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TITUS LIVIUS'
ROMAN HISTORY,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH;

CONTAINING THE

FIRST FIVE BOOKS

OF THE
secundum Punicum
SECOND PUNIC WAR.

ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND GEOGRAPHICAL.

FOR THE

USE OF STUDENTS IN HUMANITY.

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THE HISTORY OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE

BY
LORD HORSBURY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES
VOLUME THE SECOND



Printed by James Auchie, Edinburgh.

TITUS LIVIUS' ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK XXI.

CONTAINING

- I. *Commencement of the Second Punic War.*—II. *Asdrubal's character.*—III. *Hannibal chosen general of the Carthaginians.*—IV. *Arrives in Spain. His character.*—V—XIII. *Reduces Spain.*—XIV. *Takes Saguntum.*—XV—XXII. *Leaves Asdrubal to command in Spain.*—XXIII. *Sets out for Italy. Passes the Pyrenees.*—XXVIII. *Passes the Rhone.*—XXXII. *Arrives at the Alps.*—XXXVIII. *Arrives in Italy.*—XXXIX. *Takes Turin, the capital of the Piedmontese.*—XLVI. *Defeats the Roman cavalry at Ticin.*—XLIX. *Of the affairs in Sicily.*—LVI. *Hannibal defeats the Romans at Trebia.*—LVIII. *Passes the Apennines.*—LIX. *Another battle, which night interrupts.*—LX. *Scipio's success in Spain.*

CHAP. I.—I MAY be allowed to introduce this part of my work, with what the generality of historians profess in the beginning of theirs, that I am going to relate the most memorable war that ever was carried on,—that which the Carthaginians, under the command of Hannibal, sustained against the Romans: for never did more potent states war with each other, neither did those engaged ever enjoy a higher degree of strength and force. Besides, they were sensible of each other's military skill and abilities, having had sufficient proofs of them in the first Punic war. Nay, the fortune of their arms was so various, and victory so long in declaring itself, that the side which conquered was in the greatest danger of being destroyed. However great the forces of the two

contending states were, their mutual resentment was still greater; the Romans being exasperated to see a conquered people, without provocation, renew hostilities against their conquerors; while the Carthaginians looked upon the tyranny and avarice of their vanquishers as quite insupportable. There is likewise a tradition, that as Hannibal, then about nine years old, was soothing, with childish caresses, his father Hamilcar, to take him along with him to Spain, whither, after finishing the war in Africa, he was now about to transport his troops, and was sacrificing for success in that expedition, he was led by his father to the altar, and, with his hand on the victim, was bound by this oath,—“ That as soon as he should have it in his power, he would declare himself an enemy to the Roman people.” His great spirit could not brook the loss of Sicily and Sardinia; for he thought the former had been too hastily given up, through an ill-founded despair of being able to keep it; and was enraged that the Romans, taking advantage of the commotions in Africa, had treacherously seized the latter, and likewise imposed a new tribute upon Carthage.

CHAP. II.—DISTRACTED with these cares, he behaved himself in such a manner during the war in Africa, which lasted five years after the conclusion of the late treaty with the Romans, and in Spain, where, for nine years, he extended the Carthaginian domination, that it plainly appeared he was meditating a more considerable war than that he was carrying on. And, had he lived longer, the Carthaginians had carried those arms into Italy, under the conduct of Hamilcar, which they did under that of Hannibal. This invasion was only deferred by the seasonable death of the former, and the nonage of the latter. During the interval between the death of that general and the mature age of his son, which was about eight years, Asdrubal obtained the administration of affairs, being in his early youth, as is reported, a favourite of Hamilcar, and afterwards, upon account of his great genius, preferred by that general, when advanced in years, to be his son-in-law; and, from this connection, and by the interest of the Barcinian faction, which had

too great credit both in the army and among the people, he got into the management of affairs, against the inclination of the nobility. He managed affairs more by policy than by open force; and, by his kind usage of petty princes, and reconciling foreign nations, by contracting friendships with their chiefs, aggrandized the Carthaginian state more than he could have done by war and arms. But the peace he courted could not protect his life. For a certain ruffian, to revenge Asdrubal's having put his master to death, killed him in the presence of many persons; and being apprehended by the by-standers, looked as unconcerned as if he had made his escape: nay, when he was racked, his joy for the revenge so overbalanced his pain, that his countenance seemed to carry a smile upon it. With this Asdrubal, who was so dexterous in gaining the neighbouring states, and in uniting them to his interest, the Romans had renewed the former treaty, on condition "that the river Iber should be the boundary of the two empires, and that the Saguntines, whose city lay between them, should remain free."

CHAP. III.—A GENERAL being now to be chosen in room of Asdrubal, there was no doubt but the commons would follow the precedent of the army, which had immediately carried Hannibal to the head-quarters, and declared him general with great acclamations and unanimity. While he was yet a boy, Asdrubal had wrote for him. The affair was even debated in senate, where the Barcinian faction strenuously urged the necessity of inuring Hannibal to arms, and that he should succeed to his father's commands. Hanno, the head of the opposite faction, said,—“Asdrubal's demand seems just; and yet I am of opinion it ought not to be granted.” This puzzling speech surprised the assembly, and drew their attention, while he continued.—“Asdrubal thinks he has a right to make reprisals on the son, for that beauty which he himself prostituted to the father; but it would ill become us to prostitute our youth to the lust of generals, instead of instructing them in the military art. Are we afraid that a son of Hamilcar should arrive too late at his father's extraordinary

" power, which was almost absolute tyranny? Are we
 " afraid that we shall not soon enough be the slaves of
 " a son of him, who left the command of our armies to
 " his son-in-law, as if it had been an hereditary office?
 " My advice is, that this youth should be kept at home,
 " under due subjection to the laws and magistrates,
 " that he may learn to live on an equal footing with
 " the rest of our citizens, lest this small spark should
 " some day kindle a great conflagration."

CHAP. IV.—A FEW, and those the wisest and best
 of the senate, approved of Hanno's advice; but, as com-
 monly happens, the majority carried the point against
 the abettors of this salutary resolution. Hannibal being,
 in consequence, sent into Spain, even on his arrival
 there, attracted the eyes of the whole army. The veter-
 ans believed Hamilcar was revived, and restored to
 them. They saw the same vigorous countenance, the
 same piercing eye, the same complexion and features.
 But, in a short time, his behaviour occasioned this re-
 semblance of his father to contribute the least towards
 his gaining their favour. And, in truth, never was there
 a genius more happily formed for two things most mani-
 festly contrary to each other, TO OBEY AND COMMAND.
 This made it difficult to determine whether the general
 or soldiers loved him most. Where any enterprise requir-
 ed vigour and valour in the performance, Asdrubal al-
 ways chose him to command at the executing it; nor
 were the troops ever more confident of success, or more
 intrepid, than when he was at their head. None ever
 shewed greater bravery in undertaking hazardous at-
 tempts, or more presence of mind and conduct in the exe-
 cution of them. No hardship could fatigue his body, or
 daunt his courage. He could equally bear cold and heat.
 The necessary refection of nature, not the pleasure of his
 palate, that he solely regarded in his meals. He made no
 distinction of day and night, in his watching or taking
 rest; and appropriated no time to sleep, but what remain-
 ed after he had completed his duty. He neither sought
 for a soft or retired place of repose, but was often seen
 lying on the bare ground, wrapt in a soldier's cloak,

among the sentinels and guards. He did not distinguish himself from his companions by the magnificence of his dress, but by the quality of his horse and arms. At the same time, he was by far the best foot and horse soldier in the army; ever the foremost in a charge, and the last who left the field after the battle was begun. These shining qualities were, however, balanced by great vices; inhuman cruelty, more than Carthaginian treachery, no respect for truth or honour, no fear of the gods, no regard for the sanctity of oaths, no sense of religion. With a disposition thus chequered with virtues and vices, he served three years under Asdrubal, without neglecting to pry into, or perform, every thing that could contribute to make him hereafter a complete general.

CHAP. V.—**BUT**, from the day that he was declared commander in chief, as if Italy had been decreed to be his province, and he had had a commission to make war upon the Romans, he thought he ought not to lose time, lest, while he dallied, he should be taken off by some unlucky accident, which had been the fate of his father and of Asdrubal: therefore, he resolved to attack the Saguntines. But seeing that hereby he would certainly rouse the Roman arms, he first marched his army into the territories of the Olcades,* a nation beyond the Ebro, which rather sided with, than was subject to the Carthaginians. By this he imagined it would seem, that his principal aim in this war was not to attack the Saguntines, but that, by consequence of events, and having reduced and annexed the neighbouring nations, he had been insensibly led to it. He took by storm and demolished Carteia,† a wealthy city, and the capital of that province. This struck so great terror into the less considerable towns, that they submitted, and had a tribute imposed on them. Then he marched his triumphant army, enriched with spoil, into winter quarters at New Carthage. There having firmly con-

* The situation of their country not determined by geographers, but probably it bordered on Cadiz.

† Now Tariffa, in Andalusia.

ciliated to himself the affections of both citizens and allies, by giving them a large share of the plunder, and faithfully paying them their arrears, in the beginning of the spring he carried his arms against the Vaccæi.* He took Hermandica† and Arbacula‡ by assault. The latter, through the bravery and number of her inhabitants, made a long defence. Those who escaped from Hermandica having joined the scattered remains of the Olcades, whom the Carthaginian had subdued the year before, stirred up the Carpetani,|| and falling upon him, in his march back from the Vaccæi, not far from the Tagus,§ harassed his troops, who were loaded with plunder. The Carthaginian declined coming to a battle, and encamping on the banks of the river, as soon as the enemy were hushed and gone to sleep, forded it. Then he encamped in such a manner as to leave the enemy room to come over, but resolved to attack them in their passage. He ordered his cavalry to charge them, as soon as they entered the water. His infantry he posted on the bank, with 40 elephants in their front. The Carpetani, with the addition of the Olcades and Vaccæi, were 100,000 in number; an invincible army, had they been to engage on fair ground. But being naturally fierce, relying on their numbers, and believing the enemy had retreated through fear, they imagined the river's being between was the sole obstacle to their victory. Wherefore, setting up a shout, they rushed into it, without any particular leader, each from the ground where he stood. A great body of horse entered it from the other side; and they came to an engagement in the

* Living on the borders of Galicia, and possessing a district, now part of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, on both sides of the Duero.

† Unknown.

‡ Sanson conjectures it to be the same city which is now called *Avilla*; others *Arevallo*, in Old Castile.

|| Toledo was the capital of their country, which comprehended the canton of La Mancha. It lies in the centre of Spain, on both sides of the Tagus.

§ It rises at Mount Sierra de Albarazin, near the borders of Aragon and Old Castile; runs by Toledo to Estremadura; crosses part of Portugal, forms the port of Lisbon, and falls into the Atlantic ocean, two leagues below that city.

middle of the stream, but on very unequal terms: for the allies' infantry, not having sure footing, or trusting to the ford, could easily be overthrown, even by unarmed cavalry, if they but drove their horses against them at random; whereas the Carthaginian horse, having the free use of their bodies and arms, and their horses sure footing even in the middle of the stream, might do execution both at hand and at a distance. Great numbers were drowned; and some, who were driven by the violence of the current to the other side, were trampled to death by the elephants. But their rear, whose safest course was to return to their own side, as they were endeavouring to rally in this general confusion, were put to flight, before they could recover from their consternation, by Hannibal, who entered the river with his troops, formed in a square battalion. After having laid their country waste, the Carpetani within a few days submitted to him. Now all the nations beyond the Ebro, except the Saguntines, were subjected to the Carthaginians.

CHAP. VI.—HE had not yet attacked the Saguntines; but quarrels were excited between them and the neighbouring states, especially with the Turdetani,* to furnish him with a pretext to do it. When he, who had himself sown the seeds of these differences, came to assist the latter, and it was evident that he had no intention to do justice, but forcibly to impose terms, the Saguntines dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to solicit aid in the war which was certainly ready to fall on them. At that time, P. Cornelius Scipio, and Ti. Sempronius Longus, were consuls at Rome. They having introduced the ambassadors into the senate-house, and laid the state of the republic before the assembly, it was resolved “to send ambassadors into Spain, to
“inquire into the situation of their allies' affairs; and,
“if they found sufficient cause, expressly to require
“Hannibal to refrain all acts of hostility against the Sa-
“guntines, who were allies of the Romans: from thence

* In the middle of Portugal.

“to proceed to Carthage, and there present a memorial, containing the complaints of their friends.” But before this embassy, which had been concluded on, could be dispatched, news arrived, that Saguntum was actually invested, much sooner than ever could have been expected. Upon this, the affair was again taken under consideration by the senate. Some were of opinion, that Spain and Africa should be the provinces assigned to the consuls, and that they ought to act vigorously both by sea and land: others were for acting with their whole force against Hannibal in Spain; but some advised, not rashly to undertake an affair of such vast consequence, and to wait the return of the ambassadors from Spain. This opinion, which seemed to be the most salutary, was agreed to, and the ambassadors, P. Valerius Flaccus and Q. Bæbius Tamphilus, were the sooner dispatched to Hannibal at Saguntum, from whence, in case he did not cease hostilities, they were to proceed to Carthage, to demand that the general himself should be delivered up, to be punished for his violation of the treaty.

CHAP. VII.—WHILE the Romans were deliberating and making preparations for an embassy in this manner, the Carthaginian pressed the siege of Saguntum with the utmost vigour. This city was by much the richest of all beyond the Ebro, and was situate about a mile from the sea. Its inhabitants are said to have come originally from Zacynthus,* and to have been mixed with some people of Ardea, a city of the Rutuli. But in a short time they acquired immense riches by the advantages they procured both by sea and land, by the vast increase of their inhabitants, by their exact discipline, and firm attachment to the principles of honesty, which made them maintain their fidelity to their allies, even to their own utter destruction. The Carthaginian having entered their territories with fire and sword, and ruined all their lands, attacked the city in three places at once. One angle of the wall ran out

* An island in the Ionian sea.

into a plain of larger extent, and more level, than any other ground round the place. Against this he determined to erect his galleries, in order to be able, under their cover, to approach it with his battering-rams. At a distance from the wall the place was indeed very proper and safe for playing these machines; but when they came to be applied, they had not a successful effect. A great tower overtopped them; and the wall itself, as being most exposed on that side, was there built higher, and better fortified than the rest. Besides, as that was the most dangerous and fatiguing post, a chosen body of their youth defended it with proportionable vigour. At first they repulsed the enemy with their missile weapons; nor did they suffer their pioneers to prosecute their work in safety anywhere. At last, they not only discharged their darts from the walls and tower, but were bold enough to sally, in order to drive them from their posts, and destroy their works. In these tumultuary skirmishes, the loss of the Carthaginians was almost as great as that of the Saguntines. But when Hannibal, by approaching the wall with too little precaution, was wounded in the thigh by a javelin, and fell, his troops were so terrified, and fell back in such disorder, that they were very near entirely abandoning their works and galleries.

CHAP. VIII.—THE siege was continued, but no assault made for some days, during the cure of the general's wound: but, notwithstanding the attacks were suspended, they were busily employed in preparing works and batteries. For this reason, their attacks were soon renewed with greater vigour, and on more quarters than before. Even in places where their engines had scarcely room to be applied, they began to push on their galleries, and approach with their battering-rams. The Carthaginian had sufficient numbers of men, for it is believed his army amounted to 150,000. But the townsmen, by using every expedient to defend and be ready at all their posts, began to be hard put to it, not having men enough for every occasion; for by this time the walls were severely battered by the rams. They were likewise shattered in many places; but, in

one particularly, so great a part of them fell all together, that the town lay quite open. Then three towers, with all the wall betwixt them, tumbled down with a great crash. This breach induced the Carthaginians to look on the place as good as taken; and both sides, as if the walls alone had kept them from each other before, ran to engage at it. This action had not the aspect of the tumultuous skirmishes, so common during sieges, when the two parties meet in a sally; but of a pitched battle, maintained by the two contending people, drawn up, as in the open field, in the small space between the breach of the wall and the houses. Hope animated one side, and despair the other: for the Carthaginians looked on the place as their own, with some few more efforts; and the Saguntines, opposing their bodies for the defence of their native city, now dismantled of its walls, did not flinch a step, for fear the enemy should occupy the ground they abandoned. Thus the closer and sharper the conflict was, the more were wounded; for every weapon did execution either on arms or bodies. The Saguntines used a weapon, which they lanced with their hand, called *Falarica*. Its shaft was long, and everywhere round, except towards the point, where it was tipped with iron. Round this head, which was square like that of a javelin, they wrapt tow dipped in pitch. The iron was three feet long, and capable of piercing both arms and bodies. But if it happened to stick in the shield, without penetrating the body, it occasioned, in an especial manner, great terror: because being discharged with the middle of it on fire, and acquiring a much fiercer flame by the motion, it obliged him whom it struck to drop his arms, and remain exposed to succeeding volleys.

CHAP. IX.—*THUS* victory continuing long in suspense, the Saguntines, by a resistance even beyond expectation, gained fresh courage; and the Carthaginian, because he had not got the victory, looked on himself as vanquished. In consequence, the former, all of a sudden, setting up a shout, drove the enemy into the breach: then seeing them there entangled, and in great consternation, they repulsed them from it; and at length putting them to the rout, obliged them to fly to their

camp. Immediately accounts came, that the Roman ambassadors were just upon the point of arriving. Upon this Hannibal dispatched persons to meet them at the sea-side, and to tell them, "that it would not be safe for them to come to him amidst so many barbarous nations in arms; and, for his own part, the dangerous situation of his affairs did not allow him leisure to give audience to ambassadors." He saw clearly, that upon this refusal to admit them, they would proceed directly to Carthage. Therefore, he immediately dispatched couriers with letters to the Barcinian faction, to be upon their guard to prevent the opposite party's complying with the demands of the Romans.

CHAP. X.—By this means their embassy proved as fruitless and ineffectual at Carthage, in every respect, excepting being admitted to an audience. Hanno alone, in opposition to the whole body of the senate, spoke in defence of the treaty, and was heard with great attention, on account of his rank and authority, rather than that the auditors approved of what he said. His speech was to this effect.—"I formerly warned and conjured you by the gods, who are the arbiters and witnesses of treaties, not to send any of Hamilcar's race to the army. Neither the manes or progeny of that general can remain in quiet; nor, whilst a single person of the blood and name of Barcas survives, will any treaty with the Romans be inviolably observed. Notwithstanding my remonstrance, you have added fuel to this fire, by sending to your army a youth who burns with an ambition of sovereignty, and who sees the only means to attain it, is to excite war upon the back of war, to live continually girt with arms, and surrounded by legions. Thus you have nourished the fire that now preys upon you. Your troops are now besieging Saguntum, contrary to express treaties; but the Roman legions will soon invest Carthage, under the direction of those very gods, who, in the former war, avenged our violation of faith. Whether is it the enemy, yourselves, or the fortune of the two nations, that you are unacquainted with? Your good

“ general, forsooth, would not admit into his camp the
“ ambassadors of allies, who came in favour of allies,
“ nay, violated the law of nations ! Yet they, after re-
“ ceiving such a repulse, as is never given even to ene-
“ mies deputies, come to you to demand satisfaction ac-
“ cording to treaty. They suppose the state had no
“ share in this perfidy, and only demand the really cul-
“ pable person, the author of the injury. The more
“ moderately they proceed, the longer they are of be-
“ ginning ; but, I am afraid, when they have once en-
“ tered into hostilities, they will wreak their vengeance
“ on us with a proportionably obstinate perseverance.
“ Remember the islands *Ægates* ; remember *Eryx* ; set
“ before your eyes what you have suffered during the
“ space of twenty-four years. This youth was not then
“ your general, but *Hamilcar*, his father, that second
“ *Mars*, as his partizans call him. Even then we could
“ not forbear, in violation of treaties, attacking *Taren-*
“ *tum* in Italy, as we now do *Saguntum*. For this reason
“ we were defeated by both gods and men ; and that
“ which was disputed in words at the beginning, which
“ of the two nations first violated the treaty, the event
“ of the war ascertained, and, like a just judge, gave
“ victory to them who had equity on their side. It is to
“ the walls of *Carthage* that *Hannibal* is approaching
“ with his galleries and mantlets ; it is her walls which
“ he now batters with his rams. I wish I may prove a
“ false prophet ; but I foresee, that the ruins of *Sagun-*
“ *tum* will tumble on our heads, and that we must sus-
“ tain against the Romans the war which we have un-
“ dertaken against the *Saguntines*. But, perhaps, some
“ will say, shall we then deliver up *Hannibal* ? I am
“ sensible, that my declaring for this step will have very
“ little weight with the senate, because of the enmity
“ that subsisted between his father and me. But I con-
“ fess I rejoiced at *Hamilcar*'s death, for this reason,
“ that had he lived, we had been at war with the
“ Romans even at this time ; and as to this youth,
“ I abhor and detest him as an incendiary, as the evil
“ genius of the present war. I am of opinion, that he
“ ought not only to be delivered up, to expiate his vio-

“ lation of the treaty, but, though none should demand
“ it, ought to be transported to the utmost extremities
“ of the world, and banished to so remote a distance,
“ as neither his name or fame might ever reach us, nor
“ his presence disturb the tranquillity of our state. My
“ advice therefore is, that you instantly dispatch one
“ embassy to Rome, to give the senate satisfaction ; an-
“ other to command Hannibal to withdraw his army
“ from Saguntum, and then to deliver up himself to
“ the Romans, according to treaty ; and a third to make
“ reparation to the Saguntines for the damages they
“ have sustained.”

CHAP. XI.—As almost all the senators were in the interest of Hannibal, there was no occasion for disputing what was said by Hanno. After he had concluded his speech, they reproached him with having spoken with more virulence and animosity than the Roman ambassador Flaccus Valerius. Then they returned this answer to the Roman deputies.—“ That it was the Saguntines, not Hannibal, who had been aggressors in the war ; and that the Romans would act unjustly, if they preferred the Saguntines to their ancient allies the Carthaginians.” While the Romans thus lost time in sending embassies, Hannibal, seeing his troops fatigued by fighting and working without any respite, gave them a few days rest, having in the meantime posted guards for the defence of his galleries and other works. During this time he revived their courage, sometimes by provoking their resentment against the enemy, and sometimes by hopes of rewards. But when he publicly declared, that the plunder should be their own, when they had taken the town, they were all animated to such a degree, that had the signal been given that instant, nothing seemed capable of resisting them. Though the Saguntines had enjoyed some respite from fighting, neither annoying the enemy nor being annoyed by them for a few days, yet they did not suspend their working, but laboured day and night in building a new wall, where the old one had fallen and left the city exposed. Then the enemy renewed their attack

with considerably more vigour than formerly ; and the besiegers were so confounded with the shouts resounding from all quarters, that they could not possibly know what part first or most needed their relief. Hannibal in person animated his troops at a place which he had approached with a moving tower higher than the fortifications of the town. After he had applied it, and, by the balistas and catapultas fixed in all its storeys, cleared the wall of defenders, he believed the time was come to carry the place, and sent about 500 Africans with pick-axes to undermine the wall. This was not a very difficult work, as they were not cemented with lime, but with clay, according to the ancient custom ; so that they tumbled down much farther than where they were undermined, and whole battalions of armed men entered the town through these breaches. They likewise seized an eminence, to which they brought their catapultas and balistas. This hill they surrounded with a wall, that they might have a fort in the city, which might like a citadel command it. The Saguntines likewise raised a new wall within that part which was not yet taken by the enemy. Both sides worked and fought with the utmost vigour. But the Saguntines, though they bravely defended what was left, saw their city daily diminished. Besides, by the length of the siege, they began to be more and more in want of all kinds of provisions, and had daily less expectation of relief from without, as the Romans, their sole resource, were so remote, and all the country round them in possession of the enemy. However, their afflicted minds were relieved for a short time, by Hannibal's being obliged to march against the Oretani* and Carpetani. These two nations, discontented at the rigour with which the levies were made in their country, had seized the recruiting officers, and made the Carthaginian apprehensive they would revolt ; but he having surprised them, they laid down their arms, and remained quiet.

* Their country, a part of the province of *Terragona*, was full of rocks and hills, in the south part of *New Castile*, bordering on *Lusitania* and *Bætica*. Their capital *Oretum* stood near the *Guadiana*. *Marolles* thinks it is the present *Calatrava* ; but *Sanson* will have it to be *Notre Dame di Oret*.

CHAP. XII.—*BUT* the siege of Saguntum was still pushed on with no less vigour. For Maheral, the son of Himilco, whom Hannibal had left to command, exerted himself with so much activity, that neither besieged nor besiegers were sensible of the general's absence. This officer had the advantage in several rencounters, beat down part of the wall with three battering-rams, and shewed Hannibal, at his return, every place full of ruins which he had lately made. Upon this the army was immediately led to attack the citadel, where there happened an obstinate and bloody battle on both sides, and part of it was taken. Then Alcon a Saguntine, and Alorcus a Spaniard, tried the small hopes that remained of obtaining a peace. Alcon, imagining that he could move the Carthaginian by prayers, went, without the knowledge of his countrymen, to him in the night: but when he found his tears had no effect, and that the incensed conqueror insisted on extremely hard terms, he became of a negotiator a deserter, and stayed with the enemy, affirming, that his countrymen would put any man to death who should propose such conditions of peace to them. The terms insisted on were, "that they should make satisfaction to the Turdetani, deliver up all their gold and silver, quit the place with one garment apiece, and settle in whatever place the Carthaginian should assign." Alcon protested that the Saguntines would never submit to these terms. But Alorcus, affirming, that where every thing else is lost, courage must yield, undertook to propose them. This man was then a soldier in Hannibal's army, but openly professed a friendship and kindness for the Saguntines. After publicly delivering up his arms to the sentinels of the besieged, he passed their fortifications, and was, agreeable to his own desire, carried before the governor of the town. A great multitude of all ranks instantly flocked thither; but the rabble being removed, Alorcus had audience of the senate, whom he addressed in the following terms.—

CHAP. XIII.—"IF your fellow citizen, Alcon, after having gone to Hannibal to sue for peace, had returned with the conditions insisted on, my journey,

“ which I have made, neither as a deputy from the
“ Carthaginian, or a deserter to you, would have been
“ needless. But as he has stayed with the enemy, either
“ through his own fault, by pretending to be afraid of
“ you or yours, by its being dangerous to tell you the
“ truth, I have come, in regard to that friendship, which
“ has long subsisted between us, to inform you, that you
“ may still obtain some terms of life and peace. And
“ that I have no other view but to your interest in
“ what I now urge, I hope you will firmly believe from
“ this circumstance, that I never made the least men-
“ tion of peace to you, while you were in a condition
“ to defend yourselves, or had any hopes of aid from
“ the Romans. Now you can no longer rely on relief
“ from them, and neither your arms nor walls can se-
“ cure you, I bring you a peace, on terms rather ne-
“ cessary than reasonable. My sole hopes of being
“ able to conclude it, rest on your accepting as a con-
“ quered people the terms which the Carthaginian im-
“ poses as a conqueror; on your considering, where
“ every thing belongs to the conqueror, whatever is left
“ you as a gift, and not whatever is taken from you as
“ a loss. He deprives you of your city, which is al-
“ ready in a great measure demolished, and almost en-
“ tirely in his possession; but he leaves you your lands,
“ and will assign you a spot whereon to build a new ci-
“ ty: he orders all the gold and silver, either belonging
“ to the public or to individuals, to be brought to him;
“ but he will not touch your lives, your wives and child-
“ ren, provided you quit Saguntum with a single gar-
“ ment apiece, but without arms. These are the terms
“ a victorious enemy imposes; and hard and severe as
“ they are, the condition you are in ought to induce
“ you to accept them. Nay, I do not despair of his
“ abating some part of them, when you have once sub-
“ mitted every thing to him. But in all events I think
“ it would be better for you to stoop to these, than to
“ suffer your throats to be cut, and your wives and
“ children before your faces ravished and dragged into
“ slavery as prisoners of war.”

CHAP. XIV.—THE multitude, by degrees crowding round to hear the speech, had formed a mixed assembly of senators and people, when the principal men, before an answer could be given, retired, and bringing all the silver and gold, belonging either to the public or individuals, into the forum, threw them into a fire, which had been suddenly lighted for that purpose, and then the greatest part of them threw themselves after it. While this spread an universal terror and consternation through the city, another great noise was heard from the citadel. A tower which the enemy had long battered had fallen. A battalion of Carthaginians had that moment attacked the breach, and sent word to their general, that the place was not defended as it used to be by guards and sentinels. Hannibal, convinced that he ought to improve so fair an opportunity, brought his whole troops on to the assault, and took the place in a moment's time. Then he gave orders to kill all of an age fit to bear arms. These were cruel orders; but the event confirmed that they were almost absolutely necessary: for was it possible to spare any of those, who shut themselves up in their houses, and either burnt themselves there with their wives and children, or fought sword in hand to the last moment of their lives?

CHAP. XV.—THE town was taken with great booty in it; and though the inhabitants had purposely spoiled the greatest part of their effects, and the conquerors, in the fury of their resentment, had slaughtered all without regard to age, and the soldiers were to have the prisoners as booty; yet it is certain a considerable sum of money was made of what was sold, and great quantities of fine furniture and rich apparel sent to Carthage. According to some authors, Saguntum was taken in the eighth month after it was invested. Hannibal went from it into winter quarters at New Carthage, and five months after he quitted it arrived in Italy. But if this be true, it is impossible that P. Cornelius and Ti. Sempronius were the consuls in office, to whom the Saguntine ambassadors were sent at the beginning of the siege, and one of whom, during his office, fought Hannibal at the

Ticin, and both soon after at Trebia. But either all these events must have been brought about in less time, or Saguntum not begun to be invested, but actually taken, in the beginning of that year, in which these two were consuls: for the battle of Trebia could never have fallen out so late as the consulate of Cn. Servilius and Flaminius; because the latter entered into office at Ariminum, having been elected by Ti. Sempronius, who went after the battle of Trebia to Rome to get consuls chosen, and returned, on ending the comitia, to the army, which was then in winter quarters.

CHAP. XVI.—At the same time that the ambassadors, who were returned from Carthage, brought word to Rome that nothing was to be expected but war, the news of the sack of Saguntum arrived. The fathers were so filled with grief and pity for the undeserved fate of their allies, shame for not having succoured them, resentment against the Carthaginians, and as great apprehension for the safety of their own state, as if the enemy had been at their gates; that while their breasts were agitated by so various passions, they rather shewed their consternation, than came to any salutary resolution. They considered, “that they never had to do
“with so inveterate and warlike an enemy; and that
“the Roman state had never been less vigorous, or lit-
“tle inured to arms. Their conflicts with the Sardi-
“nians, Corsicans, Istrians, and Illyrians, had rather pro-
“voked than really exercised their arms; and they had
“rather had tumultuous rencounters, than a stated war
“with the Gauls. But the Carthaginians were an old
“experienced enemy, who during twenty-three years
“past had always come off conquerors in the fiercest
“battles with the nations in Spain, at first under the
“command of Hamilcar, next of Asdrubal, and now
“of Hannibal, a most enterprising general; who, flush-
“ed with the late destruction of so wealthy a city, was
“passing the Ebro, with innumerable nations of Spain
“at his heels, and would soon raise those of Gaul, who
“were always fond of war. Thus they would be re-
“duced to defend the walls of Rome against all the
“nations of the universe assembled in Italy.”

