CHAP. XIV.

Reflection thereon.

The death of Ptolemy Philopator was thus followed by funeral games, worthy of ſuch a prince, and deſcriptive of manners ſo infamous, and perſons ſo contemptible, that nothing but their abuſe of ſupreme power in a great kingdom could entitle them to a moment's regard. Agathocles, indeed, was the mere child of fortune, and ruined by the ſame odious vices through which he had riſen to greatneſs under a profligate maſter. Both his exaltation and depreſſion were thus occaſioned by accidental and vulgar circumſtances; they flowed not from inherent peculiarities in his own nature, like thoſe of his execrable nameſake the bloody tyrant of Sicily; whoſe deſtinies, frightful as they were, originating ſolely in his own tremendous energies, are thereby better calculated to excite intereſt in hiſtory. After the removal of Agathocles, the guardianſhip of young Ptolemy, and by conſequence the government of Egypt, fell ſucceſſively into the hands of Soſibius, of Tlepolemus, and Ariſtomenes [65]. Of the two firſt, the adminiſtration was ſhort and unimportant; but we ſhall be called in the courſe of this hiſtory, to commemorate the rare merits of Ariſtomenes.

Arts and letters under the reign of Philopator.

Notwithſtanding the follies and the vices of Ptolemy Philopator, arts and ſciences had taken ſuch firm root in Alexandria, that it would have been impoſſible for that profligate prince to deſtroy them. But Philopator, deteſtable as his own character was, inherited from his anceſtors a paſſion for letters and philoſophy. He is ſaid to have delighted in the converſation of Sphærus the Stoic [66]; and all the four ancient ſects continued to flouriſh during his reign; as well as the four new ſchools, of criticiſm, geometry, aſtronomy, and medicine. Philopator dedicated a temple to Homer, adorned with the ſtatue of that divine poet [67]. The poets of his own age attained not celebrity. Rhianus [68] treated an intereſting ſubject, the ancient Meſſenian wars. Euphorion of Chalcis, a voluminous writer in

[65] Polybius. Conf. l. xvi. c. 22. & l. xv. c. 31.

[66] Diogen. Laert. l. vii. ſ. 185.

[67] Ælian Var. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 22.

[68] Pauſanias Meſſenic.

heroic verſe [69], became librarian to Antiochus III., Philopator's rival and enemy. The hiſtorians Phylarchus and Chryſippus flouriſhed in the ſame age [70]: we know not the merit of their matter, but their ſtyle, particularly that of the former [71], was diſgraced by thoſe inelegancies and diſtortions which deformed the works of Hegeſias, Duris, and other hiſtorians of whom we have before ſpoken. Ariſtophanes, the ſcholar of Eratoſthenes, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the walks of philology and criticiſm; and as a mechanician, Heron, who lived down to this reign, has left works [72] that may be ſtill read with profit. But, in the time of Philopator, the moſt uſeful knowledge was often ſtrangely miſapplied. This is illuſtrated in his far-famed galley of forty tier of oars, ſurpaſſing in magnitude all moving caſtles before or after it. Since the enlargement of the rate of war ſhips under Alexander's firſt ſucceſſors, the Greek kings of the Eaſt were no longer contented with quadriremes and quinqueremes, the rates moſt ſerviceable in battle, but vied with each other in conſtructing veſſels of a ſtupendous magnitude, which anſwered no other purpoſe but that of gratifying a vanity alike idle and expenſive. Philopator's quadragintareme meaſured 420 feet in length, and 72 feet in height to the loftieſt ornaments of the ſtern [73], far exceeding in dimenſions a modern ſhip of the largeſt ſize carrying one hundred and twenty cannons. This unwieldy machine was impelled by 4,000 rowers, ſteered and manœuvred by 400 ſailors, and its batteries were manned by 3000 marines. The ſame prince built a veſſel 330 feet long, but of the diſproportionate breadth of 45 feet, becauſe deſigned chiefly for the navigation of the Nile. It was named Thalamegus [74], as containing the haram, or womens'

[69] Suidas ad Voc.

[70] Scholiaſt in Apollon, l. iv.

[71] Dionyſ. Halicarn. de Compoſit. Verbor.

[72] Hero, jun. de machin. bell. Conf. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 497. et Fabricius, l. iii. c. 24.

[73] Vid. Athenæus, l. v. p. 203, et. ſeq. The breadth is not given.

[74] Id. ibid.

CHAP. XIV.

apartment, with moſt other luxuries of a royal palace. Such alſo were the accommodations of the moving fortreſs, which will be deſcribed hereafter, conſtructed by Hieron of Syracuſe, and which is ſaid to have actually ſailed from that city to Alexandria[75].

[75] Athenæus, l. v. p. 209.

CHAPTER XV.

State of Greece and Macedon at the Acceſſion of Philip IV.—*Outrageous Proceedings of the Etolians.—The Social War.—Achæans negociate with Philip.—Cynætha in Arcadia; its brutiſhneſs.—Phillip's ſucceſsful Operations; is recalled to Macedon by an Irruption of the Dordanians.—His Winter Campaign in Peloponneſus.—Guilty Intrigues of his Miniſters.—He invades Etolia.—Deſolation of Thermum, and Inſcription on its Ruins.—Diſgrace of the Miniſter Apelles, and Deſtruction of his Accomplices.—State of the Belligerent Powers.—News of Hannibal's great Victories in Italy.—End of the Social War.—Prophetic Speech of Agelaus.—High mindedneſs of the Peloponneſians.—Meanneſs of the Athenians.—Depravity of the Bœotians.*

CHAP. XV.

State of Greece and Macedon at the acceſſion of Philip IV. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

HAVING, in the two preceding chapters, related thoſe tranſactions in Syria and Egypt which prepared the way for a long ſeries of Roman triumphs, I proceed, according to the method preſcribed, to thoſe contemporary events in Macedon and Greece, which ſtrongly co-operated towards the ſame end. Under the prudent adminiſtration of Antigonus Doſon, Macedon maintained a high aſcendency in Greece, without affecting ſovereignty. Antigonus reſtrained and puniſhed the dangerous rapacity of the Etolians; he defeated the proud and prepoſterous hopes of Sparta, but ſpared that city and its inhabitants; he was a ſteady friend to the Achæans and Acarnanians, becauſe theſe nations were ever friendly to the maxims of moderation and juſtice. The greater part of Theſſaly had remained long ſubject to Macedon. The Beotians, Phocians, and Epirots were ſubmiſſive allies to the ſame kingdom; and, by his well-garriſoned ſtrongholds of Corinth and Orchomenus, Antigonus was enabled ſeaſonably and effectually to interpoſe in maintaining

CHAP. XV.

the tranquillity of Peloponneſus. All theſe advantages deſcended to his ſucceſſor Philip IV. together with unuſual ſecurity on his northern frontier, and the hereditary friendſhip of Aratus, the virtuous and able pretor of the Achæan confederacy.

The Etolians, their character and views.

In this proſperous condition of Greece and Macedon, the public tranquillity was firſt diſturbed by the Etolians, who contemned the youth of Philip, and ſaw but little to apprehend from thoſe miniſters whom Antigonus had appointed to guide his councils [1]. The maxims of the Etolians were different from thoſe of the other ſtates which had formerly been the prime movers in all wars and negociations. The Spartans, Athenians, and Thebans had ſucceſſively fought for pre-eminence; and when this object was defeated, through the preponderancy of Macedonian power, they were ready to lay down their arms. But the Etolians, careleſs of glory, were principally intent on plunder. Inſtead of the tranſient emotions of ambition, they were actuated by the permanent impulſe of avarice; and with them, a good ground for war was never wanting, when depredations might be committed with impunity [2]. The death of Antigonus Doſon ſeemed highly propitious to their views. Notwithſtanding the coercion of their encroachments by that able prince, they ſtill poſſeſſed ſeveral ſtrongholds in diſtant parts of Greece, which favoured their piracy by ſea, as well as their robbery by land. They were maſters of Ambracus, on the Ambracian gulph; of Pallé, in the iſland of Cephallenia; of the ſtrong cities of Thebes and Echinus, both on the coaſt of Phthiotis. Their inland garriſons occupied Melitæa, and ſome ſmaller poſts on the mountainous ſkirts of Theſſaly. In this manner their ſcattered uſurpations in the north, extended between the Ægæan and Ionian ſeas [3]; while on the ſide of Peloponneſus, they flattered themſelves with the good will of the Elians and Spartans, inveterate enemies to the Achæan league, and had garriſoned [4] Phigalia, a city twelve miles from the ſea, near the

Their poſſeſſions and allies.

[1] Polybius, l. iv. c. 2.
[2] Id. l. ii. c. 45. & ſeq.
[3] Id. l. iii. & iv. paſſim.
[4] Id. l. iv. c. 3.

northern

CHAP. XV.

northern frontier of Meſſenia, the only diſtrict in the Peninſula which had eſcaped depredation in the Cleomenic war.

Dorimachus the Etolian, his audacious proceedings in Meſſenia. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. B. C. 222.

Conformably with the maxims of his nation, Dorimachus, a young Etolian of boiling courage, proceeded to Phigalia, and was ſpeedily reſorted to there, by a band of pirates. Although the general peace, which Antigonus had eſtabliſhed throughout Greece, ſtill ſubſiſted in full force, the Etolian encouraged his pirates to carry off the herds of the Meſſenians from the ſea coaſt, and afterwards to penetrate into the very centre of the country, and to commit depredations, chiefly in the night time, on the farms and villages. When repeated remonſtrances againſt theſe proceedings were brought to Phigalia, the robber declared that he would come to Meſſenè itſelf, and there in perſon do juſtice to the injured. He was deſcended from a family pre-eminent, even among the Etolians, for deeds of raſh and unprincipled audacity. Not to degenerate from his anceſtors, he appeared at Meſſenè; and inſtead of making the reparation expected, treated thoſe who urged their wrongs with the utmoſt indignity; deriding ſome, threatening others, and denying juſtice to all. While he ſtill remained in Meſſenè, the pirates advanced within a ſmall diſtance of its walls, aſſaulted in the night a village called the farm of Chiron, killed thoſe who oppoſed their violence, and after binding the remainder, carried promiſcuouſly ſlaves and cattle aboard their fleet[5]. Nothing can more ſtrongly atteſt the awe in which the peaceful Meſſenians then ſtood of the fierce Etolians, than their forbearance to take ſummary vengeance on Dorimachus, the author of this enormity. He was cited to appear before a council, compoſed of the principal members of the government[6]. On this occaſion, Sciron, one of the Ephori, adviſed that Dorimachus ſhould not be allowed to leave the city, until the murderers were ſurrendered to juſtice. The other magiſtrates having aſſented to this opinion, Dorimachus upbraided their folly, in thinking to make him priſoner

His inſolence abaſhed by Sciron, one of the Meſſenian Ephori.

[5] Id. ibid. c. 4, & ſeq.

[6] Συναρχια. Polyb. l. iv. c. 4.

without

CHAP. XV.

without provoking the vengeance of Etolia. This threat piqued Sciron, a man of no leſs ſpirit than probity, to whom the following circumſtance afforded an opportunity of abaſhing the haughty robber. There lived in Meſſenè an infamous youth, ſo like in face and perſon to Dorimachus, that they might eaſily have been miſtaken for each other; and, with this circumſtance, the Etolian was well acquainted. Babyrtas was the name of the wretched Meſſenian, ſtigmatiſed for every vice moſt diſgraceful to a man. In reply to Dorimachus, who had ſpoken with much vehemence, Sciron therefore aſked, in a firm tone, "Do you think that we ſhall mind you, or your threats, Babyrtas?" The application of this ſingle name covered Dorimachus with confuſion [7]. He conſented that reſtitution ſhould be made, and that the guilty ſhould be puniſhed; but, being allowed ſhortly afterwards to return to Etolia, excited what is called the Social War, which laſted three years.

Commencement of the ſocial war. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

Ariſton at that time was pretor of the Etolians, who, on account of bodily infirmity, committed the military department of his office to his kinſman Scopas, a man alſo related to Dorimachus, and of a ſimilar character. As two ſuch perſons readily concurred in the ſame raſh views, and their moſt audacious meaſures were ſure of meeting with approbation from the Etolian multitude, they did not wait for a decree of the aſſembly, or the authority of the ſenate [8]. In defiance of forms, ſanctioned by law and long uſage, they at once made war on the Meſſenians, as well as on thoſe nations moſt likely to eſpouſe the cauſe of the injured. Their pirates iſſued from Cephallenia, and ravaged the coaſts of Epirus; another band aſſaulted, but without effect, Thyreum in Acarnania; beyond the ſouthern extremity of Peloponneſus, a rich merchant veſſel belonging to Macedon was captured off the iſland Cythera, and carried into a harbour of Etolia, where the ſhip, with all perſons on board her,

[7] Id. ibid.

[8] Αποκλητοι. A ſelect body, whoſe concurrence was neceſſary in all public meaſures. Conf. Polyb. l. xx. c. 1, & l. xxi. c. 3.

was

was ſold at public auction. By land, the proceedings of the Etolians were equally unwarrantable; particularly in ſurpriſing Clarium, a ſtronghold on the Arcadian frontier, which they purpoſed to render a depoſitory for the ſpoil collected from the adjacent province of Meſſenia. But in this deſign they were defeated by Taurion, commander of the Macedonian garriſon in Orchomenus, aſſiſted by Timoxenus, then pretor of Achaia. Having united their forces, theſe generals marched haſtily to Clarium, and, in the courſe of a few days, recovered that fortreſs.

Aratus, upon the reſignation of Timoxenus, takes the field againſt them. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

The time now approached when Timoxenus, on the eleventh of May, was to lay down his office, and to make room for the fifteenth pretorſhip of Aratus, in the courſe of thirty years[10]. The Etolians, in order to anticipate this change, which ſeemed little favourable to their views, aſſembled a great army at Rhium, a promontory and harbour of Etolia, ſcarcely two miles diſtant from Anti-Rhium, in Achaia. Having tranſported their forces acroſs the narrow frith, they proceeded through the diſtricts of Patræ and Tritæa; their generals, Dorimachus and Scopas, though they affected unwillingneſs to offend the Achæan league, being at little pains to reſtrain the depredations of their followers. In this manner they marched through Achaia to the friendly province of Elis, and from thence to their ſtronghold Phigalia, from which they began to plunder unmercifully the beſt poſſeſſions of the Meſſenians. The Achæans had by this time convened in their vernal aſſembly. They were indignant at the wrongs done by the Etolians to ſome of the oldeſt members of their league; they compaſſionated the ſufferings of the Meſſenians, though that people were neither united with them in government, nor parties to the confederacy ſubſiſting between Achaia and Macedon, comprehending moſt other Grecian commonwealths. But Timoxenus, the actual pretor, was a man of little enterpriſe: he knew that his countrymen, truſting to the ſtability of the laſt peace

[10] Plutarch in Arat.

in

CHAP. XV.

in Peloponneſus, had neglected their arms and exerciſes. He declined therefore to lead the Achæans into the field, but readily reſigned his office, five days before its appointed term, to the zeal and ſpirit of Aratus [11].

Battle of Caphyae, in Arcadia. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

This illuſtrious patriot ſummoned the Achæans, through all their cities, to meet him in arms at Megalopolis, fifteen miles diſtant from Phigalia, the principal rendezvous of the enemy. When the army was fully aſſembled, not excepting the Lacedæmonians who had marched as declared friends to a confederacy which they ſecretly abhorred, Aratus ſent heralds to the Etolians, commanding them immediately to quit Meſſenia, and to be careful, in their return homeward, not to enter Achaia. Upon receiving this meſſage from a man commanding an army more numerous than their own, Dorimachus and Scopas prepared to comply with it. They ordered their tranſports to rendezvous at the iſland and harbour of Phlias, on the coaſt of Elis, and two days afterwards began to march thither. Aratus, upon aſſurances of this intention, diſmiſſed the greater part of his army, and with a body of three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, beſides the Macedonians under Taurion, followed at ſome diſtance the retiring enemy [12]. When the Etolians diſcovered that their motions were watched, but by a force inferior to their own, they ſuddenly faced about, and returning towards the Achæans, found them encamped in the plain of Caphyæ, defended by a river in front, and alſo by ſeveral deep trenches. Not daring to attack this poſt, eſpecially as the enemy ſhowed great willingneſs to engage, they haſtened acroſs the plain to the adjacent heights; and the cavalry, which cloſed their march, had nearly reached the hill called Propus, when the Achæan pretor ſent againſt them his light infantry and horſe. Although this detachment began to ſkirmiſh with the rear, the Etolian cavalry ſtill retired in good order, to gain the ſupport of its infantry. Aratus miſtaking this movement for

The Achæans defeated.

[11] Polybius, l. iv. c. 6. [12] Plutarch in Arato. Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 11. & ſeq.

CHAP. XV.

flight, ordered his heavy armed troops to join in the purſuit. Before the firſt diviſion of them approached the foot of the mountains, the Etolians had rallied in great force, and totally defeated the Achæan targeteers and cavalry. The heavy troops that came to their aſſiſtance, perplexed at the unexpected diſaſter, and being themſelves in the looſe order of march, alſo turned their backs, and were carried along with the fugitives; from whence it happened, that although five hundred Achæans only had engaged the enemy, thoſe that now fled exceeded two thouſand. Their flight would have been leſs diſhonourable than ſalutary, had they found the main diviſion, headed by Aratus in perſon, on the advantageous ground which it had originally occupied; but, as this diviſion haſtened towards them in a long and broken train, the evil was without remedy, and the rout became general. The neighbouring cities, particularly Caphyæ and Orchomenus, opened their friendly gates, otherwiſe the whole Achæan army muſt have periſhed diſgracefully. The Etolians, elated with ſucceſs, marched towards the Corinthian gulph, plundering the diſtrict of Sicyon and other Achæan dependencies in their way, and then haſtened to their own country, loaded with booty, and with the weight of crimes not likely to paſs unrevenged. Meanwhile the Achæans aſſembled in council at Ægeum. Their country had been twice invaded by a mercileſs enemy; but poſtponing the conſideration of ſuch injuries, the aſſembly reſounded with complaints againſt the miſconduct of Aratus. His enemies in the government accuſed him of bringing on a battle unneceſſarily, and of fighting it unſkilfully. Through what unaccountable folly could he break up his army, while the Etolians were ſtill in the heart of Peloponneſus? Was it for this, that he had wreſted the pretorſhip from Timoxenus five days before its legal expiration? He had been twice deluded by a moſt ordinary ſtratagem: firſt, when the Etolians made a pretence of retreating homewards, only that they might ſurpriſe his diſbanded force; ſecondly,

Aratus accuſed of miſconduct.

CHAP. XV.

condly, when in the action itſelf they affected to fly, only to return more vigorouſly to the charge. If, in oppoſition to all rules of prudence, he had determined to come to battle, he ought at leaſt to have fought it on the plain; there, the heavy armed Achæans would have availed themſelves of their military arrangements and their weapons. On the mountains, the Etolians found every thing beſt adapted to their arms, their tactics, and habits of warfare.

His defence.

Theſe accuſations, juſt as they were, did not diſcourage Aratus from making an animated defence. Having deſcribed his unwearied exertions in the ſervice of the Achæan league, he maintained that his actions ought to be examined with indulgent candour, not with ſharpneſs and ſeverity. Faults in conduct he did not deny, nor would he attempt to palliate them; but his principles were found, and his intentions pure. The multitude changed from anger againſt him to the higheſt favour; teſtifying much reſentment at his accuſers, and ſubmitting in future all their affairs to his management [13].

Embaſſies of the Achæans to their confederates. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

A decree paſſed the council for aſſembling the Achæans in arms, and for ſummoning the aid of their allies. Ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the Phocians, Acarnanians, Beotians, Epirots, above all, to king Philip, ſtating the outrages of the Etolians, and requeſting that the Meſſenians, who had ſo dreadfully ſuffered by them, might be admitted into the general confederacy [14]. In Peloponneſus, the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians agreed to furniſh reſpectively a body of two thouſand five hundred men; but inſtead of fulfilling this promiſe, the former people ſent privately to make a treaty with the Etolians. Notwithſtanding the flight of Cleomenes to Egypt, his partizans were all-powerful in Sparta; they had prevented the ſubſtitution of any new king in his ſtead, vainly expecting his return; and, in the mean time, the republic was governed by annual magiſtrates, deeply infected with the wild projects of Cleomenes, and inveterately hoſtile to Achaia and Macedon, by which powers,

[13] Plutarch, ibid. & Polyb. l. iv. c. 14. [14] Id. l. iv. c. 15, & c. 26.

CHAP. XV.

chiefly, his dangerous views had been defeated[15]. In the north of Greece, the motions of the confederates depended on thoſe of Philip. The Theſſalians were his ſubjects; the Epirots, ſince the extinction of the line of their renowned Pyrrhus, formed an inconſiderable and ſubſervient republic; the Bœotians, Acarnanians, and Phocians had, all of them, been long accuſtomed to fear the Macedonians, and in the late reign to love and reſpect them. Under theſe circumſtances, deciſive meaſures on the part of Macedon might have reſtored public tranquillity. But Philip was only in his eighteenth year: his miniſters, as will appear hereafter, were weak, perfidious, and at variance with each other, while ſuch neighbours as the Thracians and Illyrians always appeared formidable to a new king of Macedon. Philip, therefore, though he agreed to admit the Meſſenians into the confederacy, yet heſitated about declaring war againſt the Etolians. It was uſual with that people to commit unprovoked injuries, to break through all laws, to violate all engagements. In them, ſuch proceedings, being matters of courſe, excited no ſurpriſe, and occaſioned ſlight reſentment; ſo true it is, that men are in all things guided by cuſtom, and therefore more willing to overlook long continued and uniform habits of wickedneſs, than to pardon any new and unexpected act of injuſtice[16].

