, prescribing what cities of Asia he was to leave free and independent and what he was to make tributary to him, and what cities they forbade the king's armies and the king to enter. For in that way it was proper to make peace with Philip, an enemy, but not a treaty of alliance with Antiochus, a friend.

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LVIII. Ad ea Quinctius: " Quoniam vobis distincte agere libet et genera iungendarum amicitiarum enumerare, ego quoque duas condiciones ponam, extra quas nullam esse regi nuntietis amicitiae cum
 2 populo Romano iungendae, unam, si nos nihil quod ad urbes Asiae attinet curare velit, ut et ipse omni
 3 Europa abstineat; alteram, si se ille Asiae finibus non contineat et in Europam transcendat, ut et Romanis ius sit Asiae civitatum amicitias et tueri
 4 quas habeant et novas complecti." Enimvero id auditu etiam dicere indignum esse Hegesianax, Thraciae et Chersonesi urbibus arceri Antiochum
 5 cum,¹ quae Scleucus, proavus eius, Lysimacho rege bello victo et in acie caeso per summum decus parta reliquerit, pari cum laude eadem ab Thracibus possessa, partim armis receperit Antiochus, partim deserta, sicut ipsam Lysimachiam, et revocatis cultoribus frequentaverit et, quae strata ruinis atque incendiis erant, ingentibus impensis aedificaverit.
 6 Quid igitur simile esse ex ea possessione, ita parta, ita recuperata, deduci Antiochum, et Romanos abstinere Asia, quae numquam eorum fuerit?
 7 Amicitiam expetere Romanorum Antiochum, sed
 8 quae impetrata gloriae sibi non pudori sit. Ad haec Quinctius " quando quidem " inquit " honesta pensamus, sicut aut sola aut prima certe pensari

¹ Antiochum cum *Madvig*: antiochum *B*.

BOOK XXXIV. LVIII. 1-8

LVIII. Quinctius replied thus: " Since it is your B.C. 193
 pleasure to discuss the matter systematically and to
 enumerate the different ways of establishing friend-
 ships, I shall set forth two conditions without which
 you may report to the king that there is no way to
 form a friendship with the Roman people: first, that
 if he wishes us to have no interest in what concerns
 the cities of Asia, he too must himself keep entirely
 out of Europe; second, that if he will not keep him-
 self within the limits of Asia, but crosses into Europe,
 the Romans too shall have the right both to defend
 the existing friendships with the cities of Asia and
 to add new treaties of alliance." It was indeed
 monstrous, replied Hegesianax, even to listen to a
 proposal that Antiochus should be excluded from the
 cities of Thrace and Chersonesus, districts which his
 forefather Seleucus, when he had defeated King Lysi-
 machus in war and slain him in battle, had most
 honourably gained and bequeathed to his successors,
 and part of which, when they had been seized by the
 Thracians, Antiochus had with equal glory recovered
 in war, part of which, when abandoned, like Lysi-
 machia itself, he had repopulated by recalling the
 inhabitants, and which, when destroyed by calamities
 and fires, he had rebuilt at great expense. What
 kind of analogy was there then between the two
 cases, that Antiochus should be ousted from this
 possession, so acquired and so recovered, and that
 the Romans should keep out of Asia, which has never
 been theirs? Antiochus is seeking the friendship of
 the Romans, but a friendship which when obtained
 will be a source of honour and not a cause for shame.
 To this Quinctius responded: " Inasmuch as we are
 weighing the honourable, as it indeed ought to be

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debet principi orbis terrarum populo et tanto regi,
 9 utrum tandem videtur honestius, liberas velle omnes,
 quae ubique sunt, Graeciae urbes, an servas et
 10 vectigales facere? Si sibi Antiochus pulchrum esse
 censet, quas urbes proavus belli iure habuerit, avus
 11 paterque numquam usurpaverint pro suis, eas
 repetere in servitutem, et populus Romanus sus-
 ceptum patrocinium libertatis Graecorum non de-
 12 serere fidei constantiaeque suae ducit esse. Sicut
 a Philippo Graeciam liberavit, ita et ab Antiocho
 Asiae urbes quae Graii nominis sint, liberare in
 13 animo habet. Neque enim in Aeolidem Ioniamque
 coloniae in servitutem regiam missae sunt, sed
 stirpis augendae causa gentisque vetustissimae per
 orbem terrarum propagandae."