CHAP. XVII.—The consuls had already had their provinces assigned them, but now they were ordered to draw lots for them anew. Spain fell to Cornelius, and Africa and Sicily to Sempronius. The number of troops for the service of that year were ordered to be six legions; the quota of the allies left to the discretion of the consuls, and as great a fleet as could be fitted out. The whole combined force consisted of 24,000 Roman foot, and 1800 horse; 44,000 foot and 4000 horse of the allies; 220 quinqueremes, and twenty frigates. Then a bill was laid before the people for their consent and order for declaring war against the Carthaginians. A supplication was likewise observed through the city on account of the war; and they implored the gods to grant success to these arms, which had been taken up by command of the Roman people. The troops were divided between the two consuls in the following manner.—Two legions, consisting of 4000 foot and 300 horse each, with 16,000 foot and 1800 horse of the allies, 160 quinqueremes, and twelve frigates, were given to Sempronius. With these land and sea forces he was sent into Sicily, from whence he was to sail to Africa, provided the other consul was able to keep the Carthaginian from entering Italy. Cornelius had fewer troops granted him, because L. Manlius, the prætor, had been sent with a strong army into Gaul; but in particular they lessened his share of the fleet. As they did not believe the enemy would come by sea, or that there would be much fighting on that element, they gave him only 60 quinqueremes, two Roman legions, with their exact complement of horse, 14,000 foot, and 1200 horse of the allies. The same year two Roman legions, 14,000 foot, 1000 horse of the allies, and 600 Roman knights, were sent into Gaul to oppose the Carthaginians.

CHAP. XVIII.—AFTER all these preparations, that they might perform every thing required to justify the war being lawful, they sent five venerable men, Q. Fabius, M. Livius, L. Æmilius, C. Licinius, and Q. Bæbius, ambassadors into Africa, to demand of the Carthaginians whether Hannibal had besieged Saguntum by or-

der of their state? and if they acknowledged and justified its being so, as it was probable they would, to declare war against them. When they arrived, and had their audience of the senate, Q. Fabius, without more words, made the demand in the express terms of his commission. Then one of the principal Carthaginians replied,—“ Romans, your first embassy, when you demanded
“ Hannibal to be delivered up to you, for besieging Sa-
“ guntum by his own authority, was carrying your pride
“ to a great height. But your second, though couch-
“ ed in milder words, is still more insolent. For then
“ your accusations and demands were confined solely to
“ Hannibal ; now you demand even of us a confession of
“ a crime, and satisfaction for that crime, as if we had
“ pleaded guilty. But, in my opinion, the question
“ between us ought not to be, whether Saguntum was
“ attacked by the authority of our state, or of an indi-
“ vidual, but whether this attack was just or unjust in
“ itself. We alone have right to examine and punish a
“ member of our state, if he has acted any thing of his
“ own proper motion without our orders. You have no
“ farther concern with the action, than to inquire whe-
“ ther it was agreeable to treaty or not. Therefore,
“ since you think fit to distinguish between what gene-
“ rals do by public authority and what of their own ac-
“ cord, I confess the treaty made by your consul Lu-
“ tatus is still subsisting between us, and in it there is
“ a clause which provides for the safety of the allies of
“ both states. But the Saguntines are not mentioned in
“ it, because they were not your allies at that time.
“ But you will reply, perhaps, that they are not ex-
“ cepted out of that treaty which you made with As-
“ drubal. In answer to this, I shall only urge what I
“ have learned from you. You insisted you were not
“ bound by the first treaty made with the consul C. Lu-
“ tatus, because it was made without the authority of
“ the senate or order of your people. Wherefore a new
“ one was drawn up by your state. If, therefore, your
“ treaties, which are made without your order or autho-
“ rity, are not obligatory upon you, neither can we be
“ bound to execute the treaty which Asdrubal entered

“ into without our knowledge. Henceforth, therefore, “ cease to mention Saguntum and the Ebro, and give “ at length birth to what you have so long concealed “ within your breasts.” Then the Roman, taking up the ends of his robe, so as to make a hollow, said,— “ Here, we bring you peace and war; take which you “ please.” At this speech, they all cried out, with no less vehemence, “ Give us which you think proper.” And when, upon letting fall the fold of his robe, he said, “ he gave them war,” they all replied, “ they accepted it willingly, and would prosecute it with the “ same resolution with which they received it.”

CHAP. XIX.—THIS plain open manner of interrogating the Carthaginians, and declaring war against them, the Romans thought more consistent with the dignity of their character, than to amuse themselves with refined arguments on the right construction of treaties, which served no purpose before the demolition of Saguntum, and would be of far less signification, now it was taken. For, had they chosen to enter into the dispute, it was plain, that the treaty made with Asdrubal was not to be compared with the first of Lutatius, in room of which it was made; since it was expressly stipulated in the latter, “ that it should only be obligatory, if the Roman people approved of it:” whereas there was no such exception in that made with Asdrubal; and it had been approved in such a manner, by a silence of so many years as he had lived after it, that nobody even pretended to make any alteration in it after his death. Besides, put the case, that they adhered to the first treaty, the Saguntines were sufficiently comprehended in this general clause, “ the allies of both states excepted;” for it is not added, THOSE WHO THEN WERE, NOT THOSE WHO SHOULD BECOME SO AFTERWARDS. Could any one think it reasonable, that either the Romans could not, for any services, receive a people into their amity, or protect them after they were admitted into alliance, when it had only been stipulated, that none of the Carthaginian allies should be enticed to revolt, or, if they did fall off of their own accord, not to be received? The Roman am-

bassadors, according to the instructions they received at Rome, proceeded from Carthage to Spain, to go round among the states of that nation, either to engage them to enter into alliance with the Romans, or draw them off from that of the Carthaginians. They came first to the Bargusians,* who, being weary of the Carthaginian yoke, received them very kindly, and, by their example, inspired many nations beyond the Ebro to change sides. Then they applied to the Volscians;† but the celebrated answer they received from them spreading all over Spain, made the rest of their states averse to entering into alliance with the Romans: for the most venerable person in their assembly said,—“Are not ye ashamed, Romans, to ask us to prefer your alliance to that of the Carthaginians, when the Saguntines, who did so, were more inhumanly betrayed by you, their allies, than cruelly treated by Hannibal, who destroyed them? I advise you to go seek for allies in countries where the fate of Saguntum is not known. The ruins of that city are a sad but powerful monument to deter the states of Spain from relying on the faith or friendship of the Romans.” Then they were ordered to quit the Volscian territories directly. They did not receive a more favourable answer from any canton in Spain. Wherefore, after having travelled through all that country to no effect, they passed over into Gaul.

CHAP. XX.—THERE they saw a strange and terrible sight. The Gauls, according to the custom of their country, came to their assemblies completely armed. Here, after extolling the renown and valour of the Romans, and the grandeur of their empire, they demanded that the Gauls would not grant the Carthaginian, who was going to invade Italy, a passage through their territories. This raised so great a clamour and fit of laughter, that the magistrates and old men could scarce quiet the young; so void of reason and shame did it seem, to demand that the Gauls, rather than suffer the war to be carried into Italy, should draw it upon themselves, and expose their

* Living between Arragon and Catalonia.

† Dujatius would read Vescitanos, the people of the modern Huesca.

own lands to be plundered, for the sake of saving those of strangers. The tumult being at length appeased, they made the ambassadors this reply.—“ We have never been
“ so much obliged to the Romans, or so ill treated by
“ the Carthaginians, as that we ought to take arms in
“ favour of the former, or against the latter. On the
“ contrary, we have been informed that the Romans
“ have driven our countrymen out of their settlements
“ and possessions in Italy, imposed a tribute on them,
“ and loaded them with other marks of indignity.” The
very same reply almost was made them in the other assemblies of Gaul. Neither did they receive any kind of entertainment, or marks of friendship, till they came to Marseilles. These allies informed them of every thing, which they had diligently and faithfully inquired into. “ That all the Gauls were prepossessed by Hannibal ;
“ but were so fierce and unruly a nation, that they would
“ not continue long in his interest, if he did not attach
“ their chiefs by frequent presents, as they were a very
“ covetous nation.” The ambassadors, after having in this manner travelled over all Spain and Gaul, arrived at Rome immediately after the consuls had set out for their provinces. Here they found every person in full expectation of the war, as they had pretty certain accounts that the Carthaginians had already passed the Ebro.

CHAP. XXI.—AFTER the taking of Saguntum, Hannibal had retired into winter quarters at New Carthage, where he had intelligence of every action and resolution, both at Carthage and Rome ; and that he was looked on not only as the leader, but cause of the war. In consequence, he sold and distributed the remainder of the plunder ; and, thinking he had no time to lose, assembled his Spanish troops, and addressed them thus.—“ I believe,
“ fellow soldiers, you clearly perceive, that now we have
“ established tranquillity throughout all the states of
“ Spain, we must either quit our arms, and disband our
“ troops, or carry the war into other countries ; for the
“ people of this will not otherwise reap the advantages
“ either of peace or victory, than by our going in quest of
“ plunder and glory among other nations. Therefore, as
“ we are about to enter upon a very remote war, and it is

“uncertain when you will again have the satisfaction of
“seeing your homes, and whatever there is dear to you,
“if any of you have an inclination to visit your friends,
“I freely grant you permission. But I strictly order
“you to return very early in the spring, that, with the
“assistance of the gods, we may begin a war, in which
“we shall reap many laurels, and be enriched with
“plunder.” This permission to go home, which he
granted of his own accord, was very agreeable to them
all, as they had a strong passion to see their friends,
from whom they foresaw they should afterwards be long
absent. The rest they enjoyed during the whole winter,
between the fatigues they had already borne, and those
they were still to go through, inspired them with all
the vigour, both of body and mind, they had occasion
for in their new enterprises. In obedience to his com-
mand, they repaired to their colours early in the spring.
Hannibal, after having received the auxiliaries sent by
the different nations, went to Gades, to perform his
former vows to Hercules, and bind himself by new ones,
for success in his future enterprizes. But, being no less
solicitous for the defence of his country, than intent
upon attacking his enemies, he resolved to secure Afri-
ca sufficiently, by sending thither a strong body of
Spanish troops, in case, if it was left open and defence-
less, the Romans should make descents upon it from
Sicily, while he was marching by land through Spain and
Gaul, to invade Italy. In lieu of this, he demanded a
supply, chiefly of light-armed pikemen, being persuaded
that the troops of both nations, the Africans in Spain,
and Spaniards in Africa, would prove better soldiers at
a distance from home, especially as they would be mu-
tual pledges for performing their duty faithfully. He,
therefore, sent into Africa 13,850 foot, armed with light
bucklers, 870 slingers of the islands Balears,* and
1400 horse, composed of different nations. He order-
ed Carthage to be garrisoned with part of these troops,
and the rest to be cantoned through Africa. Besides,
he sent recruiting-officers to the several states of Spain,
who raised 4000 chosen youth, whom he ordered to be

* The modern Majorca and Minorca.

sent to Carthage, there to remain, as well for hostages as for the defence of that city.

CHAP. XXII.—NEITHER did he think proper to neglect Spain, especially as he knew very well the Roman ambassadors had travelled it all over, to sound the inclinations of its chiefs. Wherefore, he committed the charge of that province to his brother, Asdrubal, an active man; and, for its defence, assigned the greatest part of the reinforcements from Africa, 11,850 African foot, 300 Ligurians, and 500 Balearian slingers. To this corps of foot he added 300 Liby-Phœnician* horse, 1800 Numidians and Mauritanians, who live near the ocean, and 200 Ibergetes,† a Spanish nation. But, that he might want nothing necessary to a land-army, he gave him 14 elephants. And as it was most probable the Romans would act vigorously by sea, where they had got the victory which had put an end to the former war, he gave him, for defence of the coast, a fleet of 50 quinqueremes, two quadriremes, and five triremes, completely fitted and manned. From Gades Hannibal's army returned to winter at Carthagena. From thence he marched near Etovissa,‡ towards the Ebro, and sea-coasts. Here it is reported he saw in his sleep a youth of divine form, who told him that he was sent by Jupiter to conduct him into Italy. He bade him follow him, and never lose sight of him by turning to any other object. From an awful dread, he did so at first, without looking on either side or behind him. But then reflecting within himself what it could be behind him that he was forbidden to look at, from a curiosity natural to mankind, he could not longer restrain his eyes. He then saw a huge serpent rolling after him, and beating down the trees and shrubs with great havoc. At the same time there happened a violent storm, with thunder. At last, when he asked what this havoc and prodigy signified, a voice answered him, "That it presaged the desolation of Italy." Besides, it bade him "continue his march, without inquiring farther

* A mixed race of Phœnicians and Africans.

† Inhabiting a province of Arragon, beyond the Sycoris.

‡ Probably Binarjos, on the frontiers of Catalonia.

“ into that event, but suffer it to remain a secret, as the
“ fates would have it.”

CHAP. XXIII.—ELATED with this dream, he passed the Ebro with his army in three columns, having sent some persons before, by presents to gain the Gauls, that lay in his route, and to find out the passages over the Alps. His army, when it passed the Ebro, consisted of 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse. After this, he subjected the countries of the Ilergetes, Bargusians, Ausitani,* and Lacetani,† which lie at the foot of the Pyrenees. He gave the government of this country to Hanno, that he might be master of the defiles that lie between Spain and Gaul. He gave him 10,000 foot and 1000 horse to keep it in awe. When the army began to march over the Pyrenees, which was full of woods, and these barbarians were more thoroughly convinced that they were going to attack the Romans, 3000 Carpetanian foot marched back to their own country. However, it is certain they did not this from a dread of the war, but of the length of the way, and the insuperable passage of the Alps. Hannibal, considering that it was a dangerous affair either to bring them back or retain them by force, for fear of irritating the savage tempers of the rest, dismissed 7000 more, whom he perceived to be weary of the war, pretending that he had in like manner discharged the Carpetani.

CHAP. XXIV.—BUT, lest delays and ease should debauch their fickle minds, he passed the Pyrenees with the rest of his troops, and pitched his camp at the city of Illiberis.‡ Though the Gauls had been apprized that the war was intended against Italy, yet being informed that the Carthaginian had by force subjected the Spanish states beyond the Pyrenees, and left a strong garrison in their country, ran to arms, for fear of being enslaved in like manner. Several of the inhabitants of

* Inhabiting the present Vic d' Osona, in Catalonia.

† Possessing great part of the bishopric of Lerida, and of Catalonia, all along the sea-coast.

‡ Now Collioure in Roussillon.

Ruscinon* assembled. As soon as Hannibal got advice of this, he was more apprehensive of the delay it would occasion, than of their force. Wherefore, he sent deputies to their petty kings, to inform them "that he wanted an interview with them. They might either come nearer Illiberis, or he would approach Ruscinon, that the short distance might facilitate their conferences. He would either with cheerfulness admit them into his camp, or come himself without delay to them: for he was come as a guest, not an enemy, to Gaul; and, if the Gauls pleased, he would not draw his sword till he arrived in Italy." This message he sent by his deputies. But when their petty princes, who immediately removed their camp to Illiberis, were come, without hesitation, to the Carthaginian, they were so charmed with the presents he made them, that they suffered his army to pass peaceably through their territories, taking their route by Ruscinon.

CHAP. XXV.—IN the meantime, ambassadors from Marseilles brought advice to Italy that the Carthaginian had only passed the Ebro. But, as if he had already passed the Alps, the Boii, having likewise excited the Insubrians, had revolted, not so much out of resentment of former injuries from the Romans, as because they could not bear the colonies, which had been lately settled at Placentia and Cremona, upon the Po, in their country. Wherefore, all of a sudden, they took up arms, and attacking that colony, struck terror and consternation into the people, that not only the peasants, but C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, and T. Annius, the three commissioners who had been sent to divide the lands, not thinking themselves safe within the walls of Placentia, fled to Mutina.† We are certain C. Lutatius was one of them; but some annals mention Q. Acilius and C. Herenius instead of C. Servilius and T. Annius; others, Cornelius Asina and C. Papirius Maso. Neither can we be positive whether it was the ambassadors that were

* Only a small tower of it now remains near Perpignan.

† Modena.

sent to expostulate with the Boii who were abused, or whether the commissioners were attacked as they were measuring out the lands. While they were invested in Mutina, the enemy, who were altogether unskilled in the art of besieging towns, extremely slow in military operations, and lay idly before the walls, without assaulting them, pretended to set on foot a treaty of peace. But, after the commissioners had been invited by the chiefs of the Gauls to a conference, they were seized, not only contrary to the law of nations, but even in violation of an express agreement made at that time; and the Gauls absolutely refused to set them at liberty, except their own hostages were delivered up. Upon advice of what had happened to the ambassadors, and of the danger Mutina and its garrison was in, L. Manlius, the prætor, greatly enraged, marched his army thither in great haste and disorder. The road was then environed with woods, for the most part uninhabited. Having marched into them without reconnoitring them, he fell headlong into ambuscades, from which he with difficulty extricated himself, after great slaughter made of his men, and got into the open country, where he intrenched himself. Because the Gauls despaired of attacking his lines with success, it gave his troops fresh spirits, though it was sufficiently certain they had suffered extremely. Then they began to march again; and the enemy did not shew themselves while the Romans were in open places. But, when they entered the woods again, they attacked their rear, struck the whole body with dread and consternation, killed 800 men, and brought off six colours. As soon as they passed these rugged and pathless ways, the Gauls ceased to strike terror, and the Romans to be afraid. As they could easily defend themselves in open places, they marched to Tanetum,* a village near the Po. Here, by strong lines, getting provisions by the river, and the aid of the Brescian Gauls, they defended themselves against the enemy, whose numbers daily increased.

CHAP. XXVI.—WHEN the news of this sudden in-

* Tanedo, in the republic of Modena, eight miles east of Parma.

surrection reached Rome, and the fathers saw, that besides the Carthaginian war they were to be embroiled with the Gauls, they ordered the prætor C. Atilius, with one Roman legion and 5000 allies, which the consul had lately raised, to go and relieve Manlius, who, as the enemy retired for fear, had got to Tanetum without fighting. P. Cornelius having levied a new legion in room of that which had been sent with the prætor, set out from the city, with a fleet of 60 men of war, keeping along the coasts of *Hetruria*, *Liguria*, and the mountains of the *Salii*, and arrived at *Marseilles*. As the *Rhone* empties itself into the sea at many different places, he encamped at that mouth of it which lies next the city. He did not believe that the Carthaginian had yet passed the *Pyrenees*. But being apprized that he was upon the point of passing the *Rhone*, he was some time at a loss in what place to meet him. His men had not recovered the fatigue of their voyage by sea. However, he sent out in the meantime 300 chosen horse, under the direction of some *Marseilleans* and *French auxiliaries*, to reconnoitre the country, and discover the posture of the enemy without running any risk. *Hannibal*, having either overawed or by presents gained the other nations of *Gaul*, had arrived in the country of the *Volcæ*,* a powerful people, who dwelt on both sides of the *Rhone*. As they were diffident of being able to defend the hither side against the Carthaginian, that they might have the river for a bulwark, they transported most of their forces, and posted themselves on the other side, ready armed to dispute his passage. All the other cantons which lay on the banks of that river, especially those whose territories the Carthaginian was now encamped in, he by presents prevailed with to bring together all their vessels and build him new ones. They of themselves were very desirous to transport his army, and to rid their own country with all expedition of so great a multitude which oppressed it. Wherefore they got together a vast number of ships and boats, run up in haste

* Inhabiting Lower *Languedoc*. *Nismes* is their capital, and they are called *Arecemiei*.

for the use of the neighbourhood. Then the Gauls began to make new ones by hollowing trees. The soldiers, seeing this was easily done, and that they had plenty of materials, made in haste some shapeless canoes to transport themselves and their baggage; for they regarded no more, but that these hulks should swim and hold their lading.

CHAP. XXVII.—WHEN all things were ready for their passing over, they were afraid of the enemy, who had lined the opposite bank with horse and foot. But, in order to draw them from that post, the Carthaginian ordered Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to set out at the first watch of the night with a detachment consisting mostly of Spanish troops, and march one day's journey up the river, which he was to pass as secretly as possible, at the first place he could, and then fetch a compass and charge the enemy in the rear, when he saw a convenient opportunity. The Gauls, who had been assigned them as guides, led them about twenty-five miles, almost as high as a little island formed by the river, which, as it extended itself here in breadth, and consequently was not so deep, they pointed out as a proper place to pass at. Here having with all expedition cut down wood, they formed pontoons for transporting men, horse, and baggage. The Spaniards laid their clothes and bucklers on bladders blown full of wind, and seating themselves above all, got over without the least burden. The rest likewise passed on floats, and encamped hard by the river. As they were fatigued with marching all night, and working hard at their pontoons, they rested one day, while their general was studying how to execute his orders seasonably. The next day they left that ground, and raised a smoke as a signal that they had got over, and were near at hand. As soon as Hannibal perceived it, not to lose this opportunity, he gave the signal for passing. The infantry had their boats ready prepared and fitted. Near the horse that were swimming, the troopers passed in a continued line of large vessels higher up, in order to break the violence of the stream, and give a smooth passage to the craft below with the foot. The greatest part of the horse were

brought over by being tied by halters to the stern of the boats. But those which were to act immediately on their landing, were transported, ready bridled and harnessed, in great boats.

CHAP. XXVIII.—THE Gauls, with dissonant songs and howlings, according to their custom, ran in crowds to the banks, shaking their bucklers over their heads, and brandishing their weapons in their right hands, though at the same time such a number of transports, the hideous roaring of the water, the mixed shouts of the sailors and soldiers, who strove to break the violence of the stream, and those on the other side animating them who were passing, greatly terrified them. But while they were thus frightened at the storm that threatened them from the opposite side, they heard a more dreadful shout behind, where Hanno had taken their camp. He immediately appeared; and thus they were endangered on all sides, as a great number of troops who had landed pressed them hard in front, while another body unexpectedly attacked them in rear. The Gauls, after making some resistance, being beat, broke through wherever they saw the passage clear, and in great consternation fled up and down to their own villages. The Carthaginian transported the rest of his troops at his leisure, and despising the disorderly attacks of the Gauls, encamped there. I suppose they used various devices for transporting the elephants, at least we have different accounts of the manner in which it was performed. Some say, that after they were brought together on the banks, one of the fiercest of them being provoked by his manager pursued him, who fled on purpose into the water, and the whole herd followed; and as they were afraid to wade for fear of the depth, they were carried to the opposite bank by the force of the stream. But it is more probable that they were transported on floats, which, as it would appear to be a safer method before it was put in practice, so would more readily gain credit when over. They laid a vessel, 200 feet in length and 50 in breadth, from the bank into the water. That it might not be carried away by the force of the stream, it was made fast to the highest parts of the bank by strong ca-

bles. Then it was filled with earth, so that it looked like a bridge. Another vessel of equal breadth, but only 100 feet long, fit for crossing the river, was joined to it; and the elephants, being driven with the females foremost over the first vessel as on a firm road, passed into the lesser, which was fastened to it. The halsers, which were but slightly made fast, being immediately let go, she was towed by small vessels with oars to the opposite side. When they had landed the first, they returned, till all the rest were fetched. While they were driven as if it had been over a long bridge, they were not in the least afraid, nor till after being parted from the rest, the vessel got into the stream: there struggling amongst themselves, and those next the water crowding from it, caused a frightful disorder among them. But when they saw nothing but water round them, fear itself made them quiet. Yet some of the most unruly of them fell into the river; but the weight of their bodies secured them against the violence of the current, and throwing those who managed them, they carefully kept the ford, and got safe to land.

CHAP. XXIX.—IN the interim, while the elephants were transporting, Hannibal sent 500 Numidian horse to reconnoitre the Roman camp, to learn where they were, the number of their forces, and what preparations they had made to receive him. 300 Roman cavalry, which, as we have already observed, were detached from the mouth of the Rhone, met this party of Numidians, and a skirmish, much more furious than could have been expected from so small a number, ensued. Besides the wounded about an equal number was killed on each side. The Numidians fled in consternation, and abandoned the victory to the Romans, who were already very much fatigued. The conquerors lost 160 men, not all Romans, but some Gauls; and upwards of 200 of the enemy were killed on the spot. This rencounter, which was the prelude to the war, as well as the omen of success to the Romans in the event of it, presaged that the victory would hang long in suspense, and would in the end be purchased with much bloodshed. When the skirmish was over, each party returned to their own ge-

neral. Scipio could come to no fixed determination, but was obliged to regulate his motions by the resolutions and enterprises of the enemy. Hannibal, too, was in suspense, whether he should pursue his intended route to Italy, by avoiding a battle at that time, or fight this Roman army which he had met with first. But the arrival of deputies from the Boii, and of their petty prince Magalus, removed his doubts. They were of opinion, that he ought to attack Italy while his forces were entire, and not weakened by former battles, and promised to be his guides in his march, and share in all his dangers. The generality of his troops were in reality afraid of the enemy, as the former war was not yet forgot; but still more of the long march, and of the Alps, the very report of which gave people unacquainted with them a terrible idea of them.

CHAP. XXX.—WHEREFORE Hannibal, as soon as he was determined to proceed in his route, and march into Italy, assembled his troops, and by different methods, reproaches, and exhortations, tried to rouse their courage. “I am surprised,” said he, “what sudden terror can have seized you, who have always hitherto been undaunted; who have served so many years, and always been victorious; who did not leave Spain till all its nations, and that vast tract of land which reaches from sea to sea, were entirely subjected to Carthage; who were so enraged at the Romans insolently demanding, that all who were besieging Saguntum should be delivered up to them like felons, that you passed the Ebro with a fixed resolution to extirpate the Roman name and set the world free! None of you then thought your route too long, though it had extended from the extremity of the west to that of the east. But now, when you have marched by far the greatest part, passed the woody Pyrenees, through the most savage nations, and that great river the Rhone, in the face of so many thousand Gauls, and in spite of its rapid current, have in sight the Alps, the opposite side of which is Italy, you faint and stop at the very gates of your enemy. Do you form any other idea of the Alps than merely as high mountains? Let

" us suppose they are higher than the top of the Pyre-
 " nees; yet there is no land so high as to touch heaven,
 " or that cannot be passed by mankind. It is certain
 " they are inhabited, cultivated, subsist and produce li-
 " ving creatures. Can they be passed by a few indi-
 " viduals and not by whole armies? These ambassadors
 " from the Gauls, whom you see before you, had not
 " wings to fly over them. Their ancestors were not na-
 " tives of the Alps, but strangers, who like wanderers
 " safely passed them in great bodies with their wives
 " and children to settle in Italy. What, pray, ought
 " to be unpassable or insuperable to a soldier, who car-
 " ries nothing with him but his arms and the instruments
 " of war? What dangers, what fatigues did you un-
 " dergo in order to take Saguntum? Could any thing
 " appear so difficult and hard to those who were going
 " to attack Rome, the capital of the world, as to stay
 " them in their enterprise? Is it possible that the Car-
 " thaginians despair of reaching what the Gauls former-
 " ly took? In fine, you must either confess yourselves
 " inferior in valour and courage to a people, whom you
 " have lately so often defeated; or you must hope to
 " make the fields betwixt the Tiber and the walls of
 " Rome the end of your journey."

CHAP. XXXI.—HAVING raised their spirits by these
 exhortations, he ordered them to refresh themselves and
 prepare for their march. The next day he turned about
 and marched up the banks of the Rhone, into the inland
 part of Gaul, not because it was a more direct way to
 the Alps, but because he believed, the farther he remov-
 ed from the sea he would be in less danger of meeting
 with the Romans, with whom he had no mind to fight,
 before he came into Italy. After a march of four days
 he arrived at an island, formed by the Soane and Rhone,
 which, issuing out of the Alps at different places, unite
 here. The ground lying between is called an island.
 Near this dwelt the Allobroges,* a people even at that

* They lay between the Rhone and Isara, from Valencia to the
 Lake of Geneva. So that they inhabited Viennoes, Savoy, Genevois,
 and the cantons of Chablais and Fossigny.

time inferior to none of the Gallic states in wealth and power, but at variance amongst themselves. Two brothers contended for the kingdom. The elder, whose name was Brancus, and who had already been in possession of the crown, was deposed by the younger and a faction of the youth, who had power but not right on their side. Hannibal was chosen arbiter of this difference in the most seasonable time he could have wished; and, agreeable to the sentiments of the senate and principal men, restored the elder to his throne. In gratitude for this service the king supplied him with provisions, apparel, and abundance of all other necessaries, which he was obliged to provide, on account of the reports that the Alps were intolerably cold. Having thus composed the differences among the Allobroges, when he came to set out for the Alps, he did not intend to march directly cross the country, but turned off to the left hand into the territories of the Tricastini; from thence he held his route along the frontiers of the Vocontii,* to the country of the Tricorians,† without meeting any obstruction, till he came to the Drance. This river likewise issues out of the Alps, and is by far the most difficult to pass of any in Gaul: for though it contains a vast quantity of water, yet it will bear no vessels, because, by not being confined within banks, and running in several different channels, it continually forms new shelves and whirlpools. For this reason, likewise, people on foot can hardly trace out a way through it. Besides, as it rolls down stones and gravel, it has not a sound bottom, nor can he that fords it find sure footing. It likewise chanced at that time to be swelled by rains, which occasioned great confusion in the army as it was passing; and, over and above these terrible difficulties, they were grievously discouraged by their own fears and strange cries.

CHAP. XXXII.—ABOUT three days after the Carthaginian left the banks of the Rhone, the Roman consul, P. Cornelius, came to the enemy's camp, with his army drawn up in a square battalion, with an intention

* Inhabiting Die in Dauphiny.

† Trieves.

to have come immediately to blows. But seeing their lines abandoned, and that they had got too far before for him easily to overtake them, he returned to his ships on the coast, thinking it would be the safest and easiest way to meet Hannibal as he came down from the Alps. But, that Spain, which had fallen to him by lot, might not be left destitute of Roman auxiliaries, he detached his brother, Cn. Scipio, with the greatest part of his troops, against Asdrubal, not solely with an intention to protect their old allies, and conciliate new, but even to drive that general out of that country. He himself set sail for Genoa with few troops, to defend Italy with that army which lay about Padua. From the Drance Hannibal marched through a champaign country almost the whole way to the Alps, without the least molestation from the Gauls who inhabited these parts. Although they had before formed a terrible idea of these mountains from report, which commonly exaggerates uncertainties beyond reality; yet when they saw the height of them near at hand, their tops cap't with snow, almost penetrating heaven, the rude cottages built on rocks, sheep and oxen pinched with cold, the men savage, and wearing long beards, everything, both animate and inanimate, stiff with frost, and the whole prospect horrible beyond expression, their terror returned upon them. When the army was marching up the first precipices, the mountaineers appeared perched on the eminences above them. Had these savages posted themselves in the secret valleys, and from thence suddenly fallen on the enemy, they would certainly have routed and made great havoc of them. Hannibal ordered his ensigns to halt; and when he understood, by the French scouts he sent before to reconnoitre the ground, that there was no passage that way, he encamped in the largest plain he could find among those craggy rugged places. Then, having learned from the same scouts, who, not differing much in language or manners from these mountaineers, had mixed with them, that they only guarded the cliffs by day, and stole at night each to his own hut, he advanced by break of day to the eminences, making a feint as if he would force a passage through the defiles openly and in the day.

Having spent the day in making shew of what he did not intend, he encamped in the same place where he had stood all day. And as soon as he was certain the mountaineers had left the eminences, and that they were but slightly guarded, he lighted more fires than were necessary for those that stayed behind. Then leaving the baggage, cavalry, and greatest part of the infantry behind, he himself, with the nimblest and light-armed, passed the defiles, and took possession of the eminences, which the enemy had kept.