Conſiderations which made Macedon reluctant in declaring war.

While the confederates ſtill deliberated with little unanimity, the Etolians were already in the field. Having aſſociated with them, through promiſe of plunder, ſome Illyrian pirates, they invaded the Peloponneſus, and entered the central province of Arcadia. In the north of that province, Cynætha was the head of a diſtrict, the wildeſt and roughеſt in the whole mountainous territory[17]. It was inhabited by rugged herdſmen, who ſcorned thoſe arts that had been ſo ſucceſsfully employed by their neighbours for taming ſavageneſs and poliſhing ruſticity. Of all the Arcadians, the people of Cynætha

Cynætha in Arcadia—the brutiſhneſs of its inhabitants.

[15] Plutarch in Cleomen. & Polybius, l. iv. c. 16.

[16] Ibid. c. 16.

[17] Ibid. c. 16, & ſeq.

CHAP. XV.

alone diſdained the culture of muſic, which was taught and exerciſed in Greece, not merely as an agreeable paſtime, the ſoother of care and the ſweetener of leiſure, but as an art highly contributing towards the refinement of pleaſure from voluptuouſneſs, and of valour from ferocity. The brutiſhneſs of the Cynæthians made them deſpiſe this liberal purſuit; and their neglect of an acquirement, in which the other Arcadians univerſally took delight, heightened the depravity of their character, and the univerſal deteſtation accompanying it. Odious abroad, they were divided into cruel factions at home. One party baniſhed three hundred of their adverſaries, and ſubmitted to the protection of the Achæans. The exiles, affecting repentance, ſolicited permiſſion to return. The party, which had expelled them, referred this requeſt to the Achæan council. The Achæans adviſed compliance and ſincere reconciliation, thinking to excite gratitude in perſons ſo highly benefited. But theſe unprincipled wretches had no ſooner ſet foot on their native ſoil, than, as if they had meditated the moſt abominable treachery in their very act of ſwearing amity over the ſacred victims, they entered into ſecret practices with the Etolians for betraying to them their city. To this atrocious engagement they were faithful. A portion of them, employed promiſcuouſly with other inhabitants in the night-watch, aſſailed ſuddenly their partners in this ſervice; and having put them to the ſword, gave admiſſion to the Etolians, who, according to concert, were at hand. Cynætha was thus taken, and treated moſt unmercifully; even the Cynæthian traitors being ſubjected to the ſame cruelties with their betrayed brethren. After the houſes had been carefully ranſacked, torture compelled the diſcovery of treaſures yet concealed in them. The Etolians, before leaving Peloponneſus, offered the deſolate city to their Elian allies, but as *they* refuſed the preſent, Cynætha was ſet on fire and abandoned to the flames. The neighbouring cities of Luſſi and Cleitor were threatened with a ſimilar fate. The former

Their diſſentions and deſtruction.

purchaſed ſafety by ſurrendering ſome conſecrated ornaments in the temple of Diana; and the latter was more honourably protected by the ſtrength of its walls, and the bravery of its citizens. Without completely ſatiating their rapacity, the Etolians thus returned home by the way of Rhium; for their own coaſts were in danger from another party of Illyrian pirates, in the intereſt of Macedon; and that kingdom was preparing to engage vigorouſly in the war [18].

Philip marches into Peloponneſus. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221

Shortly after their departure, Philip arrived at Corinth with a powerful eſcort. From thence he diſpatched meſſengers to all the ſtates in the league, inviting their deputations to concert with him the meaſures fitteſt to be purſued at the preſent juncture. Before the return of his couriers, he was informed that Sparta was torn by ſedition. This news made him proceed ſouthwards to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians, favourers to Cleomenes and his wild innovations, fearful that Philip's approach might give courage to their adverſaries, had maſſacred thoſe among them whom they deemed moſt dangerous. This enormity was ſpeedily followed by other deeds equally atrocious; all of them committed under the pretence of liberty and equality, and terminating as outrageous proceedings in favour of political freedom naturally end, in the eſtabliſhment of a ſevere and execrable tyranny, which laſted twenty years under the military uſurpers Machanidas and Nabis.

Seditions in Sparta.

Philip's moderation and good policy in appeaſing them.

On the preſent occaſion, the party, now maſter of the government, ſent deputies to Philip to vindicate their own innocence, and accuſe the perſons, who were ſlain, as authors of the tumult. At the ſame time they aſſured the king, that the Lacedæmonians were determined to obſerve moſt faithfully the terms of their alliance with him; and that no ſtate whatever ſurpaſſed their ſincerity, zeal, and complete devotion to his intereſts and thoſe of the confederacy. When the deputies retired, Philip, who had heard them in council, deſired the opinion of his miniſters. All agreed that the enormity of

[18] Polybius, ibid.

the

CHAP. XV.

the Spartans ought to not paſs unpuniſhed: the moſt moderate were of opinion, that the government ſhould be wreſted from the hands of men who had acquired it ſo unwarrantably: the more violent ſtimulated Philip to exemplary vengeance, exhorting him to ſignalize his acceſſion to the throne by the deſtruction of ſanguinary Sparta, as the great Alexander, however humane in his nature, had begun his reign by the demolition of perfidious and incorrigible Thebes. The king ſpoke laſt; and, being then only in his eighteenth year, the ſentiments which he delivered are aſcribed to the ſuggeſtion of Aratus. Philip ſaid, "that in the domeſtic concerns of his allies, he did not think himſelf entitled to interfere. When great wrongs were committed, he would indeed interpoſe his advice and admonition with regard to the means beſt fitted either to redreſs them, or to prevent their recurrence. Farther than this, he was convinced that he had not any right to go. The caſe was different, when any of the allies manifeſtly violated the compact, by which they were all reciprocally bound to each other. But even then, the perverſe communities were to be coerced, not by himſelf individually, but by the confederates in general. That the Lacedæmonians had done nothing againſt the league, with the terms of which, on the contrary, they had declared their reſolution ſtrictly and zealouſly to comply. That the regulation of their internal government, belonged to themſelves only; and that, if he dealt with them rigorouſly for errors committed on that ſcore, he could not fail to incur the cenſure of mankind, when they contraſted his behaviour with that of his predeceſſor, who had treated the ſame people with the utmoſt gentleneſs, after conquering them as enemies in a juſt war [19]." Conformably with theſe ſentiments, it was determined that no inquiry ſhould be made concerning the recent tranſactions in Sparta. Ambaſſadors were ſent however to that city, to adminiſter the federal oath to its new magiſtrates; and

[19] Polybius, l. iv. c. 23 & ſeq.

Philip

CHAP. XV.

Philip repaired to Corinth to meet the deputations which he ſummoned thither, from the different members of the league.

Convention of the allies at Corinth—fruitleſs negociation with the Etolians.

In this convention, there was not a ſingle ſtate that had not injuries to complain of from the lawleſs and impious Etolians. It was decreed that war ſhould be carried on againſt that ferocious people, until they relinquiſhed all their poſſeſſions, beyond the limits of their own narrow territory, and until all thoſe cities, which, under the name of allies they oppreſſed as ſubjects, ſhould be reſtored to the enjoyment of their ancient laws and hereditary government; and be left untaxed, ungarriſoned, and independent. Philip, with that moderation and forbearance, which diſtinguiſhed all his meaſures, informed the Etolians by letter of this decree, that they might ſend deputies to the convention, if they had any thing to alledge in extenuation of their offences. The chiefs of the Etolians anſwered, that they would meet the king at Rhium, and endeavour to give him ſatisfaction. They thought, that either his fear or his pride would decline the meeting: but this expectation being diſappointed, they wrote to him a ſecond time, ſaying that, as the general aſſembly of the Etolians had not yet convened, it was not lawful for them to enter into diſcuſſions concerning national affairs. Their aſſembly met ſoon afterwards in September, for the Etolians held their annual elections at the autumnal equinox. Inſenſible to their paſt miſconduct, they elected for pretor Scopas, the main coadjutor of Dorimachus in all his late outrages. They had ſhut their eyes to their own injuſtice, and fooliſhly treated the reſt of mankind as blind [20].

Various paſſions and delays among the confederates.

Yet much remained to be done before their wrongs could be retorted. It was neceſſary that the decree of the convention ſhould be ratified by the aſſembly of each ſtate in particular. So dreadful was the terror which the Etolians had diffuſed around them, that none of the confederates wiſhed to be the firſt in arms. The Meſſenians, though diſtinguiſhed by the ſeverity of their ſufferings, were over-

[20] Polybius, l. iv. c. 24. & ſeq.

awed

CHAP. XV.

awed by the neighbouring garriſon of Phigalia. The Epirots, ſadly degenerate from their ancient ſpirit, declined to march, till Philip was ready to reinforce them. The Acarnanians, though their country was immediately interpoſed between Epirus and Etolia, ſhowed leſs reluctance than any other people to take the field, ſuch was the manly ſenſe of honour by which they were actuated; their zeal for liberty, and firmneſs in alliance [21]. Philip, meanwhile, had returned to Macedon to complete his preparations. The indulgence and good policy which he had ſhewn with regard to Sparta, had given to him many partizans in that city. Though the Etolians ſent an agent thither, to renew their ſecret practices, the Lacedæmonians, in general, were ſo deeply affected by Philip's moderation, that they determined rather to adhere to their public engagements with Macedon and her allies. But this reſolution had ſcarcely paſſed, when the baffled party cut off its authors in a new and more bloody ſedition; and as accounts of Cleomenes' death juſt arrived from Egypt, named Lycurgus for his ſucceſſor, a man who had no fair pretenſions to the throne, and who made his way to that dignity through credit with the Etolians, and by bribing with a talent each of the five Ephori [22]. At the ſame time, Ageſipolis, a child, was choſen king from the family of the Agidæ, merely by way of form.

Lycurgus a partizan of the Etolians, uſurps the government of Sparta.

Before Philip and his confederates had prepared for action, the Lacedæmonians, under Lycurgus, invaded the Argive territory; and the Elians, headed by Euripides an Etolian, entered the neareſt diſtricts of Achaia. Nor were the Etolians themſelves remiſs in forming new expeditions, worthy of their character. Ægira was a city ſeven ſtadia from the ſea, midway between Sicyon and Ægium, ſituate on rough hills difficult of acceſs, and overlooking the Corinthian gulph directly oppoſite to Delphi and Parnaſſus. A deſerter from Etolia had been admitted into the place, and obſerved, that the gate towards Ægium was entruſted to men often ſtupified by wine,

Bold enterprize againſt the Achæan city Ægira. Olymp. cxl 1. B. C. 220.

[21] Polybius. l. iv. c. 30. [22] Id. ibid. c. 35.

and

and always neglectful of duty. Upon this diſcovery, he applied to Dorimachus, who, being always ready for ſuch enterprizes, croſſed the gulph with a multitude of his countrymen in the night, and caſt anchor in the river Crius, which ran by the city. The deſerter was ready to receive them: he choſe twenty of the moſt daring of the band; and having conducted them by different paths with which he was well acquainted, ſecretly penetrated into the place through the conduit of an aqueduct. He ſlew the heedleſs watchmen in their beds; broke the bars of the ill-guarded gate with hatchets; and threw open the entrance to his countrymen. The Etolians, who ſoon arrived in great numbers, behaved as if thoſe, who had once gained admiſſion into a city, were thereby its maſters. The greater part of them ſeparated for the purpoſe of depredation; and while their ſtragglers were employed in breaking open the houſes and riffling their contents, the Ægirates had time to aſſemble in ſufficient force to attack and repel thoſe who ſtill remained in a body. They were purſued with great fury; many were ſtiffled at the gate, and many driven headlong down the precipices. Dorimachus having loſt his boldeſt companions, diſgracefully eſcaped to his boats [22].

Defeated by the bravery of the Ægirates.

It was the misfortune of the Achæans, that their contingents of troops and their contributions in money were raiſed with extreme ſlowneſs. They thus allowed the Spartan Lycurgus to gain poſſeſſion of ſeveral ſmall fortreſſes in Arcadia, and Euripides, the Etolian general commanding the Elians, to ſeize others ſtill more important in Achaia; from which he greatly infeſted that province. Dymè, Pharæ, and Tritæa ſuffered moſt by theſe incurſions; and as they derived not any aſſiſtance from the confederacy, they applied the money due from them to the league to the raiſing of cavalry for the protection of their reſpective diſtricts: a meaſure enforced by ſtrong neceſſity, but of moſt pernicious example [24].

Delays and impolicy of the Achæans.

[22] Polybius, l. iv. c. 57. & ſeq.

[24] Ibid. c. 60. Conf. Plut. in Arat.

CHAP. XV.

Philip enters the Etolian territories. Olymp. cxl. 1. B. C. 220.

When the month of May came round, the Achæans choſe the younger Aratus pretor in room of his father. Philip, in the ſame month, began his march from Macedon at the head of ſo great a force, that, had he at once penetrated into Etolia, he would have made a moſt ſeaſonable diverſion in favour of the Achæans, and in all probability have put a ſpeedy end to the war[25]. But through the preſſing inſtances of the Epirots, who had joined him in great numbers, he was prevailed on to lay ſiege to Ambracus, a place of much importance on the Ambracian gulph, which, penetrating above thirty miles inland, divides Epirus from Acarnania. Ambracus was well fortified by nature and art; being ſituate in the middle of a marſh, that could be paſſed by only one narrow cauſeway, and alſo ſtrongly defended by a wall and out-works. It commanded the adjoining country, as well as the city of Ambracia; which had been the capital of Epirus under the renowned Pyrrhus, but which was now held by the Etolians. Philip ſpent forty days in forming mounds and approaches in the marſh, before the enemy were brought to capitulation through fear of being put to the ſword. The fortreſs and all the neighbouring territory, he reſigned to the Epirots their ancient owners.

Takes Ambracus and reſtores it to the Epirots.

Expels the Etolians from their fortreſſes in Acarnania.

He then croſſed the Ambracian gulph, where narroweſt, to an ancient temple of the Acarnanians, called Actium, and deſtined, under that name, to high renown in hiſtory, as the ſcene of action between Auguſtus and Antony for the maſterſhip of the Roman world. At this place, the gulph is ſcarcely half a mile broad[26], but it afterwards ſpreads into the expanſe of ten miles, and extends twenty miles inland from Actium to Amphilochian Argos. In Acarnania, Philip being joined by two thouſand foot and two hundred

[25] Polybius, l. iv. c. 61.

[26] Before the ſtrait at Actium, there is another ſtill narrower at Anactorium, communicating immediately with the Ionian ſea. From this ſea, Actium is diſtant ten miles, nearly a third part of the length of the whole gulph. Inattention to local circumſtances has greatly perplexed the battle of Actium and the operations preceding and following it: but of this hereafter.

horſe

horſe belonging to that republic, proceeded to the river Achelous, which flowing from mount Pindus into the Corinthian gulph, anciently ſeparated Acarnania from Etolia. But the Etolians were now maſters of both ſides the river. Philip attacked their numerous ſtrongholds extending thirty miles along the lower part of its courſe; and though many of them were well fortified by walls and towers, and ably defended, his perſeverance prevailed in reducing Phætæa, Stratus, Illoria, Elæus, and Pæanium down to Oeniadæ at the mouth of the river. This laſt named place, diſtant only ten miles from Dymè in Achaia, Philip determined to ſecure in future, and began ſtrongly to fortify it [17] with materials conveyed from other Etolian ſtrongholds, which he had recently demoliſhed. But his labours were interrupted by important intelligence from home. CHAP. XV.

Is recalled by the invaſion of Pieria and the motions of the Dardanians.

While he was occupied by ſieges at one extremity of the Etolian dominions, that people had drained their garriſons in the other, and made an irruption into the Pierian plain, one of the fineſt diſtricts of Macedon. There, they had ſacked the city of Dium venerable for its temples and feſtivals, and for the ſtatues of Alexander's companions who fell in the battle of Granicus, as well as thoſe of the long ſeries of Macedonian kings. Philip had not ſuſpended his operations on the firſt intelligence of this inroad, but he was now informed that the Dardanians, an Illyrian nation, were hovering on his northern frontier. At ſuch a criſis, he could not ſafely proceed ſouthward to Peloponneſus. He ſent therefore to aſſure the Achæans, who plied him with ſucceſſive embaſſies, that as ſoon as he had diſſipated the preſent danger, he would think of nothing but how to afford them the moſt effectual aid. His unexpected return to Pella, of which the Illyrians were informed by deſerters, ſtruck theſe barbarians with ſuch terror, that they immediately diſperſed to their reſpective cantons. But, as the corn was now ripe, the Macedonians could not be withdrawn from home before they had reaped their harveſt.

[17] Polybius, l. iv. c. 64, & 65.

CHAP. XV.

Philip, however, proceeded to Lariſſa in Theſſaly; the affairs of that province detained him there till winter, when, being again joined by his army, particularly three thouſand brazen [a] ſhielded hypaſpiſts, he paſſed into Eubœa to avoid the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, croſſed from Chalcis to Bœotia, and thence proceeded to Corinth.

Philip's winter campaign in Peloponneſus. Olymp. cxl. 2. B.C. 219.

His march was performed with ſo much celerity and at ſuch an unuſual ſeaſon, that it totally eſcaped the notice of his enemies in Peloponneſus. To keep it ſtill a ſecret, he ſhut the gates of Corinth, and made the roads in that neighbourhood be ſtrictly guarded. Meanwhile he called the elder Aratus from Sicyon, and alſo wrote to his ſon of the ſame name, then pretor of the Achæans. He then marched towards Arcadia; and near Stymphalus, on the frontier of that province, ſurprized a body of three thouſand Elians, who had advanced to ravage Sicyonia. Euripides, their Etolian leader, had gained information of Philip's approach, but did not think proper to communicate the intelligence to his troops, although, by counter marching, he had endeavoured to avoid the enemy. But it happened that while the Macedonian van mounted the hill Apelaurus, the foremoſt of the Elians alſo gained that rough aſcent. Euripides with a few horſemen eſcaped through bye-ways to the ſtronghold of Pſophis. His ſoldiers, though perplexed at the unaccountable flight of their leader, were perſuaded to keep their ranks, being aſſured by thoſe who ſucceeded to the command, that the troops whom they beheld could be no other than ſome contemptible Achæans who had at length taken courage to defend their poſſeſſions. The deluſion was ſtrengthened, on obſerving the brazen bucklers of the enemy: for Antigonus Doſon had formerly armed, in that manner, the Megalopolitans whoſe uncommon zeal in the public cauſe would not fail to augment the Achæan army. But the nearer approach of the Macedonians having revealed the truth, the Elians threw down their arms and betook themſelves to flight; ſcarcely one hundred of them

He ſurprizes and defeats the Elians.

[a] I particulariſe theſe troops for a reaſon that will appear preſently.

eſcaped

CHAP. XV.

eſcaped captivity or death: this complete victory gave the firſt intimation of Philip's arrival in Peloponneſus [*].

Is joined by the younger Aratus.

The Macedonians continued their march through Arcadia, and ſuffered much hardſhip in paſſing mountains then covered with deep ſnow. On the third day they arrived at Caphyæ, nearly midway between Stymphalus and Pſophis, into which latter place, Euripides had thrown himſelf. The king halted two days for refreſhment at Caphyæ, until he was joined by the younger Aratus, at the head of ſome Achæan forces, which made the whole army now exceed ten thouſand men. His enemies were not likely to face him in the field, but it was Philip's intention to diſpoſſeſs them of their ſtrongholds, for which purpoſe he collected ladders and machines from all the cities through which he paſſed.

Takes Pſophis and inferior cities in Arcadia.

Pſophis, againſt which he firſt directed his arms, was a very ancient city in the centre of Peloponneſus, and though within the Arcadian frontier, now ſtrictly aſſociated with the Elians, from whom it had received a garriſon. It was incloſed between a deep torrent deſcending from mount Scaurus on the weſt, and not fordable in winter, and the famed river Erymanthus, ennobled by the exploits of Hercules. The two ſtreams united a little beyond the ſouthern walls of the city. Thus defended on three ſides by water, a ſteep hill, ſkillfully fortified, ſerved it on the north for a citadel. It was alſo ſurrounded by walls in complete repair, and of unuſual height. Theſe obſtacles did not diſcourage Philip. He paſſed the Erymanthus by a bridge which the enemy unaccountably neglected to deſtroy. His ſcaling ladders were at once raiſed on every ſide, and the ſoldiers, who fell in the aſſault, were ſucceeded with ſuch alacrity by freſh troops, that the beſieged ceaſed from reſiſtance and retreated into the citadel. Want of proviſions obliged them to capitulate. Philip ſtrictly obſerved the conditions granted to them, relieved their preſent neceſſities, and adviſed them to remain in their place of ſafety,

[*] Polybius, l. iv. c. 68. & ſeq.

CHAP. XV.

until his army had moved forward, leſt any of them might be pillaged or inſulted by his ſoldiers. The tempeſtuous weather detained him a few days in Pſophis. At his departure, he gave the city to the Achæans, accompanying the gift with many profeſſions of good will to their commonwealth, and obſerving, that a city, which had long infeſted them, might now be converted into a place of arms for infeſting their enemies. The ſurrender of Pſophis occaſioned that of Laſion and Stratus, ſmaller cities uſurped by the Elians on that frontier. The former, Philip alſo gave to the Achæans; the latter, he reſtored to the Arcadians of Telphuſſa, from whoſe territory it had formerly been diſmembered [30].