LIX. Cum haesitaret Hegesianax nec infitiri
 posset honestiorem causam libertatis quam servitutis
 praetexi titulo, "quin mittimus ambages?" inquit
 P. Sulpicius, qui maximus natu ex decem legatis erat,
 2 "alteram ex duabus condicionibus, quae modo
 diserte a Quinctio latae sunt, legite aut supersedete
 3 de amicitia agere." "Nos vero" inquit Menippus
 "nec volumus nec possumus pacisci quicquam quo
 regnum Antiochi minuatur."

4 Postero die Quinctius legationes universas
 Graeciae Asiaeque cum in senatum introduxisset, ut
 scirent quali animo populus Romanus, quali Antiochus
 erga civitates Graeciae essent, postulata et regis et

considered either the only or at least the first object B.C. 193
of concern to the foremost people of the world and to
so great a king, which, pray, seems the more honour-
able, to wish all the cities of Greece which are found
everywhere to be free, or to make them slaves and
tributaries? If Antiochus believes it noble for him
that the cities which his great-grandfather held by
the law of war, but which his grandfather and his
father never treated as their property, be reduced
to slavery, then the Roman people likewise considers
it an obligation, imposed by its loyalty and con-
sistency, not to abandon that championship of the
liberty of the Greeks which it has taken upon itself.
As it liberated Greece from Philip, so it intends to
free from Antiochus the cities of Asia which are of
the Greek race. For colonies were not sent out to
Aeolis and Ionia to become the slaves of a king, but
to increase the population and extend the influence
of a most ancient people throughout the world."

LIX. At this Hegesianax hesitated, and could not
deny that it was more honourable to go out under
the banner of liberty than of slavery, and Publius
Sulpicius, the eldest of the ten commissioners, said:
" Why not stop beating around the bush? Choose
one of the two conditions so clearly stated by
Quinctius a while ago, or cease to talk of friendship."
" But we," replied Menippus, " have neither the
desire nor the authority to make any settlement by
which the power of Antiochus will be diminished."

The next day, when Quinctius had brought into
the senate all the embassies from Greece and Asia,
that they might know what was the attitude of the
Roman people and what that of Antiochus towards
the cities of Greece, he set forth both the king's

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sua exposuit: renuntiarent civitatibus suis populum
5 Romanum, qua virtute quaque fide libertatem eorum
a Philippo vindicaverit, eadem ab Antiocho, nisi
6 decedat Europa,¹ vindicaturum. Tum Menippus
deprecari et Quinctium et patres institit, ne festi-
narent decernere, quo decreto turbaturi orbem
7 terrarum essent; tempus et sibi sumerent et regi ad
cogitandum darent; cogitaturum, cum renuntiatae
condiciones essent, et impetraturum aliquid aut
pacis causa concessurum. Ita integra dilata res est.
8 Legatos mitti ad regem eosdem qui Lysimachiae
apud eum fuerant placuit, P. Sulpicium, P. Villium,
P. Aelium.