CHAP. XXXIII.—EARLY in the morning the rest decamped and began to move forwards. By this time the mountaineers, on a signal from their forts, were repairing to their usual post, when they suddenly perceived some of the enemy above their heads, in possession of their strong-hold, and others passing the defile. Both these objects being presented to them at once, they remained for some time motionless. But when they saw the enemy entangled in the defile, and in great confusion among themselves, the horses especially greatly affrighted, they imagined, that if they could only make some addition to that terror, it would be sufficient to ruin them entirely. Wherefore they run up and down the rocks through inaccessible by-ways, which they were accustomed to. Thus were the Carthaginians at the same time harassed by the enemy and the disadvantage of the place. Yet, as each strove first to escape the danger, they suffered more from each other than from the enemy. The horse, however, occasioned the greatest disorder; for being frightened at the dissonant cries, the horror whereof was increased by the re-echo from the valleys, they were much startled. And if any of them happened to be struck or wounded, they made a terrible flouncing and great havoc, both of men and carriages. Besides, the crowd was so great, and the defiles so narrow and steep on both sides, that many, not only servants, but even soldiers, fell down a vast height; and sumpter horses, with their loads, tumbled down like the crash of a falling house. Though this was a horrible spectacle, yet Hannibal looked on for

some time, and kept back those that were with him, for fear of increasing the confusion and consternation. But when he saw his army broke, and in danger of losing their carriages, destitute of which it would be in vain to carry them over safe, he came down from the eminence, and at the same time that he charged and routed the enemy, augmented the confusion amongst his own troops. But that was soon over, when they found a free passage left them by the flight of the mountaineers; and they not only marched free from their attacks, but from their cries and howlings. Then he took a fortress,* which was the capital of that district, and the villages that lay round it. He subsisted his army on the enemy's flocks for three days. During that time he made considerable progress in his march, as the mountaineers had been driven away before, and he was not greatly obstructed by a difficult path.

CHAP. XXXIV.—**THEN** he arrived at the most populous canton on all these mountains. Here he was not openly attacked, but almost trapped by his own arts, treachery and snares. Some old men, who commanded castles there, came as deputies to him, and told him, "that, taught by the profitable example of others misfortunes, they chose rather to have recourse to the friendship, than feel the force of his arms. Therefore as they would readily submit to him, they begged he would accept of provisions, guides on his march, and hostages for their faithful observance of their promises." The Carthaginian would not rashly rely on them; nor would he, by contemptuously rejecting their offers, make them declare openly against him; but gave them a civil answer. He accepted their hostages, used the provisions which they brought him on the road; but, as if he had been in an enemy's country, followed their guides with his troops ready for action. His elephants and cavalry marched in the front. Then he himself, carefully noticing every thing, brought up the foot, which made the main body. When they had got into

* Briancon.

a defile, one side of which lay under a steep hill which commanded it, the barbarians starting up out of their ambuscade in front and rear, charged him both at hand and at a distance. They rolled down huge stones upon the army. But the rear was most vigorously attacked. He made his foot face the enemy here; and it is certain, that if these last lines had not been strong and well supported, he had received a terrible overthrow in that defile. As it was, he was in the utmost danger of being destroyed: for while he was in suspense whether to make his army pass, since he had left his foot no support, as they were to the horse, the mountaineers flanked him, broke through his centre, and took possession of the ground between the front and rear. Thus Hannibal passed a whole night without cavalry or baggage.

CHAP. XXXV.—THE next day, as the barbarians did not attack him so furiously, the two divisions joined, and passed the defile, but not without loss, chiefly however of the carriage horses. From henceforth the mountaineers appeared in smaller bodies, and more like robbers than soldiers, sometimes in the front, sometimes in the rear, either according as the place favoured them, or some of the Carthaginians gave them opportunity, by marching faster or slower than the rest of the army. As, on the one hand, the elephants, which were always ready to tumble headlong in these narrow paths, marched very slow, so, on the other, wherever they came they sheltered the army from the enemy, who, not being accustomed to them, were afraid to come near them. After a march of nine days, Hannibal reached the top of the Alps, through many pathless ways, and after wandering out of the direct road, either by the treachery of his guides, or, where he durst not trust them, by entering the plains at a venture, and guessing the way. Here he halted two days, to rest his army, wearied with marching and fighting. Several of the carriage beasts, who had fallen down among the rocks, likewise arrived in the camp, having followed the track of the army. While they were oppressed with continued hardships, a great fall of snow added considerably to their fear.

The Pleiades had then left that horizon.* Having begun their march about day-break, and moved very slow through the snow, which was very deep in every place, and backwardness and despair appeared in all their countenances, Hannibal, stepping to the front, got upon a high rock. Here taking a prospect far and wide, he ordered his troops to halt, and shewed them Italy, with the fertile country round the Po, at the foot of the Alps. "Now," says he, "you have scaled the walls not only of Italy, but even of Rome. The remainder of your march will be plain and downhill. One, or, the most, two battles, will make you absolute masters of the bulwark and capital of Italy." Then they continued their march, without any enemy's attempting to harass them farther than by petty robberies when a fit occasion offered. Yet as the Alps on the side of Italy are not so high, but steeper, their descent was much more difficult than their march up had been: for all the way was steep, narrow, and slippery, so that they could not keep themselves from sliding; and if they made but the least stumble, they could not recover, and tumbled one upon another, horse and men promiscuously.

CHAP. XXXVI.—THEN they came to a place more difficult than any they had yet met with: for the rock was so perpendicular, that a light-armed soldier durst hardly attempt it, or let himself down by laying hold on the twigs and bushes that grew around it. The place had been of itself extremely steep before, but by a late falling in of the earth, had been so divided, that it formed an abyss near a thousand feet deep. Here the cavalry stopt as if they had been come to the end of their route. When Hannibal seemed surprised what stopt them, he was told the rock was impassable. Then he went himself to view it, and saw, for certain, that he must take a long compass through pathless and untrodden ways. But this was likewise impracticable: for though they could easily march in the new snow, which was of a moderate depth and soft, above the old, which had never been touched; yet when it came to be melted by the treading of such numbers of men and beasts, they walked

* About the end of October.

in streams of liquified snow, with bare ice underneath. There they had terrible struggling, as they could not tread sure on the slippery ice, and fell the sooner as the place was steep. Whether they used their hands or knees to help them up again, those slipt likewise; and if they fell a second time, there was neither twig nor root to lay hold of either with hand or foot. As for the beasts, all they could do was to wallow on the ice in melted snow. Sometimes they broke it, and by that means penetrating the snow beneath fell: then by striking with their hoofs to get fast hold, they plunged into it in such a manner, that the greatest part, as if caught in a gin, stuck fast in the thick congealed ice.

CHAP. XXXVII.—AT length, when both men and beasts were tired to no purpose, they encamped on the top of the rock. There was so much snow to be dug and carried away, that with the greatest difficulty they got the place cleared. Then the soldiers were set to level the rock, by which alone they could find a passage. In order to split it, huge trees were felled and laid round it. Thus they raised a great pile of wood, and when the wind blew favourably for it, set it on fire. When the rock was red hot they poured vinegar on it to calcine and dissolve it. Being thus heated by the fire, they dug into it with pickaxes, and made the descent easy by moderate windings, so that not only the cattle, but even the elephants could be brought down it. Four days were employed in levelling this place; and as the tops of those rocks are generally bare, or, if they have any grass, it is covered with snow, most of the carriage beasts perished with hunger. In the valley below were several little hills exposed to the influence of the sun, and rivulets near woods. These were places fitter for men to inhabit than the Alps. Here the carriage beasts were sent to grass, and the men, fatigued with levelling the path, enjoyed repose for three days. Then they went down into the champaign country, where the place was more delightful, and the inhabitants civilized.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—IN this manner chiefly did Han-

nibal arrive in Italy, five months, according to some authors, after he left New Carthage, and after employing fifteen days in passing the Alps. Authors are by no means agreed as to the number of troops which he brought into Italy. Those who call them most, say 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse: those who reckon least, 20,000 foot and 6000 horse. The authority of L. Cincius Alimentus, who says he was taken prisoner by Hannibal, would weigh most with me, if he did not confound the account by adding the Gauls and Ligurians. With them he reckons 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse brought into Italy; or, what is more likely, and supported by the testimony of some historians, flocked to him there: for Hannibal himself was heard to say, that betwixt his passing the Rhone, and arrival in Italy, he lost 36,000 men, a great number of horses and other cattle amongst the Piedmontese, the next nation to the Gauls. As this is a matter agreed upon by all, I am surprised there should be any doubt about the place where he passed the Alps, and that it should be commonly believed he passed the Penines, and that the top of the Alps got this name from that circumstance. Cœlius says, he passed Mount Cremon.* Whereas both these mounts would have led him; not through the Taurinian territories, but to the Libuans, through the mountains of the Salassi. Neither is it probable, that these roads into Gaul were then opened, considering that which leads to the Penines was surrounded with a people half Germans. Neither in fact, if this circumstance can have any weight, do the Veragri,† who inhabit that mount, know that these mountains did not receive that name from the Carthaginians passing them, but from a consecrated place on their very top, which the mountaineers call Peninum.

CHAP. XXXIX.—It happened very luckily at his first setting out, that the Insubrians were at war with the Taurini, the neighbouring people. As Hannibal

* Conjectured to be a part of the Alpes Graise, between Valais and Val d' Aouste, where Cranoyou now stands, or else the little St. Bernard, called Jugum Centrum.

† Their capital St. Maurice.

was employed in giving rest to his troops, that now sensibly felt the pains they had contracted before, he could not take the field to aid either side: for ease after great fatigue, plenty after famine, and good keeping after filthiness and nastiness, had strange effects on their bodies, which were all over loathsome and full of blotches. For this reason, the consul P. Cornelius, as soon as he arrived at Pisa* with his fleet, and had received from Manlius and Atilius the raw army, yet in consternation at their late disgrace, resolved to hasten to the Po, that he might fight the enemy before they had recovered their strength. But by the time the consul arrived at Placentia, Hannibal had moved out of his camp, and taken Turin, the capital of the Piedmontese, by storm, because it would not voluntarily enter into an alliance with him. He would have brought the Gauls upon the Po to join him, not so much out of fear as by inclination, had not the arrival of the consul surprised them as they were waiting a fit opportunity to revolt. Hannibal likewise quitted Piedmont, from a persuasion, that the Gauls, who were not determined what side to take, would join him when he was on the spot. The two armies were now almost in sight, and the generals approached nearer and nearer. Hitherto they knew little, but had conceived an admiration of each other: for the name of Hannibal had been very famous among the Romans ever since the destruction of Saguntum; and the Carthaginian was convinced that Scipio must be a very great man, from the circumstance of his being chosen preferable to all others to command against him. What still augmented this high opinion in them both, was, that Scipio, who was left in Gaul, had met Hannibal at his arrival in Italy, and that Hannibal should be so bold as to attempt to pass the Alps, and execute it too. But Scipio was beforehand with the Carthaginian in crossing the Po; and having encamped at the river Ticin, resolved, before he led his troops to battle, to encourage them by a suitable harangue to the following effect.—

CHAP. XL.—“IF, fellow soldiers, I were to lead on

* In Tuscany.

“ to battle the same troops which I had with me in Gaul,
“ I might well forbear this harangue to you : for what
“ occasion could there be to use exhortations to a caval-
“ ry, which gave the enemy’s horse so signal an over-
“ throw at the Rhone ; or to legions with whom I pur-
“ sued this very enemy, whose flight and avoiding bat-
“ tle I held as a confession of my victory ? Now, as those
“ troops, having been inrolled for Spain, are acting with
“ my brother at their head under my auspices in the
“ province where the senate and people of Rome desire
“ they should serve, I have voluntarily taken upon me
“ to command in this war, that ye might have a consul
“ for your captain against Hannibal and the Carthagi-
“ nians. As then I am a new general to a new army, a
“ short speech from me will be very proper. That you
“ may be apprized of the nature of the war, and what
“ sort of enemies you are to encounter,—they are the
“ same which you vanquished both by sea and by land
“ in a former war ; the same who have been your tribu-
“ taries these twenty years past, and from whom you
“ took Sicily and Sardinia, which you now possess as the
“ rewards and trophies of your prowess. Therefore I
“ hope you will behave in this engagement with the cou-
“ rage common in conquerors, and they as the conquer-
“ ed usually do. Neither is it innate courage, but mere
“ necessity, that now urges them on to battle ; except
“ it could be believed, that those, who avoided fighting
“ when their troops were entire, have acquired more
“ spirit by the loss of two-thirds of their horse and foot
“ in the passage of the Alps, (for in fact more perish-
“ ed than remain alive.) But you will say, though they
“ are few in number, yet they are men of so stout hearts,
“ and robust bodies, champions of such strength and vi-
“ gour as nothing is able to resist. Mere effigies, nay
“ shadows of men, emaciated with hunger and cold, al-
“ most killed with filthiness and nastiness, bruised and
“ battered among the craggs and rocks ; their joints
“ pinched, their sinews shrunk with cold ; their limbs
“ benumbed with frost, their arms shattered and broken,
“ and their horses weak and foundered. With such
“ horse, and with such foot, are you to fight. You have

“ only the last remains of enemies, and not enemies
 “ themselves to engage. There is nothing I appre-
 “ hend more that that Hannibal will seem to have been
 “ vanquished by the Alps, before you came to blows
 “ with him. But, perhaps, the gods have thought it
 “ just themselves should begin with and vanquish with-
 “ out man’s help a general and people, guilty of the vio-
 “ lation of treaties, and only left to us, who, next to the
 “ gods, have been injured, to complete the ruin which
 “ they have begun and brought so near to a conclusion.

CHAP. XLI.—“ I NEED not fear that any one will
 “ suspect me of boasting in this manner merely to en-
 “ courage you, while inwardly I entertain different sen-
 “ timents. I might have gone into Spain, my proper
 “ province, where I had been before, and with an army
 “ of my own ; where I should have had my brother to
 “ consult in all my designs, and to share in all my dan-
 “ gers ; where I should have had Asdrubal not Hanni-
 “ bal to encounter, an enemy one would rather choose
 “ to act against ; where I should have had a less impor-
 “ tant war. Yet hearing, as I passed along the coast of
 “ Gaul, of this formidable enemy, I landed, sent my
 “ cavalry before, and pitched my camp upon the Rhone.
 “ In a skirmish of the horse, with which part of my for-
 “ ces it was my fortune to engage, I routed the enemy.
 “ And because I could not pursue their main body of
 “ foot, which marched as expeditiously as if they had
 “ been flying, I returned to my fleet, and, considering
 “ the large compass of sea and land, with all the expedi-
 “ tion I was capable of, met him at the foot of the
 “ Alps. Can, then, my inclination to fight this formida-
 “ ble enemy be questioned, and have I stumbled on him
 “ unawares ; or am I come up with him by following
 “ close at his heels to challenge and provoke him to a
 “ battle ? I would willingly try, whether the earth all
 “ of a sudden has produced a new kind of Carthaginians
 “ within these twenty years ; or whether they be the
 “ same who fought at the Egates, and who were ran-
 “ somed out of Eryx for eighteen denarii * apiece ; whe-

† Eleven shillings and seven pence half-penny.

“ther this Hannibal rivals Hercules in his journeys, as
“he would be thought ; or be what his father left him,
“a vassal, a tributary, a slave of the Roman people.
“This Hannibal, who, if not driven to despair by a
“consciousness of his cruelty and injustice in the affair
“of Saguntum, would have some regard, if not to his
“conquered country, yet surely to his own family, to
“his father’s memory, and the treaty written with Ha-
“milcar’s own hand : that Hamilcar, who at the com-
“mand of our consul, marched out of Eryx with his gar-
“rison ; who with grief and indignation accepted the
“grievous terms imposed on his countrymen ; who a-
“greed to evacuate Sicily and pay a tribute to the Ro-
“mans. • For these reasons, my fellow soldiers, I would
“have you fight not only with that courage with which
“you use to face other enemies, but with a certain in-
“dignation and resentment, such as you would feel if
“you saw your slaves on a sudden rise up in arms a-
“gainst you. We might, had we so pleased, have starv-
“ed them, the worst of all deaths, when they were in-
“vested at Eryx : we might have passed with our vic-
“torious fleet into Africa, and in a few days demolished
“Carthage without striking a blow. But we pardoned
“them at their humble request : we raised the siege,
“granted them peace when conquered, and at length
“looked on them as under our protection, when they
“were distressed by a war in Africa. In return for
“these great services, they are come, with this hair-
“brained youth at their head, to attack our country.
“I wish the present war concerned our honour not our
“preservation. But the contest is not as formerly for
“the possession of Sicily and Sardinia, but of Italy it-
“self. Neither have we another army at our back to
“stop the enemy’s career, in case we are defeated ; nor
“a second Alps, to give us time, while he is passing
“them, to make new levies. No, my fellow soldiers,
“here we must make our stand as firmly as if we were
“fighting under the walls of Rome. Let each of us re-
“flect that he is now to defend, not his own person on-
“ly, but his wife and children. Yet let not private
“care alone engross our minds ; let us remember that

“ the eyes of the Roman senate and people are upon us ;
“ and that as our vigour and bravery shall now prove,
“ such will be the fortune of Rome and her empire.”

CHAP XLII.—THUS did the consul harangue his Romans. But the Carthaginian, being of opinion that he ought to encourage his troops by actions before he did it by words, formed his army into a circle, as if to see a show. Then he placed many of the mountaineers, whom he had taken prisoners, in the middle, with their fetters on, and throwing at their feet such weapons as the Gauls used in single combats, ordered an interpreter to ask them, if any of them would fight a duel, on condition of obtaining his liberty, arms, and a horse, in case he came off victorious. When to a man they eagerly demanded the combat and a sword, and the lots were drawing for that purpose, each of them ardently wished he might be the person whom fortune pitched on to fight. Accordingly as each man's lot happened to come up, he cheerfully, and exulting with joy amidst his companions, who congratulated his fate, snatched up the weapons, dancing after his country fashion. During the time they fought, such a disposition of mind shewed itself not only among those unhappy wretches who were in the same circumstances, but in general among the spectators, that those who died bravely were applauded and reckoned as happy as those who were victorious.

CHAP. XLIII.—WHILE they were thus affected by the sight of several couple of combatants, he dismissed the rest, and calling his troops together, harangued them thus.—“ If, fellow soldiers, in the estimation of your
“ own fortune you will bear the same mind that you did
“ just now in beholding that of others, in the representation exhibited to you, the victory is our own. What
“ you saw just now was not a mere shew for diversion,
“ but a lively representation of your own circumstances.
“ Neither can I determine, whether fortune has bound
“ you or your prisoners in the stricter chains. You
“ are hemmed in on right and left by two seas without
“ a single ship to escape in. Before you is the Po, a

“ broader and more rapid river than the Rhone ; behind
“ you are the Alps, which you were scarce able to pass,
“ when you were entire and in full strength. In this
“ spot, soldiers, you must conquer or die the instant you
“ meet the enemy. And the same fortune, that hath
“ laid you under the necessity of fighting, sets before
“ you rewards of victory greater than which no men are
“ ever wont to pray for from the immortal gods. If by
“ our valour we were only to recover Sicily and Sardi-
“ nia, which were wrested from our fathers, the reward
“ would be sufficiently considerable. But whatever rich-
“ es the Romans have gained and amassed, by so many
“ triumphs, and are now in possession of, will be yours,
“ nay, and the owners too. Come, then, with the help
“ of the gods, take arms to possess yourselves of this
“ rich booty. You have been long enough employed in
“ driving the cattle upon the vast mountains of Lusita-
“ nia and Celtiberia, and have reaped no fruit of so
“ many labours and dangers. Now the time is come
“ that your services shall be recompensed with wealth
“ and riches, and your labours with great rewards, after
“ you have finished so long a march over mountains,
“ through rivers, and so many armed nations. Fortune
“ has fixed this place to be the utmost limit of your
“ toils ; here she will crown all your past services with
“ a suitable reward. Do not fancy, because the name
“ of a Roman war is sounding, that it will be difficult
“ to get the victory : for an enemy, that has been held
“ in great contempt, has often fought most bloody bat-
“ tles, and the most renowned people and kings been
“ defeated by a very small force. Take away this tin-
“ sel reputation of theirs, and in what else can they be
“ compared to you ? For, not to mention your service
“ in war for near twenty years past with such bravery
“ and success, you have come, victorious all the way,
“ from the Pillars of Hercules, from the ocean, and ut-
“ most bounds of the earth, through the most warlike
“ nations of Spain and Gaul, and are to engage an army
“ of raw soldiers, who this very summer were defeated,
“ vanquished, and invested by the Gauls ; an army un-
“ known to their general, and unacquainted with him.

“ Shall I, who, if not born, was yet brought up in the
 “ pavilion of that most renowned general, my father ;
 “ who have conquered Spain and Gaul, and not only the
 “ nations of the Alps, but, which is a much better
 “ ground of boasting, the Alps themselves, compare my-
 “ self to this half-year captain, who hath abandoned his
 “ proper army ; a general, who, I am sure, was he this
 “ day to be shewn the Carthaginians and Romans with-
 “ out their ensigns, could not tell of which army he
 “ was consul. Besides, fellow soldiers, I am not a lit-
 “ tle proud of this circumstance, that there is not one
 “ of you who has not been an eye-witness of my ex-
 “ ploits in war ; not one, of whose valour at the same time
 “ I have not been spectator, so as to be able to point
 “ out the time and place where you purchased those
 “ laurels. I, who was your pupil in war before I be-
 “ came your general, shall lead you, whom I have a thou-
 “ sand times praised and rewarded, against enemies who
 “ are unknown to one another, and mere novices in war.

CHAP. XLIV.—“ ON what side soever I turn my
 “ eyes, I behold all full of courage and vigour : a ve-
 “ teran infantry, cavalry composed of the most noble
 “ nations, both Spaniards* and Numidians,† you my
 “ most faithful and brave allies, you Carthaginians rea-
 “ dy to fight as well through a just resentment of in-
 “ juries, as love of your native country. We have been
 “ the aggressors, we have come down into Italy with
 “ hostile colours flying ; it becomes us therefore to fight
 “ with greater bravery and resolution, by how much
 “ the hopes and courage of assailants is greater than of
 “ those who act upon the defensive. Grief, injuries,
 “ indignity, fire our minds, and spur us on to revenge.
 “ In the first place, they demanded that I your general,
 “ and next all you who fought at the siege of Saguntum,
 “ should be delivered up to punishment. Had they got
 “ us into their clutches, we were to be put to death by

* *Frænatos*. The Spanish horse were always bridled and accou-
 tred in action.

† The Numidian horse used neither bridle nor saddle, *infrænati*,
 but were like the modern hussars.

“ the extremest tortures. This intolerably haughty and
 “ cruel people would have every thing their own, and
 “ at their disposal. They think they have a right to
 “ prescribe to us with whom we shall make war, with
 “ whom we shall have peace. They limit and restrict
 “ us within hills and rivers, over which we are not to
 “ pass at our peril: and yet they do not observe the
 “ limits which they themselves have fixed.* Pass not
 “ the Ebro. Touch not the Saguntines; Saguntum lies
 “ upon the Ebro;† approach not one step towards it.
 “ You, Romans, reckon it a trifle to have deprived us of
 “ our immemorial possessions, Sicily and Sardinia. Will
 “ you take Spain too? If we cede that, you will pass
 “ into Afric. WILL pass, did I say? They have,
 “ Carthaginians, sent one of their consuls for the pre-
 “ sent year into Afric, the other into Spain. We have
 “ nothing left but what we can vindicate with our
 “ swords. Those may behave like cowards and dastards
 “ who can fly for refuge, by safe and unmolested routes,
 “ into their own lands and territories. As for you,
 “ there is an absolute necessity for your behaving like
 “ brave men, as you have no other sure dependence for
 “ life, or a medium between victory and death. You
 “ must, therefore, either conquer, or, if fortune denies
 “ you that, meet death rather in battle than in flight.
 “ If this is the firm purpose and fixed resolution of you
 “ all, I once more pronounce the victory yours. The
 “ immortal gods sure never gave mankind a more co-
 “ gent argument to fight for victory.”

CHAP. XLV.—AFTER the minds of both armies
 were animated for battle by these warm exhortations,
 the Romans laid a bridge across the Ticin, and erected a
 fort on it to defend it. While they were busily employ-
 ed in this work, the Carthaginian detached Maherbal
 with 500 Numidian horse to ravage the lands of the
 Roman allies. He ordered him as much as possible to
 spare those of the Gauls, and solicit their chiefs to re-

* Does not this contradict what was said before, that the Saguntines were included in the treaty made with Asdrubal?

† It did not; and that is only said to exasperate the hearers.

volt. When the bridge was finished, the Roman army crossed into the territories of the Insubrians, and encamped five miles from Victumviæ.* There Hannibal was encamped. As soon as he perceived an action unavoidable, he with all expedition recalled Maherbal with his detachment. And imagining he could never say enough to admonish and encourage his soldiers, he assembled them, and faithfully promised them certain rewards to encourage them to fight.—“ He would give every one of them lands in property to themselves and children, either in Italy, Africa, or Spain, as they should choose. To such as preferred money to land, he would give an equivalent in specie. He would grant the freedom of Carthage to all the allies who desired it. Those who chose to return home, he would take care so to enrich, that they should not desire to exchange circumstances with any of their countrymen. He would give the slaves who had followed their masters their liberty, and give their masters two slaves in lieu of each.” And that they might depend on his faithfully performing these things, taking a lamb in his left hand and a flint in his right, he prayed, “ that if he failed, Jupiter and the rest of the gods might kill him in like manner as he killed the lamb.” After this prayer he broke the skull of the beast with the stone. Then they all, as if the gods had become sureties for these promises, and imagining that the only bar to their enjoying what they hoped for was their not fighting, with one heart and voice demanded to be led on to battle.

CHAP. XLVI.—THERE was far from such alacrity among the Romans. Besides other things, they were terrified by prodigies that had lately happened: for a wolf had entered their camp, torn to pieces those it met, and escaped safe: a swarm of bees had settled on a tree that shaded the general's tent. Scipio, having offered the usual sacrifices to expiate them, set out towards the enemy's camp with his cavalry and light-armed dartmen,

* Dimoli, between the Ticin and Novara.

to view their number and quality. Hannibal, who had likewise gone out to reconnoitre the circumjacent places, met him with his horse. Neither of them perceived the other at first, till the thick cloud of dust, raised by the march of such numbers of men and horses, gave notice of the enemy's approach. Both detachments halted and prepared for action. Scipio posted his dartmen and Gallic horse in the front, and the Romans and stoutest of the allies to support them. The Carthaginian placed his Spanish horse, bridled and equipped, in the centre, and the Numidians in the wings to support them. The shout was hardly set up when the Roman dartmen retreated through the intervals to the second line. Then the battle between the horse was for some time sustained with equal vigour. At length, when the cavalry was disordered by the foot intermixed with them, many fell from their horses, and many dismounted, where they saw their own men surrounded and in danger, so that the battle was chiefly fought on foot. At last the Numidians, on the wings, wheeled and appeared in the rear of the Romans. This threw them into a terrible consternation; and their panic was increased by the consul's being wounded, though he was rescued from danger by the interposition of his son, who was but a stripling. It was this youth who had the glory of terminating this war, and who got the surname of Africanus for his signal victory over Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But the dartmen, whom the Numidians attacked first, were almost the only men that fled in confusion. The rest of the cavalry kept firm together; and taking the consul into the middle of them, defended him not only with their arms but bodies, and carried him back to the camp in good order, and without the least consternation. Cœlius gives a Ligurian slave the honour of saving the consul; but I choose rather to believe it was his son, both because I have the authority of the greatest number of authors, and because it has obtained the sanction of tradition.

CHAP. XLVII.—SUCH was the first battle fought with Hannibal, wherein the superiority of his cavalry

plainly appeared, and for that reason the plains, between the Alps and the Po, were the most improper place for the Romans to act on. Wherefore the consul having ordered his troops the ensuing night to pack up their baggage, decamped secretly from the Ticin, and marched with great expedition to the Po, that, while the bridge of boats, which he had laid across the river,* was entire, he might transport his troops without confusion, or being pursued by the enemy. He had got as far as Placentia,† before Hannibal got certain information of his being decamped from the Ticin. Yet the Carthaginian came up in time to take 600 men on his side of the river, who had dallied in breaking down the bridge. Yet he could not pass it, because, being loosened at both ends, the whole floated down the stream. The historian Cœlius says, that Mago immediately swam over with the cavalry and Spanish foot, and that Hannibal, with the main body, forded it higher up, having drawn up his elephants in a line extending quite across to break the force of the current. But they who are acquainted with that river will scarce believe this: for though the Spaniards might swim across on their bottles full of wind, yet it is not very probable that the cavalry, encumbered with their arms and horses, could get over so rapid a river: besides, it would have taken up many days march along the Po, ere they could have found fords sufficient for so great an army, loaded with baggage, to have passed. I rather credit those authors, who say, it was two days before they could find a fit place to lay a bridge of boats over, by which Mago was detached before with the Spanish light horse. While the heavy-armed troops were passing, Hannibal gave audience on this side of the river to the ambassadors of the Gauls. In the meantime Mago advanced one day's march towards the enemy at Placentia. In a few days after Hannibal encamped within six miles of that place; and next day drawing up his men in sight of the enemy, offered them battle.

* Ticin must be meant here.

† Some mistake must have crept in here: for Placentia stood on the east side of the river, not the west, as it must have done according to our text.

CHAP. XLVIII.—NEXT night some Romans were slaughtered in their camp ; but the confusion and alarm was greater than their real loss. Certain Gauls, to the number of 2000 foot and 200 horse, who served the Romans as auxiliaries, killed the guards at the gates, and deserted to Hannibal. The Carthaginian received them very kindly ; and having buoyed them up with the hopes of great rewards, sent them to their respective cities, to engage their countrymen to his interest. Scipio looked on the desertion of this corps as the prelude to a general revolt of the Gauls, who, now the infection had seized them, would run to arms like madmen. Therefore, notwithstanding he was still bad of his wound, he set out secretly at the fourth watch next night towards the river Trebia.* Here he encamped on the eminences, which horse could not so easily approach. However, this retreat was not so secret as that from the Ticin. The Carthaginian, having first detached his Numidians, and then his whole cavalry, after the consul, would infallibly have harassed his rear very much, had not the Numidians, through avidity of plunder, turned aside to the camp, which the Romans had abandoned. While they rummaged every corner in the camp, without finding any thing to make them amends for the time they had lost, the enemy escaped out of their hands ; and when they saw the Romans had already passed the Trebia, and were pitching their camp, they killed a few stragglers whom they intercepted on the same side with them. Scipio, no longer able to endure the pain, which, by the agitation of the march, his wound gave him, and believing it necessary to wait for his colleague, who he heard was recalled from Sicily, pitched on the ground near the river, as it seemed the safest for a standing camp to intrench himself on. The Carthaginian encamped not far from the same place. If his victory in his rencounter with the Roman cavalry gave him joy, the scarcity which daily increased in his army, being obliged to march through an enemy's country without having provisions prepared on the route, gave him no less disquiet. For this reason

* Its modern name is La Trebbia. It rises in the Apennines, and falls into the Po, near Placentia.

he sent a detachment to the village of Clastidium,* where the Romans had formed a great magazine of corn. As they were preparing to attack it by force, they had some hopes given them of having it betrayed to them; and, indeed, it cost them no great sum. The governor of it, Dasius of Brundisium, corrupted by 400 pieces of gold, delivered it to the Carthaginian. This served them for a magazine while they lay at Trebia. The prisoners, who were taken by betraying the garrison, Hannibal treated very favourably, in order to give an impression of his clemency in the beginning of the war.