Philip invades Elis.—Manners of the Elians. Olymp. cxl. 2. B. C. 219.

The king had now at his mercy the neighbouring province of Elis, to which the Etolians ſent but feeble ſuccours, and to which the Lacedæmonians, for a reaſon that will preſently be explained, could not afford the ſmalleſt aid. He firſt proceeded to Olympia, and ſacrificed to the gods of the place, as if to deprecate their wrath againſt his invaſion of a territory long held ſacred. But the Elians, by taking an active part in all recent commotions, and eſpecially by their alliance with the Etolians the great diſturbers of the public tranquillity, had ſtupidly forfeited the beſt of all national privileges, that of maintaining undiſturbed peace, in the midſt of inveterate and unceaſing warfare. A remnant of their ancient manners, of their induſtry and innocency, ſtill appeared in their paſſion for agriculture, and their fondneſs for retired rural life, which had formerly been carried to ſuch a height, that many opulent families, ſettled in the country of Elis, had never once viſited the capital of that name in the courſe of two or three generations [31]. The territory, therefore, was extremely populous, ſo that Philip made great numbers of priſoners among thoſe who refuſed to embrace his cauſe, and had not time to eſcape to their ſtrongholds. Of theſe, one of the principal was Thalamæ in the north of the province. It ſurrendered on the

[30] Polybius, l. iv. c. 72. & ſeq.

[31] Id. ibid. c. 73.

firſt

CHAP. XV.

first assault, though Amphidamus, pretor of the Elians, commanded two hundred mercenaries in the place, which contained besides five thousand persons, and much valuable property. In the south of the province Philip was equally successful; the whole district of Triphylia, separating Elis from Messenia, and adorned by eight rich cities, submitted in the course of six days.

His rapid conquests in that province.

This conquest brought Philip to the neighbourhood of Phigalia, which, as a fit post for infesting Messenia, had been occupied, as we have seen, by Etolian pirates, the original authors of the war. The Phigalians had been long weary of these insolent masters; whose injuries they now had it in their power to punish: they allowed them, however, to depart in safety with their effects; and then sent a deputation to Philip, inviting him to take possession of Phigalia. Shortly before this surrender, Philip had gained Alipheira, another fortress on the same western frontier of Arcadia, fifteen miles north of Phigalia, and then occupied by Elians. The town stood on a steep and craggy ridge above a mile in height; and the highest peak supported a strong citadel, ornamented with a brazen statue of Minerva, of uncommon magnitude and exquisite beauty. Upon what occasion or at whose expence this precious monument was erected at Alipheira, even the inhabitants did not pretend to explain. But all agreed, that it was the work of Hecatodorus and Sostratus in the noblest age[32] of art, and one of the most finished productions of those great masters[33].

Phigalia surrendered to him;

and Alipheira.

Colossal statue of Minerva.

After this brilliant campaign, Philip, having secured his conquests, evacuated Arcadia, and spent the remainder of the winter in Argos. Early in the spring, he took the field in Achaia, with a view to expel the Elians from a stronghold called Teichos, on the verge of the Dymean district. The place was of small extent, being scarcely a furlong and a half in circuit, but its strong walls rose to the height

Philip takes Teichos. — The height of its walls.

[32] Hecatodorus flourished in the 102 Olympiad, and Sostratus in the 114. Plin. N. H. l. xxxiv. c. 8. Both Pliny and Pausanias, l. viii. c. 26. call him Hypatodorus.

[33] Polyb. l. iv. c. 78.

of

CHAP. XV.

of forty-five feet. In this enterprize, his good fortune continued to attend him. He gave the fortreſs to the Dymeans; and advancing beyond it into Elis with his army, collected much booty from the hitherto unravaged parts of that territory [14].

Philip's miniſters.—Their unworthy intrigues.

In his proceedings hitherto, Philip had been guided chiefly by the elder Aratus, to the great diſſatisfaction of his Macedonian miniſters. Theſe men, who had not ventured to exhibit their true characters during the vigilant reign of Antigonus Doſon, ſtood in leſs awe of his youthful ſucceſſor. Antigonus, with that prudence which marked his conduct, had aſſigned to them by will, ſuch diſtinct departments in the ſervice of his nephew, as ſeemed beſt calculated to diminiſh rivalry and prevent diſcord. Apelles was appointed to attend his perſon as a guardian or counſellor; Leontius was ſet over the infantry; Alexander commanded the body-guard; Megaleas was public ſecretary; and Taurion, the king's lieutenant in Peloponneſus. Apelles however, by gaining the ear of the young prince, began to engroſs the whole power of adminiſtration. Leontius and Megaleas had become his creatures: he openly arraigned the incapacity of Alexander; by inſidious praiſes, more dangerous than reproach, he laboured to ruin Taurion; but the elder Aratus was the main object of his jealouſy. Apelles had inſtilled into Philip's mind, too ſuſceptible of ambition, that, inſtead of the ally, he ought to make himſelf the maſter of the Achæans [15]. On ſeveral occaſions he had taught the Macedonians to treat their auxiliaries with contumely; to diſlodge them from their quarters, to deprive them of their due ſhare in the common plunder. But at the interceſſion of Aratus, Philip had redreſſed theſe grievances, and even reprimanded his haughty counſellor, whoſe authority over him was founded merely on the ſuperiority of years, and on habit, without any correſponding enforcement from abilities or virtues. To regain his credit, Apelles began to tamper with thoſe Achæan leaders who were at variance with

Philip prevailed on to oppoſe Aratus.

[14] Polyb. l. iv. c. 83.

[15] Id. ibid. c. 76. & ſeq.

Aratus

CHAP. XV.

Aratus about employments in the ſtate. He took care that Philip's ears ſhould be frequently beſieged by their complaints, and his mind corrupted by inſinuations, that were the pretorſhip wreſted from the family, or dependants of Aratus, the king would find it eaſy to direct, at pleaſure, the affairs of Peloponneſus. To make this tempting experiment, Philip met the Achæans in their vernal aſſembly at Ægium; the younger Aratus laid down his office at its legal term: his father recommended Timoxenus to fill his place; but through the ſolicitations of Apelles, which were conſidered as thoſe of Philip himſelf, Timoxenus was repulſed, and Eperatus, a citizen of Pharæ, elected pretor [26].

Apelles' calumnies againſt Aratus, detected.

Apelles determined to follow up this victory; and an accidental occurrence greatly encouraged his deſign. When Amphidamus, the general of the Elians, as related above, was made priſoner in Thalamæ, he obtained admiſſion to Philip, and convinced him, that without the labour of new battles and ſieges, he might on eaſy terms make the Elians his friends. Philip ſaid, that if they would quit their alliance with the Etolians, he would himſelf defend them from external danger, while their domeſtic concerns ſhould be ſubmitted wholly to their own management. Favourable as theſe conditions were, Ampidamus could not perſuade his countrymen to accept them: though many of their cities and a great part of their territory, as well as innumerable priſoners, were in the hands of the enemy, they adhered obſtinately and unaccountably to the worſt of allies; men whoſe furious paſſions knew little diſtinction between friend and foe; and who frequently outraged intolerably the very nations whom they profeſſed to defend. Apelles aſſured Philip, that Aratus and his ſon were at the bottom of this inexplicable perverſeneſs. Theſe refined and far-ſeeing politicians, he ſaid, affected in their deep wiſdom to diſcern much danger to Greece, from the entire ſubmiſſion of the Elians to Philip. To anticipate ſo perilous a re-

[26] Polybius, l. iv. c. 82.

CHAP. XV.

ſult, they had practiſed ſecretly with Ampidamus, at whoſe inſtigation his countrymen had rejected terms of peace with which they ought eagerly to have cloſed. Philip, giving too eaſy an ear to this calumny, inſtantly called the perſons accuſed into his preſence; Apelles urged his accuſation with the utmoſt confidence; and, as the king remained ſilent, told them from himſelf, that his maſter was ſo much ſhocked with their double dealing and ingratitude, that he had determined to deſire an extraordinary meeting of the Achæans, and to explain in that aſſembly his reaſons for returning immediately to Macedon, and relinquiſhing all concern in their affairs. The elder Aratus requeſted Philip to ſuſpend his judgment: that accuſation was not proof: that he was fully conſcious of his own innocence, and doubted not but he ſhould defeat every machination by which Apelles might endeavour to impeach it. While Apelles was ſtill preparing his evidence, Ampidamus ſuddenly arrived at Dymè. His zeal in exhorting his countrymen to accept Philip's offers of accommodation, had made them regard him as a traitor, and they had attempted to ſeize his perſon, that he might be ſent a priſoner into Etolia. He had eſcaped their graſp, and now came to take refuge with Philip, for whoſe ſake he had incurred ſo much danger. Upon the firſt news of his arrival, Aratus ran to the king, and requeſted that Ampidamus might be immediately ſent for; obſerving, that none could give clearer evidence concerning the delinquency with which he himſelf was charged, than the perſon ſuppoſed to be his accomplice; and that none would diſcloſe the truth more readily to Philip, than the man whoſe whole hopes centered in the royal protection. Ampidamus was called and queſtioned: the calumny was clearly detected[n]; but though the perſons accuſed thereby roſe in credit with Philip, yet the young prince could not break the chain of dependence in which Apelles had contrived to bind him.

[n] Polyb. l. iv. c. 86.

CHAP. XV.

State of the belligerent powers.

Eperatus, raiſed by that miniſter to the pretorſhip of Achaia, ſoon ſhewed himſelf unfit for ſo arduous a truſt. Philip was obliged to have recourſe to the influence of Aratus, before the Achæans would conſent to pay to him his expected ſubſidies[38]. The three ſtates, with which he was at war, had not hitherto afforded much aſſiſtance to each other. The Spartans had been rendered inactive abroad, by a new ſedition at home, headed by a bold and popular youth named Chilon, who balanced the authority and threatened the life of Lycurgus; and the Etolians, though they carried their arms wherever plunder tempted them, and had lately ranſacked even the venerable temple of Dodona in Epirus, yet ſhewed great backwardneſs to encounter the Macedonians in the field, and had made but feeble efforts in defence of their Elian allies. But as Lycurgus, the ſteady partizan of Etolia, had now recovered his aſcendency in Sparta, Philip had reaſon to fear that his enemies might begin to act with united vigour.

Philip attacks Palle in Cephalenia. Olymp. cxl. 2. B. C. 219.

To prevent their co-operation, and at the ſame time to aſſail with ſeaſonable celerity their widely ſeparated poſſeſſions, he aſſembled his own and the Achæan fleet in Lechæum, the weſtern harbour of Corinth[39]. The Macedonian ſoldiers were ſoon enured to the labour of the oar; and the character of that people leading them to perform zealouſly every ſervice enjoined them, they ſoon became as expert at ſea as on land, and equally brave on either element. Having ſtationed ſome veſſels to guard the friendly ſhore of the Meſſenians, who had become active in the war ſince the expulſion of the Etolian pirates from Phigalia, and having left a conſiderable force to protect the inland frontiers of his allies, Philip ſailed for Cephalenia, to attack Palus or Palle, the principal naval magazine of the enemy. The place was almoſt ſurrounded by precipices, or by the ſea, and could be approached only by a narrow terrace, looking towards Zacynthus. But the

[38] Fifty talents the day he took the field; 10,000 meaſures of corn; and 17 talents monthly. At this rate the Achæans, beſides corn, furniſhed Philip with an annual ſubſidy of 37,000l. Polyb. l. v. c. 1.

[39] Strabo, l. viii. p. 262.

CHAP. XV.

Macedonians, were full of alacrity; the neighbouring fields ſupplied them with a profuſion of ripe corn; and Philip had been joined by many Epirots, Meſſenians, and Acarnanians, whoſe ſhores had been long infeſted from this Cephalenian harbour. His machines were advanced towards the only ſide on which the city was aſſailable; the defenders of Palus were driven from their outworks: and, a mine two hundred feet long being drawn under the walls, the place was ſummoned to capitulate. But as the Palleans rejected this alternative, Philip ſet fire to the wooden piles on which the fortifications were built: a dreadful ruin enſued, and the Macedonian hypaſpiſts, the braveſt body in the army, were commanded to enter by the breach [40].

His enterprize diſconcerted by treachery.

But on this occaſion, the intrigues of Leontius, which will be accounted for preſently, defeated the near proſpect of taking the place. He had practiſed with the officers ſerving under him to abet his villainy, and his men were led to the attack with ſuch dexterous unſkilneſs, that they were thrice diſgracefully repulſed. The great number of the wounded deterred Philip from renewing the aſſault. He marked, however, the complicated treachery by which his enterprize had been fruſtrated; but, as he had learned that Dorimachus the Etolian pretor had marched with more than half his army into Theſſaly, he haſtened to the capital of Etolia itſelf, left nearly defenceleſs. On the ſecond night he arrived with his fleet at Leucas, ſailed through the ſhallow artificial channel [41] between that iſland and Acarnania by ſupporting his gallies on buoyant ſkiffs uſually employed for that purpoſe, and then ſteering his courſe up the Ambracian gulph, arrived before day-break at the ſafe harbour of Limnæa. Here, he was ſpeedily joined by the Acarnanians in a maſs [42], headed by their pretor Ariſtophantus, for the whole nation, even thoſe long paſt the military age, were inflamed with keen deſire to avenge their wrongs from the Etolians. The Epirots alſo flocked to his ſtandard, but the great extent of their country rendered it more difficult for them to aſſemble. Philip marched from Limnæa in the evening, and at

He invades Etolia. Olymp. cxl 2. B. C. 219.

[40] Polyb. l. v. c. 4. [41] Strabo, l. x. p. 451. [42] Παυδημει. Polyb. l. v. c. 6.

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the diſtance of ſix miles, allowing his troops to take ſome refreſhment, continued his progreſs all night to the banks of the Achelous, between Stratus and Canopè. In the ſpace of twelve hours he had marched thirty-five miles, and ſtood on the Etolian frontier, only twenty miles diſtant from the capital Thermum, the ſeat of religion and government, and the vaſt magazine into which this nation of robbers had collected the accumulating plunder of many ages.

Tremendous avenue to Thermum, the capital of that country.

The road to Thermum led through Metapa and Pamphia, towns on the lake Trichonis, emboſomed in woody mountains, which can only be croſſed by narrow and intricate defiles. Philip paſſed the Achelous, and proceeding twelve miles in an eaſtern direction, entered the rough and ſteep paths near Metapa, whoſe inhabitants took flight at his approach. He was careful, however, to leave guards at the narrow entrances, thereby to ſecure his retreat. He then came to Pamphia, which is half way between Metapa and Thermum, and about three miles diſtant from the latter, the whole way being almoſt a continued aſcent, difficult throughout, and in many places made dreadful by vaulting rocks and yawning caverns, fit avenues to the terrible den of the ſavage and mercileſs Etolians. But the hitherto inviolated ſecurity of Thermum had rendered that people altogether unprepared for receiving an enemy. Both their territory and their city ſuffered ſimilar injuries to thoſe which they had been accuſtomed to inflict. The booty was immenſe; what could not eaſily be tranſported, was burned: among other articles of value, fifteen thouſand ſuits of armour were committed to the flames. In thoſe ſignal acts of vengeance, Philip did nothing inconſiſtent with the rights of conqueſt, as underſtood and acknowledged in his age and country. But when he called to mind the ſacrilege recently committed by the Etolians at Dodona, the moſt ancient oracle in Greece; and ſtill more, when he reflected on their outrages at Dium, the moſt venerated ſanctuary of Macedon, his rage diſdained all ordinary limits. The porticoes to the temple were ſet on fire;

Dreadful deſolation of Thermum.

CHAP. XV.

Inscription on its ruins.

its votive offerings, many of them works of exquisite art, were reduced to a heap of rubbish; the statues, almost two thousand in number, were overturned, and all of them defaced, except those bearing the form and superscription of some favourite divinity: the roof of the temple was burnt, and even the greater part of its walls demolished to the foundation. On a massy fragment of the ruin, the following verse was engraved: "Behold how far the bolts of Dium fly!" The line is parodied from one in Euripides[43], and was the more energetic in Greek, because, by its double[44] meaning in that language, heaven itself was made a party in the king's ungoverned fury; and in the destruction of the temple of Thermum, the gods of Macedon were represented as taking vengeance on those of Etolia. The epigram, for it deserves not any better name, was the work of Samius, a youth who had been educated with the king, and whose ingenious witticisms were afterwards much celebrated. He was the son of Chrysogonus, who will appear presently in the character of a virtuous counsellor, as well as in that of an able general. But though Philip's courtiers and contemporaries approved his sacrilegious proceedings, both their impolicy and their impiety have been stigmatised by the impartial voice of history. His behaviour appeared equally weak and wicked, when contrasted with that of his three most illustrious predecessors; with the generosity of Antigonus Doson at Sparta; with the indulgence of Philip, the father of Alexander, to the Athenians; above all, with the religious forbearance of Alexander himself, who protected from the slightest insult every thing sacred, even among the Persians, though those barbarians had demolished or prophaned the most venerable temples of Greece.[45]

Philip's impolicy and impiety.

His return to the sea coast, and carousal with his generals.

The news of the invasion hastened Dorimachus from Thessaly. He had been prevented from descending into the rich Thessalian plain by Chrysogonus, just mentioned, then commanding in that

[43] Ὁρᾳς τον αἰθερ', ὡ Βελος διεπτατο. Euripid. Supplic. v. 860.

[44] Το Διου Βελος means either the divine darts, or the darts of Dium.

[45] Polyb. l. v. c. 10.

country;

country; and he came home only in time to lament the deſolation of his country. Philip returned to his ſhips by his former road; and, on his way to the ſea coaſt, ſet fire to Pamphia, and raſed Metapa to the ground, the guards which he had poſted at the gorges of the mountains repelling the hovering parties of the enemy, who might otherwiſe have obſtructed the retreat of an army encumbered with booty. The Etolians had aſſembled in force at Stratus, on the right bank of the Achelous. Without having attempted to diſturb Philip's paſſage of the river, they endeavoured to haraſs his rear, but they were repelled with conſiderable loſs, and ſaved from total deſtruction only by the ſtrength of their walls. Upon the ſafe arrival of the army at Limnæa, ſolemn ſacrifices of thanks were offered to the gods, and Philip held a carouſal with his officers, from which, according to the Greek faſhion, it was ſhameful for any man to retire ſober.

Drunken fray, in which Aratus is inſulted.

The truth, that is in wine, unmaſked on this occaſion Leontius and Megaleas, who, ſince their patron Apelles had ſunk in credit with the king, had been co-operating with that miniſter in a ſcheme of the blackeſt perfidy. When Apelles, as we have before ſeen, was foiled in his attempt to ruin Aratus, and the latter thereby gained even new credit with Philip, the pangs of diſappointed ambition exaſperated a fierce mind into implacable reſentment, both againſt his royal maſter and his triumphant rival. But the keener his animoſity, the greater care he employed to conceal it. Affecting warm zeal for the ſervice, while Philip yet prepared for his Etolian expedition, Apelles ſailed to Chalcis, under preſence of expediting the equipments in that warlike magazine, and of being more conveniently ſituate there for corresponding with Theſſaly and Macedon, and directing the financial adminiſtration of thoſe countries. His real deſign in the voyage was to intercept the king's reſources, while the other conſpirators laboured with equal aſſiduity to tarniſh his glory in the field [46].

[46] Polyb. l. v. c. 14, & ſeq.

We

CHAP. XV.

We have ſeen how ſucceſsfully Leontius obſtructed the taking of Palle, in Cephalenia; the king, however, ſtill kept on terms with him, fearful of his credit with the targeteers whom he commanded: and becauſe both he and his accomplices had hitherto concealed their hoſtility. But, at the breaking up of the drunken entertainment, Leontius and Megaleas ventured openly to aſſault Aratus: he was defended by his friends; a fray thus enſued between the adherents of either party; the king ſent troops to end the vile conteſt, and ſecure the authors of it; Leontius ſlid unnoticed through the crowd, but Megaleas and Crinon, more daring at that moment, were conducted to Philip, and aggravated their guilt by declaring that they would not reſt ſatisfied without inflicting condign puniſhment on their adverſaries. The king reprimanded their inſolence, impoſed on each of them a fine of twenty talents, and ordered them to be taken into cuſtody until the mulct were liquidated. Next day Leontius, attended by ſome favourite targeteers, repaired to the king's tent, to make inquiry concerning the arreſt of his friends, and to know by whoſe authority they were confined. Philip, though in early youth, anſwered, "by mine," with an air of ſuch intrepid dignity, that the conſpirator was ſeized with the terror which he had hoped to inſpire.

Philip's miniſters betray their villainous deſign.

As the fleet had now prepared for ſailing back to Leucadia, the farther examination of the culprits was delayed until they arrived in that iſland. There, the king made an equitable partition among his forces of the plunder gained in Etolia; and a council of Macedonians, of the firſt rank in the court and army, met to try Megaleas and Crinon. Aratus was their accuſer: among the proofs which he produced againſt them, many tended alſo to blacken Leontius and Apelles. But the court was contented with confirming the king's ſentence againſt the perſons accuſed. Leontius was even admitted as ſurety for Megaleas, who was therefore diſcharged; Crinon remained in confinement.

Their trial proves ineffectual.

Philip's

CHAP. XV.

Philip's return to Corinth, and invaſion of Laconia. Olymp. cxl. 2. B. C. 219.