LX. Vixdum hi profecti erant cum a Carthagine
legati bellum haud dubie parare Antiochum Hanni-
bale ministro attulerunt inieceruntque curam ne
2 simul et Punicum excitaretur bellum. Hannibal
patria profugus pervenerat ad Antiochum, sicut ante
dictum est, et erat apud regem in magno honore,
nulla alia arte nisi quod volutanti diu consilia de
Romano bello nemo aptior super tali re particeps
3 esse sermonis poterat. Sententia eius una atque
eadem semper erat, ut in Italia bellum gereretur;
4 Italiam et commeatus et militem praebituram ex-
terno hosti; si nihil ibi moveatur liceatque populo
Romano viribus et copiis Italiae extra Italiam bellum
gerere, neque regem neque gentem ullam parem

¹ Europa *edd. vett.* : ab europa *BM.*

¹ According to XXXIII. xxxix. 2 the earlier ambassadors were Lentulus, Villius, Terentius and Cornelius. There may have been another embassy which Livy has not mentioned.

BOOK XXXIV. LIX. 4-LX. 4

demands and his own: he bade them carry word B.C. 193
back to their states that with the same courage and
the same fidelity with which the Roman people had
won their liberty from Philip, they would win it
from Antiochus if he did not retire from Europe.
Then Menippus began to beg both Quinctius and the
Fathers not to make a hasty decision, as a result of
which they would throw the whole world into con-
fusion; let them both take for themselves and grant
to the king time to consider; that he would be
enabled to do so when the terms had been reported
to him, and would either win some concession or else
yield for the sake of peace. Accordingly the whole
matter was postponed. It was decided to send to the
king the same ambassadors who had met him at
Lysimachia, namely, Publius Sulpicius, Publius
Villius, and Publius Aelius.¹

LX. They had hardly left the city when the
ambassadors from Carthage reported that Antiochus
was beyond doubt preparing for war with the aid of
Hannibal, and created a feeling of anxiety lest a
Punic war also was being provoked. Hannibal, an
exile from his country, had taken refuge with
Antiochus, as has been said before, and was held in
great honour by the king, for no other reason than
that there could be no more suitable adviser for
one who had long been revolving in his mind plans
for an attack on Rome. His opinion was always one
and the same, that the war should be waged in Italy;
Italy would supply both food and soldiers to a
foreign enemy; if no disturbance was created there
and the Roman people was permitted to use the
man-power and the resources of Italy for a war
outside of Italy, neither the king nor any people

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5 Romanis esse. Sibi centum tectas naves et decem
 milia peditum, mille equites deposcebat; ea se classe
 primum Africam petiturum; magno opere confidere
 et Carthaginenses ad rebellandum ab se compelli
 6 posse; si illi cunctentur, se aliqua parte Italiae
 excitaturum Romanis bellum. Regem cum ceteris
 omnibus transire in Europam debere et in aliqua
 parte Graeciae copias continere neque traicientem
 et, quod in speciem famamque belli satis sit, paratum
 traicere.

LXI. In hanc sententiam cum adduxisset regem,
 praeparandos sibi ad id popularium animos ratus
 litteras, ne quo casu interceptae palam facerent conata,
 2 scribere non est ausus; Aristonem quendam Tyrium
 nactus Ephesi expertusque¹ sollertiam levioribus
 ministeriis, partim donis, partim spe praemiorum
 oneratum, quibus etiam ipse rex adnuerat, Car-
 3 thaginem cum mandatis mittit. Edit nomina eorum
 quibus conventis opus esset; instruit etiam secretis
 notis, per quas haud dubie agnoscerent sua mandata
 4 esse. Hunc Aristonem Carthagine obversantem non
 prius amici quam inimici Hannibalis, qua de causa
 5 venisset, cognoverunt. Et primo in circulis con-
 6 viviisque celebrata sermonibus res est; deinde in
 senatu quidam nihil actum esse dicere exilio Hanni-
 balis si absens quoque novas moliri res et sollicitando
 animos hominum turbare statum civitatis posset;

¹ expertusque *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: exercitusque *B.*

BOOK XXXIV. LX. 4-LXI. 6

could be a match for the Romans. He asked for B.C. 193 himself a hundred warships, ten thousand infantry, and a thousand cavalry; with that fleet he would first visit Africa; he had great hopes that the Carthaginians too could be induced by him to revolt; if they hesitated, he would, in some part of Italy, arouse a war against the Romans. The king should cross to Europe with the rest of his army and hold his forces in some part of Greece, not crossing to Italy, yet prepared to cross, which would be sufficient to produce the impression and start the rumour of war.