CHAP. XLIX.—WHILST the war by land at Trebia remained in this state, several memorable transactions about Sicily, and the islands lying near Italy, were performed, both before and after the consul Sempronius's arrival there. Of 20 quinqueremes, with 1000 soldiers on board each, which the Carthaginians sent to ravage the coasts of Italy, nine arrived at Lipara, eight at the island of Vulcan,† and three were driven by stress of weather into the straits of Sicily. On their appearing, King Hiero, who happened then to be at Messina, expecting the Roman consul, sent out twelve galleys, which took them without resistance, and carried them into that port. The prisoners informed him, that besides the fleet of twenty ships, intended for Italy, and to which they belonged, another of thirty-five quinqueremes was sailing for Sicily, in order to solicit the ancient allies of the Carthaginians to revolt. They imagined their principal design was to surprise Lilybæum; but the same storm which had dispersed them, had driven that fleet to the islands Ægates. Whenever the king heard this, he dispatched an express from Messina with advice of it to the prætor M. Æmilius, then governor of Sicily, and advised him to throw a strong garrison into Lilybæum. Upon this the prætor sent the lieutenant-generals and legionary tribunes to keep the garrisons of the circumjacent towns in readiness; but in particular to hold Lilybæum prepared against an attack. At the same time he issued an

* Chiasteggio, near the Po.

† One of the Æolian islands.

order, that the mariners should bring ten days provisions ready dressed to their respective ships, and be ready to embark the instant the signal for that purpose should be given; and that the inhabitants along all the coasts should keep a good look out, from their watch-towers, to discover when the enemy appeared. In consequence, though the Carthaginians industriously slackened their course, that they might be up with Lilybæum just before day, yet they were descried by the brightness of the moon, and coming with their sheets flying. Immediately the signal was made from the beacons, the alarm given in the city, and all the fleet manned. Part of the troops were posted on the walls and at the gates, and part embarked on board the ships. When they perceived the place was prepared to receive them, they lay in the offing till day-break, being employed all that time in furling their sails and making ready for an attack. As soon as day appeared, they stood out again to sea, that they might have room to fight, and to give the enemy liberty to come out of port. Neither did the Romans decline a battle, encouraged with the remembrance of the success they formerly had in the same place, and confiding in the number and bravery of their troops.

CHAP. L.—As soon as the two fleets were got out to sea, the Romans shewed the greatest ardour to come to close engagement, and to fight yard-arm to yard-arm. But the Carthaginians avoided that, and chose rather to use statagem than force, relying more on the agility of their ships than on the courage of their troops. They had, indeed, a greater number of hands to work them, but few to fight; and when they were clapped on board, there appeared only a small number of soldiers to defend them. As soon as this difference was perceived, their numbers augmented the courage of the Romans, while the reverse diminished that of the enemy. Seven of their ships were immediately surrounded, and the rest fled. The number of prisoners, including both mariners and soldiers, in those that were taken, amounted to 1700, amongst whom were three men of quality. The Roman fleet sustained no other damage than one vessel's having

been bulged, and even she was brought back to port with the rest. About the time of this engagement, and before the news of it reached Messina, the consul, Ti. Sempronius, arrived there. As soon as he entered the strait, King Hiero went out to meet him with a fleet splendidly equipped; and passing out of his own galley on board the consul's, congratulated him on his safe arrival with his fleet and army, praying that this expedition into Sicily might be crowned with success. Then he informed him "of the state of the island, and the Carthaginian's designs upon it. He assured him, likewise, that now in his old age he would assist the Romans with the same good will and resolution that he had done in his youth during the former Punic war. He would furnish his legions and sailors with provisions and clothes gratis. Further, he informed him of the danger that Lilybæum and the other maritime cities were in, and that some were strongly inclined to a revolution." This advice induced the consul to sail directly to Lilybæum, whither the king with his fleet accompanied him. But, while they were at sea, they received accounts of the battle at Lilybæum, and that the enemy's fleet had fled, after several of their ships had been taken.

CHAP. LI.—THE consul having dismissed Hiero and his fleet, and left the prætor to guard the coast of Sicily, set sail for the island of Malta, which was then in possession of the Carthaginians. At his arrival, Hamilcar, the son of Gisco, who commanded the garrison, delivered up the town and island, with near 2000 prisoners. Within a few days, Sempronius returned to Lilybæum, where he and the prætor sold all the prisoners, except those of distinction. Thus, seeing Sicily was safe enough on that side, he set sail for the isle of Vulcan, where it was reported the Punic fleet lay. But he did not meet with the enemy there. They had luckily sailed to ravage the coast of Italy, where they alarmed the city of Vibo, and pillaged its lands. On his return to Sicily, he received advice of the enemy's descent on Vibo, and letters from the senate, informing him of Hannibal's arrival in Italy; and ordering him, with the utmost ex-

pedition, to fly to his colleague's relief. Perplexed with so many cares, he embarked his troops immediately, and detached them for Ariminum on the Adriatic sea. He sent Sex. Pomponius, his lieutenant, with twenty-five galleys, to protect Vibo and the sea-coast of Italy. He left M. Æmilius a fleet of fifty men of war complete. As for himself, after putting Sicily in this posture of defence, he coasted along Italy, and landed at Ariminum. From hence he set out with his army, and joined his colleague at the river Trebia.

CHAP. LII.—Now, as both consuls and the whole force of the Roman empire opposed Hannibal, it was sufficiently evident, that if the commonwealth could not be defended with those forces, they had nothing else to rely on. Yet one of the consuls, dispirited by the defeat of his cavalry and the pain of his wound, was for avoiding a battle. But the other, who had but lately arrived, and, on that account, had more spirit, would not hear of a delay. The Gauls, who then inhabited the country between the Po and Trebia, remained neuter in this contest between those powerful nations, no doubt with a view to join the conquerors. The Romans, not to raise themselves new enemies, were very well satisfied with this neutrality; but the Carthaginian highly resented it, affirming, he had been sent for by the Gauls to set them free. To gratify this passion, and at the same time subsist his troops on the plunder, he ordered a detachment of 2000 foot and 1000 horse, mostly Numidians, with a few Gauls amongst them, to ravage all the country as far as the banks of the Po. The Gauls, standing in need of help, after having till this time observed an exact neutrality, were obliged to turn from those who injured them, to such as would defend them. They sent an embassy to the consul, to solicit relief to their country, which was harassed on account of its inhabitants too faithful attachment to the Roman interest. Cornelius, who shrewdly suspected that people, on account of many treacherous actions, and, to pass by all former ones, especially for the late perfidy of the Boii, thought this neither cause sufficient, nor a proper opportunity,

to take such a step. On the other hand, Sempronius thought the surest tie to retain their allies faithful to them, was to defend those who first needed help. And, notwithstanding his colleague's remonstrances, he sent out his own cavalry, and 1000 foot, for the most part darters, mixed with them, to protect the lands of the Gauls on the other side of the Trebia. This detachment having surprised the enemy, while they were dispersed in disorder, and the greatest part of them encumbered with plunder, drove them in great consternation, and with great slaughter, even to their intrenchments. But great numbers sallying to support them, they renewed the charge. Then the battle remained for some time doubtful; and at last they parted on equal terms, though report gave the victory to the Romans rather than to the Carthaginians.

CHAP. LIII.—BUT nobody reckoned the victory more real, or boasted more of it, than Sempronius, who was elated with the thoughts of having conquered with that part of his forces which were defeated under his colleague. He insisted, “the troops were now sufficiently recruited and refreshed: that everybody desired a battle except Scipio, whose courage being more weakened than his body, could not bear the mention of arms or blows, when he reflected on his wound. But it was not reasonable that every person should grow decrepit with him. What reason could he have to spin out and lose time? Did he expect a third consul, a third army? The Carthaginians were encamped in Italy, almost in view of Rome. They were not endeavouring to drive the Romans out of Sicily and Sardinia, which they had conquered and taken from that people, nor to possess themselves of Spain beyond the Ebro, but to beat them out of their native country, and the soil in which they were born. What grief,” cried he, “would it give our ancestors, who were wont to fight round the walls of Rome, to see us, their progeny, two consuls, and two consular armies, trembling within our camp in the heart of Italy! and that the Carthaginian had subjected all the country between the

“Alps and Apennines?” In this manner he talked in presence of the wounded consul, and in the head-quarters, as if he had been haranguing in public. The comitia, which approached, spurred him on, lest new consuls should be sent to command, and, whilst his colleague was sick, he should lose the opportunity of gaining all the glory to himself. Therefore, in spite of Cornelius’s remonstrances, he ordered his troops to hold themselves in readiness for a battle. Hannibal saw clearly what was most for the enemy’s advantage, and had little hopes that the consuls would undertake any thing rashly, and without precaution. But when he understood, at first by report, which was afterwards confirmed by experience, that one of them was naturally fiery and impetuous, and was persuaded that his ardour was increased by his late success in the skirmish with his foragers, he did not despair of soon finding a favourable opportunity of coming to a decisive action. He was, besides, extremely attentive and solicitous not to suffer the lucky minute to slip, before the raw troops of the enemy were sufficiently disciplined, while the ablest of the consuls was, by his wound, prevented from acting, and while the hopes of the Gauls, the greatest part of whom he was sensible would follow with the greater reluctance, the farther they were led from home, were kept alive. Hoping, for these and reasons of the like nature, there would soon be blows, desirous also to bring on a battle, if the Romans lay quiet, and having been informed by his spies, whom he thought safest to choose out of the Gauls, as some of that nation served in each army, that the Romans were ready for battle, he began to search out a place proper for an ambuscade.

CHAP. LIV.—IN the middle between the two camps ran a rivulet, whose banks, on both sides, were pretty high, and overgrown with sedges and other weeds common in uncultivated places, bushes, and brambles. He examined this ground in person, and found it close enough even to conceal cavalry. Then he said to his brother Mago,—“In this spot you shall post yourself. Choose out 100 horse and 100 foot of the bravest men

“ in the army, and come with them to me at the first watch. In the meantime refresh yourselves.” Then the general’s levy was dismissed, and Mago was presently ready with his chosen troops. “ I see,” said Hannibal, “ you are all stout fellows ; but, that you may be as strong in number as courage, choose each of you nine like yourselves out of the corps to which you belong. Mago will shew you the place where you shall lie in ambush. Your enemies are quite inexperienced in these arts.” When he had dispatched Mago, with 1000 horse and as many foot, at day-break, he sent his Numidian horse over the Trebia, with orders to ride up to the gates of the enemy’s camp, and, by throwing their lances into their posts, to draw them out to a battle ; and, in skirmishing, retire by degrees, and repass the river. These were the orders he gave the Numidians, while he commanded the other generals of horse and foot to order their troops to go to breakfast, and then to wait the signal, ready armed and mounted. Sempronius, eager to fight upon the alarm raised by the Numidians, relying chiefly on his cavalry, drew them out first, then 6000 foot, and at length all his forces, to the ground they had before appointed in a council of war. It was yet winter, snowed in the places between the Alps and Apennines ; and the coldness of the weather was increased by the proximity of lakes and rivers. As his men and horse were hastily drawn out, before they had eaten any thing to sustain them against the cold, they had no heat in them ; and the nearer they approached the vapoury river, the chilling air pierced them with the greater ease. But having, in pursuit of the Numidians, who retreated, entered the river, which, by the rain in the night, had risen breast high, their bodies were so stiff and benumbed when they came out, that they could scarce hold their arms ; and as they had fasted till the day was far advanced, they fainted for hunger.

CHAP. LV.—HANNIBAL’S troops having had fires kindled before their tents, oil distributed to each company to supple their joints, and at their ease taken a good repast, as soon as they got notice that the enemy

had passed the river, with minds and bodies in cheerful plight, they took their arms, and marched out to battle. The Carthaginian posted the slingers and light-armed troops, about 8000 in number, in front; in a second line his heavy-armed infantry, the flower and main strength of his army; and in the two wings his horse, amounting to 10,000. The points of his infantry he strengthened with the elephants, an equal number of which he posted on right and left. The consul, seeing his horse, who were pursuing the fugitives, unexpectedly charged by the Numidians, who suddenly faced about, sounded a retreat. When they joined him, he posted them on the wings of his foot. He had with him 22,000 Romans, 20,000 allies and Latins, besides the auxiliary Cenomanians, the only nation of the Gauls that continued faithful to them. These were the numbers that engaged on the Roman side. The battle was begun by the slingers; but they being too vigorously charged by the Roman legions, all the light-armed troops were quickly drawn off to the wings. By this means the Roman cavalry were pushed in an instant: for as they of themselves were not a match for the enemy, being but 4000 to 10,000, and wearied, while the others were fresh and vigorous, they were buried in a cloud of darts and missile weapons thrown by the Balears. Besides, the elephants, appearing on the extremities of the two wings, everywhere put to flight the Roman horse, which were terrified not only at the sight of them, but at their uncommon smell. The infantry on both sides fought with equal courage, but not with equal strength: for the Carthaginians had been brought into the field with their bodies newly refreshed to engage the Romans, who were hungry, fatigued, and benumbed with cold. Yet the latter would have got the better by their courage, if they had had only the foot to deal with. But the slingers, after having routed the horse, charged them in the flank, and the elephants attacked the centre. Besides, Mago and the Numidians, as soon as the Roman army had passed by the place of their ambuscade, attacked their rear, and put them into great confusion and consternation.

Notwithstanding the main body was so hard put to it on every side, yet it stood firm for some time, and, in particular, beyond all expectation, against the elephants: for their light horse, which were posted for the purpose, plied them so hard with their spears, that they made them turn their backs, and then pricked them under the tails, where, by reason of the thinness of the skin, they are most easily wounded.

CHAP. LVI.—HANNIBAL, perceiving that those beasts were frightened, and, in their consternation, like to run from the centre upon his own flanks, ordered them to be driven to the left wing, to oppose the auxiliary Gauls. These troops were immediately put to the rout. The sight of their auxiliaries defeat added greatly to the terror the Romans were in before. But when they saw themselves surrounded, and that they could not escape another way, near 10,000 broke through the main body of the Africans, which was supported by the Gauls, with great slaughter of the enemy; and seeing their retreat to their camp cut off by the river, which lay between, and that they could not, by reason of the rain, see where to aid their own men, they marched straight to Placentia. Then many corps opened themselves a passage on all sides. Those who took the route to the river were either drowned, or cut to pieces by the enemy, while they hovered on the banks. Such as were, in the flight, dispersed through the fields, followed the track of the 10,000 to Placentia. Some, whom fear of the enemy forced to enter the river, got over, and reached the camp. Abundance of men, cattle, and elephants, perished by the rain, snow, and severity of the cold. The Carthaginians pursued the enemy no farther than the river Trebia, and returned to their camp so benumbed with cold, that they were scarce able to express any joy for their victory: for this reason, when those who had been left in the Roman camp, and a great number who escaped from the battle, passed the Trebia in boats next night, the Carthaginians did not perceive them, through the noise of the rain, or, because they were not able to stir from fatigue and wounds, they feigned not to perceive them.

Thus, while the enemy lay quiet, Scipio secretly marched his troops to Placentia. From thence he passed the Po, and went to Cremona, that one colony might not be oppressed by two armies wintering there.

CHAP. LVII.—THE news of this defeat occasioned so much terror at Rome, that the people believed the enemy was advancing to the city with colours flying; nor did they hope, by any means, to be able to defend their gates and walls. "When one consul," said they, "was defeated at the Ticin, they had sent for another from Sicily. But since two consuls and two consular armies were defeated, what other leaders, what other legions, had they to oppose the enemy?" As they were in this consternation, the consul Sempronius arrived, having, with great danger, escaped the enemy's horse, which were dispersed everywhere plundering. It was more through fool-hardiness than wise conduct, or any hope he had of missing them, or being able to defend himself if he had met with them, that he undertook such a journey. After he had held the comitia for the election of consuls, the thing that was most wanted in their present situation, he returned to his winter quarters. The new consuls were Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius. But the Romans were not even unmolested in their winter quarters: for the Numidian horse ranged about everywhere; and, where they could not come, they were harassed by Celtiberians and Lusitanians. Thus all means of conveying provisions were cut off, except bringing them in boats up the Po. Near Placentia was their magazine, strongly fortified and garrisoned. Hannibal set out with his cavalry and light-armed troops, in hopes of taking this strong place. Placing all his hopes of success in concealing his design, he advanced to surprise it by night, but was discovered by the sentinels; and so loud an alarm was given, that it was heard at Placentia. Upon this the consul, as soon as it was day, came down with his horse, leaving orders for the foot to follow in order of battle. Before the latter came up, the cavalry were engaged. Hannibal, by reason of a wound he received, was obliged to retire, while his men were frightened, and the garrison

bravely defended. After he had rested some days, and before his wound was thoroughly cured, he marched to attack *Victumviæ*. The Romans had fortified this place in the war with the Gauls, and made it a magazine. After that, people from all the neighbouring nations came and inhabited it; and at that time, in particular, the fear of being plundered had made most of the peasants fly thither for shelter. This multitude, such as they were, excited by the report of the brave defence made by the garrison at *Placentia*, ran to arms, and went out to meet *Hannibal*, but marched along rather like a rabble than a regular army in order of battle. Thus as on one side there was only a tumultuous mob, and on the other a general on whom his troops relied, and he on them, near 35,000 were routed by a handful of men. Next day the town surrendered, and received a *Carthaginian* garrison. But they had no sooner obeyed the command to deliver up their arms, than a signal was suddenly given to the conquerors to sack the city, as if it had been taken by storm. No kind of outrage, which, in such cases, historians count worth recording, were omitted, such instances of lust, barbarity, and inhuman insolence did they practise on these wretched inhabitants. These were *Hannibal's* expeditions during the winter.

CHAP. LVIII.—Not long after he allowed his troops some rest, as the cold was intolerable. But upon the first approach of spring he quitted his winter quarters, and marched into *Hetruria*, with a view to make that nation either voluntarily, or by force, join him, as he had done the Gauls and *Ligurians*. In passing the *Apennines* he met with so violent a storm, that it exceeded almost the terrible calamities which he encountered on the Alps. A terrible rain and wind beat full in their faces. At first they stood still, because they must either have thrown away their arms, or, by striving against the hurricane, been whirled round and sorely annoyed. Then as the violence of the storm stopped their lungs from play, and would not suffer them to breathe, they turned their backs to it, and sat down a little. But after that it thundered dreadfully, with terrible lightning

between the claps. This deprived them both of their hearing and eyesight, and struck them into a panic. At length the rain dispersed, but the wind grew stronger, so that it was thought necessary to encamp on the very place. But this began their labour afresh: for it was impossible either to spread the canvass or fix the poles of their tents. What they got fixed could not resist the fury of the winds, which rent, and carried them quite away. Within a while, the rain, which was rarified by the wind, and carried up above the tops of these bleak mountains, congealed and fell down in so great showers of snow and hail, that laying aside every other concern, they fell flat on their faces, rather overwhelmed than defended by their coverings. Such a severe frost ensued, that not one of that miserable crowd of men and cattle could, for a long time, rise or help himself when he had a mind; for their nerves were so benumbed with the bitter cold, that they could not bend their joints. But at length, when in effect of their struggling they began to move and recover their spirits, and to light fires in a few places, those who could not help themselves had recourse to the assistance of others. In this place were they penned up for two days as close as if besieged. Abundance of men and cattle perished, and likewise seven of the elephants that survived the battle of the Trebia.

CHAP. LIX.—THE Carthaginian having quitted the Apennines took the route to Placentia, and after having marched ten miles encamped. Next day he led 12,000 foot and 5000 horse against the enemy. The consul Sempronius, who was by this time returned from Rome, did not decline a battle. That day the two armies were within three miles of each other. The next they engaged with great ardour, and various success. In the first charge the Romans had so much the advantage, that they not only beat the enemy out of the field, but pursued them to their camp, which they immediately attacked. Here Hannibal, having posted some few to guard the lines and gates, drew up the rest in close order in the middle of the camp, with orders attentively to watch the signal for sallying. It was now almost three

o'clock in the afternoon, when the Romans, having in vain fatigued their troops, and despairing of making themselves masters of the enemy's camp, sounded a retreat. As soon as the Carthaginian heard this, and saw the attack relax, and the enemy retire, he sent his horse out at the right and left, and sallied himself with all his infantry out at the middle of the camp, to attack them. Had they had day-light sufficient to have fought it out, there never had been a fiercer battle, or one more memorable for the loss on both sides. But night parted them amidst their ardour for fighting. Thus the charge was hotter than the slaughter great; and as the battle was fought with equal bravery on both sides, so they retired with equal loss. On neither side did there fall above 600 foot and half that number of horse. But the quality of the Romans loss exceeded the number; for they had several knights, five legionary tribunes, and three captains of the allies killed. After this battle the Carthaginian went into Liguria and Sempronius to Lucca.* On Hannibal's arrival in that country, two Roman questors, C. Fulvius and L. Lucretius, two legionary tribunes, and five knights, whose fathers were senators, and who had been treacherously intercepted, were delivered up to him. The Ligurians did this to convince the Carthaginian that they would inviolably keep the treaty they had made with him.

CHAP. LX.—WHILE these things passed in Italy, Cn. Cornelius Scipio, who was commissioned for Spain, with an army and fleet, set sail from the mouth of the Rhone, and coasting along the Pyrenean mountains, arrived at Emporiæ.† There he landed his army, and beginning with the Lacetani, he reduced all the cities on the coast as far as the Ebro, to the Romans, either by renewing former treaties, or making new ones. Hence the fame of his clemency spread abroad, and had great influence not only with the people on the coast, but on the more savage nations up the country, and in the moun-

* It stood on the frontiers of Liguria and Etruria, near the Serebio.

† Empurius, in Catalonia.

tains ; so that he not only made peace with them, but engaged them to take arms in conjunction with him, and from amongst them he levied several strong corps of auxiliaries. Hanno, whom Hannibal had left to defend that country, was then on this side the Ebro. Wherefore thinking it advisable to meet Scipio, before the whole country was alienated from the Carthaginians, he encamped within sight of the enemy, and led out his troops in order of battle. The Roman thought it best to accept the offer, and inasmuch as he was sensible he could not avoid having both Asdrubal and Hanno to deal with, he chose rather to fight them separately than to have to do with them both at once. The victory was not long disputed, 6000 Carthaginians were killed, 2000 made prisoners, with those that had been left to guard the camp: for their camp was taken, and the general himself, with some of his principal officers. Scissis,* a city in the neighbourhood of the camp, was likewise taken by storm. However, the plunder of it was but of very little value, as it consisted of paltry furniture and mean slaves. It was the booty found in the camp that enriched the soldiers, as in it were all the valuable effects, not only of the army presently defeated, but of that which was fighting in Italy under Hannibal, who, not to be encumbered with heavy baggage on their march, had left it all on the other side of the Pyrenees.

CHAP. LXI.—ASDRUBAL had passed the Ebro with 8000 foot and 1000 horse, with a design to oppose the Romans at their arrival, before any certain intelligence of this misfortune could arrive ; but when he heard of the defeat and loss of the camp at Scissis, he turned towards the sea. Near Tarraco† he found the marines and sailors of Scipio's fleet dispersed and wandering through the fields, as it commonly happens that success gives birth to negligence ; and having detached his cavalry everywhere against them, he cut off a great number of them, and drove the rest to their ships. But not daring to stay longer in those parts, for fear of being sur-

* No traces of it remain.

† Tarragon, in Catalonia.

prised by Scipio, he retired to the other side of the Ebro. The Roman likewise, upon intelligence of this new enemy, suddenly marched his army thither, and chastised some of the sea-captains. Then leaving a small garrison at Tarraco, he returned with his fleet to Emporiæ. He had scarce left his quarters when Asdrubal supplied his place; and having excited the Illergetes, who had given hostages to Scipio, to revolt, they with their own youth laid waste the lands of those who continued faithful to the Romans: but on Scipio's being roused out of his winter quarters, Asdrubal again quitted the whole country on this side the Ebro. The Roman, having with an hostile army invaded the region which was abandoned by the author of their revolt, and driven them all into Athanagia,* their capital, invested it. Within a few days he reduced the Illergetes, demanded a greater number of hostages than before, and fined them in a considerable sum of money. Then he marched against the Ausetani, who were likewise allies of the Carthaginians; and having invested their city, intercepted, not far from the town, the Lacetani, who had come by night to succour their neighbours, just as they were on the point of entering the place. 12,000 of them were slain, and all the rest, flinging down their arms, dispersed through the fields, and fled to their own houses. Nothing saved the besieged but the severity of the winter, which greatly annoyed the besiegers. The siege lasted thirty days, in all which time the snow was seldom less than four feet thick, and so covered the penthouses and galleries of the Romans, that they had no other defence against the fire which the enemy several times threw upon them. At last the enemy, after their prince Amusitus fled to Asdrubal, surrendered, and stipulated to pay twenty talents of silver. Then Scipio returned to winter at Tarraco.

CHAP. LXII.—DURING that winter many prodigies happened at Rome, or about it; at least, which is very common when superstition has taken possession

* Some authors say it was the same with the modern Maurea. Others, Tarrega, Sanbuan, Cardonne, and Lerida.

of mens' minds, many were reported to have been seen, and credit very lightly given to these reports. Among these it was said, "that a child of free condition, and only half a year old, had called out in the herb-market *IO TRIUMPHE*. In the cattle-market, an ox of his own accord had got up to the third storey of a house, and being frightened with the tumult and noise of the inhabitants threw himself down. A phenomenon was seen in the heavens resembling a fleet. The temple of Hope, which stood in the herb-market, was struck with lightning. At Lanuvium a spear had brandished of itself; and a raven flew into the temple of Juno, and perched upon her shrine. In the territory of Amiternum,* the figures of many men dressed in white appeared, but never would approach any person. In Picenum it rained stones. At Cære the lots appeared smaller; and in Gaul a wolf drew a sentinel's sword out of the scabbard, and carried it away." For all these and other prodigies the decemvirs were ordered to consult the Sibyl's books. But to expiate the raining of stones in Picenum, a festival was appointed for nine days, and the whole city almost was employed in expiations for the rest. First of all, the city was purified; the greater sacrifices offered to those gods, in whose honour they had been appointed by the decemvirs, and a present of forty pounds weight of gold sent to Juno at Lanuvium. The ladies dedicated a brazen image to Juno on the Aventine hill. At Cære, where the lots had appeared smaller, a lectisternium was ordered to be spread, and a supplication made to Fortune in Algidus. At Rome likewise a lectisternium was spread to the goddess Youth, a procession made to the temple of Hercules, all the people severally ordered to go round the whole shrines in the city, and five large victims sacrificed to Genius. Besides, the prætor C. Atilius Serranus was ordered to make a solemn vow in honour of the gods, in case the state should remain in the same situation for ten years. These expiations and vows, which were made according to the direction

* Pescara.

of the Sibylline books, eased them for the most part of their superstitious fears.

CHAP. LXIII.—THEN one of the consuls elect, Flaminius, to whom the legions that had wintered at Placentia had fallen by lot, sent a written order to the consul, to have that army encamped at Ariminum by the 15th of March. His intention was to enter upon his office in his province: for he well remembered the former struggles he had had with the patricians, when he was tribune of the people, and afterwards when consul, in the first place about the consulate, which they would have had him abdicate, and in the next, about his triumph. He was also odious to the fathers on account of a law which C. Claudius, tribune of the people, supported by no patrician but Flaminius, had carried in opposition to the senate, “that no senator, or father of a senator, should keep a bark of above eight tons burden.” For this was reckoned sufficient to bring their grain from their farms, and it seemed below a nobleman to reap advantage by merchandise. This affair was debated with great warmth, and brought on the author of the law, Flaminius, the hatred of the nobility, at the same time that it procured him the affections of the people and a second consulate. For these reasons, imagining that they would detain him in the city, by falsifying the auspices, celebrating the Latin holidays, and other obstructions commonly practised to retard the consuls, he pretended to take a journey into the country, as a private person, but secretly went into his province. When this step was made public, it exasperated the fathers the more, who were already incensed against him. “Flaminius,” said they, “has declared war not only against the senators, but against the immortal gods. Having formerly been elected consul contrary to the auspices, he did not obey either gods or men, who forbade him to give battle; and now, from a consciousness of this contempt, he had avoided the capitol and making the solemn vows in form; lest, on the day of his inauguration to his magistracy, he should go to the temple of Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings; lest he

“ should see and consult the senate, to whom he was
“ odious, and who were hated by him alone: that he
“ might not order the celebration of the *Feriæ Latinæ*,
“ or perform the annual sacrifice on Mount Alba to
“ Jupiter Latiaris: that he might not, after having
“ taken the auspices, march in procession to the capi-
“ tol, to make his vows in form, and go thence into
“ his province, adorned with the robe of state, and at-
“ tended by the lictors: that, like a man-servant in the
“ army, he had stolen away privately, without the
“ badges of his dignity, the fasces and lictors, as if he
“ was only going into banishment. He thought it
“ more honourable to enter upon his command at Ari-
“ minum, than to be inaugurated at Rome; and to put
“ on the robe of state in a public inn, than amongst
“ his household gods. They were unanimously of
“ opinion, that he ought to be recalled and brought
“ back, and obliged to perform all the duties relating
“ to gods or men, before he set out for the army and his
“ province.” It was decreed to send deputies for this
purpose; and Q. Terentius and M. Antistius, who
went on that errand, made no greater impression upon
him than the letters which the senate had sent him in
his first consulate. Within a few days he entered upon
the exercise of his office; and, as he was sacrificing, the
bullock, after it was struck, escaped out of the hands
of the sacrificers, and bespattered many of the by-
standers with blood. But those who, by their being
far off, were ignorant of the matter, were more alarm-
ed than the rest, and fled. Most men looked on it as
an omen of some great calamity. After he had receiv-
ed two legions from Sempronius, who had been consul
the preceding year, and as many from the prætor C. Atil-
lius, he began to make his troops defile towards He-
truria by the Apennines.

BOOK XXII.

CONTAINING

- I. *Hannibal in danger of his life by the snares of the Gauls. Prodigies at Rome.*—II. *Hannibal arrives in Etruria, after a march of four days and three nights, without sleep, through the marshes, and losing one of his eyes.*—III—IV. *Ravages the country, to provoke Flaminius, the consul, to an engagement.*—V, VI, VII. *The battle at the lake Thrasymentum.*—VIII. *Four thousand horse taken by Hannibal.*—IX. *He is driven from Spoletum with great loss. F. Maximus created dictator.*—X. *Supplications at Rome for appeasing the gods.*—XI—XII. *Fabius sets out with a new army, watches Hannibal's motions.*—XIII. *Hannibal led to Casilinum instead of Casinum.*—XIV, XV, XVI. *Hannibal shut up by Fabius between Formiæ and Linternum.*—XVII—XVIII. *Hannibal's device to extricate himself.*—XIX—XXII. *Affairs in Spain.*—XXIII. *Hannibal, in ravaging the country, spares the estate of the dictator, which he sells to ransom some prisoners.*—XXIV—XXV. *Minucius, general of the horse, getting some advantages in the dictator's absence,*—XXVI—XXVIII. *Is raised to an equal command with the dictator.*—XXIX—XXX. *Risks a battle, is worsted, and rescued by Fabius.*—XXXI. *Affairs in Sardinia and Sicily. Fabius and Minucius succeeded by Atilius and Servilius.*—XXXII. *Who conduct their affairs on Fabius's plan.*—XXXIII. *A Carthaginian spy discovered at Rome. Twenty-five slaves crucified for a conspiracy. Ambassadors sent to Philip king of Macedon and Pineus king of Illyricum.*—XXXVI—XXXVII. *Presents sent to Rome from the Neapolitans and the inhabitants of Pæstum; and from Hiero, besides provisions and other presents, 1000 slingers and archers.*—XLI. *Hannibal leaves his camp full of plunder, and retires to a small distance, that he might fall upon the enemy busied in rifling it; this stratagem discovered by two slaves, and the Roman army saved.*—XLIII. *Murmurs in Hannibal's camp for want*

of pay and provisions ; he retires, and is followed by the consuls.—XLIV–XLIX. The defeat of the Romans at Cannæ.—L–LIX. Miserable consequences of the battle. Deliberations on the state of affairs.—LX–LXI. The deputies of 8000 prisoners petition the senate for their ransom, and are refused. A great many of the states of Italy revolt to the Carthaginians.