Philip's ſucceſs in Etolia encouraged his hopes, and invigorated his activity. He ſtaid but two days at Leucas, and early in the third morning ſailed for Corinth, not omitting, in the courſe of his voyage, to ravage the Etolian coaſt, particularly the fertile diſtrict of Œanthè. From the harbour of Lechæum he ſent couriers to his allies, deſiring them to meet him in Arcadia, that their united forces might invade Laconia[47]. He then left Lechæum, and on the ſeventh day gained the hills that overlook Sparta, and encamped at Amyclæ, three miles ſouth of that capital. Leaving Amyclæ, famous for its temple and coloſſal ſtatue of Apollo[48], and diſtinguiſhed for its rich variety of trees and fruits, he carried his incurſions ſouthward to the promontory of Tenarus, and then retracing his route, paſſed the city and ſafe harbour of Gythium[49]; from thence ſkirting the inmoſt receſſes of the Laconic gulph, he again proceeded ſouthward to Bæa, near the promontory of Malea the weſtern horn, as it were, of Laconia and Peloponneſus. From cape Malea he returned northward, and waſted the country on every ſide, particularly the beautiful plain of Helos, the largeſt and fineſt diſtrict in the whole territory. A predatory march of four days brought him back to his former encampment at Amyclæ.

His wonderful celerity.

Meanwhile the Spartan king Lycurgus could hardly give credit to Philip's celerity, having juſt heard of his expedition to Thermum, and of the ruin with which he had overwhelmed, only fifteen days before, a place a hundred and fifty miles diſtant from Sparta, and two hundred from cape Malea. While the invaſion raged in the ſouth of his country, Lycurgus had been occupied on the oppoſite frontier, and was returning from Glympes, where he had defeated a body of the allies haſtening to join Philip, according to the inſtructions which, as before ſeen, they had received from that prince. As much elated by this victory as he was enraged at Philip's devaſtations,

[47] Polybius, l. v. c. 17. &. ſeq.
[48] Hiſtory of ancient Greece, c. xiv.
[49] The city Gythium, or Gytheum, is diſtant above two miles from the harbour.

CHAP. XV.

Lycurgus determined that his enemies ſhould not repaſs Sparta without fighting a battle.

Bold operations in the neighbourhood of Sparta.

For underſtanding clearly his diſpoſitions toward this end, it is neceſſary to advert to the ſituation of the Lacedæmonian capital, which, though commonly deſcribed as a round city [50] on a plain, was defended by mountains at no great diſtance from it. The Eurotas flows on the Eaſt of Sparta, a river too deep to be forded during the greateſt part of the year, and whoſe eaſtern margin is roughened by the ridge called Menelaium, from its towering temple of Menelaus, as well as from the tombs of that hero and his too celebrated queen. The hills of Menelaium are of ſufficient altitude to command the ſpace between themſelves and Sparta; which ſpace, including the part occupied by the ſtream, does not exceed three hundred yards in breadth [51]. To interrupt Philip's return through this narrow ground, in his way from Amyclæ, Lycurgus in perſon occupied mount Menelaium, with two thouſand men, and gave orders to the far greater number which remained in the city, as ſoon as they beheld his ſignal, to iſſue from ſeveral gates at once, with their front towards the Eurotas, and in the place where that river flowed neareſt to the city. His orders were obeyed with preciſion. Yet Philip, after twice defeating the Spartans, forced his way through the defile, and encamped ſecurely at its northern extremity, about a quarter of a mile diſtant from Sparta. The poſt which he thus occupied commanded the only acceſs to that city from all the northern parts of Peloponneſus, and was admirably adapted for making ſafe incurſions into the adjacent diſtricts. At breaking up his camp, Philip formed his men in proud array, thus defying his enemies before he began his retreat. As the Spartans ſtirred not from their walls, he converted his order of battle into a column of march. In his return northward he offered ſacrifices of thanks to the mountains Eva and

[50] The circuit of Sparta was 48 ſtadia: that of Megalopolis, 50.; yet the former was the larger city, its form being more nearly that of a circle. Polybius, l. ix. c. 21.

[51] Polybius, l. v. c. 18, et ſeq.

Olympus

Olympus, ſcenes already commemorated in the hiſtory of the Cleomenic war. He made a ſhort halt at Tegea, to diſpoſe of the heavieſt part of his booty; and from thence paſſed through Argos to Corinth.

Philip quells a ſedition raiſed by his miniſters.

The kings of Macedon were never expoſed to greater danger than after ſome briſk tide of proſperity. This peculiarity aroſe from the compoſition and character of their armies. In the battles near Sparta, the targeteers, headed by Leontius and his friends, had carried away the palm of victory. Their natural inſolence, heightened by ſucceſs, broke out into open mutiny, which was quelled by the preſence of mind and ſpirit of the young king.

They are defeated in their machinations, and capitally puniſhed.

Leontius and Megaleas, ſeeing that their ſchemes againſt Philip had redounded to their own diſgrace, ſent for their coadjutor Apelles from Chalcis, that his great dexterity might be exerted towards reeſtabliſhing their influence. To grace his return, they ſent to meet him the moſt diſtinguiſhed diviſions of men whom they commanded. His entrance to Corinth had thus the air of a triumph. But when he haſtened to ſee the king, an attendant told him that Philip was buſy: Apelles diſdained to take a refuſal; the guards, however, were firm in denying him admiſſion. He then perceived that his perfidies had come to light; and the retinue that attended him alſo perceived the downfall of his authority. They immediately left him to the company of his own ſervants; for the eſtimation of men, as Polybius obſerves, is decided at courts, by a trifle; and they are either talents or farthings, juſt as the ſmile or frown of royalty ſtamps the impreſſion on them [52]. Megaleas, when appriſed of the diſgrace of a miniſter through whoſe means he had expected to recover his own credit, no longer endeavoured to maintain his ground. He fled from Corinth, unperceived, during a viſit made by Philip acroſs the gulph to Phocis, the motives for which, at this juncture, are not explained. Megaleas firſt took ſhelter in Athens, but was

[52] Polybius, v. 26.

CHAP. XV.

expelled from that city as an enemy to the king: he afterwards found refuge in Thebes. In the voyage to Phocis, Philip carried with him Apelles, and even admitted him to his table, but without giving him much of his converſation, or any ſhare of his confidence. He ſhortly returned from the northern ſide of the Corinthian gulph to Sicyon, and lodged in the houſe of Aratus, without regard to the affront thereby given to the invitation of Eperatus, actual pretor of the republic. When he learned the flight of Megaleas, he ordered his ſurety, Leontius, to be impriſoned, after he had taken the precaution of removing the targeteers to a diſtance; and though theſe troops clamoured with their uſual licentiouſneſs againſt the confinement of their leader, an incident now happened which enabled the king to ſet their reſentment at defiance. The Etolians, humbled by a long ſeries of misfortunes, had prevailed on the republics of Rhodes and Chios, commercial ſtates, ever friendly to public tranquillity, to uſe their good offices in obtaining for them a truce with Philip, preparatory to a general pacification. To deliberate on this meaſure, Philip ſummoned the deputies of his allies to Patræ, in Achaia. But at this place letters were brought to him, intercepted in Phocis, and written by Megaleas, in name of all the conſpirators, to the Etolians, exhorting them ſtrenuouſly to perſevere in the war. This diſcovery afforded ſuch convincing proofs of guilt, that the Macedonians concurred with their king in condemning Apelles, together with his ſon and Leontius, to death. Perſons were ſent to Thebes to cite Megaleas before the magiſtrates of that place, for the payment of the fine impoſed on him, in order that his perſon might be ſurrendered to a heavier puniſhment. He eſcaped the ſentence of the law by laying violent hands on himſelf[u].

The only ſurvivor amongſt them, Ptolemy, convicted and executed.

The Etolians, when they heard of theſe events, never doubted that the deſtruction of ſo many miniſters and generals would create much confuſion in Philip's government, and much diſſatisfaction in

[u] Ibid. c. 28.

his

his army. Accordingly they broke off the negociation; a circumſtance by no means diſpleaſing to the king. As the winter was now far advanced, he ſent home the Macedonians through Theſſaly, and himſelf ſailed to Demetrias, in that province. In this place he found Ptolemy, an officer of the targeteers, and the only perſon ſtill alive who had been involved in the conſpiracy. Ptolemy was publicly tried by the Macedonians, and, after clear conviction, ſentenced to death [14]. CHAP. XV.

Though all hopes of immediate peace had vaniſhed, various circumſtances kept the armies on both ſides inactive during the firſt weeks of ſpring. New commotions in Sparta had driven Lycurgus from his country; and it was not until his return, that the Lacedæmonians reſumed courage to co-operate with their Elian and Etolian allies. The northern frontiers of Macedon were invaded by hovering hordes of Dardanians. Before marching into Greece, Philip was obliged to fortify his dominions on that ſide, and particularly the valley, watered by the Axius, in Pæonia [15], the eaſieſt route from Dardania into Macedon. A conſiderable body of Macedonians, under Taurion in Peloponneſus, was obliged to keep on the defenſive, becauſe, through the bad adminiſtration of the pretor Eperatus, the Achæan army had dwindled to a mere ſhadow. But when the month of May came round, the elder Aratus was, for the ſixteenth time, named to the pretorſhip. Under his direction, a decree paſſed for raiſing eight thouſand infantry and five hundred horſe; to which body of mercenaries the Achæans were to add three thouſand foot and three hundred cavalry, all to be choſen from the wealthieſt portion of their citizens, and to ſerve at their own expence. They were alſo to guard with ſtout gallies the coaſt of Argolis; and a ſquadron in the Corinthian gulph was to be kept in readineſs for infeſting the

State of the belligerent powers. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

[14] Id. l. v. c. 29.

[15] The Dardanians had recently made an incurſion that way, and taken the city Bylazor, the largeſt in Pæonia. Philip expelled the enemy from this place, and ſecured the paſſes leading to it. Polyb. l. 5. c. 97.

Etolians.

CHAP. XV.

Etolians. Shortly after this reſolution, operations commenced by reciprocal incurſions: theſe open inroads were accompanied by ſurpriſes in the night and ambuſhes by day; but no pitched battle was fought, nor did any place of importance change maſters. The Achæan fleet made ſeveral bold deſcents on the coaſt of Etolia, near Naupactus, and carried off much booty and many priſoners, among whom Cleonicus, a citizen of Naupactus, becauſe he had been connected in hoſpitality with the Achæans, was enlarged without ranſom [56]. His companions were ſold for ſlaves. The generous treatment of Cleonicus, though not unuſual on ſimilar occaſions, engaged him to prolong his ſtay in Achaia until Philip's arrival there, by whom we ſhall ſee him employed a few months afterwards in the negociations for peace.

Aratus dexterouſly adjuſts the differences among the Megalopolitans.

Amidſt the tumult of military operations, Aratus was for a ſhort time employed in a tranſaction peculiarly ſuitable to his character. The citizens of Megalopolis, ſince the diſaſters with which they had been afflicted in the Cleomenic war, had been a prey to thoſe diſcontents which indigence is apt to create, even among a generous and high-minded people. Warm debates prevailed about the manner of rebuilding their city. One party contended that the ancient circuit of their walls, above five miles in extent, ought to be much contracted. Beſides this alteration, which they repreſented as eſſential to ſecurity, they inſiſted that the richer citizens ſhould ſeverally relinquiſh a third part of their lands, in order to obtain an acceſſion of new inhabitants. The other party abſolutely refuſed to liſten to either of theſe propoſals. Their diſſent was ſanctioned by Prytanis, the peripatetic [57], a man of great learning and authority, whom Antigonus Doſon had formerly ſent to Megalopolis to reform the laws of that ſtate. But in the heat of faction, the reaſonings of the philoſopher were diſregarded, or became the ſource of freſh diſcord.

[56] Id. v. 95.

[57] Και τουτης της αιρεσεως (viz. Ariſtotleiſm). How much Ariſtotle was an enemy to agrarian laws, and ſimilar interferences with private property, appears from the 2d book of his politicks throughout.

The

CHAP. XV.

The dexterity of Aratus, whoſe whole life had united buſineſs with ſtudy, proved more ſucceſsful. Through his ſkilful interpoſition, the parties in Megalopolis were perfectly reconciled to each other; and the conditions of their agreement were recorded on a pillar erected near Ægium, the ſeat of the Achæan council. In a grove adjacent to that city, a temple had been dedicated to Jupiter, "the lover of concord and protector of confederacies." Such an edifice ſeemed a fit receptacle for a marble record, commemorating the accommodation of all differences in Megalopolis, and its determined fidelity to the Achæan league[88].

Philip takes Thebes, in Phthiotis. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

Meanwhile Philip moved his army from Macedon, and began his campaign by an enterpriſe more immediately uſeful to himſelf. This was to expel the Etolians from their ſtrongholds extending along the ſouthern frontier of Theſſaly, from the eaſtern extremity of Etolia to the Ægean ſea. At Melitæa, one of the ſtrongeſt of theſe fortreſſes, he failed in his aſſault through the ſhortneſs of his ladders. After an obſtinate ſiege, he gained however Thebes, in Phthiotis, a place ſtill more important, ſince, commanding the entrance of the Pelaſgic gulph, it ſtood conveniently for infeſting all the neighbouring diſtricts of Theſſaly[89]. Philip then proceeded to Peloponneſus, to grace with his preſence the Nemean games, which were ready to be celebrated at Argos. While he ſat at this ſolemnity, a meſſenger arrived from Macedon, bringing news of the famous battle of Thraſymenus, in Tuſcany, where Hannibal had defeated the Romans, and driven them from the open country within their walls. New Ambaſſadors arrived alſo from Rhodes and Chios, now accompanied by thoſe of Egypt[90] and Byzantium, all earneſtly deſirous of compoſing the differences that had too long reigned in Greece. Philip declared, as before, his readineſs to liſten to them, provided they could bring the Etolians to reaſonable terms. The ambaſſadors re-

News of Hannibal's victories brought to him at Argos.

Negociations for peace, through the intervention of maritime

[88] Pol. l. v. 93
[89] Pol. l. v. 99

[90] From Ptolemy Philopator, then in the fifth year of his profligate reign.

paired

CHAP. XV.

and commercial powers.

paired with this agreeable news to Etolia; but, before their return, the king had been ſtrongly urged by Demetrius of Pharus, a man whoſe character will ſoon appear in its proper light, to put an end to the wars in Greece, and direct his views towards Italy. He therefore ſent Cleonicus of Naupactus to ſoften, as much as poſſible, the fierce minds of his countrymen, but at the ſame time proceeded himſelf with his army to the Elian frontier, and ſtormed the city Laſion, that he might not ſeem too eager for peace. Cleonicus repaſſed ſeveral times between him and the Etolians, and finally returned with aſſurances, that the magiſtrates of that people wiſhed only for a perſonal conference with the king, in which all differences might be adjuſted. Philip, in order to ſecond this diſpoſition, proceeded to Panormus, a harbour in Achaia directly oppoſite to Naupactus in Etolia; writing at the ſame time to his allies to ſend thither their deputies, empowered to treat of a general pacification. While he expected their arrival, he, with his uſual activity, viſited Zacynthus, and ſettled to his own ſatisfaction the affairs of that iſland. The deputies had now joined him: the Etolians ſtill preſſed the negociation: but Philip, in order completely to ſatisfy his doubts concerning that turbulent people, ſent to them the elder Aratus and Taurion to penetrate their real intentions [61].

End of the ſocial war.

In one ſhort conference, theſe able men fully ſatisfied themſelves that the Etolians were ſincere. They returned therefore without delay, bringing with them ambaſſadors to requeſt that Philip would paſs into Etolia, for the purpoſe of accommodating all diſputes, more eaſily, in a perſonal interview with their magiſtrates. Philip embarked his troops, ſailed acroſs the Corinthian gulph, and encamped at the diſtance of two miles from Naupactus. The Etolians aſſembled without arms at a ſmall diſtance from his camp. The negociation began by a propoſal from Philip, in the name of his allies, that peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the baſis of actual poſſeſſion. The

[61] Id. c. 101. & ſeq.

Etolians conſented to this principle, though highly unfavourable to them, becauſe they had loſt in the war many important ſtrongholds. But ſeveral conferences were requiſite for ſettling all matters in detail, in one of which Agelaus of Naupactus ſpoke to the following purpoſe: "It were moſt earneſtly to be wiſhed, that the Greeks had always kept peace amongſt themſelves, and directed their hoſtilities againſt ſurrounding Barbarians. But that which would have been good policy at all times, is in the preſent juncture a matter of neceſſity. Conſider the great and ambitious powers that have ariſen in the weſt, and the vaſt exertions which they have been able to make by ſea and land. They are actually engaged in a ſecond and more deſperate conflict; and whichever party prevails, think not that the victor will be contented with the ſpoils of his preſent adverſary. He will look around him for new enemies, that may furniſh him with materials for richer and more glorious triumphs. Inſtead of reducing to weakneſs and deſpondency any of the ſtates of Greece, a king of Macedon ought to cheriſh them all, as members of his own body. The ſtrength, reſulting from ſuch concord, will probably prevent aggreſſion; if not, cordial co-operation will moſt certainly enable us to repel it. Placed at the head of united Greece and a watchful obſerver of foreign powers, Philip may ſeize opportunities for ſucceſsful enterprize, that will place him in a rank with the moſt illuſtrious princes in his family; conquerors and civiliſers of the world. Let us then haſten to conclude a laſting peace in the ſincere ſpirit of amity; for, if we continue to grow weaker by unceaſing diviſions, and the ſtorm which threatens in the weſt ſhould aſſail us unprepared, I much fear there will be an end at once to our wars and our treaties, and all independent power in the management of our own affairs[62]." The ſentiments of Agelaus met with much approbation from all preſent, eſpecially from the king; and a general peace was concluded

Prophetic ſpeech of Agelaus of Naupactus. Olymp. cxl. 4. B. C. 217.

[62] Id. c. 104.

CHAP. XV.

State of Greece at the end of the ſocial war.—Peloponneſians.

on the terms which Philip had propoſed. In conſequence of this tranſaction, the ſtates of Peloponneſus obtained a breathing time, after the long wars in which their love of liberty had involved them. No people were better calculated than the Peloponneſians for innocent rural labours, and for enjoying with moderation all thoſe gifts which induſtry and good polity bear in their train. Yet their unquenchable zeal for freedom, kept them in perpetual agitation and warfare after the principal ſtates beyond the iſthmus had ſubmitted to a tranquil ſervitude. Theſſaly had long been a province of Macedon; the Athenians unambitious of aſſuming their ancient rank, were contented with averting hoſtility by flattery, indecent, indiſcriminate, and under their preſent magiſtrates, Euricleidas and Micion, carried to ſuch an extravagant exceſs, as made it alike diſgraceful to its objects and its authors. Yet the Bœotians had ſunk ſtill lower than any of their neighbours. Not ſatisfied with abandoning all concern for the public affairs of Greece, they could ſcarcely be brought to pay the ſmalleſt attention to thoſe of their own community. Dead to every intereſt of the preſent age and poſterity, they thought of nothing but how to paſs the fleeting hour in undiſturbed jollity. Thoſe who were without children left their whole property to the clubs in which they had been accuſtomed to revel; and even many parents, to the impoveriſhment of their own offspring, bequeathed the greateſt part of their fortunes to ſome contemptible uſe: ſo prevalent was this madneſs among them, that many Bœotians had a right to partake of more club-dinners monthly, than there were days in the month [63].

Republics beyong the iſthmus,—Their degeneracy and profligacy.

Upon the concluſion of the war, Timoxenus was for the ſecond time, appointed pretor of the Achæans. He was ſo entirely devoted to Aratus, that the whole weight of his office centered in his patron.

Aratus and Agelaus reſpectively at the head of Achaia and Etolia.

[63] Polybius deſcribes this ſottiſh ſtate of the Bœotians under Olymp. cxlvi. 4. but he obſerves, that it began twenty-five years ſooner.

At

CHAP. XV.

At the autumnal equinox, four months afterwards, Agelaus was raiſed to the ſame dignity among the Etolians; an appointment highly ſeaſonable, as that turbulent people had already grown weary of peace, which to them ſeemed idleneſs [64]. But Agelaus forced them, much againſt their inclination, to obſerve the conditions of the treaty which he had ſo happily procured for them.

[64] Id. c. 107.

CHAPTER XVI.

Apollonia in Illyricum Contracts an Alliance with Rome.—The Romans uſurp on the Carthaginians.—Indignation of Hamilcar Barcas.—His Plans of Vengeance.—Depredations of Illyrian Pirates.—Romans reduce Queen Teuta.—Their firſt Embaſſy to the States of Greece.—Expel Demetrius of Pharus from Illyricum.—His Flight to Philip of Macedon.—Hannibal ſacks the Greek City Saguntum.—Philip's Conqueſts in Illyricum.—Second Punic War.—Hieron of Syracuſe.—His wiſe Policy at Home and Abroad.—His Succeſſor Hieronymus.—Siege of Syracuſe.—Sicilians, their Glory in Arts and Letters.—Oppreſſion and Degradation under the Romans.—Battle of Zama.—Peace granted to Carthage.

CHAP. XVI.

Connection of this hiſtory. Olymp. cxli. 1. B. C. 216.

THE termination of the ſocial war is the firſt hiſtorical event, in which the affairs of the Eaſt received their impulſe and direction from thoſe of the Weſt. The great victories, gained by Hannibal in Italy, inſpired Philip with the reſolution of accommodating all differences between Greece and Macedon, in hopes of employing their united ſtrength[1] againſt the powerful weſtern republic, which, by her conqueſts in Illyria, only two years before this period, had carried her victorious arms to the very door of his kingdom. The cauſes producing theſe conqueſts remounted to an early origin, and afford a new proof that the hiſtory of the world is only to be connected and embodied by a diligent attention to that of the Greeks, a ſeafaring and commercial people, alike enterprizing and politic.