LXI. When he had brought the king around to this opinion, and thought that he should prepare the minds of his countrymen for what he was going to do, he did not dare to write a letter lest, if intercepted by any chance, it reveal his designs; he found at Ephesus a Tyrian, Aristo by name, and having tested his resourcefulness on less important errands, he loaded him with gifts and also with the hope of rewards, to which even the king finally gave his assent, and sent him to Carthage with his instructions. He gave him the names of the persons whom he needed to meet, and provided him with secret modes of identification, by means of which they could be assured that the instructions were from him. When this Aristo arrived in Carthage, his reason for coming was discovered as quickly by the enemies of Hannibal as by his friends. And at first the incident was discussed in conversations at social gatherings and at dinners; later, in the senate some said that nothing had been accomplished by the exile of Hannibal if, even when away, he could plot revolution and by stirring up men's minds disturb the security of the state; a

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7 Aristonem quendam, Tyrium advenam, instructum
mandatis ab Hannibale et rege Antiocho venisse;
certos homines cotidie cum eo secreta colloquia
serere; in occulto coqui¹ quod mox in omnium
8 perniciem erupturum esset. Conclamare omnes
vocari Aristonem debere et quaeri quid venisset, et
nisi expromeret cum legatis Romam mitti; satis pro
temeritate unius hominis suppliciorum pensum esse;
9 privatos suo periculo peccaturos; rem publicam non
extra noxam modo sed etiam extra famam noxae
10 conservandam esse. Vocatus Aristo purgare sese et
firmissimo pugnaculo uti, quod litterarum nihil ad
11 quemquam attulisset; ceterum nec causam adventus
satis expediebat et in eo maxime haesitabat, quod
cum Barcinae solum factionis hominibus collocutum
12 eum arguebant. Orta inde altercatio est aliis pro
speculatore comprehendi iam et custodiri iubentibus,
13 aliis negantibus tumultuandi causam esse; mali
rem exempli esse de nihilo hospites corripere; idem
Carthaginensibus et Tyri et in aliis emporiis, quo²
frequenter commeent,³ eventurum. Dilata eo die
14 res est. Aristo Punico ingenio inter Poenos usus
tabellas conscriptas celeberrimo loco super sedem
cotidianam magistratum prima vespera suspendit,
ipse de tertia vigilia navem conscendit et profugit.

¹ coqui *Crévier*: conloqui *B.*² quo ζ : quae *B.*³ commeent *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: commeant *B.*

¹ The party of Hannibal; its name was derived from the name of the father of Hannibal, Hamilcar Barca (XXI. ii. 4).

BOOK XXXIV. LXI. 7-14

certain Aristo, a stranger from Tyre, had come B.C. 193
equipped with instructions from Hannibal and King Antiochus; every day certain individuals had secret conferences with him; schemes were being concocted in secret which would presently break out in the ruin of the entire community. All exclaimed that Aristo ought to be summoned and asked why he had come, and if he gave no good explanation, he should be sent to Rome in charge of ambassadors; they had already suffered enough punishment for the rashness of one man; private citizens might do wrong at their own risk, but the state should be saved not only from doing wrong but also from the reputation of doing wrong. Aristo when summoned defended himself and made use of the strongest argument for his innocence, that he had brought no written communication to anyone; but he did not make entirely clear the reason why he had come, and was most noticeably at a loss when they charged him with having relations only with men of the Barcine faction.¹ A violent debate then began, some arguing that he should be at once arrested as a spy and held under guard, others saying that there was no cause for measures that suggested martial law; it set a bad precedent to arrest strangers with no convincing proof, and the same treatment would be applied to Carthaginians, not only in Tyre but in other markets which they frequently visited. A decision was not reached that day. Aristo, employing Carthaginian artifice against Carthaginians, as soon as it was dusk hung a written tablet over the place where the magistrates daily held their sessions, in the most crowded part of the city, and in the third watch went on board his ship and escaped. The next day,