CHAP. I.—THE spring was now approaching, when Hannibal moved out of his winter quarters, having before attempted to pass the Apennines in vain, by reason of the intolerable cold. While he staid in these quarters, he was in great danger and fear for his own person: for the Gauls, whom the hopes of plunder and booty had induced to join him, seeing, that instead of pillaging and driving off the effects of others, their own country was become the theatre of the war, and harassed by the armies of both sides wintering there, began to hate Hannibal instead of the Romans. And after their chiefs had sought to cut him off by treachery, he owed his preservation to their own deceitfulness; for they discovered their conspiracy with the same levity of mind with which they had formed it. For security against their snares, he often changed his habit, and often his perukes, so that they did not know him. This dread, however, made him the sooner leave his winter quarters. At the same time, Servilius, the consul elect, entered upon office at Rome on the 15th of March. His laying before the senate, in order to their deliberation, a state of the public affairs, gave occasion for renewing their invectives against Flaminius. “We elected two consuls,” said they, “and have but one: for what just title had he to command and authority? what auspices could he plead? These two necessary qualifications for his office he ought to have carried with him from home, from his household and public gods, after having celebrated the *Feriæ Latinæ*, offered the sacrifice on Mount Alba, and duly made his vows in the capitol. The auspices could not follow him, who was but a private person; and since he had gone without taking them, they could not be repeated anew in a

“strange country.” Their fears were increased by the accounts of prodigies having happened in many places at the same time. In Sicily some soldiers javelins, and in Sardinia, the staff which a trooper, as he was going the rounds to the sentinels on the walls, held in his hand, took fire. Many fires were seen burning on the shores, and two shields sweated blood. Certain soldiers were struck with lightning, and the disk of the sun seemed to be diminished. At Præneste it rained red hot stones. At Arpi bucklers were seen in the air, and the sun fighting with the moon. At Capena two moons rose together in the day-time. The waters of Cære were mixed with blood. The spring of Hercules was stained with spots of blood. As people were reaping in the fields of Antium, ears of corn all bloody fell into their baskets. At Falerii the heaven seemed to rend to a great width, and a vast light to shine out of the hiatus. The lots, without any one touching them, appeared smaller, and one of them fell out of the box with this inscription, *MARS BRANDISHETH HIS SPEAR*. At Rome, about the same time, the image of Mars, near those of the wolves on the Appian way, sweated. At Capua the sky seemed to be on fire, and the figure of a moon seemed to fall down in a shower. Several other prodigies of less note were likewise credited. Several goats bore wool; a hen and a cock changed sexes. These things being laid before them as they were reported, and the authors of them introduced into the senate, the consul desired the fathers advice on religious affairs. In consequence, an act was passed, that some of these prodigies should be expiated by full-grown victims, and others by sucklings; and that a supplication should be made at all the shrines for the space of three days. As for the rest, as soon as the decemvirs had consulted the Sibylline books, such means should be taken to expiate them as the gods in their responses should declare to be agreeable to them. By the report of the decemvirs, it was enacted, in the first place, that a present should be made to Jupiter of a thunderbolt of gold, weighing fifty pounds, and others of silver to Juno and Minerva: that a sacrifice of full-grown victims should be offered to Juno, queen of

the gods, on the Aventine hill, and to Juno Sospita at Lanuvium: that the ladies should make a contribution of as much money as each could conveniently spare, and carry it as a present to Queen Juno on the Aventine hill, and spread a lectisternium. Likewise, that such women as had been enfranchised should make a collection, according to their abilities, and make a present of it to the goddess Feronia. When these things were done, the decemvirs offered the larger kind of sacrifices in the forum of Ardea. On the last day of December, a sacrifice was offered in the temple of Saturn at Rome; and a lectisternium ordered, which the senators themselves prepared. At the same time, a public feast was made to him, during which the streets of Rome rung with the shouts of those who cried Saturnalia night and day; and the people were ordered to celebrate that day for ever.

CHAP. II.—WHILE the consul was busied at Rome in appeasing the gods and making the levies, the Carthaginian had quitted his winter quarters. Upon a report that Flaminius had advanced as far as Aretium, he chose the nearest way through the marshes, which the Arno* had then overflowed more than usual, notwithstanding another more commodious, but somewhat longer, was pointed out to him. He ordered his Spaniards and Africans, all veterans, and the flower of his army, to march foremost, with their baggage in the middle of them, that they might not want provisions, in case they should be obliged to halt anywhere. The Gauls were to follow them, that they might be in the centre, and his cavalry to form the rear. Then he disposed Mago, with the light-armed Numidians, to bring up and keep the army together, in particular the Gauls, lest, through fatigue, and weariness with the length of the way, as they are a people who cannot endure hardships, they should slip aside or stop. The advanced guard marched regularly after their proper colours, wherever the guides led them, through deep waters, quagmires, and in mud; but the Gauls, who could not keep their feet,

* It rises in the Apennines near the confines of Romagna Fiorentina, and falls into the Tuscan sea, eight miles below Pisa.

fell, without being able to rise again out of the bogs. They had neither spirits to support their bodies, nor hope to support their minds. Some were scarcely able to drag their weary limbs after them: others, when once quite overcome with fatigue, lay dying among the beasts, which likewise lay all about. But what tormented them most was the want of sleep, which they endured for four days and three nights. As the whole ground was covered with water, and they could not find a dry place to lay their wearied bodies on, they heaped their baggage up in the waters, and lay down upon it. Great heaps of dead beasts lay all along the road; and as the Gauls sought only somewhat that stood above the water to sleep on, for a short time they used these carcasses instead of beds. Hannibal himself, who already had a distemper in his eyes, first occasioned by the unsettled weather of the spring, which was alternately cold and hot, rode on the only elephant he had left, which kept him high above the waters; but, at length, watching, the unwholesome damps in the night, and the gross air of the marshes, brought on a defluxion in his head, which, as he had neither a proper place, nor leisure to apply remedies, cost him one of his eyes.

CHAP. III.—WHEN he had got out of the marshes, where many men and beasts of burden perished miserably, he encamped on the first dry ground he could find. Here he was informed by scouts, whom he had sent before, that the Roman army lay about the walls of Arretium. Then he applied himself with all possible care to penetrate the designs and disposition of the consul, to learn the situation of the country, and the means and roads for bringing provisions to his troops, and every other thing necessary to be acquainted with in the present conjuncture. The fields of Etruria, which lie between Fesulæ* and Arretum, were the most fertile of Italy, and produced great store of corn, cattle, and abundance of all kinds of necessaries. As for the Roman consul, grown impetuously proud since his first consul-

* Fiesoli in Tuscany.

ship, he not only paid no regard to the authority of the laws and senate, but did not even shew a due fear of the gods. This his innate impetuosity of temper fortune had cherished, by granting him success in his affairs at home, and wars abroad; so that it was sufficiently evident, that without consulting gods or men he would act in every respect with great fire and heat. In order to make him hurry himself more precipitately into the effects of these his imperfections, the Carthaginian prepared to exasperate and provoke him. Leaving the enemy on the left, and taking the route to Fesulæ, he marched to lay waste the centre of Hetruria, and shewed the consul, at a distance, as great destruction as he could make by fire and sword. Flaminius, who, had the enemy lain still, would not have remained quiet, when he saw his allies effects carried and driven off before his eyes, imagined it reflected disgrace on him, that the Carthaginian was traversing the centre of Italy, and without opposition marching to attack the walls of Rome. All the other members of the council of war advised salutary rather than specious measures: to wait the coming of his colleague, that they might act with united forces, heart, and counsels; and in the meantime send out the cavalry and light-armed auxiliaries to restrain the enemy's licentious depredations. But he rushed out from the council in a violent rage, and gave the signal for marching and of battle at the same time. "Why," says he, "do we sit still before the walls of Aretium? this is our native country, and here are our household gods! Let Hannibal, who has slipt through our hands, ravage Italy with fire and sword, and thereby penetrate to the walls of Rome! Nor shall we remove hence, till the senate send for Flaminius from Aretium, as they formerly did for Camillus from Veii." Upon which presumptuous speech, when he ordered the ensigns to be pulled up, and had mounted his horse, the horse suddenly fell, and threw the consul head foremost to the ground. All who attended were frightened at this accident, as a bad omen at setting out. Besides he was told, that an ensign bearer, with all his efforts, could not pull his standard out of the ground. Upon this he

turned about to the person who brought him this news, "Do not you also," said he, "bring me letters from the senate, prohibiting me to give battle? Be gone, tell them to dig out the standard, if fear has so froze their hands that they cannot pull it up." Upon this the army began to march. The chief officers, besides having declared against it in council, were terrified by these two prodigies. But the common soldiers, regarding only their hopes, not the reasons and motives for it, rejoiced at this confidence in their general.

CHAP. IV.—HANNIBAL, in order to provoke his enemy to revenge the injuries done to his allies, committed all manner of hostilities in that track of land which lies between the city of Cortona* and the lake of Thrasymen.† He had already advanced to places naturally formed for ambush, in particular where the lake of Thrasymen lies at the foot of the Cortonian mountains. Betwixt these there is only a narrow defile, as if it had been left for the very purpose. It by degrees grows somewhat wider, and is lined by some little rising hills. Here he encamped only with his Africans and Spaniards in open view. The balceares and light-armed troops he posted behind the hills on the right. His horse he posted under cover of the eminences on the left, near the entry into the defile, that as soon as the Romans entered it, they might all be inclosed by the lake and the mountains, while the horse stood in the mouth of the passage. Flaminius had come to the lake at sun-set the night before; and next day, before it was clear light, passed the defile, without reconnoitring the ground. When he began to extend his line in the valley, he saw no more of the enemy than the party that faced him. Those behind and above him were hid in ambush. As soon as Hannibal got what he had been labouring for, the enemy enclosed between the lake and the mountains, and surrounded by his forces, he gave the signal for them all to charge at the same time. They ran down upon them the nearest way they could: and, what frightened the Romans

* In the Florentin, between the Clanis and marsh of Clusium.

† Lago di Perugia.

more in this sudden and unexpected attack, was a fog, which rose out of the lake, and was thicker in the valley than on the mountains: for by this means the different corps of the enemy could better see one another coming out of the several valleys, and run down to the charge altogether. But the Romans, who could not see the situation they were in, were first made sensible by the shout, which rung from all sides, that they were surrounded. They were charged in front and flank before they were formed, could get ready their arms, or draw their swords.

CHAP. V.—IN this universal consternation of his troops, the consul, notwithstanding the danger, was perfectly intrepid; and flying wherever he heard a confused shout, reinstated the disordered ranks, as time and place would allow him. Wherever he could go, or be heard, he exhorted the troops to stand and fight.—“ It was not vows and supplications to the gods, but main force and valour, by which they could escape. With your swords open yourselves a passage through the middle of your enemy. Danger ceases the instant men cease to fear.” But neither his advice nor his orders could be heard for the noise and confusion. Nay, so far were the soldiers from knowing their proper colours, ranks, and posts, that they had scarce spirits to take or make ready their arms for fighting; and some, who were rather burdened than defended by them, fell oppressed by their weight. Besides, in so thick a fog, they had greater use of ears than of eyes. They directed their faces and eyes wherever they heard the groans of the wounded, the blows on the bodies or armour, and the tumultuous shouts of those that fought, and those who were afraid. Some, as they were flying, fell into a crowd of those that were fighting, and there stuck fast: others, as they were returning to battle, were prevented by troops of men flying. However, after they had exerted their utmost efforts on all sides in vain, saw themselves environed by the lake and mountains in flank, and by the enemy in front and rear, and that they had no hopes of safety, but what depended on their arms and swords, then every one became his own leader, and en-

courager to behave valiantly, and the battle was reinstated. They were not marshalled into principes, hastati and triarii, nor were those distinct corps to fight in their order, some before and some behind the colours, so that every soldier should remain in his proper legion, cohort, or company; but they rallied together by chance, and each fought before or in his rank, in proportion to his courage. So great was the ardour of the combatants, and so keenly were they engaged, that none of them perceived an earthquake which threw down great parts of many cities of Italy, changed the course of the most rapid rivers, carried the sea up rivers, and overturned mountains with a terrible crash.

CHAP. VI.—THE action continued three hours, and was very sharp in every place, but still fiercer and bloodier round the consul. The flower of the troops followed him; and wherever he saw his own men in danger, and hard put to it, thither he flew courageously to their relief. As he was distinguished by the splendour of his arms, the enemy attacked, and the Romans defended him with the greatest fury. At length an Insubrian trooper, named Ducarius, who likewise knew Flaminius's face, called out, "There is the consul, who slaughtered our legions, and pillaged our lands and cities. I will now make him a victim to the manes of my countrymen, whom he so cruelly put to death." With that, putting spurs to his horse, he rushed through the thickest of the enemy, and, having first killed the consul's armour-bearer, who opposed his furious attack, ran the consul through with his spear. When he would have stripped him, the triarii prevented him by defending the body with their shields. The greatest part then first began to fly; and now neither lakes nor mountains could stop their flight, they were so terrified. They ran blindfold through the most narrow and steep places, and arms and men tumbled headlong promiscuously. A great number, seeing no other means of escape, entered the lake where it was shallow, and waded so far, as only their heads and shoulders remained above water. So great was their fear, that many inconsider-

ately endeavoured to swim. This being an endless task, and beyond possibility of being accomplished, they were either swallowed up by the whirlpools, when their strength was gone; or, after having fatigued themselves in vain, with difficulty got back to the shore, where they were every one killed by the enemy's cavalry, which had entered the water: 6000 of the vanguard boldly opened themselves a passage through the enemy that faced them, and escaped out of the defile, without knowing the least of what was doing behind them. Then they halted on a little hill, where they heard the shouts and clashing of arms; but by reason of the fog could neither see nor perceive how the battle went. At length, when the victory was decided, and the day grown clear by the fog's being dispersed by the rays of the sun, through this bright light the hills and valleys appeared, and shewed the loss of the battle, and the Roman army miserably slaughtered. Wherefore, lest the enemy's cavalry, which descried them at a distance, should be sent to attack them, they pulled up their ensigns in a hurry, and marched off with all possible expedition. Next day, when, besides all their other miseries, they were exceedingly oppressed with hunger, upon a faithful promise of Maherbal, who pursued them in the night with all his cavalry, that in case they delivered up their arms, they should be allowed to depart with one garment a-piece, they surrendered. Hannibal fulfilled this agreement with the faithfulness peculiar to Carthaginians, for he put them all in irons.

CHAP. VII.—THIS is the famous battle of Thrasymen, and one, amongst the few, memorable defeats of the Roman people; 15,000 Romans were slain in the field of battle, and 10,000, having been dispersed in the flight over all Hetruria, got to Rome by different routes: 1500 Carthaginians lay dead on the spot, and many on both sides died afterwards of their wounds. Some other historians exaggerate the loss in both armies. But for my own part, besides that I never choose, as is commonly the humour of historians, to write any thing without good authority, I have chiefly followed the historian

Fabius, who lived at the time of this war. Hannibal dismissed all the prisoners that were Latins without ransom, and put the Romans in chains. Then he separated the dead bodies of his own from the heaps of slaughtered enemies, and ordered them to be buried. He likewise caused diligent search to be made for Flaminius's body, in order to have buried it; but it could not be found. On the first news of this defeat at Rome, the people ran into the forum in great terror and confusion. The women ran out into the streets, inquiring of every one they met, what sudden calamity it was, the news whereof had arrived, and what had happened to the army? When the multitude, who had crowded as if it had been to a public assembly, turning sometimes to the comitia, and sometimes to the senate-house, called out to the magistrates to communicate the news to them, at length, about sun-set, M. Pomponius, the prætor, said, "We have been defeated in a great battle." Though he told them no particulars, yet they buzzed various rumours into one another's ears, and went home and related, "That the consul and a great part of his troops had been killed: that only a small number remained alive, which were either dispersed in the flight through *Hetruria*, or taken prisoners by the enemy." Those, whose relations had served under Flaminius, were distracted in mind by as various anxieties, as there are different misfortunes to which conquered troops are liable; and no person yet knew sufficiently what they had either to hope or fear. The next and the following days, a multitude of citizens, but far more women than men, waited at the gates, either for their relations, or those who could give some accounts of them. They crowded round whomever they met, asking them questions; nor could they be pulled away, especially from one of their acquaintance, till they had learned every particular in order. Then they went away from their informers with grief or joy in their looks, according to the accounts they had received, and surrounded, on their return home, by others, who either congratulated or condoled with them. The women, in particular, distinguished themselves in their expressions of grief or joy. One is said, on

suddenly meeting her son safe at the gate, to have died in his sight. Another, who had been falsely informed of her son's death, expired for joy at the first sight of him entering the house, where she was sitting in great sorrow. The prætors kept the senate assembled from sun-rising to sun-set for several days, to deliberate with what general and what forces they should be able to make head against the victorious Carthaginians.

CHAP. VIII.—BEFORE they could come to any determinate resolution, an express arrived with the news of a second defeat. Hannibal had surrounded 4000 horse, which the consul Servilius had sent, under command of the pro-prætor C. Centenius, to his colleague in Umbria, whither they had taken their route, as soon as they were informed of the defeat at Thrasymen. The news of this calamity affected people very differently. Some, whose breasts were full of unspeakable grief, considered this loss of the horse as but a trifling misfortune in comparison of the former. Others did not judge of the event in itself; but, as the slightest calamity is more sensibly felt by a body already ailing, than a heavier is by one in healthful vigour, so, in this weakened and crazy situation of the republic, they thought every cross accident should be considered, not according to its greatness, but according to the relation it bore to the exhausted strength of the state, which could not support the least thing that increased the weakness. Wherefore, the republic had recourse to a remedy, which had not been wanted or applied for a long time, the nomination of a dictator. But the consul, whose sole right it was to nominate this officer, was absent; and as the Carthaginians were in possession of Italy, they could neither easily send couriers or letters to him; and, besides, as there was no precedent of the people's having a right to create a dictator, they nominated Q. Fabius Maximus pro-dictator, and M. Minucius Rufus general of horse. To them the senate gave commission to fortify the walls and towers of the city, to post guards in whatever places they thought fit, and break down the bridges;—an evidence that they believed they were reduced to the neces-

sity of fighting for their household gods, and even Rome, since they were not able to defend Italy itself.

CHAP. IX.—HANNIBAL marched directly across Umbria,* as far as Spoletum,† where he ravaged the lands, and attempted to take the city by storm, but was repulsed, with great slaughter of his men. From the little success he had in attacking this single colony, he judged how difficult an enterprise it would be to take Rome itself. Wherefore, he turned aside into the territories of Picenum, which not only abounded with plenty of all kinds of fruits, but also afforded store of plunder, which his rapacious and needy troops carried off with great avidity. There he encamped for several days, and refreshed his troops, who were exceedingly harassed with winter marches, coming through the marshes, and a battle, which had proved more successful in the issue, than light and easy in the fighting. When he had given sufficient rest to his men, who delighted more in plundering and pillaging than in ease and repose, he dislodged and laid waste the territories of Prætutii‡ and Adria, the country of the Marsi, Marrucini, and Peligni, and all about Arpi and Luceria, which district adjoins to Apulia. In the meantime, the consul Cn. Servilius had several slight engagements with the Gauls, and taken one inconsiderable town. But whenever he received advice of the defeat of his colleague and his army, being afraid of the capital of his country, he marched directly to Rome, that he might not be absent in this dangerous conjuncture. Q. Fabius Maximus, now again dictator, the very day he entered upon office, assembled the senate, and began with the worship of the gods. After he had demonstrated to the senate, that the consul Flaminius had erred much less through rashness and ignorance of the art of war, than by neglecting and contemning the necessary ceremonies and auspices, that the gods themselves were to be consulted for the proper expiations to avert their wrath, he prevailed

* In the duchy of Urbino.

† In the ecclesiastical state.

‡ In the Hither Abruzzo, in the kingdom of Naples.

to have an act passed, ordering the decemvirs to inspect the Sibylline books,—a decree which is seldom made but when some terrible prodigies are reported. These officers perused the books of their fates, and made the following report to the senate.—“ That a vow made “ to Mars, on account of the present war, had not been “ made with the proper ceremonies, and therefore ought “ to be performed anew, and in a more ample manner : “ that the great games should be vowed to be celebrat- “ ed in honour of Jupiter, temples to Venus Erycina,* “ and to Mens:† that a supplication and lectisternium “ should be made ; and a sacred spring‡ should be “ vowed, in case the war should be successful, and the “ republic remained in the same situation wherein it was “ before the commencement of the war.” Because Fabius was employed with preparations for the war, the senate ordered the prætor M. Æmilius to see all these things speedily put in execution, according to the opinion of the college of pontiffs.

CHAP. X.—WHEN these acts were passed, the pontifex maximus, L. Cornelius Lentulus, upon the prætor’s applying to the college for advice, was of opinion, that the people’s consent should be asked about sacrificing all the animals brought forth in one spring, which could not be vowed without an ordinance from them. The bill brought in for that purpose was conceived in the following terms.—“ Give orders, if you please, that “ the matter now laid before you be performed in this “ manner. If the republic of the Roman people, call- “ ed Quirites, shall, for the five next ensuing years, be “ preserved, as I wish it may, in safety during this “ present war, then the Roman people, called Quirites, “ in the war between the Romans and Carthaginians, “ and in the wars with the Cisalpine Gauls, shall make “ a gift and present to Jupiter of all the pigs, lambs,

* So called from Mount Æryx. Her temple stood near the Col-line gate.

† The goddess of Council. Her temple was built near the former.

‡ By Ver Sacrum, the ancients meant a sacrifice of all cattle brought forth between the calends of March and 1st of May.

“ kids, calves, provided they were not before dedicated
 “ to sacred uses, that shall be brought forth in one
 “ spring, on a day to be appointed by order of the se-
 “ nate and people. Whoever will do this, let him do
 “ it when he pleases, and in what manner he pleases.
 “ In whatever way it shall be done, let it be reckoned
 “ as regular. If the animal which ought to be offered
 “ shall die, it shall be deemed profane, but not imput-
 “ ed to any person as a crime. If any one shall maim
 “ or kill it ignorantly, it shall not be charged on him
 “ as a crime. If any person shall steal it, let it not be
 “ deemed impiety in the people, or the person from
 “ whom it is stolen. If it shall be ignorantly sacri-
 “ ficed on a prohibited day, let it be deemed regular.
 “ If by night or by day, by a slave or a freeman, let
 “ it be held as regular. If after the senate and people
 “ have ordered it to be sacrificed, and have offered
 “ their own sacrifices, let the people be free and dis-
 “ charged from all imputation of guilt whatever.” The
 great games vowed for the same purpose were celebrat-
 ed at the expense of 33,333½ of an ass,* besides 300
 oxen sacrificed to Jupiter, white oxen, and other large
 victims to many other gods. When these vows were
 made in due form, the supplication was proclaimed ;
 and not only the whole people in the city, but such pea-
 sants, the preservation of whose fortunes depended on
 the public safety, went in procession with their wives
 and children. Then was celebrated for three days a
 lectisternium, under the direction of the decemvirs, who
 had the care of holy things. In it were spread six beds,
 open to public view ; one for Jupiter and Juno, ano-
 ther for Neptune and Minerva, a third for Mars and
 Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana, a fifth for Vul-
 can and Vesta, and the sixth for Mercury and Ceres.
 Then the temples were vowed. Q. Fabius Maximus,
 the dictator, vowed that to Venus Erycina, because it
 appeared from the Sibylline books, that the supreme
 magistrate in the state could only make this vow. The
 prætor T. Otacilius vowed the temple to Mens.

* One thousand seventy-six pounds seven shillings and eight-pence farthing. ARBUTHNOT.

CHAP. XI.—THESE religious concerns being finished, the dictator proceeded to lay a state of the war and of the republic before the house, what and how many legions the fathers should vote to be sent against the victorious enemy. The senate enacted, “that he should receive the army from the consul Cn. Servilius, and levy besides, out of the city and among the allies, as many horse and foot as he should think proper. In all other circumstances he had a discretionary power to act and do what he should judge most for the benefit of the public.” Fabius said, that to Servilius’s army he would join two legions, which were levied by the general of horse. He fixed the day for their rendezvous at Tibur.* Then he issued a proclamation, ordering the inhabitants of unfortified towns and castles to remove into places of safety; likewise all to retire out of that part of the country through which Hannibal was to pass, after setting their houses on fire, and damaging their corns, that the enemy might have no means of subsisting. He himself set out by the Flaminian way, to meet the consul with his army. When he saw, near Oriculum, upon the Tiber, a body of men, and the consul, advancing with the horse, he sent a messenger to tell him to come to the dictator without the lictors. He readily obeyed this order; and the manner of their meeting gave the citizens and allies a very high idea of the dictatorship, an office which was almost quite effaced from their memories. During this interview, letters arrived from the city, with advice that the transports carrying provisions from Ostia to the army in Spain were taken by a Carthaginian fleet near the port of Cosa.† For this reason, the consul was ordered immediately to go to Ostia, and, with the ships that were there and at Rome, completely manned with sailors and marines, to pursue the enemy’s fleet, and guard the coasts of Italy. A vast number of men were listed at Rome. The freedmen also, who had children, and were of a proper age for service, took the military oath. Out of this army

* Tivoli.

† A promontory in Tuscany, jutting out into the sea, between Civita Vecchia and the promontory of Argentario.

of citizens, as many as were under thirty-five years of age were put on board the fleet, and the rest left to guard the city.

CHAP. XII.—THE dictator, after receiving the consul's army from Fulvius Flaccus, the lieutenant-general, marched through the Sabine territories to Tibur, on the day he had appointed for the rendezvous of his new-raised troops. Then he advanced to Præneste, and crossing the country, returned to the Latin way. From thence, after having, with the utmost care, reconnoitered the country, he went in quest of the enemy, with a fixed resolution never to hazard a battle on any ground, except forced to it by necessity. The very first day that he encamped in sight of the enemy near Arpi, the Carthaginian, without delay, drew forth his army in order, and offered him battle. But when he saw the enemy perfectly quiet, and no confusion in their camp, he retired to his lines, upbraiding the Romans that their martial spirits were at last broke, the war was at an end, and they plainly confessed themselves inferior to him in valour and glory. Yet he was inwardly vexed, that for the future he was to deal with a general very unlike Flaminius and Sempronius; and that the Romans, taught by their calamities, had pitched upon a captain equal to the Carthaginian. From that instant he began to be more afraid of the dictator's prudence than his strength. He had not yet experienced the steadiness of this general; he therefore began to exercise and try his resolution by frequently moving his camp, and laying waste the lands of his allies before his eyes. Sometimes he disappeared with precipitation; sometimes privately halted all of a sudden in some by-winding of the road, in order, if he could, to attack the Roman as he came down into the plain. But Fabius kept his army on eminences at a moderate distance from the enemy, that it might neither be in their power to escape, nor come to blows with him. He kept his soldiers within their camp, unless when absolutely necessary occasions obliged to the contrary. When they went to fetch provisions and wood, they did not go in small or straggling parties. He kept

always a guard of horse and light-armed troops drawn up in order, and ready for sudden excursions, by which he not only secured every post belonging to his own men, but harassed the enemy's foragers as they ranged all about. He never put all to the hazard at once. The small advantages gained in these slight skirmishes, which, by reason of a safe retreat being at hand, were undertaken in security, accustomed his troops, dispirited by former defeats, at length to rely more both on their valour and good fortune. But the Carthaginian was not more displeased with this beneficial conduct, than the Roman general of horse. Nothing hindered the latter from ruining the republic but his being in a subordinate command. He was hot and impetuous in council, and unbridled in his tongue. At first before a small number, and then publicly in hearing of all the soldiers, he called the pro-dictator an indolent instead of a prudent, and a cowardly instead of a cautious general, giving his virtues the names of the vices bordering nearest upon them. Thus he endeavoured to raise himself by cunningly debasing his superiors, a most villanous practice, which is crowned with success in but too many instances.

CHAP. XIII.—FROM Arpi in Apulia Hannibal passed into Samnium, where he ravaged the territories of Beneventum. He took Telesia,* on purpose to irritate the Roman general, in order to draw him down to fight on fair ground, if by chance he should be provoked at so many indignities and injuries done to his allies. Among the great number of Roman allies, of Italian extraction, who had been taken prisoners and dismissed by the Carthaginian at Thrasymen, were three Capuan troopers, who had been gained by great presents and promises to conciliate the affection of their countrymen to Hannibal. These told him, that if he would move with his army into Campania, he might easily make himself master of Capua. The Carthaginian, considering that the step was of too great importance to be taken on the authority of persons of so mean quality, remained a

* Now Telesse, near Sabbato, in Terra di Lavarò.

while in suspense, and sometimes seemed to depend upon their assurances, and sometimes not; but at last they prevailed on him to leave Samnium and go into Campania. After he had again and again advised them to be careful of verifying their promises by deeds, he dismissed them with orders to return with some of the chief men of their country. Being informed, by persons well acquainted with the country, that if he could seize the pass of Casinum, he would effectually seclude the Romans from assisting their allies, he ordered his guide to lead him into that region. But the barbarous manner in which the Carthaginian pronounced the Latin words, made the guide mistake Casilinum for Casinum. Hereby he turned out of his route, and through the fields of Alifæ, Cale, and Calatia, came down into the plains of Stella. When he saw all this territory surrounded with mountains and rivers, he called his guide, and asked him, what country it was? At length he discovered his error, and that Casinum was at a great distance in another region, by the guide's answering that he should that day lodge at Casilinum. Then he ordered him to be whipped with rods and crucified, for an example of terror to the rest. After fortifying his camp, he detached Maherbal with the cavalry to pillage the lands of Falernum. They laid waste the country as far as the waters of Sinuessa, and the Numidians committed great slaughter; but the flight and consternation of the inhabitants was much greater. Notwithstanding this terror, and every place was suffering the calamities of a terrible war, none of the Roman allies were shaken in their fidelity; for as they lived under an equitable and mild government, they did not refuse submission to their superiors; and indeed this is the only sure tie of fidelity.

CHAP. XIV.—*BUT* when the enemy was encamped at the river Volturnus, the most pleasant country in Italy in flames, and the burning villages smoking, while Fabius was marching along the top of Mount Massicus,* the murmurs in the Roman army broke out afresh.

* In the neighbourhood of Falernum.