Apollonia in Illyricum.—Its condi-

The country, anciently called Illyria or Illyricum, formed, as it were, the counterpart to Italy on the oppoſite ſide of the Hadriatic;

[1] Polybius, l. v. c. 105—108.

theſe

CHAP. XVI.

theſe long ſtrips[2] of territory nearly balancing each other, and either of them being nearly commenſurate to the intervening gulph. The inlet to this gulph is formed by a ſtrait of forty miles between the heel of Italy and the Acroceraunian mountains, which mark the northern frontier of Epirus. Immediately beyond this boundary, part of the Illyrian ſhore had been early occupied and planted by a chain of Greek colonies; Apollonia, Epidamnus, and Epidaurus, even to the little iſland of Pharus adjacent to the maritime diſtrict, ſtill well known under the name of Dalmatia. Apollonia[3], the firſt-mentioned of theſe Greek cities, ſtood ſix miles from the ſea: its harbour was directly oppoſite to that of Brandufium in Italy; and, as a ſtation for ſhips, deſerved the praiſe of conveneincy even on a ſhore having generally deep water, and as abundant in good harbours as the correſponding coaſt of Italy is remarkably deficient in them. Thus favourably ſituate with regard to the ſea, the territory of the little republic was on the land ſide ſometimes infeſted by inroads, and always expoſed to danger. About the time of Pyrrhus' repulſe from Italy, the Apollonians trembled for their independence. They regarded the native Illyrians as irreclaimable Barbarians; they dreaded Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon as a prince equally inſidious and rapacious; and the friendſhip of the Romans, who had recently defeated the Epirots, alſo dangerous neighbours to Apollonia, ſeemed to promiſe the beſt ſecurity againſt the eventual projects of any of the warlike powers, by which their flouriſhing little commonwealth was environed.

tion previous to Olymp. cxxviii. 3. B. C. 265.

Accordingly, the Romans had no ſooner occupied Brundufium, than ambaſſadors ſailed thither from Apollonia, to congratulate with them on the ſucceſs of their arms againſt Pyrrhus, and to ſolicit an alliance with their commonwealth. The ſtrangers were eſcorted to Rome, received honourably, and favourably anſwered. But a quar-

Admitted into an alliance with Rome. Olymp. cxxviii. 3. B. C. 266.

[2] The Greeks conſidered Illyricum as extending thirty journies in length and five in breadth. The Romans found it by admeaſurement 600 miles long and 120 broad. Appian. Illyric. ſub Init.

[3] Vid. Strabo, l. vii. p. 316. & ſeq.

rel

CHAP. XVI.

rel falling out between them and ſome young Patricians, the ambaſſadors were inſulted even with blows. The Romans, inſtead of abetting this brutality in their countrymen, determined ſeverely to puniſh it. The culprits, though two of their number at that time held the honourable office of Edile, were ſolemnly ſurrendered into the hands of the injured Apollonians, that they might be carried home with them under a proper guard, and ſubjected to whatever vengeance the magiſtrates of the Greek ſtate thought fit to inflict. Theſe magiſtrates examined the affair, diſpaſſionately and indulgently; and their proceedings equally politic and liberal, converted into warm friends a number of young patricians, afterwards of much weight in their country [4]. Shortly after this tranſaction, Rome was totally occupied in the firſt Punic war for twenty-four years; and, after its concluſion, half that ſpace of time elapſed before as protectreſs of Apollonia, ſhe ſent her legions acroſs the Hadriatic, and interpoſed, as we ſhall ſee preſently, in the affairs of the adjacent countries with equal efficiency and dignity.

The Romans ſeize Sardinia. Olymp. cxxxv. 3. B. C. 238.

During the interval of twenty-three years between her two memorable conflicts with Carthage, her jealous attention was chiefly directed towards that ſtate, which, though deprived of its boaſted ſuperiority at ſea, diveſted of its rich poſſeſſions in Sicily, and even ſubjected to a diſgraceful tribute, ſtill enjoyed the means of again rendering itſelf formidable. The Carthaginians poſſeſſed an extenſive territory; they were an induſtrious and frugal people; they commanded the rich inland traffic of Africa; and they were ſurrounded by numerous Nomadic nations, whom they had contrived to render, both in war and in commerce, entirely ſubſervient to their intereſts. But, after the return of their armies from Sicily, they were engaged for three years in a diſgraceful and dangerous conflict [5] with the numerous foreign mercenaries, always maintained by their re-

[4] Conf. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xv. Dion. Caſſ. Zonaras, & Valer. Maxim. l. vi. c. 6.

[5] Polybius, l. i. c. 65. & ſeq.

public.

public. Their general Hanno was unfortunate. The command was entruſted to his rival Hamilcar Barcas, who finiſhed an odious and diſguſting conteſt, remarkable only for the cruelty and perfidy with which it was, on both ſides, carried on. During the height of this domeſtic commotion, the mercenaries ſerving in Sardinia imitated thoſe of the capital. They deſtroyed the Carthaginian traders, and were themſelves deſtroyed or expelled by the indignant natives of the iſland. Among the expelled mercenaries, many were Campanians, whoſe return into Italy appriſed the Romans of an opportunity highly ſeaſonable for gaining poſſeſſion of Sardinia. The conqueſt was eaſily effected; and when the Carthaginians armed with a view to recover their dependancy, the threat of new hoſtilities on the part of Rome, made them not only cede all claim to the iſland, but conſent to increaſe their ſtipulated contributions by the additional ſum of 1,200 talents [6]. Their tameneſs in ſubmitting to ſuch demands might be occaſioned by the deep wounds which they had recently received in two ſucceſſive wars. But long before this time, their government had begun to experience the factious diſcontents incident to tyrannical and jealous ariſtocracies [7]. Wealth was the great ſource of all public diſtinction; and the wealthy, who had engroſſed every preferment and honour, were fearful of war, and jealous of popular generals; ſolicitous chiefly for their pecuniary intereſts, inſenſible to public renown and national glory, and careleſs, as we ſhall ſee, of any other victories and conqueſts, but thoſe accompanied with the proſpect of extending commerce and augmenting revenue.

Other uſurpations on Carthage.

Such was the character of the greater number; but ſuch was not that of Hamilcar Barcas. We have ſeen this general quit Sicily, frowning on the Romans for their pride, and on his own countrymen for their meanneſs. His ſucceſsful termination of the war

Indignation of Hamilcar Barcas.

[6] Conf. Polybius, l. i. c. 88. & l. iii. c. 10. Polybius, l. vi. c. 51. & Tit. Liv. l. xxx.

[7] Conf. Ariſtot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9. & c. 40.

againſt

CHAP. XVI.

againſt the mercenaries, rendered it impoſſible for his enemies to diſcharge and diſmiſs his abilities with the occaſion that had required them. He was ſent to command in Spain, where the Carthaginians had long ſucceeded to the ſtubborn undertakings and bold enterpriſes of their Tyrian anceſtors. The magiſtrates of Carthage flattered themſelves with the hope of compenſating late loſſes, by making the complete conqueſt of a country rich in the precious metals beyond every other in antiquity; and Hamilcar hoped in this command, which he ſhould ſeem to have determined never to lay down, to form an army, qualified, as his country had now yielded its predominancy at ſea, to attack the Romans by land, and to counterbalance their acquiſitions in Sicily by a ſucceſsful invaſion of Italy. After nine years employed in extending the Carthaginian power and in creating a well-diſciplined force, he fell in an obſcure battle with the natives [8]. His ſon-in-law Aſdrubal aſſumed his place in the army, and was confirmed in it by the government of Carthage. During eight years, he proſecuted the deſigns of his predeceſſor, when he alſo was ſlain, ſtill more ingloriouſly, by the hand of a ſlave to avenge the blood of his maſter [9]. Beſides great acceſſions of territory, acquired by policy [10] as well as arms, Aſdrubal's adminiſtration was ſignaliſed by building New Carthage [11], a city in the neighbourhood of rich mines, and admirably ſituate for commerce. His perpetual encroachments were viewed with much uneaſineſs by two Greek cities on the eaſtern coaſt, Emporiæ a colony of Maſſilia, and Saguntum a colony of Zacynthus [12]. Like Apollonia on a ſimilar occaſion, Saguntum had recourſe to Rome, and was ſoon afterwards admitted into confederacy with that commonwealth; which had bound Aſdrubal [13] by treaty that he ſhould not paſs the river

His command in Spain, and that of his ſon in-law Aſdrubal. Olymp. cxxxv. 4. cxl. 1. B. C. 237—220.

[8] Polybius, l. ii. c. 1. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 6. l. xxi. c. 1, 2.

[9] Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 21. & l. xxi. c. 2, & Polyb. l. ii. c. 36.

[10] Polybius, ibid.

[11] Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 31.

[12] Strabo, l. iii. p. 110. Conf. Appian de Reb. Punic. l. vii. c. 2.

[13] Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 13. l. iii. c. 27.

Iberus

Iberus with an army, nor violate the ſecurity of her allies. We ſhall ſee how little theſe articles were reſpected by his ſucceſſor Hannibal.

Depredations of Illyrian pirates. Olymp. cxxxvii. 2—4. B. C. 231—229.

Meanwhile the Romans employed themſelves in a highly honourable undertaking on the eaſtern ſide of the Hadriatic. The maritime diſtricts [14] in Illyricum, united under a chief named Agron, began to create much terror by their boldneſs in piracy [15]. The navies of Athens and Corinth were no more; Rhodes and Byzantium were remote; Egypt was at a ſtill greater diſtance, and the war gallies, equipped by Ptolemy Philadelphus, had been allowed, through the careleſſneſs of his ſucceſſor, to rot in their harbours. Thus unawed by any Greek power, the Illyrian freebooters extended their depredations from the inmoſt receſs of the Hadriatic to the ſouthern extremity of Peloponneſus. Agron, who is ſtiled king of the Illyrians, having finiſhed by intemperance a life ſuſtained by rapine, was ſucceeded by his queen Teuta, who exerciſed her authority by Scerdilaidas, kinſman to her late huſband, and Demetrius of Pharus, a ſmall iſland on her coaſt inhabited by a Greek colony [16]. Teuta was eager to proſecute the lucrative career that had opened to her country. Private corſairs were more numerous than ever; and a public armament, more conſiderable than any equipped by Agron, gained poſſeſſion of Phænicê the moſt convenient ſea-port in Epirus. Complaints were brought to the Romans from both ſides of the Hadriatic; from their ſubjects in Magna Græcia; from Epidamnus, Epidaurus, above all, Apollonia, their oldeſt ally in Illyricum.

Teuta, queen of the Illyrians, cauſes the aſſaſſination of a Roman ambaſſador. Olymp. cxxxvii. 4. B. C. 229.

Accordingly, an embaſſy was ſent by the ſenate to remonſtrate with queen Teuta againſt the obnoxious proceedings of her people. The ambaſſadors, two Coruncanii, found the queen engaged in the ſiege of Ilia, and with difficulty obtained an audience, in the progreſs of which, Teuta diſplayed much impatience and haughtineſs. When

[14] Thoſe of the Taulantii, Ardyæi, Liburni, &c. Thucydid, Strabo, Polybius, and Stephan. Illyric.

[15] From the iſle of Paros. Diodor. l. xv. f. 13.

CHAP. XVI.

their diſcourſe was ended, ſhe replied coldly, "that the Romans ſhould not, ſhe truſted, have reaſon to complain of any public injury; but that it was not cuſtomary with the kings of Illyricum to reſtrain their ſubjects from profiting individually by the ſea." The younger of the brothers, Lucius Coruncanius, already piqued at her diſdainful behaviour, replied ſharply, "but it is cuſtomary with the Romans to exact public reparation for private wrongs, and in all caſes to right the injured. With the help of the gods! we ſhall therefore reform the kingly maxims of Illyricum." The pride of Teuta was unable to brook ſuch language: ſhe diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors from her preſence; and knowing no bounds in her reſentment, purſued them in their way home, and deſtroyed by aſſaſſins the ſpeaker of the words by which ſhe deemed herſelf inſulted [17].

Succeſsful war againſt her by the conſuls Fulvius and Poſthumius. Olymp. cxxxvii. 4. B. C. 229.

The Romans learned with much indignation this daring affront to the majeſty of their commonwealth. They levied troops, and haſtened to equip a fleet. Before they arrived in Illyricum, Teuta had made an unſucceſsful attempt to ſurprize the city of Epidamnus. Her arms were more fortunate at Corcyra. Demetrius of Pharus was left with a garriſon to maintain this important conqueſt, while the greater part of the troops returned to Epidamnus, in order to reſume their operations againſt that valuable harbour. Another body of Illyrians ſtill carried on the ſiege of Iſſa. Such the conſul Fulvius found the ſituation of affairs when he croſſed the Hadriatic with two hundred ſhips of war. But he found alſo that diſguſts had ariſen between Demetrius of Pharus and his imperious miſtreſs. This diſcovery made him direct his courſe for Corcyra. Demetrius welcomed his arrival, and ſurrendered to him the garriſon with which he had been entruſted. The Corcyrians alſo received him with open arms, hoping, through help from the Romans, to be delivered from the yoke of the Illyrians [18].

[17] Polybius, l. ii. c. 2—8.

[18] Id. l. ii. c. 9. &c ſeq.

CHAP. XVI.

The defection of Demetrius ruined the affairs of Teuta. He accompanied Fulvius to Apollonia, and ſtrenuouſly co-operated with him in all his meaſures. Shortly afterwards, the conſul Poſthumius arrived alſo at Apollonia, with 20,000 foot and 2,000 horſe. The combined ſtrength of the conſuls brought relief ſucceſſively to Epidamnus and Iſſa; and cauſed the ſieges of theſe places to be raiſed. At Iſſa, a part of the beſieging army revolted to Demetrius. Under his guidance, the Romans invaded the maritime parts of Illyricum, and received all the more valuable diſtricts into their protection. Queen Teuta, with a handful of forces, was compelled to retire inland to a ſtronghold called Rizon, watered by a river of the ſame name. The Romans rewarded the ſervices of Demetrius by annexing ſuch extenſive territories to his little iſland of Pharus, as made him a conſiderable potentate on the eaſtern ſhore of the Hydriatic. The conſul Fulvius then returned to Italy with the greater part of the fleet and army. His colleague Poſthumius retained only forty ſhips, and wintered in Illyricum with a ſmall body of troops, reinforced by levies in that country [19].

Teuta ſubmits and pays tribute for the narrow dominions left to her. Olymp. cxxxviii. 1. B. C. 228.

Early in the ſpring, Teuta anticipated further proceedings againſt her, by a ſuppliant embaſſy to Rome. She ſtipulated to cede all her dominions, a few places, and thoſe of ſmall importance, excepted; to pay tribute even for the little that was left her; and never to navigate beyond Liſſus, her moſt ſouthern harbour, in more than two veſſels, and thoſe unarmed. Theſe conditions being admitted by the ſenate, the conſul Poſthumius notified to the principal ſtates of Greece, then living in peace under the virtuous controul of Antigonus Doſon, the beginning and concluſion of a war, which ſo nearly concerned them. A bare recital of facts, formed the higheſt panegyrick of the Romans. They had avenged the violated laws of heralds, deemed of all things the moſt ſacred; they had puniſhed pirates whoſe enormities were openly profeſſed and inſultingly vindicated;

The firſt embaſſy of the Romans to the ſtates of Greece. Olymp. cxxxviii. 1. B. C. 228.

[19] Polybius, l. ii. c. 11. & ſeq.

CHAP. XVI.

and they had reduced to the loweſt humiliation a ſtate riſing faſt in power, and marking every ſtep of its progreſs by new aggravations of outrage. The Achæans, Etolians, Athenians, Corinthians all vied with each other in their reſpectful treatment of the firſt Roman ambaſſadors that ever appeared in Ancient [19] Greece. The Corinthians admitted them to the Iſthmian games, then ready to be celebrated, and even conferred on the Romans the right of participating thenceforward in a ſolemnity, till then excluſively appropriated to the Grecian name [20].

Depredations of the Illyrians under Demetrius and Scerdilaidas. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. cxl. 1. B. C. 222—220.

For ſeven years after this period, the Illyrians were entitled to the comparative praiſe of committing few injuries. Queen Teuta abdicated her government, in favour of Scerdilaidas, kinſman to her late huſband. Scerdilaidas, as ſucceſſor to Teuta, was bound by treaty, and Demetrius of Pharus was bound by fealty and gratitude, to reſpect the commands impoſed on them by Rome. But when the Romans were infeſted by thoſe Gallic inroads, which ended only four years before the commencement of the ſecond Punic war, and which made them muſter and employ their whole forces in Italy, Demetrius and Scerdilaidas, preſuming on impunity, began to collect ſhips, and renew their depredations. Demetrius, in particular, plundered the Roman allies or ſubjects in Illyricum, and ſubdued ſeveral of their cities [21]: and then uniting with Scerdilaidas, ſailed beyond Iſſus with ſeventy armed veſſels, and extended his ravages to the leſſer iſlands of the Ægean. The Rhodians, indeed, prepared to reſtrain theſe enormities; but the Greeks on the continent, having engaged in the ſocial war, were leſs ſolicitous about extirpating the Illyrian pirates, than deſirous of obtaining their diſhonourable aid in diſtreſſing each other [22].

The conſul Emilius ſails to Illyricum

Meanwhile the Romans ſaw that a ſecond conflict with Carthage was inevitable, though they little imagined that Hannibal would

[19] The Romans were maſters of the continental part of Magna Græcia, and already connected by embaſſies with Apollonia a Greek colony, and Egypt a Greek conqueſt.

[20] Polybius, l. ii. c. 11.

[21] Id. l. iii. c. 16.

[22] Id. l. iv. c. 16.

CHAP. XVI.

and expels Demetrius of Pharus from that country. Olymp. cxl. 2. B. C. 219.

have commenced hoſtilities ſo ſoon by taking Saguntum, and then carrying his arms into Italy. They determined therefore to employ the preſent interval of tranquillity in chaſtiſing the defection of Demetrius, and thereby maintaining that ſort of authority, which reſulted from their valour and renown, among the nations eaſt of the Hadriatic. Without any formal declaration of war againſt a rebel who, to his other odious crimes, added the blackeſt ingratitude, the conſul Emilius ſailed with a powerful armament to Illyricum. Demetrius anticipated the arrival of the enemy, by deſtroying all thoſe of his ſubjects whoſe reſentment he dreaded, and then committing his inferior cities to perſons in whom he put moſt truſt, reinforced his two principal ſtrongholds of Dimalus on the continent, and Pharus in the iſland of the ſame name, with ſuch ſupplies of men, proviſions, and military ſtores, as might enable them to reſiſt a long ſiege. Emilius began the war by making approaches to Dimalus on various ſides at once, and gained it by ſtorm on the ſeventh day. The inferior places in the neighbourhood all ſubmitted through terror; but Demetrius with ſix thouſand choſen men had thrown himſelf into Pharus. The conſul, upon ſailing thither and examining the place, perceived that a regular ſiege muſt be attended with much delay and many difficulties. He therefore choſe a dark night for landing into the iſland the greater part of his troops, who concealed themſelves till morning, in hollow dens thickly covered with wood. At dawn he appeared off the harbour with twenty veſſels; the Illyrians ruſhed from their gates to obſtruct his landing; as the battle grew warm, new numbers flocked from Pharus to ſupport thoſe already engaged with the enemy, until nearly the whole of the Illyrians had quitted the defence of their walls. At this criſis, the Romans emerged from their ambuſh, and ſeized a ſtrong poſt between the deſerted city and the ſcene of action round the harbour. Demetrius ſuddenly changed his front and courageouſly aſſailed thoſe newly diſcovered adverſaries. But he was routed and put to flight; a few

CHAP. XVI.

a few of his men gained the city; many reached, by difficult paths, ſecret lurking places in the iſland: he himſelf eſcaped to a brigantine, which his guilty fears made him keep always ready for ſea on a deſert part of the coaſt, and in which he inſtantly embarked, to fly from his country and the Romans, to whom the taking of Dimalus and Pharus gave poſſeſſion of all Illyricum [23]. Scerdilaidas, we know, was pardoned and afterwards protected by the victors; but what regulations they made for deriving benefit to themſelves from the conqueſt, or in what manner, and under what conditions, the territory was divided among their allies, hiſtory does not record.

Demetrius of Pharus flies to king Philip. Olymp. cxl. 2. B. C. 219.

Demetrius of Pharus ſought refuge with king Philip, to whom his valour and misfortunes failed not to recommend him [24]. His veſſel found that of the young prince on the Ambracian gulph, Philip being then on his way homeward to prepare for his famous expedition into Etolia [25]. Demetrius, at the king's deſire, ſailed to Corinth, and thence proceeded through Theſſaly to Macedon. There, he was admitted into the number of the king's friends; and, as with his trade of a corſair, he could ſeaſonably intermix the arts of a courtier, he gradually acquired a great and pernicious aſcendency over the Macedonian councils. His influence is ſaid to have occaſioned the rapacious and ſacrilegious proceedings at Thermum; for Philip's great youth made his behaviour peculiarly liable to be moulded at will by his favourites, who ſtamped it alternately with the impreſſions of their oppoſite characters. Whenever he quitted the honourable path chalked out to him by Aratus and Chryſogonus, and behaved either cruelly to his enemies, or imperiouſly to his allies, men knew by whoſe ſentiments he had been guided as ſurely as if they had overheard his deliberations. The unfeeling Taurion, the unprincipled Demetrius, villains who defied alike cenſure and danger, were known in ſuch caſes to be his adviſers [26].