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- 15 Postero die cum sufetes ad ius dicendum consedisent, conspectae tabellae demptaeque et lectae. Scriptum erat Aristonem privatim ad neminem, publice ad seniores—ita senatum vocabant—mandata habuisse.
- 16 Publicato crimine minus intenta de paucis quaestio erat; mitti tamen legatos Romam, qui rem ad consules et senatum deferrent, placuit, simul qui de iniuriis Masinissae quererentur.

LXII. Masinissa postquam et infames Carthaginienses et inter se ipsos discordes sensit,¹ principibus propter colloquia Aristonis senatui, senatu propter
2 indicium eiusdem Aristonis populo suspecto,² locum iniuriae esse ratus agrum maritimum eorum et depopulatus est et quasdam urbes vectigales Carthaginiensium sibi coegit stipendium pendere.

3 Emporia vocant eam regionem; ora est minoris Syrtis et agri uberis; una civitas eius Leptis; ea singula in dies talenta vectigal Carthaginiensibus
4 dedit. Hanc tum regionem et totam infestam Masinissa et ex quadam parte dubiae possessionis,
5 sui regni an Carthaginiensium esset, effecerat. Et quia simul ad purganda crimina et questum de se Romam eos ituros comperit, quia et illa onerarent suspicionibus et de iure vectigalium disceptarent,
6 legatos et ipse Romam mittit. Auditi de Tyrio

¹ sensit *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om. B.*

² senatu . . . suspecto *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: senatum . . . suspectum *B.*

¹ These officials, two in number, corresponded to the consuls at Rome, though etymologically the word is closer to the older title of praetor. The word *sufetes* seems an attempt to express in Latin characters and sounds the Punic title.

² Excavations in this district in recent years have confirmed the general accuracy of Livy's brief description. There is as yet no comprehensive publication.

BOOK XXXIV. LXI. 15—LXII. 6

when the *sufetes*¹ took their seats to administer B.C. 193 justice, the tablet was seen, taken down, and read. Its message was that Aristo had come with a private message for no man, but with a public errand to the elders—so they call their senate. The charge having thus been made general, the investigation of a few men was less vigorously pushed; nevertheless, it was voted that an embassy should be sent to Rome to report the whole affair to the consuls and the senate, and at the same time to complain about the injuries inflicted by Masinissa.

LXII. When Masinissa perceived that the good name of the Carthaginians was tarnished and that they were quarrelling among themselves, the nobles being suspected by the senate on account of their conferences with Aristo, the senate by the people on account of the declaration made by the same Aristo, considering that he had an opportunity to injure them, he both ravaged their coast and compelled certain cities which were dependents of the Carthaginians to pay their tribute to him. They call this district Emporia; it is the coast of the lesser Syrtis and a fertile spot; one of its cities is Leptis, and this paid to the Carthaginians a tribute of one talent per day.² At this time Masinissa had endangered this whole region, and, with respect to part of it, had raised a question as to its ownership, whether it belonged to his kingdom or to the Carthaginians. And because he saw that they would go to Rome both to clear themselves and to complain of him, he likewise sent ambassadors to Rome for the double purpose of increasing Roman suspicions of them, by their insinuations, and of setting on foot an argument about the tribute-rights. The Cartha-