They had been quiet for several days, because, as they marched faster than usual, they believed they made that haste to prevent Campania from being ravaged. But when they came to the extremity of Mount Massicus, in sight of the enemy, and saw the fields of Falernum and the houses of the colony of Sinuessa on fire, without the least mention of a battle, Minucius exclaimed to this effect.—

“ Did we come here to be spectators, to satiate our eyes
“ with the slaughter of our allies and the burning of
“ their country? If we were ashamed on no other ac-
“ count, we ought to be on account of those citizens,
“ whom our fathers planted as a colony at Sinuessa, to
“ protect those borders against the Samnites. It is not
“ a neighbouring enemy, the Samnites, who have set
“ this country in a flame, but Carthaginians, foreigners,
“ who by our dilatoriness and indolence have come hither
“ from the remotest corners of the world. Alas! are we
“ so much degenerated from our ancestors, that we shall
“ see those coasts, which they thought it a disgrace to
“ their empire that a Carthaginian fleet should ap-
“ proach, now full of Numidians and Moors? Shall we,
“ who not long ago were transported with indignation
“ at the siege of Saguntum, and called not only upon
“ men but gods, and the faith of treaties, to witness that
“ injury, tamely look on while Hannibal approaches the
“ walls of a Roman colony? The smoke of the flaming
“ villages and farms drives full in our eyes and faces;
“ the cries of our lamenting allies, who oftener implore
“ our help than that of the gods, ring in our ears. We,
“ enveloped in clouds and forests, keep our troops like
“ sheep basking in shady groves and solitary hills.
“ Had M. Furius chose to recover our city from the
“ Gauls, by wandering over the tops of hills and through
“ forests, in the same manner as our modern Camillus
“ (pitched upon as the only person fit to be our dicta-
“ tor in our great distress) attempts to recover Italy from
“ Hannibal, O Rome, thou hadst still been in posses-
“ sion of the Gauls: thou, whom I fear, if we proceed
“ thus cautiously, our ancestors have so often preserv-
“ ed for Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But the
“ former, like a hero and a true Roman, on the same

“ day that news was brought of his being nominated
“ dictator by an act of senate, and an ordinance of the
“ people, though Janiculus was high enough for him to
“ sit down on and look at the enemy, came down into
“ fair ground, and beat the Gallic legions one day at the
“ place called the Gaul’s Burying-ground, and the next
“ at Gabii. What! Many years after the Samnites
“ made us pass under the yoke at the pass of Caudium,
“ whether did L. Papirius Cursor take the yoke off the
“ necks of the Romans, and put it on the proud Sam-
“ nites, by taking a strict survey of the hills of Samni-
“ um, or by vigorously pressing the siege of and strait-
“ ening Luceria, by provoking the victorious enemy?
“ And pray, of late, to what else did C. Lutatius owe his
“ victory but to expedition? The very next day after
“ he came in sight of the enemy, he destroyed their
“ fleet, burdened with provisions, and encumbered with
“ their own implements and apparatus. It is folly to
“ believe that victory can be attained by inaction and
“ prayers. It is absolutely necessary to make the troops
“ take arms, to lead them down into the plain, to fight
“ it out man to man. By daring enterprises, and by
“ action, has the Roman state attained its height of great-
“ ness, not by this dilatory conduct, which cowards
“ term circumspection.” Minucius harangued in this
manner, surrounded by a crowd of legionary tribunes
and Roman knights. His presumptuous speeches like-
wise reached the ears of the common soldiers; and if
the affair had been left to be determined by the suf-
frages of the troops, they would certainly have prefer-
red Minucius to their general Fabius.

CHAP. XV.—But the dictator, being no less on his
guard against his own troops than against the enemy, be-
cause he thought he ought in particular to shew himself
invincible to them, persisted in his resolution, and ob-
served the same conduct during all the campaign, though
he knew very well that he was much blamed for his
slow proceedings not only in his own camp but even at
Rome. In consequence, Hannibal, despairing of bring-
ing on an action which he so exceedingly longed for, be-

gan to think of winter quarters ; because, though the country he was in yielded him plenty of provision for the present, yet it could not always do so, as it was full of orchards and vineyards, and planted with fruit-trees, which served rather for delight than use. Fabius's scouts brought him intelligence of these things. As he was very certain that the Carthaginian must return through the same defiles by which he had entered the territories of Falernum, he sent sufficient detachments to seize Mount Callicula, and Casilinum, a city through which runs the Voltorno, and which divides the Campanian and Falernian territories. He himself led back his troops over the tops of the same hills, and detached L. Hostilius Mancinus with 400 horse to scour the country. This officer was in the number of those young men, who listened with approbation to the extravagant speeches of the general of horse. At first he went as a scout to observe the enemy's motions without exposing himself. But when he saw the Numidians ranging through the villages, he took that fair opportunity to kill some of them. Immediately his heart was possessed with a strong desire of fighting, and he forgot the dictator's orders, who had commanded him to proceed as cautiously as possible, and to retire as soon as he should come in sight of the enemy. One party of Numidians after another attacked him, and by retiring drew him on almost to their camp, when both his men and horses were very much fatigued. Carthalo, who commanded the cavalry, attacked him at a gallop ; and having put him to flight before they came within reach of a dart, pursued him close almost for five miles. Mancinus, seeing the enemy persist in the pursuit, and having no hopes of an escape, exhorted his troops and faced about, though inferior to the enemy in every respect. In consequence he and the best of his troopers were surrounded and slain. The rest retreated with precipitation, first to Cale, and from thence by bye-ways to the dictator. By accident Minucius rejoined Fabius that day. He had been detached a few days before to guard a pass upon the top of Tarracina, a narrow defile that commands the sea, in order to prevent Hannibal from getting into the Roman

territories by the Appian way's being unguarded. The dictator and general of horse, having united their forces, encamped on the Carthaginian's route, about two miles from the enemy.

CHAP. XVI.—NEXT day the Carthaginians drew up on the ground between the two camps : but the Romans posted themselves under cover of their intrenchments, which, without doubt, was a more advantageous situation. Still the Carthaginian kept advancing with his cavalry, and to provoke the Romans fought by starts, sometimes charging and sometimes retiring. But as the Romans did not stir from their posts, the action proved slow, rather agreeable to the dictator's than to Hannibal's intention. 200 Romans and 800 Carthaginians were left on the spot. As the way to Casilinum was beset, Hannibal seemed to be shut up. The Romans had Capua and Samnium, and a great many wealthy allies behind them to furnish them with provisions ; while, on the other hand, the Carthaginian was like to winter between the rocks of Formiæ and the sands and frightful marshes of Linternum.* The Carthaginian clearly perceived that his own artifices were turned upon himself. As it was impracticable for him to escape by Casilinum, but he must pass over the mountains and top of Callicula, lest the Romans should in any place attack his army while shut up in the valley, to frustrate the enemy he fell on a device, which had a terrible appearance, though in reality it proved only a deception of the eyes. By means of this he proposed secretly to gain the mountains in the beginning of the night. In this manner did he put his cunning device in execution.—He tied torches, which had been brought from every place in the country, bundles of branches, and dry faggots to the horns of about 2000 oxen, some wild and some tame, which he had driven off among the rest of the plunder of the country. He gave Asdrubal strict charge early in the night to drive that herd, with the burning faggots on their horns, to the mountains, particularly, if possible, to the woods above the defile which the enemies had possessed.

† Torre di Patria, near Naples.

CHAP. XVII.—As soon as it was dark he dislodged with great silence, driving the cattle at a little distance before the army. But when they arrived at the foot of the hills and the narrow passes, the signal was given to light the faggots, and to drive the oxen up the mountains that faced them. Fear of the flame that blazed on their heads, and the pain they felt when the heat penetrated to the quick and heart of their horns, made those animals run as if they had been mad. But thus wildly dispersing, they set fire to all the bushes about, so that the forests and hills seemed to be in flames; and as the tossing of their heads, which smarted with the heat, spread the flame more, they seemed to be men running up and down. The troops that had been posted to guard the passage of the defile no sooner saw fires on the tops of the hills, and above them, than thinking themselves surrounded, they quitted their post, and made to the tops of the mountains, as the safest way, since there were fewest fires there. They however fell in with some oxen that had strayed from their herds. At first, and while at a distance, they imagined they breathed fire, and stopped in astonishment at the wondrous sight. But when they discovered that it was a human device, they believed they had got into an ambush, and fled in greater fear than before. Here they likewise fell in with the enemy's light-armed troops. But both sides being equally afraid, they waited the approach of day without beginning the battle. In the mean time Hannibal, having passed the defile, and killed some of the enemy in it, encamped in the territories of Allifæ.

CHAP. XVIII.—FABIUS perceived this confusion. But not questioning its being a stratagem, and abhorring to hazard a battle in the night, he kept in his intrenchments. At break of day there was a battle on the top of the hill. In it the Romans, being somewhat superior in number, would easily have defeated the enemy's light-armed troops, which were cut off from their own men, had they not been sustained by a battalion of Spaniards whom Hannibal detached to their relief. The

troops of that nation being more accustomed to hills, lighter and nimbler to run over rocks and steep places, in this manner of fighting easily eluded, by the agility of their bodies, and lightness of their arms, an enemy used to fight on the plain without quitting their posts. Both retired into their camps, but not with the same advantage; for the Spaniards lost few or none, whereas several of the Romans fell. Fabius likewise dislodged, and passing the defile, encamped in a high and strong place above Allifæ. Then Hannibal, making a feint, as if he would go through Samnium to Rome, returned back, ravaging the country as far as Pelignum. Fabius still kept on the eminences between the enemy's army and Rome, without losing sight of them, or coming to a battle. From the country of the Peligni the Carthaginian, returning into Apulia, marched to Geronium,* which was deserted by the frightened inhabitants, because part of the wall had fallen down. The dictator encamped advantageously in the territory of Larinum.† Being then recalled to Rome about affairs of religion, he not only employed authority and advice, but even entreaties with the general of horse, "to rely more on prudence than fortune; rather to imitate his conduct who was his general, than that of Sempronius and Flaminius: not to imagine that no advantage was gained by baffling the enemy's artifices all the campaign. Physicians often do more good by giving rest to a patient, than by moving and stimulating the humours. It was no small advantage to have ceased to be defeated by an enemy so often victorious, and to have leave to breathe after so many defeats." In this manner did he advise the general of the horse, but all in vain, and then set out for Rome.

CHAP. XIX.—IN the beginning of this campaign, wherein these things happened, the war was undertaken both by sea and land in Spain. Asdrubal having added ten ships to those which he had received, ready fitted; from his brother, gave Himilco a fleet of forty sail, and set out from New Carthage, keeping his fleet in land, and

* St. Martino.

† Now Larina.

marching his troops along the shore. Thus he was prepared, whichever way the enemy should attack him, by sea or land. Cn. Scipio, hearing the enemy had quitted their winter quarters, at first resolved to do the same. But then not daring to attack them by land, because it was reported they were greatly reinforced by new auxiliaries, he embarked the choicest of his troops, and set out to meet them with thirty-five sail of the line. After two days sail from Tarragon he came to an anchor ten miles from the mouth of the Ebro. From thence he detached two vessels of Marseilles to scout. They brought back advice, that the Carthaginian fleet was riding at the mouth of the river, and their army encamped on the shore. In order, therefore, to surprise them, and strike them with terror all at once, he weighed and stood away for the enemy. In Spain are many towers on eminences, which serve both as watch-houses and defences against pirates. From these Scipio's fleet was first descried, and a signal made to Asdrubal. The alarm was given in the camp, at land, before there was any moving of oars, or other noise in the fleet, because the headlands hid the enemy's fleet. Asdrubal sent trooper after trooper, with orders to the soldiers, who were either wandering on the shore, or sitting quietly in their tents little expecting to see the enemy, or to fight that day, to go on board, and take their arms with all expedition. By this time the Roman fleet was near the harbour. The troopers thus detached spread these orders everywhere. Presently Asdrubal was ready with the whole army. All was full of confusion of different kinds by the sailors and soldiers hurrying on board the fleet, more like an army on the rout than one going to fight: They had scarce all embarked, when some weighed and put out their oars, others cut their cables to prevent their running foul. And as they did every thing in the greatest precipitation, the soldiers, getting ready their arms, hindered the sailors from doing their duty, and the confusion among them hindered the soldiers from taking and fitting on their arms. By this time Scipio was not only come near, but had given the signal for the line. Thus the Carthaginians, no less incommoded by the confusion

amongst themselves, than by the attacks of the enemy, fled, after having more truly attempted than actually entered into a battle. As the mouth of the river would not admit so large a squadron, and so many came at once, they ran their vessels ashore in every place. Some escaped by the shelves, and others got on dry land, but for the most part without arms, and fled to their army, which was drawn up on the shore. Yet at the first attack two Carthaginian ships were taken and four sunk.

CHAP. XX.—THOUGH the Romans saw the enemy at land, and extended, in order of battle, all along the shore, they immediately pursued the affrighted fleet, and by halsers made fast to their poops brought off all the vessels, that either had not beat to pieces against the shore, or stuck fast on the shelves. Out of forty they took twenty-five. Nor was this the greatest advantage of their victory, but by this one slight action they made themselves masters of all that coast. In consequence the fleet stood away for Honosca,* where having landed their troops they took and demolished that city, and went thence to New Carthage. They laid waste all the country round it, and then set on fire the houses adjoining to the walls and gates. From thence the fleet arrived loaded with plunder at Loguntica,† where they found a great quantity of naval stores, called spartum,‡ laid up by Asdrubal. Having taken away as much as they had use for, they set fire to the remainder. In their return they did not keep along ashore, but sailed over to the island Ebusa,|| where having in vain, and with great fatigue, besieged the capital for two days, when they saw it was wasting time to no purpose, and they despaired of taking it, they fell to ravaging the lands. Having demolished and burnt several villages, and got more booty than they had done on the continent, as they were reim-barking ambassadors arrived from the Balearean islands,

* The capital of the kingdom of Valencia.

† Now Oliva, a village near Valencia.

‡ A kind of broom, called by the Spaniards espardillas, of which the ancients used to make cables.

|| Yvica.

to sue for a peace from Scipio. Then the fleet returned to the country on this side the Ebro, where deputies from all the people about that river, and from many in the extremities of Spain, met the pro-consul. 120 states sincerely submitted to the Romans, and gave hostages for their fidelity. Scipio ventured now to trust to his land-forces, and marched as far as the pass of Castulo.* Asdrubal retired into Lusitania, and nearer the ocean.

CHAP. XXI.—AFTER this there seemed to be no probability of farther disturbance during the campaign. And in fact it had been a peaceable one for what the Carthaginians could do. But besides that the Spaniards are naturally a restless people, and fond of revolutions, Mandonius and Indibilis, who formerly had been petty princes of the Ilbergetes, as soon as the Roman had retired from the defile towards the sea-coast, raised their people, and entering the countries that had submitted to the Romans, ravaged them. Against them Scipio detached 3000 Romans, with some light-armed auxiliaries, who, as they were an undisciplined rabble, routed them all. Some of them were killed, others made prisoners, and a great number disarmed. However, this alarm brought back Asdrubal, who was retiring to the ocean, to protect his allies on this side the Ebro. The Carthaginians were encamped in the territories of Ilercania,† and the Romans at the new fleet, when a sudden piece of advice diverted the war another way. The Celtiberians, who had sent the chiefs of their state as deputies, and given hostages to the Romans, took arms upon a message from Scipio, and entered the province of the Carthaginians‡ with a strong army, where they took three cities. Afterwards, in two battles, in which they defeated Asdrubal himself, they killed 15,000 of the enemy, took 4000 prisoners, and many colours.

* Caslona la Vieja, on the confines of New Castile and Andalusia.

† Their capital Tortosa.

‡ Farther Spain, comprehending the kingdom of Granada, Andalusia, part of New Castile and Estramadura, and what is now called Portugal and part of Old Castile.

CHAP. XXII.—THIS was the state of affairs in Spain when P. Scipio, who was continued in his command after the expiration of his consulate, came into the province, whither he had been sent by the senate with 30 ships of war, 8000 land-forces, and a great quantity of arms and provisions. This fleet, by reason of the great number of transports, was descried afar off, and, to the great joy of the Romans and allies, got safe into the harbour of Tarragon. There the troops were landed; and Scipio having gone to join his brother, they from that time managed the war with great harmony and concord. While the Carthaginians were employed in the Celtiberian war, the two brothers passed the Ebro without delay, and, without seeing an enemy, advanced to Saguntum, where it was reported the Spanish hostages given to Hannibal were kept with a weak guard. The sole tie which hindered all the people in Spain from joining the Romans, to whom they were well affected, was a dread that the crime of their revolt would be expiated by the blood of their children. This tie, which bound all Spain, was broke by a single man, by a stratagem that was rather cunning than honest. At Saguntum was a noble Spaniard, named Abelox, formerly firmly attached to the Carthaginians, but then (agreeable to the nature of most of these barbarians) had changed his fidelity with fortune. Being convinced that people only despise a deserter, who brings over with him nothing but his own contemptible and infamous person, without performing some important act of treachery, he sought means how to do the most signal service to his new friends. After seriously reflecting on every thing within the compass of his power, he fixed his mind principally upon delivering up the hostages, imagining that this alone would conciliate the affections of the states of Spain effectually to the Romans. But as the keepers of the hostages could do nothing without orders from Bostar, the governor, he attacked him artfully. Bostar was encamped on the shore, to keep the Romans from entering the haven. There Abelox took him aside, and, as if he had been ignorant, informed him of the present state of affairs. "Fear," said he, "has



“ kept the Spaniards in awe hitherto, because the Romans were at a distance. But since they have passed the Ebro, such as meditate a change may find an asylum in their camp. Therefore, it will be necessary, by benefits and favours, to engage those whom fear could not keep within bounds.” When Bostar, in amaze, asked what that sudden important favour could be? he replied,—“ Send back the hostages to their respective states. This will be very acceptable to their parents in particular, who have great credit among their own people; and to the nations in general. Every person is pleased with being trusted; and to repose confidence in men is often sufficient to make them honest. I beg the charge of carrying home the hostages may be committed to me, that I may by actions corroborate my advice; and this acceptable service in itself I will enhance the merit of by all means in my power.” Having persuaded this man, who was not so cunning as Carthaginians generally are, he went out secretly in the night to the enemy’s advanced guards, where meeting with some auxiliary Spaniards, who conducted him to Scipio, he informed him what he would bring him. Having mutually exchanged their faith, and fixed the time and place for delivering up the captives, the Spaniard returned to Saguntum. He spent the next day with Bostar, in receiving orders how to execute his commission. Being dismissed, he made a pretence of going in the night, in order to escape the enemy’s guards; and having raised the keepers of the hostages at an hour he had appointed with them, he set out; and, as if he had been quite ignorant of the matter, he led them into the ambuscade which he himself had cunningly prepared for them. They were carried to the Roman camp. Then Abelox restored the hostages to their relations, on the same terms that he had agreed on with Bostar, but in name of the Romans, not of the Carthaginians: so that the former gained greater favour with the Spaniards than the latter would have done from the same action: for as the Spaniards had found the Carthaginians severe and proud masters in their prosperity, they would have been looked

on as relaxing of their rigour now through fear, occasioned by a change of fortune; whereas the Roman, unknown before, had, at his first coming, begun with an act of clemency and generosity: so that Abelo, who was a wise man, seemed to have changed friends for good reasons. In consequence, all Spain, with one consent, began to revolt; and had immediately proceeded to hostilities, had they not been prevented by the approach of winter, which obliged both the Romans and Carthaginians to retire into quarters.

CHAP. XXIII.—THESE were the occurrences in Spain during the second year of the Punic war, whilst the wise delays of Fabius gave the Romans in Italy time to breathe after their losses. At the same time that Hannibal was extremely vexed to see the Romans had at length chosen a general who made war by rule, and not by chance, the dictator's conduct was despised both in the city and in the army, especially when, in his absence, the general of the horse, by his rashness, rather gained a slight advantage than a complete victory. Two other circumstances contributed to render the dictator more odious to them: first, a stratagem of Hannibal's, who, having been shewn, by deserters, an estate belonging to the dictator, gave orders, while he levelled all around it with the ground, not to commit any act of hostility on it by fire, sword, or otherwise, to make them suspect that he spared it as a recompense for some secret agreement between them. The second took its rise from an action of his own, which might at first, indeed, seem suspicious, because he did not wait for the senate's approbation of it, but in the end certainly turned out much to his praise. In the cartel for exchange of prisoners, it was stipulated, as it had been in the first Punic war, between the Roman and Carthaginian generals, that whichever side should receive more prisoners than they gave, should pay two pounds and a half* of silver per head. The number received by the Romans exceeded that restored to the Carthaginians by 247; and the payment of the money due for them, after much debate in senate,

* £8, 1s. 5½d. ARBUTHNOT.

was refused, because Fabius had not consulted the senate. Wherefore he sent his son Quintus to Rome to sell the estate which the enemy had spared, and discharged a public debt out of his private purse. The Carthaginian lay encamped before the walls of Geronium, a city which he had taken and set on fire, and where he left a few houses standing, to serve as magazines. From hence he detached two-thirds of his army to forage, and staid with the other third part, ready in arms, both as a guard to the camp, and to support the foragers, in case they should be attacked.

CHAP. XXIV.—THE Roman army was then in the territory of Larinum,* and commanded by Minucius, general of horse, in the absence of the dictator, who, as already observed, had gone to Rome; but it had now come down from the eminences and secure posts, and encamped in the plain. Minucius meditated rash enterprises, suitable to his genius, either to fall on the foragers while dispersed, or attack the enemy's camp, where only an inconsiderable guard had been left. Hannibal clearly perceived, that the change of generals had changed the nature of the war, and that the enemy would act with greater rashness than precaution. He, which is scarce credible, though the enemy had approached so near him, detached one-third of his army to forage, and kept the other two in the camp. Then he dislodged, and encamped on an eminence in sight of the enemy, about two miles from Geronium, in order to make them sensible that he was ready to support his foragers, in case they should be attacked. Then he discovered another eminence nearer, which commanded the Roman camp. If he had gone in open day to seize this post, he had certainly been prevented by the Romans, who were nearer it. For this reason, he detached his Numidians secretly in the night, and they possessed themselves of it. But the Romans, despising their small number, dislodged them next day, and encamped on it themselves. There was now but a small space between the two camps, and that wholly occupied by the Roman infantry; while their ca-

* In the duchy of Milan.

valry and light-armed troops, sallying out at the back gate of the camp, which did not face the Carthaginian's, slew and put to flight his foragers dispersed in the fields. Hannibal durst not engage the legions, because he had scarce men sufficient to defend his camp in case it should be attacked. As part of his forces were absent, he was obliged to have recourse to Fabius's shifts, to lie still and keep the enemy at bay, and to retire into his former camp before the walls of Geronium. Some say there was a general battle, and that the Carthaginian was defeated at the first charge, and pursued to his camp, from whence he sallied all of a sudden, and in his turn put the Romans into confusion. But the battle was reinstated by the coming up of a Samnite, Numerius Decimus. He was the most considerable man, both for his birth and riches, not only in Bovianum, where he was born, but in all Samnium, and by order of the dictator was marching to the camp with 8000 foot and 500 horse. When Hannibal saw this corps appear in the rear, each side thought it a new reinforcement for themselves: but the Carthaginian, imagining Fabius was coming in person from Rome, and being afraid of falling into an ambuscade, sounded a retreat. The Romans pursued, and by the aid of the Samnite took two forts that very day. 6000 Carthaginians and 5000 Romans were slain. Notwithstanding the loss was so near equal, yet at Rome this was reported as a signal victory, and the general of the horse sent letters full of vain glory.

CHAP. XXV.—THERE was much debate both in the senate-house and assembly of the people on this subject. Amidst the universal joy of the city, Fabius, alone, believed neither the report nor the letters; and though every thing reported had been true, yet he said he apprehended more from the success of Minucius, than if he had been defeated. Upon this M. Metilius, a tribune of the people, cried out, "that this was not to be borne. The dictator was not contented with having prevented gaining any advantage when he was present in the field, but even declared against what was actually gained in his absence. He only protract-

“ ed the war on purpose to gain time, that he might
“ continue longer in office, and be sole commander both
“ in Rome and the army: for one of the consuls had
“ been killed in battle, the other sent far out of Italy,
“ under pretext of pursuing the Carthaginian fleet, and
“ two prætors employed in Sicily and Sardinia, neither
“ of which provinces stood in need of these officers at
“ that juncture. He had in a manner kept M. Minucius,
“ general of horse, in fetters, in order to prevent his
“ looking the enemy in the face, or performing any mi-
“ litary exploit: for this reason, in truth, not only Sam-
“ nium was yielded to the Carthaginians, as if it had
“ been a province beyond the Ebro, but the territories
“ of Campania, Cale, and Falernum were laid waste,
“ while the dictator lay idle at Casilinum, and protect-
“ ed his own estate with the Roman army. When the
“ troops and general of the horse ardently desired a bat-
“ tle, they were pent up in their intrenchments, and
“ their arms taken from them, as if they had been pri-
“ soners to the enemy. At length, when by his depar-
“ ture they were set at liberty, they had marched
“ against, defeated, and put to flight the enemy. For
“ which reasons, if the Roman people had had the cou-
“ rage of their forefathers, he would boldly have mov-
“ ed them to divest Fabius of his office; but at this
“ time he would only make a very modest motion, that
“ they would give the dictator and general of the horse
“ equal authority, and at the same time not to send Fa-
“ bius back to the army, till he had elected a consul in
“ room of Flaminius.” As the dictator did not affect
popular applause, he forbore coming to the assemblies
of the people. Nay he was not heard with patience in
the senate, when he cried up the enemy’s forces, and
attributed the defeats of the two last years to the rash-
ness and inexperience of the generals. He said, “ he
“ would call the general of horse to an account for
“ fighting contrary to his orders. Since he had the
“ supreme authority and direction, he would soon make
“ men sensible that fortune was of small moment to an
“ able general, and that reason and good conduct were
“ sufficient. For his part, he deemed it a greater glo-

ry to have saved an army at a seasonable conjuncture, and without ignominy, than to have killed many thousands of enemies." After haranguing in this manner to no purpose, and having chosen M. Atilius Regulus consul, the night before the people were to give their suffrages upon the tribune's motion, he set out for the army, lest, if he was present, he should assert his right. Early in the morning the people assembled; and though they were prejudiced against the dictator, and zealous for the general of horse, yet scarce any of them had courage enough to stand up and speak in favour of a motion which was agreeable to them all. Their zeal for carrying it was greater than what was necessary, but at the same time there wanted one of credit to support it. C. Terentius Varro, who had been prætor the preceding year, spoke in favour of the bill. This man was not only meanly descended, but even of the dregs of the people. It is reported his father was a butcher, who used to go about to the markets, and brought up his son to the same servile employment.

CHAP. XXVI.—THIS youth, whose father left him great sums he had gained by his trade, began to hope for some more genteel business. He liked to frequent the bar and assemblies of the people, and by pleading the causes of the vilest fellows against persons of fortune and reputation, he first made himself known to the people, and then raised himself to honourable offices. After having enjoyed the questorship, both plebeian and curule ædileships, and the prætorship, he began to conceive hopes of obtaining the consulate, and craftily took advantage of their hatred to the dictator to gain the favour of the people, by which he had all the merit of the ordinance they then passed. Every body, both in the city and army, friends and foes, looked on the passing this bill as the greatest affront could be offered the dictator. But he bore this injury of the people, who were enraged against him, with the same temper and constancy as he had done the slanders of his enemies, when they accused him to the multitude. He received the letters, with advice of the decree dividing the com-

mand equally, on the road; and being well assured that, by thus dividing the command, they had not divided ability in the art of commanding, he returned to the camp, with a resolution no less invincible to his fellow citizens than by the enemy.

CHAP. XXVII.—*B*UT Minucius, whose arrogance, on account of his success and the favour of the people, was already scarce supportable, now observed no mean, insolently boasting, that he had conquered Fabius as well as Hannibal. “This unparalleled general,” said he, “who was their sole resource in the desperate state of their affairs, and sought out as the only match for Hannibal; this superior magistrate, this dictator, had, by an ordinance of the people, of which there was no example in their annals, seen his inferior, his general of horse, become his equal in a state, where the generals of horse were accustomed to quake and tremble at the rods and axes of the dictator; with such dazzling lustre had his valour and good fortune exhibited themselves. If the dictator persisted in a slow and timorous conduct, condemned both by gods and men, he would pursue his good fortune.” In consequence of this, the first day he met Fabius, he told him, “that, preferable to every thing else, they ought to determine in what manner they should execute the command with which they were equally vested. In his judgment, it was best that each of them should have the chief command of all the army alternately for one day, or a longer time, if it was thought proper, that, in case any had a good opportunity of coming to action, they might be equal to the enemy both in counsel and force.” Fabius did not relish this proposal. He judged, “that everything which should be in the power of his impetuous colleague would lie at the mercy of fortune. He was, indeed, obliged to give him an equal share of the command, but not to yield it entirely to him: therefore, he would never willingly fail to manage his part of affairs with prudence. He would not divide the command with him for days, or any limited time whatever, but he would the army

“ itself; and since he could not preserve the whole, he
“ would save what he could of it, by a prudent con-
“ duct.” Then they divided the legions between them
in the same manner as the consuls used to do. Minucius
got the first and fourth, and Fabius the second and
third legions. The cavalry and Latin auxiliaries were
also equally divided. The general of horse likewise
chose to encamp separately.

CHAP. XXVIII.—THESE transactions gave a double
joy to the Carthaginian, who knew perfectly everything
that passed amongst the enemy by means of deserters
and spies. He considered Minucius, now unlimited, as an
assured prey by his rashness, and the prudent Fabius as
deprived of half his force. Between Minucius’s and the
Carthaginian camp was an eminence, which, without
question, would be of great advantage to the side which
could seize it. Though Hannibal knew the importance
of this post, yet he did not choose to take it without a
skirmish, but hoped to make it the occasion of bringing
on a general action with Minucius, who he well knew to
be always ready to resist him. All the plain between
seemed incapable of ambuscade, as there was not on-
ly no woods on it, but not the least vestige of a shrub.
And yet it was naturally formed for ambuscades, and
the rather, as none could suspect any snare in so naked
a valley; for there were in the corners of it several ca-
vities, some of which were capable of containing 200
men. In these lurking places the Carthaginian put
5000 horse and foot, as many in each place as could
conveniently lie concealed. And lest in this open plain
the glittering of the arms, or any one’s incautiously mov-
ing out of his concealment, should discover the ambus-
cade, to divert the enemy’s attention another way, ear-
ly in the morning he sent a small detachment to seize
the forementioned eminence. At first sight the Romans
despised this corps for the smallness of their number,
and each demanded to go and dislodge it. Minucius
himself, as foolish and forward as any, sounded a charge,
and vainly braved and threatened the enemy. First he
sent out his light-armed troops, then his cavalry, in one

compact body, and at last, when he saw supports sent to the enemy, marched out in person with his legions in order of battle. Hannibal, wherever he saw his men hard put to it, and the battle growing hotter, sent reinforcement after reinforcement, both of horse and foot, till the action became general, and the whole forces on both sides were engaged. The first brigade of light-armed Romans that advanced up the hill, already possessed by the enemy, were beat back, in their rout put the horse that followed them into confusion, and retired to the legions. The infantry alone remained intrepid amidst their terrified troops; and so much were they animated by their success a few days before, that it appeared they would have disputed the victory bravely if the field of battle had not been so disadvantageous to them. But the troops in ambuscade rising up all of a sudden, and charging in the flanks and rear, created such confusion and consternation, that none of them had courage to fight, or hopes of saving themselves by flight.

CHAP. XXIX.—As soon as Fabius heard the cries of those that were terrified, and saw at a distance their battle in disorder, he cried, “Ill fortune hath overtaken rashness, nor hath it so happened sooner than I apprehended. The man who had an equal command with Fabius, sees Hannibal superior to him both in bravery and fortune. But let us refer our reproaches and resentments to another opportunity. Let us now march out of our lines and wrest the victory from our enemies, and a confession of their error from our fellow citizens.” While great numbers were slaughtered, and others looking about for a way to escape, Fabius’s troops, as if sent from heaven, appeared marching to their relief. Before the dictator came within reach of a dart, or could come to blows, he stopped the Romans, who were flying in disorder, and likewise the enemy from charging furiously. The Romans, who, after their ranks were broke, dispersed up and down everywhere, joined this entire body. Those who had fled in whole brigades faced the enemy, and drawing up in a half-moon, retreated by degrees, and sometimes halted in a close or-

der, till the defeated troops, and those that were entire, forming but one body, advanced together against the enemy. But the Carthaginian sounded a retreat, openly acknowledging that he had beaten Minucius, but himself been beaten by Fabius. Thus the greatest part of the day passed in bringing about these different events. As soon as the armies were returned to their camps, Minucius assembled his troops and said, "I have often heard, fellow soldiers, that he is the person of greatest merit, who can act aright without the advice of others : in the next rank to him is he who can obey and put in practice good advice ; but he who knows neither how to advise nor obey is considered as the weakest genius. Since, therefore, we are not so happy as to possess the first accomplishment of mind and temper, let us content ourselves with being in the second rank, and observing a medium : and till we learn how to command, let us resolve to obey one whose wisdom enables him to do it. Let us rejoin Fabius. When we have reached his tent, where I shall have saluted him by the name of father, a title he merits both by the great services he has done us, and by his rank, do you, fellow soldiers, salute, with the compellation of patrons, those troops whose arms and right hands delivered you. And if we shall reap nothing else from this day's action, it will at least give us the glory of being grateful."