[23] Polybius, l. iii. c. 18. Conf. l. iv. c. 37. 66. l. xxxii. c. 19.

[24] Id. ibid.

[25] See above, c. xv. p. 84.

[26] Polybius, l. v. c. 12. Conf. l. ix. c. 23.

At

CHAP. XVI.

At the inſtigation chiefly of Demetrius, Philip involved himſelf in hoſtilities with Rome and her allies, which laſted for a period of twenty years, but of which the longeſt portion is eclipſed in hiſtory, being contemporary with the ſecond war between the Romans and Carthaginians, more properly called the war of Hannibal, ſince that general ſhould ſeem to have undertaken it without the authority of his country [27], and certainly carried it on without any aſſiſtance from Carthage.

Encourages him to make war on the Romans.

From his earlieſt years Hannibal had been inſpired with relentleſs hatred to the Romans; the daring views of Hamilcar had been opened to him [28], and the vengeful ſoul of the father revived in the ſon, and flamed in his fiery breaſt with new intenſity. During three years, he ſerved under Aſdrubal in Spain, the terror of the Spaniſh enemy, the idol of the Carthaginian army; by which, on the death of its general, he was called to the chief command. His preferment was ratified at Carthage: to diſpute it would only have ſhewn the weakneſs of that government. Maſter of an army diſciplined in ſeventeen campaigns, he ſpeedily completed the conqueſt of all Spain ſouth of the Iberus, except the ſingle Greek city Saguntum. This place he next inveſted with an army, it is ſaid, 150,000 ſtrong. The Saguntines defended themſelves eight months with equal ſkill and bravery; and when the ſack of their city ſeemed inevitable, endeavoured, by deſtroying their moſt precious effects, to render the conqueſt of little value. Hannibal, however, recovered much gold and ſilver, highly uſeful to him in his tranſactions with the Gauls, who lay on his road to Italy. He ſaved alſo much elegant furniture, and much valuable merchandiſe, which, being uſeleſs to himſelf, he tranſported into Carthage. The inhabitants of Saguntum were either put to the ſword, or divided as ſlaves among his ſoldiers [29].

Hannibal ſacks Saguntum. Olymp. cxl. 2. B. C. 219.

[27] Fabius apud Polyb. l. iii. c. 8.
[28] Id. l. iii. c. 11.
[29] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 4. & ſeq. & Polybius, l. iii. c. 13. & ſeq.

After

CHAP. XVI.

Croſſes the Alps into Italy. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

After this bloody prelude, he went into winter-quarters in New Carthage. The ſpring recalled him to the field: his brother Aſdrubal was appointed to command in Spain; and, after all fit preparations, Hannibal undertook his long projected invaſion of Italy. In the ſpace of five months, he advanced from New Carthage to the foot of the Alps. In fifteen days, he croſſed theſe mountains[30]. From characteriſtic circumſtances[31], ſpecified in the military hiſtorian Polybius, his march over the Alps ſhould ſeem to have lain through Chambery, Montmelian, Montier, and the little St. Bernard. It extended above a hundred miles in direct diſtance, from the commencement of the aſcent at a place called Echelles, to Ivrée, the ancient Eporedia, near to which the mountains firſt open into the great northern plain of Italy. This plain Hannibal entered with an army reduced to 20,000 infantry and 6,000 horſe; part of forty elephants which he had taken with him alſo remained. They had rewarded his trouble in conducting them over ſo many obſtacles, by the terror which their formidable appearance in armour inſpired into the barbarous nations on his route[32].

Military reſources of that country.

With this inconſiderable force he had invaded a country, the circumſtances of which might have deterred from ſuch an undertaking even the moſt romantic valour. Seven years before his expedition, the Romans had been alarmed by thoſe tumultuary[33] movements among the Gauls on both ſides the Alps, which made them enter into a computation of the whole of their own ſtrength in Italy, citizens, ſubjects, or allies. It amounted to 700,000 infantry and 70,000 horſe[34]. The citizens alone fit to bear arms exceeded 250,000

[30] Polybius, l. iii. c. 56.

[31] Particularly the Λευκοπετρον οχυρωμα, c. 51, now La Roche Blanche, two marches from Montier; and the neceſſity of making the paſſage practicable at three marches from the plain of Eporedia, τον χειμωνα ξυλοδομειν μετα πολλης ταλαιπωριας, c. 55. At La Thuille (a corruption of Hauteville, as appears on comparing maps), agreeing with this diſtance, the road is ſtill annually repaired with pine planks. Theſe obſervations I owe to my friend General Melville, who examined the ground, with a view to the illuſtration of this celebrated march.

[32] Polyb. l. iii. c. 53.

[33] Gallici tumultus, Tit. Liv. paſſim.

[34] Id. l. ii. c. 24. Conf. Diodorus, l. xxv. ſ. 5. & Tit. Liv. Epitom. lib. xx.

Accordingly

CHAP. XVI.

Accordingly, the Boii and Inſubres, leagued with their brethren beyond the Alps, were totally defeated three years afterwards; ſtripped of their main ſtronghold Mediolanum, or Milan; and ſuch of them as were permitted to remain in Italy, reduced to unconditional ſubmiſſion[34]. The Romans had forces in Sicily, Sardinia, Illyricum, and particularly in the territory which Hannibal had invaded, conſtituting the Ciſalpine Gaul.

Proceedings of the Conſuls Scipio and Sempronius.

When appriſed of the ſack of Saguntum, Publius Scipio and Sempronius Longus, with their reſpective conſular armies, were ordered, the former into Spain, the latter into Sicily: Scipio with 60 gallies, Sempronius with 220; for this great naval force ſeemed neceſſary for carrying the war into Africa. Scipio having touched at the long friendly emporium of Maſſilia, learned to his ſurpriſe that Hannibal was already in the country above a hundred miles north of him, preparing to paſs the Rhone. Thither the conſul haſtened, but found that his adverſary had croſſed the river, and got the ſtart of him by three days on his way to Italy. The conſul Publius Scipio determined therefore to ſend part of the army with his brother Cneius into Spain, while the remainder embarked with himſelf, and ſailed from Maſſilia to Piſa. From thence he marched northward, not doubting, after he had been reinforced by the troops in Ciſalpine Gaul, to overwhelm the exhauſted invaders, as they deſcended into that country from the Alps[35]. The armies met at the river Ticinus. Hannibal's infantry, the hardened remnant of ſo many labours and dangers, might be ſuperior to that of the enemy, comparatively a militia: he had brought it into a ſituation that left no alternative but victory or death. But the ſucceſs of this battle is aſcribed wholly to his cavalry[36]. The conſul was wounded; and his

Battles of Ticinus and Trebia. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

[34] Conf. Strabo, l. v. p. 213. Polyb. l. iii. c. 40. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 39 & 40.

[35] Hannibal's war in Italy forms the moſt ſplendid portion of Livy's hiſtory. It runs through nine books, l. xxi—xxx. The ſubject derives peculiar intereſt from the eloquence of the hiſtorian, as well as from the enterpriſe of his hero.

[36] Conf. Polyb. l. iii. c. 24 & ſeq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 46.

CHAP. XVI.

life narrowly ſaved by the intrepidity of a ſon, then in his ſeventeenth year, the future conqueror of Carthage.

Hannibal's unexpected invaſion, his more incredible victory, allies prepared for defection, and ſubjects for rebellion, made the Romans recal the conſul Sempronius from Sicily, after he had defeated a Carthaginian fleet, and was preparing to make a deſcent on Africa. In forty days, he joined his colleague on the river Trebia. A new battle was fought, in which Hannibal prevailed, through a well-contrived ambuſh [37]. Next year he croſſed the Appenines, and drew the Conſul Flaminius into a ſnare, on the intricate banks of the lake Traſimenus in Tuſcany, in which that raſh commander periſhed, with the greater part of his army [38]. Having thus gained an aſcendency in the north by the battles of Ticinus and Trebia, and in the central diſtrict of Tuſcany, by the battle of Traſimenus, he next year marched ſouthward to Apulia, and ſurpaſſed all theſe exploits in his tremendous victory at Cannæ, by which the vengeance was ſatiated long brooding in the family of Barcas. The conſuls Emilius and Varro had 80,000 foot: Hannibal's infantry had now augmented to 40,000; and his cavalry, ſo diligent had he been to encreaſe it, now ſurpaſſed in number that of the Romans. By advancing his Gauls and other auxiliaries in a creſcent, with its convexity towards the enemy, while its horns reſted on two wings of his own hardy veterans, he brought on a battle in which his centre, giving way to the Romans, the purſuers were attacked on both flanks by his veterans, and loſt above fifty thouſand men. The Carthaginian cavalry greatly contributed to the deſtructiveneſs of the rout. The conſul Emilius was ſlain; 10,000 Romans, guarding the camp, were made priſoners: only ſeventy horſemen eſcaped with Varro to Venuſia [39].

Of Traſimenus. Olymp. cxl. 4. B. C. 217.

Of Cannæ. Olymp. cxli. 1. B. C. 216.

[37] Polyb l. iii. c. 69 & ſeq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 54—56.

[38] Polyb. l. iii. c. 84. Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 4.

[39] Polyb. l. iii. c. 115 & ſeq. Tit. Liv. xxii. c. 47 & ſeq.

Battles

CHAP. XVI.

Hannibal's ſubſequent war in Italy. Cauſes that made it unſucceſsful. Olymp. cxli. 1.—cxliv. 2. B. C. 216—203.

Battles leſs memorable have overturned many a powerful kingdom; but even theſe confirmed the ſtability of the Roman commonwealth. Hannibal was indeed maſter of the open country, but in that age moſt cities in Italy were well fortified; ſome garriſoned by the Romans, the greater part defended by the bravery of their own citizens. The conſul Varro aſſumed a commanding attitude at Venuſia: Naples defied Hannibal from its walls: and he received a check from Marcellus in attempting Nola[40]. A better hope was founded on alienating, under the plauſible pretence of liberty, the Roman ſubjects or allies. But the higher orders of men, in almoſt every dependant community, remained unalterably firm in their allegiance, and overawed ſedition from within, while they manfully prepared to repel hoſtility from without[41]. Capua, the moſt ſhameleſs city of Campania, itſelf the moſt profligate diſtrict in all Italy, is thought to have done a real ſervice to the Romans, by opening its gates to the invaders[42] But had theſe invaders kept unſullied the ſuppoſed purity of their virtue, the ultimate iſſue of the conflict would not probably have been different. For Rome, according to the juſt compariſon of Pyrrhus, was endowed with the renovating qualities of the Hydra[43]. An armed people, habituated from earlieſt youth to military exerciſes, afforded an inexhauſtible ſupply of recruits; and the decree, inveſting every Roman who had borne the office of conſul with temporary command, provided the immediate aſſiſtance of able generals. Though Hannibal remained thirteen years longer in Italy, where Gauls in the north, and Greeks in the ſouth, often cooperated with him as allies, he gained not any freſh laurels. The Romans had ſent Publius Scipio to reinforce his brother Cneius in Spain. They employed armies in Sicily, Sardinia, and the countries beyond the Hadriatic. Their exertions abroad, were not interrupted by the dangers threatening them at home; and when, five

[40] Tit. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 16.
[41] Ibid. l. xxiii. c. 20.
[42] Ibid. c. 18.
[43] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

CHAP. XVI.

years after the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, in hopes of raiſing the ſiege of Capua, marched ſuddenly to ſurpriſe Rome, he found three armies in order of battle prepared to receive him. Having encamped on the banks of the Anio, ſcarcely four miles diſtant, he learned that the ground occupied by his army had brought its full value at a public auction, and that a body of Romans had marched through an oppoſite gate of the city, to reinforce the legions in Spain [44]. Yet in this long warfare, Hannibal's admirable abilities gave the Romans no opportunity of combating him with advantage. When they endeavoured to force him into action, they were generally loſers by the attempt; but the ſyſtem of procraſtination and caution ſucceeded with them far better; and Fabius Maximus, who had firſt adopted it, was extolled to the ſkies as the ſaviour of his country.[45]

Philip's league with Hannibal, and preparations. Olymp. cxli. 2. B. C. 215.

A few months after the battle of Cannæ, Philip of Macedon, at the inſtigation of Demetrius of Pharus, adopted three very deciſive meaſures. He entered into an intimate alliance with Hannibal, including the ſtates friendly to both parties, and ratified by awful invocations of the gods of Macedon and Carthage [46]. He began to build armed tranſports on the Illyrian model, as the fitteſt for conveying forces into Italy; and he attacked Scerdilaidas, the Roman ally, in Illyricum, and in a ſhort time diveſted him of the greater part of his poſſeſſions [47].

Death of Hieron of Syracuſe. Olymp. cxli. 2. B. C. 215.

Shortly after Hannibal had cemented his league with Philip, the Romans loſt a zealous friend in Hieron of Syracuſe, who died in his 96th year, amidſt ſtrenuous exertions to ſuppreſs defection among the Roman ſubjects in Sicily. From the cloſe of the firſt Punic war, that iſland had remained very unequally

[44] Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 11.

[45] Unus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit rem.
Non ponebat enim rumores ante ſalutem
Ergo poſtque, magiſque viri nunc gloria claret. Ennius.
Apud Cicer. de Offic. l. i. c. 24, & Plutarch Fab. Maxim.

[46] Polyb. l. iii. c. 2, & l. vii. c. 9.

[47] Id. l. v. c. 108.

divided

CHAP. XVI.

divided between Rome and her Syracuſan ally. The dominion of Syracuſe was confined to a narrow ſtrip of land, ſtretching about fourſcore miles along the eaſtern coaſt of Sicily, from Achræ to Tauromenium, and comprehending theſe frontier towns, together with ſeveral other places of note, particularly Leontium, Megara, and Elorus. But the government of Hieron, and his admirable management of his little territory, affords, as it were, a delightful reſting place in our painful journey through ſcenes of perfidy and cruelty, of relentleſs ambition, and inſatiable vengeance. His government was formed on the faireſt model of the heroic age; the ſenate was called to deliberate, and the aſſembly to decide, while Gelon, the ſon of Hieron, himſelf in the maturity of years, co-operated in perfect cordiality with his father in the controul and execution of all public meaſures[48]. Hieron had wiſely choſen his party between Rome and Carthage, but when the latter ſtate was threatened with total ruin in the war above mentioned, with her own mercenaries, he employed his utmoſt endeavours to ſerve and ſave her; deeming the exiſtence of Carthage eſſential to the independence of Syracuſe, ſince the deſtruction of that republic would have laid him altogether at the mercy of Rome[49]. When Rome, on the other hand, ſeemed ready to ſink under the impetuous ſhocks of Ticinus and Trebia, Traſimenus and Cannæ, Hieron ſpared neither gold nor blood to ſupport her. His fleet and army was at the diſpoſal of his allies; and the money, which he chiefly ſupplied, enabled the pretor Valerius ſeaſonably to croſs the Hadriatic, and to find ſuch employment, at home, for king Philip, as rendered the alliance of that prince of little importance to Hannibal[50].

His wiſe policy at home and abroad.

The vaſt wealth of Hieron flowed from the pureſt ſources. He was the ſtrenuous promoter of productive and commercial induſtry. The improvement of agriculture, the moſt profitable of all occupa-

Fortifications of Syracuſe.

[48] Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 88. l. vii. c. 8, & Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 4, & ſeq.

[49] Polybius, l. i. c. 83.

[50] Ibid. l. iii. c. 75. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 37.

pations,

CHAP. XVI.

tions, eſpecially in ſuch a country as Sicily, he forwarded by judicious regulations, by ſtill more uſeful examples, and by wiſe and ſalutary precepts, contained in many valuable treatiſes which he wrote on that ſubject." The beſt bleſſings of peace he made permanent, by a conſtant preparation for war; and in an age, when ſkill in ſieges kept not pace with other branches of military ſcience, the vaſt extent of Syracuſe was made on all ſides impregnable. In this undertaking he was aſſiſted by the great Archimedes, his friend, ſome ſay his kinſman, who, at the king's earneſt deſire, deſcended from thoſe ſublime ſpeculations which occupied the Newton of antiquity, and applied his wonderful powers of combination and invention to matters of coarſe mechanical practice[52]. But of his extraordinary contrivances for the defence of Syracuſe, there was not any occaſion to make uſe in the long courſe of this politic and pacific reign.

Hieron's galley of 20 tier of oars.

The proſperity of every Greek city was marked by a ſuperabundance of ineſtimable productions in all the arts of deſign. The architectural embelliſhments of Syracuſe were regarded among the brighteſt glories of Hieron's adminiſtration: he was diſtinguiſhed by his magnificence [53] in religious games and ſolemnities, particularly in dramatic exhibitions; and ſo catching are the follies of our own times, that Hieron vied with contemporary Greek kings in conſtructing and equipping a galley of twenty tier of oars, uniting the ſtrength of a fortreſs with all the conveniencies and elegancies of a royal palace. This moving caſtle, which Sicilian poets likened to mount Ætna, conſumed the timber neceſſary for building ſixty trireme galleys. It was compacted by iron bolts, weighing ten and fifteen pounds: its engines launched balls of 300 pounds to the diſtance of a furlong: one of its maſts is ſaid to have been tranſported

[52] Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 3. Plutarch in Marcello.

[53] Athenæus, l. v. p. 203.

from

from the mountains of Britain [54]; its cordage was compoſed of broom from Spain and hemp from Gaul: the commerce of the world was ranſacked for its ornaments; ivory images of the gods, altars glowing with gems and breathing Indian perfumes, the marbles and more precious materials inlaying its loweſt floor, and curiouſly diſpoſed in moſaic, repreſenting Homer's battles. This prodigy of ill-directed art, for whoſe ſafe paſſage Neptune is tremblingly [55] invoked by the poet, was built by Archias of Corinth, and launched on the waves by Phileas of Tauromenium; and is ſaid to have been navigated from the harbour of Syracuſe to that of Alexandria, as a preſent to Ptolemy Philadelphus, being, indeed, leſs abſurdly adapted to the navigation of the Nile [56].

Reign of Hieronymus and diſtractions conſequent on it. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

Hieron, dying at the age of ninety-ſix, was ſucceeded by a youth of ſeventeen, born to his ſon Gelon by Nereis, daughter to Pyrrhus [57]. Hieronymus, for this was his name, is deſcribed as a prey to the vileſt paſſions, but poſſeſſing a will of his own, and an ear open to contrariety of council. To this youth, who diſdained ſubmiſſion to thoſe naturally entitled to guide him, Hannibal ſent Epicydes and Hippocrates, brothers, whoſe father, a native of Syracuſe, had long lived in exile at Carthage. Theſe men were agents in all reſpects worthy of their employer; bold, dextrous, deceitful; with reſources in every difficulty, with intrepidity in every danger. At their perſuaſion, Hieronymus embraced meaſures highly offenſive to the Romans, and when ambaſſadors came from that people to remonſtrate with him, aſked inſultingly to hear from them a more accurate account, than had yet, he ſaid, reached his ears of the battle of Cannæ [58]. The cruelty and contumely of Hieronymus provoked a conſpiracy of his ſubjects, to which, after a reign of ſcarcely one

[54] If. Caſaubon, however, reads εν τοις αρεσι της Βρεττιας, in the mountains of the Brutii. Animadverſ. in Athen. l. v. p. 229.

[55] Αλλα ποσειδων σωζε κατα γλαυκην σελμα τοδε ρεθειν. Archimelus Athenienſis apud Athen. l. v. p. 209.

[56] Ibid. p. 207. & ſeq.

[57] Polybius, l. vii. c. 4.

[58] Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 6.

year,

CHAP. XVI.

year, he fell a ſacrifice. The Syracuſans were ſummoned to liberty: the ancient form of democracy returned with all its tumult and outrage; and one revolution ſucceeded to another, until the brothers, ſent by Hannibal, made their way to ſupreme power by a ſeries of lies and forgeries; of dark intrigues and daring aſſaſſinations[59]. This ſtate of affairs occaſioned the memorable ſiege of Syracuſe which laſted nearly three years, and the event of which gave to the conſul Marcellus poſſeſſion of a city computed to be richer[60] than Carthage itſelf; beſides that the complete reduction of Sicily, the natural conſequence of his ſucceſs, prepared the way for the Roman expedition into Africa, and the humiliation of Carthage into the ſtate of a diſarmed and tributary vaſſal.

Philip's unworthy proceedings. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

Meanwhile Philip, in conformity to his treaty with Hannibal, had equipped a fleet of a hundred Liburnians, in which he purpoſed to tranſport forces from Illyricum into Italy. But falſe intelligence communicated by ſome Sicilian merchantmen, that a ſquadron of Roman quinqueremes was ready to oppoſe his paſſage, determined him to ſail back into harbour. Enraged at the deceit practiſed on him, and the loſs of an opportunity of co-operating with his ally, his light and fiery mind, yet untamed by adverſity, vented its ungoverned anger in proceedings as frantic as they were deteſtable. His general in Peloponneſus, in contravention to the peace recently eſtabliſhed, ſeized the mountainous fortreſs Ithomè, commanding the Meſſenian capital[61]. Demetrius of Pharus ſaid, that this was to hold the bull of Peloponneſus by the two horns; meaning thereby the Acro-Corinthus in the north and Ithomè in the ſouth. But Aratus pleaded ſo ſtrongly the cauſe of Meſſenè and of juſtice, that the king was prevailed on to let ſlip his victim. Shortly afterwards, he repented of his forbearance, and ſent Demetrius to aſſault and recover the ſtronghold. The undertaking was as raſhly conducted, as it had been wickedly concerted. Demetrius was repelled and ſlain; and

[59] Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 7—27. [60] Id. l. xxv. c. 31.