LIVY

A. U. C.
561

advena primum Carthaginienses curam iniecere
 patribus ne cum Antiocho simul et Poenis bellandum
 7 esset. Maxime ea suspicio crimen urgebat quod
 quem comprehensum Romam mitti placuisset nec
 8 ipsum nec navem eius custodissent. De agro deinde
 9 cum regis legatis disceptari coeptum. Carthagini-
 enses iure finium causam tutabantur, quod intra eos
 10 terminos esset quibus P. Scipio victor agrum, qui
 iuris esset Carthaginiensium, finisset, et confessione
 regis qui, cum Aphthirem, profugum ex regno suo,
 cum parte Numidarum vagantem circa Cyrenas
 persequeretur, precario ab se iter per eum ipsum
 agrum tamquam haud dubie Carthaginiensium iuris
 11 petisset. Numidae et de terminatione Scipionis
 mentiri eos arguebant et, si quis veram originem
 iuris exigere vellet, quem proprium agrum Cartha-
 12 giniensium in Africa esse? Advenis, quantum secto
 bovis tergo amplecti loci potuerint, tantum ad urbem
 communiendam precario datum; quicquid Bursam,
 sedem suam, excesserint, vi atque iniuria partum
 13 habere. Neque eum de quo agitur probare eos
 posse, non modo semper, ex quo coeperint, sed ne
 diu quidem possedissee. Per opportunitates nunc

¹ Livy's statement in XXX. xxxvii. 2 does not suggest that very precise boundaries had been fixed at this time.

² See Virgil, *Aeneid*, I. 367-368.

³ The Bursa (cf. βύρσα, "hide") was the citadel of Carthage and, according to Masinissa, the only territory in Africa to which they had any legitimate claim. It included the land encompassed by the bull's hide.

BOOK XXXIV. LXII. 6-13

ginians were first given audience, and with their B.O. 193
account of the Tyrian stranger they rendered the
Fathers anxious lest they should have to fight with
Antiochus and the Carthaginians at the same time.
What most weighed against them was a suspicion
due to the fact that they had set no guard over the
person or ship of a man whom they had decided to
arrest and send to Rome. Then the dispute with the
king's envoys about the land began. The Cartha-
ginians maintained their case by their boundary-
rights, because the district was within the limits
which Publius Scipio, when he conquered them, had
set for the land which should be under Carthaginian
jurisdiction,¹ and by the king's own admission, who,
when he was pursuing Aphthir, a fugitive from his
country, who was wandering around Cyrene with a
party of Numidians, had requested, as a favour
from them, a right of way through this very country
as if it had without question belonged to the
Carthaginians. The Numidians charged that they
were not telling the truth about the limits fixed by
Scipio, and asked, if one wanted to determine the
real origin of a property-right, what land in Africa
was really Carthaginian. Coming there as strangers,
they had been granted as a gift, for the purpose of
building a city, as much land as they could encompass
with the cut-up hide of a bull; ² to whatever extent
they had expanded beyond the limits of the Bursa,³
their seat, they had land gained by violence and
without right. As to the particular tract of land in
question, they could not even prove that they had
held it for any considerable time, and much less that
they had held it continuously from the time they had
begun to claim it. As occasion offered, now they and

LIVY

A.U.C.
561

illos, nunc reges Numidarum usurpasse ius, semper-
 que penes eum possessionem fuisse qui plus armis
 14 potuisset. Cuius condicionis res fuerit, priusquam
 hostes Romanis Carthaginienses, socius atque amicus
 rex Numidarum esset, eius sinerent esse nec se
 15 interponerent quo minus qui posset teneret. Re-
 sponderi legatis utriusque partis placuit missuros se
 in Africam qui inter populum Carthaginiensem et
 16 regem in re praesenti disceptarent. Missi P. Scipio
 Africanus et C. Cornelius Cethegus et M. Minucius
 Rufus audita inspectaque re omnia suspensa¹ neutro
 17 inclinatis sententiis reliquere. Id utrum sua sponte
 fecerint an quia mandatum ita fuerit non tam certum
 est quam videtur tempori aptum fuisse, integro
 18 certamine eos relinqui; nam ni ita esset, unus Scipio,
 vel notitia rei vel auctoritate, ita de utrisque meritis,
 finire nutu disceptationem potuisset.