CHAP. XXX.—ON this he made a signal to pack up the baggage, strike their tents, and marching to the dictator's camp, their approach struck both him and all about him with surprise. After he had caused his ensigns to halt before Fabius's tent, the general of horse stepped out before the rest ; and whilst he saluted the dictator with the name of father, all the army saluted the troops that stood round with the title of preservers. Then Minucius spoke as follows.—"To my parents, dictator, (with whom I have just now equalled you, by giving you the same title, which is all words can do,) I owe my being ; but to you I am indebted for the preservation of my own life and the lives of all these sol-

“ diers : therefore I will willingly renounce and cancel
“ that ordinance of the people, which was rather a bur-
“ den than an honour to me. I again put myself under
“ your command and auspices, which I pray may be
“ beneficial to you and to me, to these your armies, the
“ one of which was preserved by the other. I beg you
“ would be reconciled to me, and permit me to continue
“ your general of horse, and these men to retain their
“ ranks.” Then they embraced ; and when the assem-
bly was dismissed, the soldiers were kindly and civilly
entertained by the dictator’s men, whether acquainted or
not. Thus the day, which a little before proved so sad
and almost quite fatal, ended with great joy. As soon
as the news of what had passed arrived at Rome, and
was confirmed by letters from both officers and soldiers
of the two armies, every person extolled Maximus to
the skies. Hannibal and the Carthaginians did as much
justice to his reputation, and then first came to be sen-
sible, that they made war against Romans and in Italy :
for during the two preceding years they had conceived
so great contempt for both Roman generals and soldiers,
that they could scarce believe they were fighting with
the same nation, of whom their fathers had left them so
terrible an idea. Nay, there is a tradition, that Hanni-
bal should have said, as he was retiring from the battle,
“ that the cloud, which had been long accustomed to
“ settle on the tops of the hills, had at length fallen
“ down in the most tempestuous shower.”

CHAP. XXXI.—DURING these transactions in Italy,
the consul Cn. Servilius Geminus having, with 120 gal-
leys, cruised round the coasts of Sardinia and Corsica,
and received hostages from both, passed over into Africa.
But before he made a descent there, he laid waste the
island of Meninx, and received ten talents of silver from
the inhabitants of Cercina,* not to burn and plunder
their lands. Then he approached the shores of Africa,
and landed his troops. The soldiers were set to plunder,
and the mariners dispersed, as if they had been ravaging
islands destitute of inhabitants. By this means they fell

* Now Cercare, in the kingdom of Tunis.

into an ambuscade; and being dispersed, and unacquainted with the country, they were surrounded by a superior number who knew the places, and drove them, after great slaughter, most shamefully to their ships. About 1000 men, with Sempronius Blæsus, a questor, were killed; and the fleet weighing in a hurry from a coast full of enemies, stood away for Sicily. At Lilybæum the consul delivered up the fleet to T. Otacilius the prætor, that his lieutenant P. Sura might carry it back to Rome. He himself marched over Sicily by land, and passed the straits into Italy. Fabius wrote for both him and his colleague M. Atilius to come and take upon them the command of the army, as his commission, which was only for six months, was on the point of expiring. Almost all the Roman annals have it that Fabius acted in quality of dictator against Hannibal. Cælius likewise says, that at the first he was created dictator by the people; but both Cælius and the rest forget, that Servilius, the surviving consul, who was then abroad in his province of Gaul, had the sole right of nominating a dictator: but as the city, by reason of its consternation on account of the defeat, could not wait till he could be present, they had recourse to this device, that the people should elect a pro-dictator. At last, on account of the exploits, glorious renown, and posterity's augmenting the inscription on his statue, it naturally happened, that instead of pro-dictator Fabius was called dictator.

CHAP. XXXII.—THE consuls, M. Atilius at the head of Fabius's army, and Geminus Servilius at the head of Minucius's, fortified early their winter quarters, for it was then autumn, and carried on the war with harmony, according to the plan of the prudent Fabius. When the Carthaginians went out a-foraging, they fell on them at advantage, either suddenly cutting off their detachments, or intercepting them when dispersed; but never risked a general action, which the enemy used all their art to draw them into. By this conduct Hannibal was reduced to such straits for provisions, that if he had not been afraid it would look like a flight, he would have

returned into Gaul ; for he had lost all thoughts of subsisting his army in these parts, if the consuls of the next year should prosecute the war on the same plan. As the approach of winter put a stop to hostilities between the two armies, which were then near Geronium, deputies from Naples arrived at Rome. They brought into the senate-house forty cups of massy gold, and said, " They were sensible that the Roman treasury was exhausted by the expenses of the war. And whereas the war was sustained for the preservation of the cities and lands of the allies, as well as for Rome, the citadel and capital of Italy, and for its dominions, the people of Naples thought it reasonable to assist the Romans with that which their ancestors had left them, both for ornament to their temples, and for their relief in adversity. If they thought them capable of affording them any other help, they would afford it with the same readiness as they did the gold. The greatest favour the Roman senators and people could do them would be to consider everything belonging to the Neapolitans as their own, and honour them so far as to accept a present, which was not so valuable in itself, as by the intention and good-will of the free donors." The deputies were thanked for their liberality and respect ; but the senate accepted only of the cup of least weight.

CHAP. XXXIII.—At this time a Carthaginian spy was discovered at Rome, where he had lurked for two years. He was dismissed, after having his hands cut off. Twenty-five slaves were crucified, for having formed a conspiracy in the Field of Mars. The discoverer had his liberty, and 20,000 asses* of brass given him. Ambassadors were sent to Philip king of Macedon, to demand Demetrius the Pharian, who had taken refuge in his dominions after he was conquered. Other deputies were sent to the Ligurians, to expostulate with them for having supplied the Carthaginians with provisions and auxiliary troops ; at the same time to take a nearer view of

* £ 64, 11s. 8d.

what was in agitation among the Boii and Insubrians. An embassy was likewise sent to Pineus king of Illyricum, to demand the tribute he owed, as the day on which it should have been paid was elapsed; or hostages, in case he desired a longer day. These steps clearly demonstrate, that, notwithstanding the great war they were involved in, the Romans never neglected their affairs in any part of the world, however remote. Then they turned their thoughts to religious affairs. The prætor L. Manlius, two years before, had vowed a temple to Concord, on account of a mutiny of the soldiers in Gaul; but the place for erecting it had not hitherto been assigned. Therefore, duumvirs, Cn. Pupius and Cæso Quinctius Flaminius, were nominated by the prætor M. Æmilius to mark out the ground and build the temple within the citadel. The same prætor, by order of the senate, wrote to the consuls, that if they thought proper, one of them should come to Rome to hold the elections. The consuls wrote back, "that they could not leave the enemy, without detriment to the republic. For this reason, it was better to have an inter-*rex* to preside in the *comitia*, rather than that either of the consuls should be taken off from the war." The fathers thought it more advisable to nominate a dictator to hold the *comitia*. L. Veturius Philo was nominated, and chose M. Pomponius Matho his general of horse; but, for want of some formality in their nomination, they were ordered to abdicate fourteen days after; and the affair was committed to an inter-*rex*.

CHAP. XXXIV.—THE consuls were continued in their command for the year. C. Claudius Centho, son of Appius, and then P. Cornelius Asina, were chosen inter-*reges* by the senate. The latter held the *comitia*, in which there was a hard struggle between the senators and people. The commons endeavoured to raise to the consulate C. Terentius Varro, a man of their own rank, who had gained their favour by calumniating the chief men, and other popular practices: in particular, by the stroke he had given to the authority of Q. Fabius and the dictatorial power. The fathers opposed them with

the utmost vigour, not to give men a precedent of raising themselves to an equal rank with them by defaming them. Q. Bebius Herennius, tribune of the people, and a relation of C. Terentius, by accusing not only the senate, but the augurs, of forbidding the dictator to hold the comitia, and by rendering them odious, gained this candidate great interest. "The nobility, who, by desiring war for many years, had brought Hannibal into Italy, fraudulently protracted the war, when they might have driven him thence with complete four legions, with which they might have attacked him. This was evident from the superiority M. Minucius had gained in the absence of Fabius. Two legions had been exposed to be slaughtered by the enemy, and then rescued from the sword, that he who had forbid the Romans to conquer, before he had saved them from being conquered, might be saluted their father and protector. Then the consuls, by following Fabius's plan, had protracted the war, when they might have terminated it. This was done by concert among all the nobility; and the war would never be ended till a true plebeian, *i. e.* a new man, was elected consul: for the plebeians, who, by having borne dignified offices, were become noble, had imbibed the patrician spirit, and contemned the people as soon as they themselves ceased to be despised by the nobility. Who did not clearly see, that the reason why they sought and appointed an interregnum was, that the patricians might have the election entirely in their power? It was this both consuls aimed at by staying with the army. Afterwards, when a dictator was nominated to hold the comitia, they had brought it so to pass, that the augurs declared the dictator not duly elected. Let them then have their interregnum; yet certainly the Roman people have a right to one consul's place, and would use their liberty in bestowing it on a man, who chose rather to conquer in earnest, than enjoy a long command."

CHAP. XXXV.—THESE speeches so inflamed the commons, that though there were three patrician candi-

dates, P. Cornelius Merenda, L. Manlius Volso, and M. Æmilius Lepidus, and two plebeians, C. Atilius Serranus and Q. Ælius Pætus, the one of whom was pontiff, and the other augur, yet C. Terentius Varro was chosen consul alone, that he might preside in the comitia for choosing his colleague. Then the nobility having found, by experience, that patrician candidates had but small interest, obliged L. Æmilius Paullus to offer himself. He had been consul before with M. Livius; and, when his colleague was fined on an invidious indictment, had escaped the same fate with great difficulty. On this account he was bitterly set against the commons, and made great and long repugnance to standing competitor. However, on the next day of election, all Varro's other competitors declined, and he was given rather as an antagonist than a colleague to the consul. Then the election of prætors came on; and M. Pomponius Matho and P. Furius Philus were chosen. The administering justice in the city fell by lot to the former, and the judging causes between citizens and foreigners fell to the latter. Two other prætors were added, M. Claudius Marcellus, who had Sicily assigned as his province, and L. Posthumius Albinus, who had Gaul. They were all chosen in their absence; and of all the magistrates elected that year, Varro was the only one who had an honourable office conferred on him which he had not exercised before: for several brave and able men were passed by, because, in the present critical conjuncture, it was not thought convenient to prefer any one to offices who had not borne any before.

CHAP. XXXVI.—THE armies likewise were augmented. But authors differ so extremely about the number and quality of the additional troops, that we scarce dare venture to affirm positively how many horse and foot were added. Some say, there was a new augmentation of 10,000 men; others, of four legions, that they might have eight effective ones. They likewise augmented the number of horse and foot in the legions. Each had 1000 additional foot and 100 horse; so that it consisted now of 5000 foot and 300 horse. The allies

were ordered to furnish a double number of horse and an equal number of foot. Some authors say, that the Roman army at the battle of Cannæ amounted to 87,200 men. However, all agree, that the Romans acted with greater vigour and force than they had done the preceding years of the war, because the dictator had given them proof that it was in their power to conquer the enemy. But, before the new legions moved from the city, the decemvirs were ordered to go and inspect the Sibylline books, because the generality of the people were terrified with new prodigies. It was reported, that it had rained stones at the same time on the Aventine hill at Rome and at Aricia: in the country of the Sabines hot waters, with much blood, had issued out of a fountain, which presaged much bloodshed. This latter enhanced the terror, by happening frequently. Besides, in the street Fornicata, leading to the Field of Mars, several persons were struck dead with lightning. Expiations, prescribed in the sacred books, were used for these prodigies. Deputies from Pæstum brought golden cups to Rome. They were thanked in like manner as the Neapolitans had been, but their present was not accepted.

CHAP. XXXVII.—ABOUT the same time arrived in the port of Ostia a fleet loaded with provisions from King Hiero. The Syracusan deputies being introduced to an audience of the senate, made the following speech.—
“ King Hiero could not have been more afflicted with
“ any calamity that could have befallen himself and king-
“ dom, than he was with the news of the death of Fla-
“ minius and the loss of his army. Therefore, though
“ he was sensible that their greatness of soul was more
“ admirable in adversity than in prosperity, yet he
“ thought himself in duty bound to send them all those
“ aids which good and faithful allies usually supply in
“ time of war, and earnestly begged of the conscript
“ fathers not to refuse to accept of his present. First,
“ he brought, as a happy omen of success, a Victory of
“ gold, weighing 320 pounds, requesting they might ac-
“ cept, keep, and hold it as their own for ever. He had
“ likewise brought 300,000 bushels of wheat, 200,000

“ of barley, that they might not want provisions, and
“ would bring to whatever place they should appoint
“ any quantity more than they should want. Hiero
“ knew that the Roman people never employed any
“ but Roman or Latin soldiers; but as he had seen fo-
“ reign light-armed troops in their camps, he had sent
“ 1000 archers and slingers,—a corps fit to oppose the
“ Balears, Moors, and other nations which fight with
“ missile weapons.” To these presents they also added
this wholesome advice,—“ That the prætor, who should
“ have Sicily for his province, should pass over into
“ Africa with a fleet, that the enemy, by having the
“ war in their own country, might be less at leisure to
“ send aid to Hannibal.” The senate replied to this
embassy of the king,—“ Hiero has acted the part of a
“ generous prince and faithful ally. Ever since he had
“ entered into an alliance with them, he had unalter-
“ ably maintained his fidelity, and in every place, and
“ on every occasion, assisted their state most liberally.
“ This the Romans are as sensible of as they ought.
“ The Roman people had refused the gold brought them
“ by other states, having only accepted their good-will;
“ but they accepted his Victory, as a happy omen; and,
“ for an habitation to that god, they appointed the ca-
“ pitol, and in it the temple of Jupiter, the greatest and
“ best of beings,—that being consecrated in that for-
“ tress of Rome, he might ever be propitious, and re-
“ main faithful and firmly attached to the Roman peo-
“ ple.” The slingers, archers, and corn were deliver-
ed to the consuls; 25 quinqueres were added to the
fleet which the pro-prætor T. Otacilius was to carry in-
to Sicily; and he had a discretionary power to pass
over into Africa, in case he thought it for the interest
of the state.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—AFTER the levies were com-
pleted, the consuls waited a few days for the coming up
of the Latin auxiliaries. Then the legionary tribunes ob-
liged the soldiers to take an oath to rendezvous at the
command of the consuls, and not to leave their colours
without their leave,—a thing that had never been done

before: for hitherto they had required nothing more than the usual military oath, when the troops were formed into decurios and centuries: each decurio of cavalry and each century of foot swore voluntarily among themselves not to abandon their colours by flight, or through fear, nor move out of their ranks, unless to bring or take up a weapon, to smite an enemy, or save the life of a citizen. This, which was formerly a voluntary oath, was now transferred from the tribunes, and enjoined by authority. Before the consuls left the city, Varro made many presumptuous speeches in the assemblies of the people. He insisted, "That the war, which had been purposely drawn into Italy, would remain in the bowels of their dominions, if they had more generals of the same character with Fabius; but he himself would put an end to it the very day he should come in sight of the enemy." His colleague Paullus harangued the people only once on the evening before his departure. But his speech was not so agreeable to the people as it was full of truth. He made no reflections on Varro, except in expressing his surprise, "how any general, before he knew his own or the enemy's troops, the situation of places, the nature of the country, could know, while he was yet in the city, how he would act at the head of his troops, and even beforehand tell the day on which he should give the enemy battle. As to himself, he would not, beforehand and prematurely, form those resolutions, which circumstances ought to determine for men, rather than that men should determine circumstances by their resolutions. He wished what was conducted with prudence and caution might prosper. As to rashness, besides the folly attending it, it had hitherto been unfortunate." This was a plain demonstration that Æmilius was inclined to prefer safe to precipitate measures. But, to engage him stedfastly to persevere in this resolution, Fabius made him the following speech at his departure.—

CHAP. XXXIX.—"If you, L. Æmilius, had a colleague like yourself, which I wish was the case, or

“ if you yourself were like your colleague, this my
“ speech would be to no purpose: for if you were both
“ good consuls, you would, in every respect, act sincerely
“ for the benefit of the commonwealth, without my ad-
“ vice. And were you bad, you would despise my
“ words, and not ponder them in your breasts. But
“ considering the character of your colleague, and your
“ worth, I address myself only to you, whose virtue and
“ love of your country I fear will be without effect,
“ while the republic is so ill supported on the other side.
“ The evil measures that shall be taken by Varro will
“ be supported by power and authority, as well as the
“ good which you shall take: for, L. Paullus, you are
“ much deceived, if you think you will have a fiercer
“ contest with Hannibal than with C. Terentius; and I
“ doubt he will prove the most formidable of the two.
“ With the former, you will only have to do in the
“ field, but with the latter at all times, and in all places.
“ You are to make head against Hannibal and his le-
“ gions with your cavalry and foot; but Varro will
“ oppose you with your own soldiers. As it may be
“ ominous, I will not put you in mind of the conduct
“ of Flaminius. Yet he did not begin to act madly,
“ till he was consul, in his province, and at the head of
“ his troops. This fellow played the madman before
“ he sued for the consulate; and now he is consul, be-
“ haves like one bereaved of his senses, before he sees
“ the camp or an enemy. If he has raised so great storms
“ by boasting of actions and pitched battles amongst
“ citizens in their gowns, what do you imagine will he
“ do among turbulent youth in arms, where a word is
“ no sooner uttered than the thing is put in execution?
“ But if he give battle, as he declares he will, as soon
“ as he sees the enemy, either I know nothing of military
“ affairs, the nature of this war, and of the enemy, or
“ another place will be more famous for our defeat than
“ the lake of Thrasymen. As I have exceeded all bounds
“ in despising rather than courting glory, this is not a
“ proper time to boast in contrast of this single person.
“ But the truth is, that the only prudent method to be
“ observed in carrying on the war with Hannibal, is to

“ prosecute my plan. Nor did the event, by which fools
“ judge, only verify this, but right reason, which hath
“ been and will be unalterable, while things run in their
“ natural channel. We war in Italy, at home, and in
“ our own country. Every place round us is full of ci-
“ tizens and allies. They do, they will assist us with
“ arms, men, horses, and provisions. They have already
“ given us sufficient testimony of their fidelity in our ad-
“ versity. Time, nay every day, makes us better, wis-
“ er, and stronger. On the other hand, Hannibal is in a
“ foreign, in an enemy’s country, where everything is a-
“ verse to and exasperated against him; far from home,
“ far from his native country. He enjoys peace neither
“ by sea nor land. No cities admit him, he has no walls
“ to retire within. He sees nothing that he hath any
“ property in. He subsists from day to day on plun-
“ der. He has scarce a third part left of the troops he
“ brought over the Ebro. Famine hath made more
“ havoc in his army than the sword; and the few men
“ he has remaining he cannot subsist. Can you then
“ question but we shall, by sitting still, conquer one
“ whose force daily diminishes, who has no provisions,
“ no recruits, no money? How long was he obliged
“ to fight for Geronium, a paltry village of Apulia, as
“ if he had been defending the walls of Carthage?
“ But not to boast of myself before you alone, how did
“ the consuls who succeeded me, Cn. Servilius and M.
“ Atilius, elude his artifices? This, L. Paullus, is the
“ safe method; but our fellow citizens, more than our
“ enemies, will render the execution of it difficult and
“ dangerous: for your soldiers and the Carthaginians
“ are of the same mind. Varro the Roman consul, and
“ Hannibal the Carthaginian general, ardently wish the
“ same thing. You must singly sustain the attacks of
“ two generals. But you will be able to sustain them, if
“ you are sufficiently fortified against rumours and sto-
“ ries; if you do not suffer yourself to be influenced by
“ your colleague’s vain glory, or the false infamy they
“ will throw on you. It is a common saying, that merit
“ may be eclipsed, but can never be totally extinguish-
“ ed. The sure way to acquire glory, is to despise it.

“ Allow them to call you cowardly instead of cautious,
“ slow instead of circumspect, ignorant instead of skilled
“ in the art of war. It will give me greater pleasure,
“ to see you feared by a sagacious enemy, than applaud-
“ ed by foolish citizens. The Carthaginian will despise
“ you if you put all to the hazard, but dread you if
“ you do nothing rashly. I do not advise you to be quite
“ inactive, but to be guided by right reason in all your
“ enterprises, and never to rely on chance. Manage so
“ as to have events within the compass of your power,
“ and at your direction. Be ever armed, and on your
“ guard. Let slip no opportunity of advantage, nei-
“ ther let the enemy have any. He who walks cau-
“ tiously has a clear and unerring apprehension of
“ things. Rashness is ever unguarded and blind.”

CHAP. XL.—THE consul replied to these arguments with a dejected countenance, being sensible what Fabius said was true, but difficult to be put in execution. “ If you,” said he, “ when dictator, found your general of horse intolerably insolent, what strength or authority shall I have to oppose a seditious and rash colleague? In my former consulate I escaped falling the victim of popular rage with great difficulty. I wish every enterprise may succeed; but if any misfortune should happen, I will rather expose myself to perish by the swords of the enemy, than by the suffrages of exasperated citizens.” It is said, that after this conversation Paullus set out attended by the principal senators. The commons attended their own consul, whose train was more remarkable for its number than its dignity. As soon as they arrived in the camp, and the new and old army were intermixed, they formed two camps, ordering it so that the new, which was likewise the least, should be nearest the Carthaginian, and in the old the greater number and flower of the army. Then they sent one of the consuls of the preceding year, M. Atilius, to Rome, as he pleaded to be dismissed on account of his age. To the other, Geminus Servilius, they gave the command of a Roman legion, and of 2000 horse and foot of the allies in the lesser camp. The Carthaginian, notwithstanding the enemy’s troops were augmented to double their number, was

extremely rejoiced on the arrival of the new consuls: for he not only had nothing remaining of the provisions which he pillaged from day to day; but no place left from which he could get plunder, seeing, after the country was not well protected, all the corn had been everywhere carried into fortified towns; so that, as was found afterwards, he had scarce ten days subsistence left, and the Spaniards, on account of the scarcity, ready to desert to the Romans, if they could have met with an opportunity early enough.

CHAP. XLI.—THE consul was naturally rash and of an impetuous disposition, and chance added fuel to his innate fire: for in a tumultuary engagement, which happened rather by an accidental rencounter with a party sent out to check the foragers, than of design or order of the officers, the Carthaginians were worsted, and lost 1700 men. About 100 Romans and allies were killed. The consul Paullus, who commanded that day, for they commanded each a day alternately, for fear of an ambuscade, restrained his victorious troops from pursuing too far. Varro in a rage exclaimed, that “the enemy had been allowed to escape out of their hands, and they had been completely defeated, if the pursuit had not been given over.” Hannibal was not very much grieved at this loss. He rather looked on it as a sure bait to catch the rash and impetuous consul and his new-raised troops. He knew everything that passed in the enemy’s camp as well as in his own; that the generals disagreed and quarrelled together, and that two parts of three in the Roman army were raw undisciplined men. Convinced, therefore, that he had found a proper place and opportunity for an ambuscade, he decamped next night, allowing his troops to carry nothing with them but their arms, and leaving his camp full of both private and public effects. On the other side of the adjoining hills he hid his foot on the left, and his cavalry on the right. He drew his baggage through a valley into the middle between the two, that he might surprise the enemy rifling the camp, as if it had been deserted by its owners, and when they were loaded and encumbered with plunder. He left many fires burning, in order to make

the enemy believe, that, under a shew of being still in his camp, he intended to keep the consuls amused in these places, while he gained time to fly, in the same manner as he had deceived Fabius the preceding year.

CHAP. XLII.—WHEN it was light in the morning, the Romans were at first surprised to find the enemy's guards removed, and, as they approached nearer, an unusual silence in their camp. But they no sooner were absolutely certain that it was deserted, than they ran in crowds to the consuls tents to inform them of the enemy's flight, which was so precipitate, that they had abandoned their camp with their tents standing; and the better to conceal their flight, they had left a great many fires burning. Then they demanded with great cries that the signal should be given, and they led to rifle the camp immediately, and in pursuit of the enemy. And indeed one of the consuls made one in this tumult of the soldiers. Paullus again and again represented, "that they ought to keep on their guard and act cautiously." At last, when he saw he could not otherwise restrain the mutiny, or its ringleader, he dispatched a præfect, M. Statilius, with a troop of Lucanian horse, to reconnoitre the enemy's camp. When this officer had rode up to the gates, he ordered the rest to halt without, while he, with two troopers, entered. After having carefully examined every thing, he made his report, that there certainly was an ambush laid; fires were left in that side of the camp next the enemy: their tents open, and their most precious effects lay ready to be picked up; in several places he had seen money lying at random in the streets, as if it had been thrown there on purpose to be carried away. These things being told to the soldiers, with a view to deter them, had a contrary effect, and inflamed them to a greater degree. They set up a shout; and threatened, if the signal was not given, to go without their generals. But they did not want a leader; for Varro immediately gave the signal to march. Paullus, who lingered on purpose, seeing the sacred chickens would not peck as a happy omen, ordered his colleague to be informed of it just as he was marching out of the

gate. Though Varro was highly offended, yet calling to mind the fate of Flaminius, and the defeat of Claudius at sea, in the first Punic war, it struck him with a religious scruple. But it was certainly the gods themselves, who rather postponed for that day only, than totally prevented, the stroke that hung over the Romans heads: for it luckily happened, that two slaves, one a trooper of *Formiæ*, and the other of *Sidicinum*, who had been intercepted among the foragers by the Numidians, during the former consulate, made their escape that day to their masters. Being brought before the consuls, they informed them, that all the Carthaginian army was lying in ambuscade on the other side of the neighbouring hills. Their seasonable arrival made the consuls be obeyed, after the ambition and ill-judged indulgence of one of them had made their authority disregarded.

CHAP. XLIII.—*HANNIBAL*, perceiving that the Romans had rather run tumultuously together, than rashly pushed on to the last, and that his stratagem had been discovered, without having taken effect, returned to his camp. There he could not stay many days, for want of provisions: and not only his troops, which were a medley of different nations, began to form plots, but the general himself thought of new measures: for whereas they began with murmuring, and then openly and aloud demanded their pay, complaining first of scarcity, and at last of real famine, besides a report that the mercenaries, in particular the Spaniards, had entered into a resolution to desert to the enemy. It is even said, that the Carthaginian, more than once, had thoughts of leaving his infantry behind, and flying into Gaul with his cavalry. In the present disposition of his troops, he resolved to decamp, and march into *Apulia*, where the heat of the climate brought on the harvest more early. He reflected, at the same time, that the farther he got from the enemy, the more obstruction his wavering troops would find in going over to them. Therefore, he marched off in the night, after having lighted fires, and left a few tents to deceive the enemy, and detain them, for fear of an ambuscade like the former. But the same

Lucanian Statilius having searched every place beyond the camp and the mountains, and reported that he saw the enemy at a great distance, they began to deliberate about pursuing them. The two consuls now, as ever before, differed in their sentiments: but as all the rest sided with Varro, and none, except Servilius, consul of the preceding year, with Paullus, the majority carried it for marching to make Cannæ, whither an evil destiny hurried them, famous for the defeat of the Romans. Near this village Hannibal encamped with the wind Vulturnus* at his back, which in that parched climate raised clouds of dust. As this was the most commodious situation for his camp in the meantime, so it was like to prove the safest when they should come to an engagement, as they would have the wind only blowing in their backs, which would blind the enemy, by driving the dust full in their faces.

CHAP. XLIV.—THE consuls, who diligently searched the country in their march after Hannibal, no sooner arrived at Cannæ, than they fortified two camps, almost at the same distance that they had been when the troops were divided before at Geronium. The river Aufidus,† which ran by both camps, afforded them convenience of watering when they wanted it, but not without skirmishing. But the Romans in the lesser camp, which was on the other side of the river, had greater liberty of watering, as the enemy had no guard on that side. The Carthaginian having found, according to his wish, a place naturally suited for cavalry to act in, in which kind of forces he was invincible, drew out his troops in form, to offer the consuls battle. He harassed the enemy extremely, by sending out parties of Numidians. Every thing was again in confusion in the Roman camp, by the mutinies of the soldiers and the misunderstanding between the generals. Paullus laid be-

* In the ocean it is called the South South East Wind. In the Mediterranean the Italians call it Orso Verso Siroco, or the South by South East.

† L'Ofanto, rising in the Apennines, and falling into the Adriatic sea.

fore Varro the fatal temerity of Sempronius and Flaminius. Varro, on the other hand, objected to him the example of Fabius, which could only serve as a specious pretext for not fighting to cowardly and inactive generals. He called gods and men to witness, "it was not his fault that Hannibal had got possession of Italy, since he was chained down by his colleague. The arms were taken away from the soldiers, who were full of ardour, and earnestly desired a battle." Æmilius replied,—“If any mishap should befall the legions, thus inconsiderately and precipitately exposed and hurried on to battle, though he was innocent of the crime, yet he must be an equal sharer in all the calamity which would be the issue of it. We shall see,” added he, “whether those who are so ready with their rash speeches, will be as active with their blows in battle.”

CHAP. XLV.—WHILE they thus spent the time in altercations, rather than in forming salutary resolutions, the Carthaginian, who had kept his troops under arms, ready to engage, a good part of the day, retired to his camp, with all except the Numidians, whom he detached to fall on such Romans as were going for water from the lesser camp. They had scarce reached the bank, when, by their shouts and alarm, they put to flight that confused rabble, and rode up to the advanced guards, and even to the gates of the camp. To be thus braved in their lines by these rascally auxiliaries of the enemy, the Romans looked on as so great an affront, that nothing prevented their passing the river that instant, and coming to a battle, except that Paullus commanded in chief that day. Accordingly, Varro, next day, when it was his turn to command, gave the signal for battle, without advising with his colleague, and passed the river with his army ready formed. Paullus followed, because, though he did not approve his conduct, yet he could not help seconding him. As soon as they got over the river, they were joined by the troops of the lesser camp. Their order of battle was thus.—On the right wing, close to the river, were the Roman cavalry: next them the infantry: on the left were posted the allies horse,

outermost of all, with the foot within them: the dartmen were drawn up close to the legions. The other light-armed auxiliaries composed the van. The consuls commanded the wings, Terentius on the left, and Æmilius on the right. Geminus Servilius commanded in the centre.

CHAP. XLVI.—HANNIBAL, having sent his Balearian slingers and light-armed troops before early in the morning, passed the river, and formed his men in order of battle as they came up. In the left wing, next the river, he posted his Gallic and Spanish cavalry, to face the Roman knights; his Numidian horse on the right, and his infantry in the centre,—in such a manner that the Gauls and Spaniards were in the middle of it, and the Africans in the two extremities. The Africans might have been taken for a Roman corps, so much did they resemble them in their arms, some of which they had taken in the battle of Trebia, but the greatest part in that of Thrasymen. The Gauls and Spaniards had shields of the same form, but their swords were very different and unlike. Those of the Gauls were very long and without points. But the Spaniards, whose manner is rather to thrust at than cut an enemy, had short pointed swords, which were easy to manage. The troops of both these nations had a dreadful aspect both in effect of their extraordinary size and habit. The Gauls were naked from the navel upwards. The Spaniards had linen habits with purple borders, which made a glittering and splendid appearance. The Carthaginian army in the whole consisted of 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Asdrubal commanded the left wing, and Matherbal the right. Hannibal, with his brother Mago, posted himself in the centre. Whether the armies were posted so on purpose, or by chance, cannot be determined; but at first the sun incommoded neither, as it shone obliquely upon them both, the Romans facing to the south, and the Carthaginians to the north. The wind, which the natives of that country call Vulturnus, blowed directly in the faces of the Romans, whom it blinded by vast clouds of dust.