CHAP. XVI.

Philip avenged the death of a man ſo undeſervedly dear to him, by mercileſs depredation on the Meſſenian territory, and by poiſoning Aratus, whoſe honeſt remonſtrances were no longer tolerable to a tyrant [62]. His inſtrument in this crime was the infamous Taurion, who had long been entruſted with his affairs in the Peloponneſus. Aratus bore the incurable effects of the poiſon with a compoſure worthy of his great character. The Achæans, over whom he preſided as pretor for the ſeventeenth time, did not even ſuſpect the cauſe of his declining health, which he never hinted at in public, though to Cephalon a confidential friend who lamented at ſeeing him ſpit blood, "ſuch," he ſaid, "my dear Cephalon, are the fruits of royal gratitude!" His country made every compenſation in its power for the execrable perfidy which he had experienced. He was interred at Sicyon with unfeigned expreſſions of public ſorrow; and all Achaia long joined with that city in commemorating his fame by rites held due to the moſt illuſtrious public benefactors [63].

Death of Aratus. Olymp. cxli. 4 B. C. 213.

After the death of Demetrius of Pharus, his great adviſer in the Roman war, Philip ſhould ſeem to have adopted the reſolution of firſt making himſelf completely maſter of Illyricum, before he ventured to paſs into Italy. In this view, he beſieged Oricum, and gained poſſeſſion of that ſea-port, which ſtood directly oppoſite to Hadruntum, on the narroweſt part of the Strait. He was on the point alſo of taking Apollonia, the oldeſt Roman ally beyond the Hadriatic; when the pretor Valerius croſſed that ſea with a ſtrong armament, recovered Oricum in which Philip had left but a feeble garriſon; and then proceeding with ſilence and celerity to Apollonia, threw himſelf by an obſcure path into the place, with a choſen detachment. His preſence encouraged the Apollonians to attack the beſieging army in the night. The enterpriſe was conducted with ſuch ſecrecy and boldneſs, that even the royal pavilion was in danger. The Macedonians

The pretor Valerius obliges Philip to raiſe the ſiege of Apollonia. Olymp. cxli 3. B. C. 214.

[62] Polybius, l iii c. 14.

[63] Plutarch in Arato. Faint teſtimonies, δεγματα μικρα, of the honours once paid to him ſubſiſted three centuries after his death Plut. p. 1052.

CHAP. XVI.

fled in precipitation; three thouſand of them were ſlain or taken; their camp became a booty to the Romans; only the battering engines were granted to the Apollonians, that the ſame machines which had been conſtructed againſt them, might thenceforward be employed in their defence [64].

Philip's conqueſts in Illyricum. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

The Roman fleet wintered at Oricum and Apollonia, and left theſe places ſo well guarded, that Philip, after more vigorous preparations than formerly, thought proper to direct his arms againſt a different part of the coaſt. Liſſus and its citadel Acro-Liſſus ſtood an hundred miles north of Apollonia. They were deemed the moſt important and ſtrongeſt places in the whole country. Philip gained both, by a ſtratagem well concerted and boldly executed. At the foot of Acro-Liſſus, and between this fortreſs and the city, there was a hollow den overhung by thick wood: the remainder of the ſpace between the city and citadel conſiſted of plain ground, well adapted to the approaches of beſiegers. In the den, juſt mentioned, Philip had the addreſs to plant an ambuſh of choſen men. The day afterwards, he proceeded with his light forces into the plain, as if he had intended to take meaſures for advancing his machines againſt the city. The troops and armed inhabitants in Liſſus ſallied from their gates: Philip gave way; the men, who garriſoned Acro-Liſſus, haſtened to join their companions in the purſuit; but had no ſooner advanced beyond the den at the foot of that fortreſs, than the Macedonians roſe from their ambuſh, and clambering over ſome adjacent craggs, took poſſeſſion of the deſerted citadel. Philip, at the ſame time, turned unexpectedly on his purſuers, and drove them back in diſmay to Liſſus. That city was taken after repeated aſſaults, in which the king ſhowed not leſs ſkill than courage: and the fame of ſuch conqueſts intimidated moſt cities in Illyricum into a voluntary ſurrender [65].

[64] Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40.

[65] Polybius, l. viii. c. 15. & ſeq.

Philip

CHAP. XVI.

Philip thus deprived the Romans of their conqueſts in that country; but, before he could entirely ſubdue it to himſelf, his politic adverſaries gained over him a very decided advantage in negociation.

Treaty between the Romans and Etolians. Olymp. cxlii. 1. B. C. 212

This was a treaty which the pretor Valerius entered into with the Etolians, including all allies of the contracting parties. In conſequence of this agreement, copies of which were inſcribed in Jupiter's temple at Olympia, and in the Roman capitol [66], Philip's deſigns againſt Italy were completely defeated through his neceſſity of encountering the ſame Grecian enemies with whom he had contended in the ſocial war, the Etolians, Elians, and Spartans; in addition to theſe, the Meſſenians recently incenſed by his wanton cruelties.

Events that cauſed the ſiege of Syracuſe. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

Meanwhile, Hannibal received not any ſuccours from Carthage. A reinforcement of forty elephants and 4,000 Numidian horſe had been, indeed, voted to him; but before this ſupply could be got ready to ſail, its deſtination was changed from Italy to Spain [67], in which latter country, his brother Aſdrubal was now hardly preſſed by the Scipios. Not only Spain, in which they had ſo many lucrative eſtabliſhments, but even Sicily, in which, upon the commotions following the death of Hieron and the deſtruction of his family, they hoped once more to recover their aſcendency, appeared to the Carthaginians a ſcene of action more inviting than Italy, the theatre of great but unprofitable victories. To foment defection among the Roman ſubjects in Sicily, conſiderable armies had been already ſent from Carthage; and theſe were ſpeedily encreaſed, when it was underſtood that the Syracuſans, abuſed by the audacious artifices of Epicydes and Hippocrates, had violated their long peace with Rome, and ſet the reſentment of that ſtate at defiance [68]. The conſul Marcellus, who had by this time reinforced the pretor Appius hitherto commanding in Sicily, immediately concerted with him the fitteſt means for beſieging Syracuſe by ſea and land.

[66] Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 24.
[67] Id. l. xxiii. c. 13, & 32.
[68] Id. l. xxiv. c. 27—33.

CHAP. XVI.

Deſcription of that city.

To explain clearly the events which happened in the courſe of this undertaking, it is neceſſary briefly to advert to the general plan of Syracuſe, and to the diſtribution of the various parts of that great and rich city. It ſtood on a head-land, projecting in the form of a triangle from the eaſtern coaſt of Sicily. The baſe advanced into the ſea, which flowed a conſiderable way up the ſides. Theſe ſides extended weſtward over the craggy eminences Epipolæ, gradually approaching each other until they finally united in the rock Euryelus, forming the vertex of the triangle. Diſpoſed in a ſhape, ſimilar to that of the iſland of which it was the capital, Syracuſe meaſured eighteen miles in circuit, and contained five diviſions, deſerving each of them the name of city, in point of ſtrength as well as magnitude. The largeſt diviſion, called Acradina, formed the baſis of the triangle, its outward wall waſhed by the ſea. The little iſland Ortygia lay before the ſouthern extremity of Acradina, forming with it two harbours, one on either ſide of the iſland: the two next diviſions, the more northern called Tycha, and the ſouthern Neapolis, bordered on Acradina, only ſeparated from it by walls. The laſt, and moſt inland diviſion, conſiſted of the craggy eminences Epipolæ; a quarter taken within the city for the ſake chiefly of ſecurity, with the rock Euryelus above-mentioned, towering at its extremity, and frowning in defiance over the circumjacent country [69].

Operations againſt it. Olymp. cxli. 3. cxlii. 1. B. C. 214—212.

In the ſpace of five days, Appius, with incredible diligence, had provided whatever ſeemed neceſſary for the ſiege by land; but the firſt memorable attack appears to have been made by Marcellus againſt Acradina with a fleet of ſixty quinqueremes. Not truſting to the ſtones and javelins thrown from ſingle veſſels for clearing the enemies walls, he joined two quinqueremes together, by their reſpective ſides, and covered them with a ſtrong floor of wood. On this floor, he applied a huge ladder, provided on either ſide with

[69] For the dimenſions and diviſions of Syracuſe, ſee Thucydid. l. vi. Strabo, l. vi. Cicero in Verr. l. iv. Few great cities are ſo diſtinctly deſcribed.

baluſtrades,

baluſtrades, and having at one end a firm ſtage encompaſſed with parapets. As this double quinquereme approached the walls, the ladder was raiſed aloft, and propped at it roſe by beams of various lengths; ſo that the ſoldiers might ſafely mount it, and having reached the ſtage at top, drive the enemy from their battlements. This machine received the name of Sackbut, becauſe it nearly reſembled in ſhape this triangular harp; the ſwelling baſe of the inſtrument being repreſented by the joined quinqueremes; its ſides and ſtrings reſpectively, by the ſloping ladder, and the various props by which it was ſupported [70]

CHAP. XVI.

Now an opportunity firſt offered to Archimedes, for diſplaying, in all its powers, the wonderful machinery which, at the deſire of king Hieron, he had erected. His philoſophical mind, if inſenſible to perſonal glory, was not to that of his art. Syracuſe, indeed, had fallen into bad hands; but he would ſtill exert his abilities in defence of his country. Perhaps he was duped by the artifices through which Epicydes and Hippocrates had irritated the public mind againſt the Romans; a geometer is not the beſt judge in matters depending on moral evidence. But whatever motive determined him; glory, patriotiſm, the deluſions, or even the threats of the unworthy uſurpers of Syracuſe, it is certain that his abilities long retarded, and might, but for events againſt which the utmoſt ſkill in defence could not avail, have ultimately defeated the operations againſt that unfortunate city. He had engines fitted to all diſtances: the hoſtile armament was battered while yet a furlong from the walls, and when the enemy waited darkneſs to make his approaches more ſafely, huge beaks projecting beyond the battlements, at the ſlighteſt touch of a cord, precipitated maſſes of ſtone and metal, weighing, many of them, ten talents [71]. By ſuch means, the ſackbuts, four in number, were broke in pieces, while any ſingle veſſels, that ventured to come near, were grappled by iron hands, and on the quarter ſeized, being raiſed

Its wonderful defence.

[70] Polybius, l. viii. c. 6—8. [71] Lb. 600.

to

CHAP. XVI.

to a fit height, ſuddenly replunged in the ſea with deſtructive violence[71]. Appius was not more ſucceſsful in his aſſaults by land, than Marcellus in thoſe by ſea. The ſiege of Syracuſe was therefore converted into a blockade under the pretor, while the conſul, with one third of the army, marched to quell inſurrection in other

[71] Polybius ubi ſupra. Conf. Plutarch in Marcell. Marcellus jeſted at this rude reception, ſaying, that his ſhips were entertained with brimful goblets, while the *ſackbuts* were pelted with ſtones and driven diſgracefully from the feaſt. Polyb. l. v. c. 37. The joke lies in the equivocal word *ſackbut*, denoting not only the muſical inſtrument, but the girl who played on it. Such girls were rudely diſmiſſed when they diſpleaſed either by their muſic or their manners. I have not mentioned the burning glaſſes by which Archimedes is ſaid to have deſtroyed the Roman fleet. Zonaras and Tzetzes, to whom we owe this report, lived 14 centuries after the ſiege of Syracuſe; and are diſcredited by the ſilence of Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch. The verſes of Tzetzes, Chil. ii. v. 119. & ſeq. are obſcure and barbarous; they ſuggeſted, however, to Father Kircher the idea, that the effect aſcribed to Archimedes' burning glaſſes, might be produced by a combination of plain mirrors; with 400 of which, ſo arranged as to reflect their heat on the ſame object, Buffon ſucceeded in the experiment of melting lead and tin at the diſtance of 140 feet. Mem. de L'Acad. des Sciences, An. 1746. Archimedes needs not the glory of this and other doubtful inventions, to ſupport his fame: it reſts on "the ſphere and cylinder," the admirable work "on ſpiral lines;" and two other treatiſes, "περὶ ἐπιπέδων ἰσορροπικῶν, and περὶ ὀχουμένων," in which he explains the true principles of ſtaticks and hydroſtaticks. Conf. Fabric. Biblothec. Græc. l. iii. c. 22. & Montucla Hiſtoire des Mathematiques, part i. Liv. iv. In the treatiſe περὶ ὀχουμένων, we find principles affording the ſolution of the famous queſtion referred to him concerning the compoſition of Hieron's crown. The artiſt, inſtead of making this elegant piece of workmanſhip of pure gold, as the king had deſired, combined in it a large portion of inferior metal. To find the quantities of each, Archimedes provided two maſſes, one of gold, another of the inferior metal; and each of the ſame weight with the crown. He then weighed theſe maſſes in water, to diſcover what proportions of their weight they reſpectively loſt. The gold, he knew, being the more compact, would looſe the leaſt; becauſe any body is leſs heavy in water, by the weight of a quantity of water equal to its own bulk. Having thus aſcertained the parts of their weight loſt reſpectively by the gold, the inferior metal, and the compoſite crown, it was eaſy to perceive that the quantity of gold in the compoſition muſt bear the ſame proportion to that of the inferior metal, as the difference of weights loſt by the crown and inferior metal to the difference of weights loſt by the crown and the gold. Another method of ſolving the ſame queſtion is given by Vitruvius de Architect. l. ix. c. 3. It is that copied in all compilements, though leſs ingenious, and therefore leſs worthy of Archimedes. The glaſſy ſphere of Archimedes, repreſenting the true picture of the Heavens, is beſt known by Claudian's Epigram.

Jupiter, in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
Riſit, et ad ſuperos talia verba dedit:
Huccine mortalis progreſſa potentia curæ:
Ecce Syracuſii ludimur arte ſenis.

Pope, if he did not borrow, has hit on, the ſame thought,

Admired ſuch wiſdom in an earthly ſhape,
And ſhowed a Newton as we ſhow an ape.

Eſſay on Man, Epiſt. ii. v. 33, 34.

CHAP. XVI.

parts of the iſland. He was oppoſed by 20,000 men, under Himilco, aſſiſted by Hippocrates, who, while his brother Epicydes ably defended Syracuſe, thought his own activity might be uſefully employed in co-operating with the Carthaginian general. The flames of diſcord thus raged more widely: cities were taken, loſt, and recovered; both parties were powerfully reinforced; and while other ſcenes of the war excited comparatively little intereſt, all men turned their eyes to the well ſuſtained conflict in Sicily [72]. Marcellus, having compelled his opponents to ſhut themſelves up in Agrigentum, returned to aſſiſt Appius in the ſiege of Syracuſe. His aſſaults were as unproſperous as before; and when, by means of Syracuſan exiles, who had joined him, he gained a ſtrong party within the city, the intrigues of thoſe traitors were diſconcerted by Epicydes, a traitor of far greater dexterity.

Part of the city taken. Olymp. cxlii. 1. B. C. 212.

The following occurrence, at length, opened a gleam of hope to the beſiegers. Damippus, a Lacedæmonian, had been employed as a confidential agent between Hannibal and his coadjutor Epicydes on one ſide, and king Philip on the other. In his way to Macedon from Syracuſe, Damippus had fallen into the hands of the Romans. Epicydes wiſhed exceedingly to recover him; and Marcellus was the leſs unwilling to releaſe him, becauſe the Romans at this time were ſolicitous, as we have above ſhewn, to gain the friendſhip of the Lacedæmonians, his countrymen. In conſequence of this diſpoſition on both ſides, deputations met to treat of his ranſome at the fort of Galeagra, overlooking that part of the ſea which waſhed the northern wall of the city. A Roman ſoldier availed himſelf of this opportunity to examine the wall narrowly, and having noted the ſpot where it was moſt aſſailable, communicated his obſervation to Marcellus. The general delayed, however, to proceed on this information, until apprized by deſerters, that the Syracuſans, in perfect ſecurity, were celebrating Diana's feſtival; that, amidſt the ſcarcity of other luxuries,

[72] Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 35. & ſeq. Conf. Plutarch in Marcell.

wine

CHAP. XVI.

wine had been diſtributed to them in great profuſion; and that two preceding carouſals would probably be outdone by the intemperance of the third and laſt day of the ſolemnity [79]. Upon this intelligence, Marcellus ſelected a fit band of aſſailants, provided with ladders of the neceſſary height, for the ſoldier had carefully remarked the ſize of the ſtones and the number of layers in which they roſe above each other. At that hour of the night, when Syracuſe was moſt likely to be buried in ſleep and wine, the wall was ſcaled by 1,000 men, who, finding the ſolitude around them diſturbed only by a few drunken revellers, haſtened weſtward to the Hexapyle, or "Six Gateways," forming ſo many entrances to the quarter called Tycha. Having burſt open the leaſt obſtinate barricade, they admitted their watchful companions in ſuch numbers, that the buſineſs was no longer to elude, but to terrify the enemy. The trumpets were ſounded; a general ſhout was raiſed; and the guards in Tycha and Epipolæ only waked from their intoxication, to fall headlong from the walls, or to fly in terror through the ſtreets.

Acradina and Ortygia defended by Epicydes.

The ſound of arms had ſcarcely reached Acradina and Ortygia, in the latter of which Epicydes occupied the royal palace, when Marcellus at dawn entered the Hexapyle, with the greater part of his army. Epicydes haſtened to repel the aſſailants, venting execrations againſt thoſe who had allowed the wall to be ſcaled, and reproaching the cowards, who, flocking to him on his way, greatly encreaſed, he ſaid, by exaggerating, the danger. But when a nearer approach made him acquainted with the full extent of his misfortune, he returned with the utmoſt diligence to ſecure Acradina and the iſland, the only parts of the city which he judged to be ſtill tenable. Meanwhile Marcellus, having gained the fortreſſes in Epipolæ, ſucceſſively took poſſeſſion of Tycha and Neapolis. The ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants ſaved their lives, but came too late to protect their property. Thoſe regions of the city were ſubjected to a general pillage, extorted

[79] Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 23. & ſeq.

rather

CHAP. XVI.

rather by the rapacity of the ſoldiers, than permitted through the cruel indulgence of the general; for Marcellus, at firſt entering the place, and viewing its vaſtneſs and magnificence from the heights which gave name to Epipolæ, ſhed tears of pity at the hard duty which the obſtinacy and impolicy of the Syracuſans had impoſed on him [74]: he remembered the high renown of the commonwealth, its innumerable trophies over Carthage, and its ſignal triumph over Athens in the zenith of her glory; above all, the late virtuous reign of Hieron, during which Syracuſe had continued for upwards of fifty years to be intimately connected with Rome in an alliance equally uſeful and honourable to both parties.

The Carthaginians aſſiſt Syracuſe by land and ſea.

Meanwhile Epicydes exerted equal diligence and dexterity for the defence of Acradina and Ortygia; in which, chiefly, conſiſted the admired ſplendour of the city. The aſſaults of the Romans had been repelled vigorouſly on every ſide, when Hippocrates and Himilco arrived to ſuccour the beſieged at the head of a great army. Battles were fought with various ſucceſs, and the combatants did not ſuffer more cruelly from each other, than from the peſtilence, a common evil, which, after greatly afflicting both, finally ſwept away almoſt the whole Carthaginian army with the two generals commanding it. Their Sicilian auxiliaries diſperſed into neighbouring cities; while Epicydes, though deprived of external aid, perſevered in defending his walls with unabating energy [75]. This obſtinacy of reſiſtance allowed time for a new effort in his favour. A fleet, conſiſting of 130 large gallies, and 700 victuallers, ſailed proſperouſly from Carthage to the ſouthern coaſt of Sicily, and anchored, moſt of them, at a place called the Harbour of Ulyſſes, on the farther ſide of Pachynus; but a ſtrong wind from the eaſt rendered it impoſſible to double that promontory. The news of this vaſt armament, its firſt ſucceſsful navigation, and long ſubſequent delay, excited alternate motions of hope and fear among the beſiegers and beſieged. Epi-

[74] Tit. Liv. & Plutarch ubi ſupra.

CHAP. XVI.

cydes, who dreaded that, ſhould the ſtorm continue to blow from the eaſt, Bomilcar, the Carthaginian admiral, would ſail back to Carthage, determined to join him with the utmoſt expedition, leaving the defence of Syracuſe, meanwhile, in the hands of his lieutenants; and Marcellus, who perceived that the Carthaginian partiſans throughout Sicily were encouraged to new exertions by the proſpect of ſuch powerful aſſiſtance, haſtened to ſea, though with an inferior fleet, in the deſign of fighting the enemy. The two fleets were on oppoſite ſides of Pachynus. The ceſſation of the tempeſtuous eaſt wind enabled them to come in ſight of each other. Epicydes exerted all his endeavours to inſpire Bomilcar with confidence; but that commander no ſooner perceived the Romans advancing towards him in full ſail, than, being ſeized with a ſudden panic, he bore away with the ſhips of war, and ſent orders to the tranſports in Heraclæa and other harbours, to make all haſte into Africa. Epicydes, totally diſconcerted by his cowardice, inſtead of returning to Syracuſe, which he conſidered as now loſt [76], ſailed to Agrigentum, and after occaſioning new troubles to the Romans there, finally eſcaped ſafe into Africa.

Cowardice of Bomilcar their admiral.