¹ suspensa *Bekker*: ipensa *B.*

now the Numidian kings had claimed the right to n.o. 193 it, and possession had always remained with the party that was stronger in arms. They asked that the land should remain in the condition in which it was before the Carthaginians became enemies to the Romans and the king of the Numidians their ally and friend and not to interfere to prevent that person from holding the land who was able to do so. It was decided that the envoys of both states should receive the reply that they would send ambassadors to Africa to judge, on the actual ground, between the Carthaginian people and the king. The ambassadors who were sent were Publius Scipio Africanus, Gaius Cornelius Cethegus, and Marcus Minucius Rufus, and after hearing the testimony and inspecting the place they left the matter undecided, without expressing an opinion in favour of either side. Whether they did this of their own accord or because they had been so instructed is not so certain as that this seemed expedient under the circumstances, that the case be left entirely undecided; if this were not the case, Scipio alone, either from his knowledge of the affair or through his personal influence, since he deserved so well of both sides, could have settled the dispute by a nod.

LIBRI XXXIV PERIOCHA

LEX Oppia, quam C. Oppius trib. pl. bello Punico de finiendis matronarum cultibus tulerat, cum magna contentione abrogata est, cum Porcius Cato auctor fuisset ne ea lex aboleretur. Is in Hispaniam profectus bello quod Emporiis orsus est citeriorem Hispaniam pacavit. T. Quinctius Flaminius bellum adversus Lacedaemonios et tyrannum eorum, Nabidem, prospere gestum data his pace qualem ipse volebat liberatisque Argis, qui sub ditione tyranni erant, finit. Res praeterea in Hispania et adversus Boios et Insubres Gallos feliciter gestae referuntur. Senatus tunc primum secretus a populo ludos spectavit. Id ut fieret Sextus Aelius Paetus et C. Cornelius Cethegus censores intervenerunt cum indignatione plebis. Coloniae plures deductae sunt. M. Porcius Cato ex Hispania triumphavit. T. Quinctius Flaminius, qui Philippum, Macedonum regem, et Nabidem, Lacedaemoniorum tyrannum, vicerat Graeciamque omnem liberaverat, ob hoc ¹ triduo triumphavit. Legati Carthaginensium nuntiaverunt Hannibalem qui ad Antiochum confugerat bellum cum eo moliri. Temptaverat autem Hannibal per Aristonem Tyrium sine litteris Carthaginem missum ad bellandum Poenos concitare.

¹ hoc *Rosbach*: hoc rerum factarum multitudinem *codd.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXIV

THE Oppian law, which Gaius Oppius, tribune of the people, had proposed during the Punic war to limit the expenditures of the women, was repealed after great argument, though the principal speech against the abrogation of the law was made by Porcius Cato. He proceeded to Spain and pacified Nearer Spain in a war which broke out at Emporiae. Titus Quinctius Flaminius ended a successful war against the Lacedaemonians and Nabis their tyrant, granting them such a peace as he himself desired, and liberating Argos, which was under the control of the tyrant. In addition, the successes in Spain and against the Boi and the Insubres are recorded. The senate then for the first time watched the games apart from the commons. That this happened was the result of the action of the censors, Sextus Aelius Paetus and Gaius Cornelius Cethegus, and it was attended with great indignation on the part of the plebeians. Several colonies were founded. Marcus Porcius Cato triumphed over Spain. Titus Quinctius Flaminius, who had defeated Philip, king of the Macedonians, and Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, for this reason celebrated a triumph lasting three days. Ambassadors of the Carthaginians announced that Hannibal, who had fled to Antiochus, was plotting war along with him. Hannibal, moreover, had tried, through Aristo, a Tyrian whom he had sent to Carthage without any written communications, to stir up the Carthaginians to make war.

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