The deſtruction of the Carthaginian army, followed by this ſhameful flight of the fleet, diffuſed conſternation through a large body of Sicilian rebels, who had again aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Syracuſe. They wiſhed by any means to obtain forgiveneſs; and, for this purpoſe, while they applied directly to Metellus, they ſent a numerous deputation into the beſieged city, with a view to prevail on it to capitulate. The perſons, employed in this tranſaction, intimated their commiſſion only to ſuch Syracuſans as had been long connected with them in the bonds of old hereditary friendſhip; and they ſoon underſtood, that all attempts to bring about any offer of capitulation muſt prove fruitleſs, while thoſe men remained alive, whom Epicydes had left in authority. This obſtacle being removed

The remaining diviſions of Syracuſe taken through the treachery of Mericus a Spaniard. Olymp. cxlii. 1. B. C. 212.

[76] Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 27.

by

CHAP. XVI.

by the help of aſſaſſins, an embaſſy was ſent to Marcellus in order to extenuate paſt errors, and to implore his clemency. But, before his anſwer could be received, Syracuſe was ſubjected to a new calamity. The Roman deſerters in the place well knew that the mercy which might be ſhewn to others, would not be extended to them; and had the addreſs to make many bodies of Greek mercenaries unite with them, as in a common cauſe. The beſt part of the citizens were intimidated, the worſt abetted the ſedition. The gates were ſhut againſt the Romans, and guarded more carefully than ever. Yet, after the firſt ferment had ſubſided, it was determined that the perſons ſent to Marcellus ſhould be re-admitted, and together with them a deputation from that general. Among the ſoldiers eſcorting his deputies, the Roman commander, who had learned, by ſecret intelligence, that one of the three gates of Acradina was entruſted to Mericus a Spaniard, ſent a fit agent of that nation then ſerving among his auxiliaries. Through the perſuaſion of this auxiliary, his countryman was prevailed on to betray his poſt. The Romans, having thus entered Acradina by treachery, completed their ſucceſs by arms, both there and in the iſland Ortygia connected with it by a bridge. Being exempted from obſerving any meaſures with the Syracuſans, they impoſed no bounds to their wanton abuſe of victory, except what ſeemed neceſſary for ſecuring to the Roman exchequer a due proportion of the booty, particularly the money contained in the royal treaſury in Ortygia. Amidſt innumerable acts of rage and cruelty, one only is pointedly commemorated, but by this alone, laurels, brighter than thoſe of Marcellus, would be for ever blaſted. The murder of Archimedes, in which the ſanctity of ſcience was violated, is ſo variouſly recorded, that the Romans ſhould ſeem, through chance, never to have made any authentic report of it[77]. A tomb, by order of the conqueror, was erected for him in the ſuburb, and inſcribed, as had been his own deſire, with a ſphere and

The city plundered.

Death of Archimedes.

His tomb diſcovered at the diſtance of 139 years by Cicero.

[77] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 31. & Plutarch in Marcell.

CHAP. XVI.

cylinder. At the diſtance of 139 years from this period, Cicero, when queſtor in Sicily, aſked the magiſtrates of Syracuſe, who were officiouſly pointing out to him leſs intereſting objects, for the tomb of Archimedes. They could not acquaint him with its ſite; and, to cloak their ignorance, denied the exiſtence of any ſuch monument. At his deſire, he was then conducted beyond the gate to an ancient cemetery. After much ſearch amidſt brambles and rubbiſh, a ſtone was found, bearing a ſphere and cylinder, with part alſo of the mouldering inſcription on this great geometer. Cicero boaſts of his diſcovery with honeſt exultation[78], and contraſts his own keen curioſity with the careleſs indifference of the magiſtrates of Syracuſe, one of the nobleſt cities of Greece, and once one of the moſt learned. But he conſidered not, or, conſidering, forbore to mention, the cauſe of this wretched degeneracy.

Glory of the Sicilians in arts and letters.

Geometry, indeed, ſince the decline of the Pythagoreans in Sicily, might be conſidered as a ſort of exotic, tranſplanted laboriouſly from Egypt. But the Sicilians, while an independent nation, produced poets, orators, and hiſtorians, many of whom we have had occaſion to commemorate. The eloquence of Gorgias, of Leontium, was admired even in Athens. The hiſtorians Antiochus[79], Philiſtus, Callias, Antander, Timæus, furniſhed a chain of narrative downward from the 90th to the 129th Olympiad and the Punic wars, including the affairs of Sicily, and of all thoſe countries with which that iſland was connected. But paſtoral poetry was the peculiar boaſt of the Sicilians, and ſhould ſeem to have flouriſhed in their iſland from the fabulous times of Daphnis[80] and Diomus[81], to thoſe of Bion and Moſchus, in the age of Ptolemy Philometor[82]. But in the ſpace of ſeventy-three years from the death of Philometor, to the diſcovery of the tomb of Archimedes by Cicero, the Sicilian muſes

[78] Tuſculan. Quæſt. l. v. c. 3.

[79] Diodor. l. xii. p. 333. & Strabo, l. vi. p. 254.

[80] Diodor. l. iv. ſub fin. & Schol. in Theocrit.

[81] Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 619.

[82] Suidas.

had become dumb, and both literature and ſcience were totally neglected. Such was the change produced on this lively and ingenious people by the accumulating oppreſſion of a foreign yoke!

CHAP. XVI.

Oppreſſion and degradation under the Romans.

Marcellus ſtripped Syracuſe of riches not inferior to what the ſack of Carthage would have yielded, and of works of art, adorning public monuments, which no wealth could purchaſe. The Romans thus uſurped the trophies reared over many foreign enemies by this long illuſtrious republic; and by decking their own capital with ornaments which they wanted contrivance to invent, and even induſtry to imitate, they expoſed themſelves to the juſt reproaches of all civiliſed nations, particularly of Greeks, in every diviſion of the world[83]. At the taking of Agrigentum by the conſul Lævinus, the riches and elegancies of that city, the ſecond in the iſland, were ranſacked with equal avidity, and carefully tranſported to Rome. Lævinus then made himſelf maſter of ſix other cities by aſſault, of twenty by treachery, and of forty by voluntary ſurrender[84]. The whole iſland thus fell under the dominion of Rome; and though its various communities were treated differently, according to their ſeveral deſerts, yet the juſtice adminiſtered to all of them appears to have been meaſured on a ſcale of rigid ſeverity. In what had formed the proper kingdom of Hieron, the regulations of that wiſe prince were upheld reſpecting tillage, tythes, and other matters of rural œconomy, becauſe none more profitable could be deviſed[85]; and the fertile Sicily, long the ſeat of arts, arms, and tumultuary liberty, ſunk into a peaceful farm, cultivated chiefly for the benefit of the Romans, and of which, before the age of Auguſtus, the whole ſuperfluous produce was annually tranſported to feed their voracious capital[86].

[83] Plutarch in Marcell. Conf. Polybius, l. ix. c. 10. & Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 40. l. xxvi. c. 30 & 31.

[84] Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 40.

[85] Cicero in Verrem. l. ii. de Juriſdic. Siciliens & l. iii. Oratio Frumentaria.

[86] Strabo, l. vi. p. 273. Among the exports of Sicily he mentions corn, cattle, hides, wool, honey, ſaffron.

bad

The

CHAP. XVI.

War in Spain. Olymp. cxlii. 1—cxliii. 2. B. C. 212—207.

The ſucceſs of the Romans in the conqueſt of Syracuſe, was balanced by contemporary and very diſaſtrous events in Spain. The Scipios, Publius and Cneius, having ſeparated their forces too widely, and being deſerted by their Spaniſh auxiliaries, were in the ſpace of one month ſucceſſively cut off, with a great proportion of their reſpective armies. But the officers, who had commanded under them, eſpecially Lucius Martius, a young Roman, endowed with talents far beyond his years or his rank, collected the ſcattered legions, and made head againſt the enemy[87], until the arrival in Spain, as proconſul, of the ſon of Publius Scipio. This new general, who bore alſo the name of Publius, aſſumed the command at the age of 24: ſeven years before this time he had ſaved his father's life in the battle of Ticinus: his talents, civil as well as military, were of the higheſt order; his zeal for the public ſervice, his integrity, and magnanimity ſurpaſſed the glory of his talents. The Romans were inclined to regard the brightneſs of his unſpotted merit with a ſuperſtitious reverence; and Scipio too well knew the influence of ſuch preposſeſſions, not to employ fit means to confirm them, and to eſtabliſh himſelf in the public mind as the peculiar favourite of heaven, deſtined to retrieve the misfortunes of his family, and to extend the renown of his country[88]. His firſt exploit was the capture of New Carthage; and ſucceſs is ſaid thenceforward to have attended him for the ſpace of ten years, till his victory over Hannibal in Africa glorioufly terminated the war.

Scipio Africanus.

Aſdrubal paſſes into Italy. Defeated and ſlain. Olymp. cxliii. 2. B. C. 207.

Yet, this account is not altogether conſiſtent with thoſe facts which the partiality of Roman hiſtorians could not venture to diſſemble. Hannibal, diſappointed in his ſuccours from Carthage, and deceived in thoſe promiſed from king Philip, looked with anxious expectation towards his brother Aſdrubal, in Spain. For ſeven years Aſdrubal was prevented from gratifying his hopes by the brothers Publius and Cneius; but in the fourth year after the ſon of Publius had aſſumed

[87] Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 37, & ſeq. [88] Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 18. & ſeq.

CHAP. XVI.

the command, Aſdrubal marched through Gaul into Italy, and having paſſed the Po and the Rubicon, was totally defeated and ſlain on the Metaurus, in Umbria, by the conſuls Livius and Nero. This deciſive defeat was the work chiefly of Nero. He had been oppoſing Hannibal in Apulia, when Aſdrubal's letters, deſiring Hannibal to meet him in Umbria, were intercepted: Nero left his camp with a ſelect detachment; marched northward two hundred and fifty miles along the ſea coaſt, and by a ſeaſonable junction with his colleague, defeated Aſdrubal in the Metaurus, before Hannibal was appriſed of the departure of 6,000 foot and 1,000 horſe from lines oppoſite to his own. Nero marched back into Apulia, carrying with him the terror of a battle as bloody as that of Cannæ. At ſight of his brother Aſdrubal's head, Hannibal acknowledged with a ſigh the ſad deſtiny of Carthage. He quickly moved into the country of the Brutii, and contracted the few confederates that remained to him into that remote corner, where only he was ſtill able to protect them [89].

Scipio's victories in Spain. He prepares to paſs into Africa. Olymp. cxliii. 4. B C. 205.

After the departure of Aſdrubal from Spain, Scipio defeated four diviſions of the Carthaginians, and ſucceſſively expelled them from that country. The laſt diviſion left it under Mago[90], alſo ſon to Hamilcar, and not unworthy of his father and brothers. He eſcaped to the Balearic iſles, from thence ſailed to Genoa, and collected an army of Gauls and Ligurians, with whom, while he fought the pretor Quintius Varius near Milan, he was badly wounded and obliged to retreat to the ſea-coaſt. In the bay of Genoa, he found ſome Carthaginian veſſels bringing orders both to himſelf and to Hannibal, that they ſhould return to the defence of their country[91]. The preſſing neceſſities of Carthage required indeed this meaſure. Scipio, after driving the enemy from Spain, had been elected conſul, and ſailed into Sicily with Africa for his province [92]. His lieutenant Lælius had been ſent to ravage the coaſt of Carthage, and to excite defection among the allies or ſubjects of that ſtate: Maſiniſſa, the

Polybius, l. xi. c. 7. l. xv. c. 1. Tit. l. xxvii. c. 41, & ſeq. Tit. Liv. l xxviii. c. 13.

[90] Polybius, l. xiv. c. 9. Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 18, 19.

[91] Id. l. xxviii. c. 45.

Numidian,

CHAP. XVI.

Scipio thither. Olymp. cxliv. 1. B. C 204.

Numidian, having already, amidſt the misfortunes of the Carthaginians, revolted to Scipio in Spain. After employing the whole year of his conſulſhip in preparations, wonderfully facilitated by the alacrity of all ranks of men both in Sicily and Italy, Scipio, with 400 tranſports, eſcorted by 50 gallies, had paſſed into Africa[93]. The number of his forces is uncertain, but its ſtrength far ſurpaſſed any thing that could be brought againſt it. He was maſter of all the open country: he beſieged Tunes and Utica, baſtions, as it were, on either ſide of Carthage: Syphax[94], rival to Maſiniſſa, was his priſoner; and the flower of the Numidians, long the beſt auxiliaries to Carthage, now received orders from the proconſul.

Hannibal comes to the defence of Carthage. His meaſures. Olymp. cxliv 2. B. C 203.

Under theſe circumſtances, Hannibal arrived at Hadrumetum[95], eighty miles ſouth of Tunes. His brother Mago, while on the voyage homeward, died at ſea of his wound. Hannibal, finding the country round Carthage occupied by enemies, marched weſtward towards the river Bagradas. Scipio, appriſed of his arrival, did not think it expedient to proſecute his attack againſt places on the ſea coaſt. He therefore proceeded ſouthward to offer battle to the enemy, now encamped near Zama, about ſixty miles inland from Hadrumetum. By this time Hannibal had drawn to him the remains of vanquiſhed armies, and all the forces that could be ſpared from any of the beſieged cities. Beſides his veterans from Italy, whoſe horſes however he was obliged to leave behind him for want of tranſports, his ſtandard was followed by that wide variety of nations, which diſtinguiſhed the ſervice of a people ſupplied chiefly by mercenaries. They conſiſted of Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards, Moors, and tribes of Numidians hoſtile to Maſiniſſa[96]. Throughout the whole of the preſent war, the Carthaginians had avoided to meet the Romans at ſea. Their cowardice on this element, long propitious to their anceſtors, prevented all co-operation between them and

[93] Id. l. xxix. c. 24, & ſeq.

[94] He was king of the Maſæſylians; Maſiniſſa, of the Maſſylians. Conf. Tit. Liv. xxviii. 17. xxix. 32. xxx. 11.

[95] Polybius, l. xv. c. 5.

[96] Ibid. c. 3.

their

CHAP. XVI.

their ally Philip of Macedon. But Philip, having now with much labour created a fleet of his own, had ſent to them 4,000 Macedonians. This reinforcement, however, which afterwards coſt Philip ſo dear, left them far inferior to the enemy in ſtrength as well as ſpirit. While Scipio was on the march to Zama, Hannibal diſpatched three ſpies, who were detected and brought to the Roman camp. The general deſired every thing to be ſhewn to them at much leiſure, and then diſmiſſed them under a ſafe conduct to make report to their employer [97]. The generoſity of this proceeding made Hannibal deſire a conference. Scipio conſented; and for this purpoſe drew nearer the enemy, to a place called Nadagara [98], a very advantageous poſt, and having water at command. Hannibal brought his army within three miles of him, and encamped on a hill, ſtrong and otherwiſe convenient, but too far removed from water [99]. The conference was not productive of any good effect; and both parties prepared for battle on the adjacent plain.

Battle of Zama. Olymp. cxliv. 3. B. C. 202.

Hannibal, inferior in other reſpects, had above eighty elephants, which he placed in his van, that their reſiſtleſs ſtrength and wild impetuous movements might diſturb the Roman ranks. His army was drawn up in three lines, with cavalry, in which he was weak, on the wings. The firſt line contained the different bodies of mercenaries above enumerated; the ſecond conſiſted of the domeſtic forces of Carthage; the third, in which he chiefly confided, of the veterans brought with him from Italy [100]. Scipio's men alſo formed in three lines; the Haſtati, Principes, and Triarii: his cavalry was diſpoſed on the wings; the right commanded by Maſiniſſa, the left by Lælius. But in order to provide againſt any confuſion in his order of battle, that might be occaſioned by the enemy's elephants, he did not draw up his van in a full line, but ſeparated its cohorts at

[97] Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 29.
[98] Otherwiſe called Naraggara.
[99] Polyb. l. xv. c. 6.
[100] Polyb. l. xv. c. 8. & ſeq.

CHAP. XVI.

wide intervals from each other [101]; his ſecond and third lines were alſo provided with intervals correſponding with thoſe in the front of the army. His men being thus arranged, not according to the chequer order [102] uſual with the Romans, but by rank and file, in direct back-ſtanding, the elephants, he expected, would find their way, without doing much harm, through the avenues left open for them. The battle began by deſultory ſkirmiſhes of Numidian horſemen. The elephants were then brought forward, and being galled and enraged by the Velites, diſpoſed in the intervals of the cohorts, either purſued them to the rear of the Roman army, or were carried towards the extremities of their own line, where they produced much diſorder among the Carthaginian cavalry. At this criſis, Maſiniſſa and Lælius made their attack, and put to rout the ſquadrons to which they were reſpectively oppoſed. Meanwhile Hannibal brought forward his firſt and ſecond lines. The Romans advanced ſlowly and ſilently to meet them. Within a due diſtance, both armies raiſed a ſhout; that, on the ſide of the Carthaginians, confuſed and heterogenious; that of the Romans in one according voice, and therefore louder and more terrible. The mercenaries, however, fought ſtrenuouſly, but entirely unaided by the Carthaginians behind them, whereas the Principes of the Romans were always at hand, to ſupport their Haſtati, or firſt ranks. The mercenaries, being thus obliged to give way, turned their arms on the Carthaginians, by whoſe cowardice they had been ſo ſhamefully deſerted. The Carthaginians, now driven to deſpair, were ſeized with a frantic rage, and exerted themſelves with a boldneſs, or rather ferocity, altogether unuſual to them, both againſt their own mercenaries and the

[101] Non confertas autem cohortes ante ſua quamque ſigna inſtruebat, ſed manipulos aliquantum inter ſe diſtantes, ut eſſet ſpatium, quo elephanti hoſtium accepti nihil ordines turbarent. Tit. Liv. xxx. 33.

[102] Καθαπερ εθος εστι τοις Ρωμαιοις. (Polyb. xv. c. 9.) may be referred either to the chequer order of maniples or of ſoldiers. I take it in the latter ſenſe, for the reaſons given above. C. xii. p. 673—676.

Romans.

Romans. At length, repelled by ſuperior force, they hoped to be received into the line of veterans which Hannibal had kept in reſerve; but as they approached, the veterans preſented to them the points of their ſpears, ſo. that only a feeble remnant was ſaved by flying to the wings. Scipio, on this occaſion, as the ground, ſlippery with mud and gore, was interrupted with broken armour and heaps of carcaſes, and his ranks conſiderably diſordered, commanded his Haſtati to cloſe to the centre, and his Principes and Triarii to gain the flanks, and form with the Haſtati in one continued line. In this order, an obſtinate battle began againſt Hannibal's veterans, the iſſue of which was not decided until the return of Maſiniſſa and Lælius, who having defeated and diſperſed the enemy's cavalry, now aſſailed in flank and rear, and totally deſtroyed Hannibal's only remaining reſource [103]. He eſcaped with a few horſemen to Hadrumetum, and being recalled to Carthage, declared the war at an end.

Peace—its conditions.

The Carthaginians conſented to every condition impoſed on them. They had loſt the poſſeſſion, and now abandoned all right to Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, or any other foreign conqueſt. Even on their own continent, they bound themſelves by oaths and hoſtages not to take arms without permiſſion from the Romans. They ſurrendered all their gallies, ten only excepted; and had the mortification to ſee 500 armed veſſels burnt by Scipio's order. By a clauſe of far leſs importance, they ſurrendered alſo all their elephants, and promiſed no longer to train for war any of thoſe fierce animals: they agreed at the ſame time to pay 10,000 talents, at the rate of 200 talents yearly. The firſt payment being immediately exacted, the ſenate of Carthage was in tears. Hannibal laughed aloud; and being reproved for his indecency, maintained that there could not be any thing more laughable, than the abſurdity of men who bewailed the loſs of their money, more than that of their ſhips, arms, and independence [104].

[103] Polybius, lxv. c. 9—16. [104] Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 44.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Etolians and Acarnanians endeavour reſpectively to gain the Lacedæmonians.—Manly Reſolution of the Acarnanians ſaves their Country.—Philip defeats the Proconſul Sulpicius.—His Bravery in the Battle of Elis.—Falſe Report of his Death.—Philopœmen's Return to Achaia.—His Character and Victories.—Philip's Exertions againſt the Romans and King Attalus.—Diſappointed by the Carthaginians.—Machanidas Tyrant of Sparta.—Battle of Mantinæa.—Proſperity of the Achæan League.—Philip's Alliance with Antiochus.—Great Proſpects in the Eaſt.—Sea-fight off Caſyſté.—Philip's Conqueſts in Caria.—Deſtruction of Abydus.

CHAP. XVII.

Tranſition to the events in Greece, contemporary with the ſecond Punic war.

THE tranſactions of the Greeks, contemporary with the Hannibalic war[1], are too important to be conſidered as an underplot. Philip, the chief enemy to Rome beyond the Hadriatic, light and inconſiderate as he was, excites intereſt by his activity and ſpirit. His allies, the Achæans, boaſted in Philopœmen a name not eclipſed by that of Marcellus or Scipio. Philip's firſt opponents, the Etolians Elians and Lacedæmonians, preſented even in thoſe latter times of Greece, many ſingular and momentous ſcenes, flowing from indelible peculiarities in their national manners; and the adverſaries whom his injuſtice afterwards ſtirred up againſt him, I mean Attalus and the Rhodians, enjoyed ſolid and fair pre-eminences, ſurpaſſing the blood-ſtained pomp of mere military triumphs. This portion of hiſtory forms, beſides, a natural prelude to the firſt Macedonian war, from the commencement of which, Rome was engaged in a perpetual ſeries of hoſtilities or negociations with the different mem-

[1] Ὁ Ἀννιβιακος πολεμος. Polyb. i. 3. ii. 37. iii 1. vi. 51. & Appian. Ἀννιβικη. l. vii. p. 228.

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