CHAP. XLVII.—A shout being set up, the auxiliary light-armed troops began the battle. Then the Carthaginian left, composed of Spanish and Gallic horse, and the Roman right wing came to an engagement. They did not charge in the manner cavalry usually do: for their front could only engage, as they had not room to practise their common evolutions and returns; and being pent up between the river on one side and the main body of foot on the other, they could only charge in a right line. At last, after they had sustained the first charge without being broke, and in very close order, they grappled with one another, dragging each other off the horses, till the greatest part came to fight on foot. This shock was furious, but not very long sustained, for the Roman cavalry being pushed, fairly run. Just as the battle between the horse ended, the foot on both sides engaged. At first the Gauls and Spaniards maintained their ground in order, with a strength and courage equal to that of the enemy. But the Romans, after having long and often exerted their utmost efforts, at length, by their even and close front, repulsed this battalion, formed like a wedge, the point whereof jutting out before the rest, was both thin and weak. As this body gave way and retired in confusion, the Romans advanced, and pursuing it as it fled with precipitation, penetrated the centre of the first line, and at last, as none opposed them, to the Africans in the rear, who opening to right and left, advanced on both sides a little before the centre, which was formed by the Gauls and Spaniards. The wedge of Gauls and Spaniards, which at first projected before the rest of the army, was first pushed even with the other parts of the front, and then, by the Romans pressing after them, bent so inwards as to form the concave side of a crescent; so that the Africans came to be on the flanks of the Romans, who had inconsiderately been brought between them. In a little time, by extending their wings, they inclosed them behind. By this means the Romans, who had to no purpose fought one battle, left the Gauls and Spaniards, whose rear they had cut to pieces, and began a fresh battle with the Africans. This was greatly to their disadvantage,

as they who were pent up were to fight against those who had environed them, and being already wearied with fresh and unfatigued troops.

CHAP. XLVIII.—IN the meantime the battle was begun on the left, where the cavalry of the allies were posted against the Numidians. The attack was but faint, but managed at first with Charthaginian treachery. About 500 Numidians, having, besides ordinary arms and missile weapons, swords hid under their coats of mail, rode off with their bucklers at their backs to make it believed they had deserted. All of a sudden they dismounted, and throwing down their bucklers and lances at the enemy's feet, were received into the centre, and from thence conducted to the rear, where they were ordered to stay. There they continued, till the battle grew hot on all quarters. But when they saw every person's attention and eyes bent another way by the battle, they caught up their shields, which lay among the heaps of slain, fell on the Romans behind, wounded them in the back, and cut them in the hams, making a terrible slaughter, but occasioning much greater consternation and confusion amongst them. Thus while the Romans on the right were frightened and fled, and their main body, reduced to despair, fought with great obstinacy, Asdrubal, who commanded on the left, took the Numidians out of the centre, because they fought but faintly with the opposite party, and detached them in pursuit of the fugitives. He likewise led on the Spanish and Gallic horse to support the Africans, who were more fatigued with slaughtering than fighting.

CHAP. XLIX.—ON the other side, Paullus, though at the first attack he had been grievously wounded from a sling, often made head against the Carthaginian, and protected by the Roman cavalry, reinstated the battle in several places. At length, unable through weakness to manage his horse, he dismounted. When it was told Hannibal that the consul had ordered his cavalry to quit their horses, it is reported he said "I had rather he had delivered them to be bound." And in truth

their alighting to fight on foot was a sure evidence that the victory was the enemy's ; and though they were defeated, they chose rather to die on the spot where they stood, than fly. The conquerors, enraged to see the victory thus hindered from being determined, cut to pieces those whom they were not able to drive from their ground. Yet they obliged a few that remained, oppressed with fatigue and wounds, to retire. Then they dispersed, and such as could remounted and fled. A legionary tribune, Cn. Lentulus, galloping along and observing the consul sitting on a stone and all over blood, said, " L. Æmilius, whom the gods ought to assist as the only person innocent of this day's defeat, take this horse, while you have any strength remaining. I am able to mount you upon him, and to protect you. Do not enhance the sorrow of this defeat by the death of a consul. There will be grief and tears enough without this." To this the consul replied, " I heartily thank you, Cn. Cornelius ; but take care not to lose the little time you have for escaping the hands of the enemy, by a vain pity towards me. Begone, and publicly tell the senate to fortify Rome, and put a sufficient garrison in it, before the victorious Carthaginians arrive. Tell Fabius in private, that I lived and now die mindful of his salutary precepts. Suffer me to expire upon these heaps of my slaughtered soldiers, that I may not be arraigned at the expiration of my consulate, nor impeach my colleague, in order to defend my own innocence at the expense of another." He had no sooner uttered these words, but first a multitude of Romans in the rout, and then the enemies in the pursuit, came upon him. The latter, not knowing him to be the consul, dispatched him with their darts. In the confusion Lentulus escaped by the swiftness of his horse. Then they all dispersed and fled. 7000 recovered the lesser, and 10,000 the greater camp, and about 2000 took refuge in the village of Cannæ. But as this village was not fortified, the latter were immediately surrounded by Carthalo with the cavalry. The other consul, whether by chance or on purpose, escaped to Venusia with about seventy troopers, without having

attempted to stop the flight of any of his own men. It is said there were slain 40,000 foot and 2700 horse. There fell almost as many Romans as allies. Among the dead were one of the consuls, two quæstors, L. Atilius and L. Furius Bibaculus, twenty-one legionary tribunes, several persons who had been consuls, prætors, and ædiles. Among these were Cn. Servilius Geminus and M. Minucius, who was general of horse the preceding year, and consul a few years before. Besides these, fourscore, who were either senators, or had exercised those offices which gave them a legal title to be chosen into the senate, and who served as volunteers in the legions. By report, 3000 foot and 300 horse were taken prisoners.

CHAP. L.—SUCH was the battle of Cannæ, which might be reckoned as famous for the defeat of the Romans as that of Allia: for though it was not so cruel with respect to its consequences, since the enemy did not make the same speedy improvement of his success, yet, with regard to the loss, it was more terrible and shameful,—for the flight at Allia exposed the city, but saved the army. At Cannæ, about seventy only followed the consul in his flight; while almost all the army of the other consul fled while he was dying. In the two camps were a great number of troops half-armed, and without leaders. Those in the greater sent a message to those in the lesser, desiring they would come over to them in the night, while the enemy were fatigued with fighting and with carousing after their joyful victory, and go in a body to Canusium. Some of them scorned this advice altogether. “Why,” said they, “do not those who give us this invitation come themselves to us, since they can as easily join us as we them? Because the way between is infested with enemies, they, forsooth, choose rather to expose our bodies than their own to danger.” Others were not so much displeased with the advice, as they wanted courage to put it in execution. Then a legionary tribune, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, said,—“Do you rather choose to be taken prisoners by a relentless and avaricious enemy, to have a price fixed on your heads, and to have the buyers ask, whether you are

“ a Roman citizen or a Latin ally, that by this means
“ the Carthaginian may gain honour by your misery
“ and reproach? You are not like your consul, L.
“ Æmilius, who chose rather to die honourably than
“ live in dishonour. You are not such citizens as those
“ brave men who lie dead in heaps round him. But,
“ before day-light overtake us, and greater numbers of
“ the enemy surround us, let us break through that irre-
“ gular and disorderly rabble which makes a noise at
“ our gates. By courage, and the help of our swords, we
“ may make a way, was the enemy never so close. In
“ the form of a wedge we will pass through this thin
“ and open corps, as if nothing opposed us. Where-
“ fore, follow me, all ye who wish yourselves and the
“ republic well.” As soon as he had uttered this speech,
he drew his sword, and, with a body drawn up in form
of a wedge, penetrated through the enemy. When the
Numidians lanced their weapons at their right flank,
which was exposed, they shifted their shields to the
right side, and, to the number of 600, escaped thus to
the greater camp. Being immediately after joined by a
greater body, they marched safely to Canusium. These
things, among these conquered troops, were rather the
effect of a courageous impulse, and as each man was di-
rected by inclination and chance, than the result of wise
deliberation, or by any one’s particular order.

CHAP. LI.—WHEN everybody flocked round Hanni-
bal, congratulating him on his victory, and persuading
him, now he had gained so great a battle, to spend the
rest of the day and the ensuing night in refreshing him-
self and his wearied troops, Maherbal, general of his
horse, was of opinion that he ought not to lose a mo-
ment’s time. “ Nay,” says he, “ that you may be sens-
“ ible of what consequence this victory is, in five days
“ you shall sup in the capitol. Only follow me. I will
“ go before with the cavalry, and be at Rome before
“ they know of my coming.” The idea of that dazzled
Hannibal; and he looked on it as an affair of too great
consequence to be that instant resolved on. Therefore,
he replied,—“ Maherbal, I applaud your zeal; but it

“requires time to consider your proposal.” Upon this Maherbal cried out,—“The gods have not given all talents to one man! Hannibal knows how to conquer, but not how to make advantage of his victory.” It is generally believed that this day’s delay was the preservation of the city and empire of Rome. As soon as it was light the day after, they began to gather the spoils; and the sight of the carnage shocked even the enemy. Thousands of Roman horse and foot lay promiscuously, according as they had been killed in the battle or in the flight. Some rising up, all over blood, from among the slaughtered bodies, through the smart of their wounds, by reason of the morning’s frost, were killed by the enemy. Some, who were found lying with their thighs and hams cut off, made bare their necks and throats, and begged them to let out the rest of their blood. Others were found with their heads buried in the ground, where it appeared they had dug holes for the purpose, into which they had thrust their heads, and suffocated themselves, by throwing the mold over them. But what principally attracted every one’s attention was a Numidian, still alive, lying upon a dead Roman. The nose and ears of the former were miserably torn: for the Roman, having his hands so disabled that he could not use his arms, had rose from anger to fury, and expired tearing his enemy with his teeth.

CHAP. LII.—AFTER having spent great part of the day in gathering the spoils, the Carthaginian advanced with his troops to attack the Roman lesser camp. First of all he got betwixt them and the *Aufidus*, and so cut off their communication with the river. But as they were all fatigued with labour and watching, and likewise covered with wounds, they surrendered sooner than he expected. The terms of the capitulation were, that they should deliver up their arms and horses, every Roman be ransomed for three hundred denarii,* every ally for two hundred,† every slave for one hundred;‡ and when that was paid, they might march away with a single gar-

* £9, 7s. 9d. † £6, 5s. 2d. ‡ £3, 2s. 7d. ARBUTHNOT.

ment a-piece. Then they received the enemy into their camp, and were all put into safe custody, but the citizens and allies in different places. While the Carthaginian lost much time in this camp, those in the greater, who had either strength or spirit, to the number of 4000 foot and 200 horse, fled to Canusium, some in bodies, others dispersed through the country, which was not the unsafest way. This camp was surrendered by the cowardly and wounded, on the same terms as the other. The enemy got a great booty. But except men and horses, and some silver, which was chiefly on the furniture of their saddles, (for the Romans used very little table-plate in the field,) all the other booty was abandoned to the soldiers. Then Hannibal ordered all the dead bodies of his own men to be gathered together and buried. It is said they amounted to 8000 men. Some authors affirm, that he caused the consul's body to be sought for and buried. An Apulian lady, called Busa, of considerable birth and riches, supplied those that fled to Canusium with provisions, clothes, and necessaries for their journey; for the Canusians had only admitted them within their walls, and assigned them quarters. For this generosity of her's, the Romans conferred great honours on her when the war was ended.

CHAP. LIII.—AMONG them at Canusium were four legionary tribunes, Fabius Maximus of the first legion, whose father had been dictator the preceding year, L. Publicius Bibulus of the second legion, with P. Cornelius Scipio and Appius Claudius Pulcher of the third, who had but lately been ædile. By consent of them all, the chief command was conferred on P. Scipio, who was but very young, in conjunction with Ap. Claudius. While these with a few others were deliberating what measures to take in their present situation, P. Furius Philus, son of a person of consular dignity, brought them notice, "that it was
" in vain to entertain desperate hopes, for the affairs of
" the republic were in a lamentable situation, and past
" retrieving. Several of the young nobility, with L.
" Cæcilius Metellus at their head, were resolved to em-
" bark and fly from Italy to some king or other." As

this misfortune, besides its being of fatal consequence, by following close on the back of so great calamities, was an unheard of thing, it surprised and astonished all that were present. But when they proposed deliberating on the affair, young Scipio, who was destined by the fates to terminate this war, affirmed, "that there was no time for deliberation. In so desperate a case as this, we must not," says he, "sit consulting, but must act, and with resolution too. Let those who wish the safety of the republic follow me in their arms: for there are our greatest enemies lodged where such designs are hatched." After this speech he went directly, followed by a few, to Metellus's lodging. Having found the young noblemen, of whom he had been informed, assembled, he drew his sword, and holding it above their heads, said,—"I swear, that I will never abandon the Roman commonwealth, nor with my consent suffer any other of her citizens to forsake her. If I violate my oath knowingly, may thou, Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings, bring me, my house, family, and all I have, to the worst of ends. I demand of you, L. Cæcilius, and of all the rest here present, to take the same oath. Whoever refuses, may be assured that against him this sword was drawn." Being as much terrified as if they had seen the victorious Hannibal, they all swore, and delivered themselves up to Scipio to be detained under guard.

CHAP. LIV.—AT the time that this passed at Canusium, about 4000 horse and foot, which in the flight had been dispersed about the country, came to the consul at Venusia. The inhabitants kindly received them all into their houses, and divided them in the most suitable manner to be properly taken care of. They gave each trooper a cloak, tunic, and twenty-five denarii, and to each foot-soldier ten denarii, and such arms as they wanted. In short, in all other respects, both in public and private, they treated them with all possible hospitality; and their state endeavoured not to be outdone in generosity and acts of kindness by a single lady of Canusium. However, the burden became heavier to Busa,

by the great number that needed her aid, for they were now increased to ten thousand men. The moment Appius and Scipio received advice that one of the consuls was safe, they dispatched a courier to him with an account of what horse and foot they had with them; and at the same time to ask, whether he would order them to bring their troops to Venusia, or keep them at Canusium? Varro marched the troops with him to the latter, where he had some appearance of a consular army; and if he was not in a condition to defend himself in the field against the enemy, yet certainly within the walls of Canusium. It was not known at Rome that even these remains of citizens and allies were in being: for it had been reported there, that the two consuls had been killed, and their armies so entirely cut off, that not a single man remained. Never was more terror and consternation within Rome, while the city itself was safe. Therefore I will not undertake or attempt to give a description of what I can never express in words, without coming short of the truth. The general talk was not now of one army being defeated and one consul killed, as at Thrasymentum the former year, or of misfortune on the back of misfortune, but that universal ruin had now overtaken them at once, for two consuls and their armies were cut off, and they had neither camp, general, nor troops: that Hannibal was now master of Apulia, Samnium, and almost all Italy. And in truth any other nation would have sunk under the weight of so many calamities. Should I compare, with the battle of Cannæ, the defeat of the Carthaginians at the islands of Ægates, which obliged them to cede Sicily and Sardinia, and to become tributaries and vassals of the conquerors; or that unfortunate battle in Africa, in which Hannibal himself was afterwards crushed; they are in no respect to be compared with it, except that the loss of them was sustained with less constancy of mind.

CHAP. LV.—THE prætors, P. Furius and M. Pomponius, assembled the senate in the curia Hostilia, to deliberate on proper measures for putting Rome in a posture of defence: for they did not doubt but the

enemy, after having utterly destroyed their two armies, would advance and attack the capital, which was the only work he had now remaining. Their calamities were so great, and so little known, that they could fall on no expedient. Besides, they were deafened with the cries of the women, who not knowing who was alive and who dead, made great lamentations in every house without exception. For this reason, Q. Fabius Maximus was of opinion, "they ought to send out expresses, well mounted, upon the Appian and Latin ways, who, from the fugitives they should meet dispersed everywhere, might chance to get some intelligence of the fate of the consuls and armies; and in case the immortal gods had, in compassion of the empire, spared any of the Roman name, to what place the remains of these troops had retreated; what route Hannibal had taken after the battle, what he designed, what he was actually doing, and what might be conjectured as to his future operations. Some active youth should be employed in inquiring into and getting certain intelligence of these things. In the meantime, as they wanted magistrates, the fathers ought to make it their business to appease the tumults and quiet the alarm in the city, keep the women from appearing in public, and oblige each of them to keep within their own houses; to restrain the lamentations of families; to cause silence in the city, and take care that all couriers with intelligence should be brought to the prætors: every one should wait at home for tidings relating to his private loss: besides, they should post sentinels at the gates, to hinder any one from going out; and oblige every person to rely solely for safety on the defence of the city and walls. When the tumult should be appeased, it would then be proper for the fathers to reassemble, and deliberate on measures for the defence of the city."

CHAP. LVI.—THEY all agreed to this; and the magistrates having removed the crowd, the fathers dispersed themselves about to appease the tumult. At length letters arrived from the consul Terentius, informing

them “ of the consul L. Æmilius’s death and the army’s
“ being cut off: that he himself was at Canusium, as-
“ sembling the remains of the defeat, as after a wreck at
“ sea: that he had with him 10,000 men, but of differ-
“ ent corps, and in very bad condition. The Carthagi-
“ nian was still encamped at Cannæ, bargaining about
“ the prisoners and the other plunder, in a manner very
“ unbecoming a generous conqueror or a great general.”
Then each private family was informed of its loss; and
the whole city so filled with affliction, that the annual
festival of Ceres was interrupted, because it was unlaw-
ful for any person in mourning to celebrate it, and all the
ladies at that time were in mourning. Therefore, that
persons might not be wanting to celebrate other public
and private festivals, the time of mourning was limited
to thirty days, by a decree of the senate. But when the
tumult in the senate was appeased, and the fathers re-
assembled, other letters were brought in from T. Ota-
cilius, pro-prætor in Sicily, importing, “ that Hiero’s
“ kingdom was ravaged by a Carthaginian fleet; and
“ that when he was preparing to go to his assistance, ad-
“ vice had been brought him that another squadron lay
“ at Ægates, ready to make a descent at Lilybæum and
“ another Roman province, as soon as they should per-
“ ceive that he was gone to defend the coast of Syracuse.
“ It was therefore necessary to send a new fleet, if they
“ intended to defend Sicily and the king their ally.”

CHAP. LVII.—AFTER the consul’s and pro-præ-
tor’s letters were read, the senate were of opinion that
M. Claudius, who commanded the fleet at Ostia, should
be sent to the army at Canusium, and the consul should
be wrote to, to repair to Rome, after delivering the ar-
my to the prætor, as soon as he could, or the good of
the republic would admit. The terror, with which so
great calamities struck them, was augmented by other
prodigies, but, in particular, by two vestals, Opimia
and Floronia, being convicted of incontinence. One
of them, according to custom, was buried alive at the
Colline gate: the other laid violent hands on herself.
L. Cantilius, secretary to the pontiffs, now called

the minor pontiffs, who debauched Floronia, was by the pontifex maximus whipped with rods in the comitium to that degree, that he expired during the punishment. As this enormous crime was committed during so many calamities, it was turned into a portentous event, and the decemvirs were ordered to consult the Sibylline books. Q. Fabius Pictor was likewise sent to Delphos to inquire of the oracle what prayers and sacrifices would appease the incensed gods, and when these unspeakable calamities would be at an end. In the meantime, several extraordinary sacrifices were offered, as prescribed in the books of their fates. Among the rest, a male and female Gaul, and a Grecian man and woman, were buried alive in a vault lined with stone in the ox-market, a place formerly polluted with human sacrifices, but not according to the Roman rites. When the gods were, as they thought, sufficiently appeased, M. Claud. Marcellus detached from Ostia 1500 men, he had levied for the sea-service, to guard Rome. He sent the third legion, which belonged to the fleet, before to Teanum, in the country of the Sidicini in Apulia; and delivering up the command of the fleet to P. Furius Philus, his colleague, within a few days went by long marches to Canusium. The senate nominated M. Junius dictator, and Ti. Sempronius general of horse. These having issued orders for a levy, enlisted all the youth above seventeen years of age, and several who had not yet quitted the robe pretexta.* Of these were composed four legions and 1000 horse. They likewise sent to the allies and Latins for the contingent they were to furnish by stipulation. Arms of all kinds were ordered to be prepared, and the ancient spoils of their enemies were taken down from the temples and porticos. Want of freeborn men and necessity obliged them to make levies of a new kind; for with the public money they purchased 8000 of the young robust slaves, after inquiring of each if he was willing to serve in the wars,† and gave them arms. They were better pleased with soldiers of this kind than

* Which they did at seventeen.

† The reply they made to this question was *Volo, I will*; and hence they got the name of *Volones*.

with the prisoners, though they could have ransomed them at a cheaper rate.

CHAP. LVIII.—FOR Hannibal, after the fortunate action at Cannæ, acted rather like one who had finished his conquests, than a general that had a war to prosecute. Having the prisoners brought forth, and the allies separated from the Romans, he spoke kindly to the former, and dismissed them without ransom, as he had done formerly at Trebia and the lake of Thrasymen. He likewise addressed the Romans, which he had never done before, and spoke to them in a very obliging manner. He said, “ He did not make war on the Romans
 “ with an intention to take away their lives ; he fought
 “ for glory and empire. His fathers had yielded to the
 “ Roman bravery, and he used his utmost endeavours
 “ to make them in their turn yield to his good fortune
 “ and valour : therefore he would allow them to ransom
 “ themselves. The ransom of each horseman should be
 “ 500* denarii, of each foot-soldier 300,† and of each
 “ slave 100.‡” Though the ransom of the troopers was somewhat enhanced above what they had bargained for when they surrendered themselves, yet they with joy accepted the conditions. They thought fit to choose ten delegates to send to the senate at Rome, of whose faith no other security was required, than to take an oath that they should return. With them was sent a noble Carthaginian, Carthalo, with conditions of peace, in case he found the Romans inclined to treat of one. After they had left the camp, one of them, who had not the least of Roman in him, pretending to have forgot something, and thinking thereby to evade his oath, returned to the camp, and rejoined his companions before night. When it was reported at Rome that they were on the point of arriving, the dictator sent a lictor to Carthalo, to order him in his name to quit the Roman territories before night.

CHAP. LIX.—THE dictator, however, admitted the prisoners delegates to an audience of the senate, where

* £16, 2s. 11d.

† £9, 13s. 9d.

‡ £3, 4s. 7d.

the chief amongst them, M. Junius, spoke to the following effect.—“ Conscript fathers, We all know, that
“ no state shews less regard for prisoners of their own
“ than our republic. But, if we are not deceived by too
“ good an opinion of our cause, none, that ever fell in-
“ to the hands of enemies, deserve your neglect less than
“ we : for we did not through cowardice deliver up our
“ arms in the field of battle, but, when we retired to our
“ camp, after having sustained the fight till night on
“ heaps of slaughtered bodies, we defended our lines
“ during the remainder of the day and the ensuing night,
“ notwithstanding the fatigue we had undergone, and
“ the wounds with which we were covered. The next
“ day, being invested by the victorious enemy, and hav-
“ ing our communication with the water cut off, with-
“ out the least hope of being able to open ourselves a
“ passage through innumerable and thick ranks of our
“ enemies, we thought it no dishonourable crime to save
“ some Roman troops after the battle of Cannæ, since
“ we had left 50,000 dead on the spot : then we treated
“ about our ransom, and surrendered to the enemy the
“ arms that could be of no farther use to us. We had
“ heard, that our ancestors ransomed themselves from
“ the Gauls with gold ; and your fathers, though so se-
“ vere as to the terms of peace, sent deputies to Taren-
“ tum to treat about ransoming their prisoners ; and yet
“ the battle at Allia with the Gauls, and that of Hera-
“ clea with Pyrrhus, were not so ignominious by the
“ slaughter, as the fear and flight of our troops. The
“ plains of Cannæ are covered with heaps of dead Ro-
“ mans : neither had we survived more than they, if the
“ enemy had not quite exhausted their strength, and
“ blunted their swords in slaughtering them. There are
“ even some amongst us who never quitted the field of
“ battle, but being left to guard the camp, fell into the
“ enemy’s hands when it was surrendered. I do not en-
“ vy the good fortune or condition of any citizen or fel-
“ low soldier, neither would I choose to raise myself by
“ debasing others ; but unless swiftness of foot and
“ running deserve reward, I do not think those, most of
“ whom fled from the field without arms, and did not

“ stop till they came to Venusia or Canusium, merit
“ more than we ; or that they can boast of being able to
“ do the commonwealth more service than we. You will
“ use them as good and valiant soldiers ; but the remem-
“ brance of your having ransomed and reinstated us in
“ our country, will make us even readier than they to
“ exert ourselves in its cause. You are enlisting men of
“ all ages and ranks : I am informed that you are arming
“ 8000 slaves. We are about the same number, and may
“ be ransomed at no greater price than they are purchased
“ at : for I should dishonour the Roman name, if I com-
“ pared them with us in any other respect. If, conscript
“ fathers, you intend to be so hard-hearted as to have
“ no regard to us, I think, in particular, you ought to
“ consider the character of the enemy to whom we are
“ to be abandoned. Is it to a Pyrrhus, who treated his
“ prisoners like his guests ? or to a barbarian, a Car-
“ thaginian, of whom it can scarce be determined whe-
“ ther he is most avaricious or cruel ? If you saw the
“ chains your fellow citizens are loaded with, if you
“ saw their squalid and disfigured countenances, in
“ truth you would be no less moved with that sight,
“ than if, on the other hand, the plains of Cannæ, co-
“ vered with your slaughtered legions, were before your
“ eyes. You may behold the anxiety and tears of our
“ relations, who stand in the porch of your house wait-
“ ing your answer. If they express such racking anxiety
“ and solicitude for us, and those who are absent, how
“ do you imagine those must be affected, whose lives
“ and liberty are at stake ? Supposing the Carthagi-
“ nian, contrary to his disposition, should treat us with
“ lenity, yet could we think life worth enjoying, when
“ we seem unworthy to be ransomed by you ? Former-
“ ly, prisoners dismissed without ransom by Pyrrhus,
“ returned to Rome ; but they returned with the prin-
“ cipal men of our state, who had been sent to ransom
“ them. Shall I return to my native country, who am
“ esteemed of less value than 300 deniers ? Every per-
“ son, conscript fathers, has a manner of thinking pecu-
“ liar to himself. I am sensible that my life and per-
“ son are in hazard. But I am more anxious about the

“ danger our reputations are in, lest we should be look-
“ ed on as wretches condemned and rejected by you :
“ for the world will never believe that you did it to
“ save your money.”

CHAP. LX.—As soon as he had done speaking, the crowd, which was in the comitium, set up a mournful clamour, and with extended hands begged the senate to restore them their children, brothers, and relations. Fear and necessity had also induced the women to join the multitude of men in the forum. Every person else being removed, the senate began to deliberate on the affair. Never were they more divided in their opinions. Some declared for ransoming the prisoners with the public money ; others that the state ought to be at no expense, but would not oppose their ransoming themselves with their own money ; and if any wanted ready money, it might be lent them out of the public treasury, provided they mortgaged their lands as security to the state. Then T. Manlius Torquatus, a man of primitive and rigorous severity, which many imagined he carried to too great a pitch, being asked his opinion, is said to have spoke as follows.—“ Had the delegates, without
“ attacking the reputation of others, only asked that these
“ prisoners, now in the hands of the enemy, should be
“ ransomed, I should have given my opinion in few
“ words : for in that case nothing more would have been
“ necessary than to have exhorted you to have followed
“ the example set by your fathers, an example so neces-
“ sary for the maintenance*of military discipline. But
“ since they have made a merit of having surrendered
“ themselves to the enemy, and thought it reasonable
“ that they should not only be preferred to the prison-
“ ers taken in the field of battle, but to those who retir-
“ ed to Venusia and Canusium, and even to the consul C.
“ Terentius himself, I will not suffer you, conscript fa-
“ thers, to remain ignorant of all that passed at Cannæ.
“ And I wish, that what I am now going to say to you
“ was to be pronounced in the hearing of that very ar-
“ my at Canusium, which are the best judges of every
“ man’s cowardice and valour. Atleast, I wish one per-

“ son was here present, P. Sempronius, whom, if they
“ had followed, they would this day have been soldiers
“ in the Roman camp, not prisoners in the hands of the
“ enemy. But while the greatest part of the enemy,
“ either wearied with fighting, or rejoicing on account
“ of the victory, were retired to their camp, they had an
“ entire night to force their way through. Seven thou-
“ sand men in arms could open a passage through innu-
“ merable enemies; but they would neither attempt this
“ themselves, nor follow those who did. During almost
“ the whole night, T. Sempronius Tuditanus never ceas-
“ ed to advise and exhort them to follow him, while they
“ were invested by few troops, while the enemy were
“ quiet and buried in sleep, and the darkness concealed
“ their design. In vain did he assure them that they
“ would reach a place of safety, and the cities of allies,
“ before day. As, deputies, in the days of our ances-
“ tors, P. Decius, a legionary tribune in Samnium, and
“ in our own memory, during the first Punic war, Cal-
“ purnius Flamma, going with 300 volunteers to seize
“ an eminence in the middle of the enemy, said, *Let us*
“ *die, fellow soldiers, and by our death deliver the invest-*
“ *ed legions out of this ambuscade*; if, I say, P. Sempro-
“ nius had made you this speech, and none of you had
“ courage to second him, he would never have looked
“ on you as brave men or Romans. He shewed you a
“ way which led as well to safety as to glory. He would
“ have brought you back to your native country, to your
“ parents, wives, and children. You had not even cou-
“ rage to save your lives! What would you have done
“ if you had been to die for your country? Fifty thou-
“ sand Romans and allies were killed round you that
“ day. If you could not be moved with so many exam-
“ ples of valour, nothing will ever move you. If so
“ great slaughter could not induce you to despise life,
“ nothing will. While you were free and safe you might
“ express some desire for your country; nay, while
“ it is your country, and you members thereof. But
“ now it is too late to desire to be in it, as you have lost
“ your freedom and right of citizenship, are become
“ aliens, and slaves of the Carthaginians. You would
“ with money purchase your return to that, which you

lost by cowardice and neglect of duty. You would not listen to your countryman, P. Sempronius, when he ordered you to take arms and follow him ; but you soon after obeyed Hannibal commanding you to surrender your camp and arms. But why, conscript fathers, do I accuse them of cowardice, whom I may accuse of a crime : for they not only refused to follow the tribune when he besought them, but even endeavoured to detain and stop him, if the undaunted men with him had not removed these dastards with their drawn swords. P. Sempronius, I say, was obliged to break through a body of Romans, before he broke through the enemy. Does our country want such citizens as these ? whom, if the rest had resembled, we should not now have had one of those alive who engaged at Cannæ. Of 7000 soldiers, only 600 had the heart to open themselves a passage, and returned safe with their arms into their country, whilst 40,000 of the enemy were not able to stop them. How safely, then, do you think, might near two legions have got off ? You would have had this day 20,000 men at Canusium, brave and faithful troops. But now, how can these be reckoned good and faithful citizens ? (for brave they have not called themselves,) unless one could believe them to be so when they endeavoured to hinder them from breaking through, who were going to open a passage with their swords : or that they will hereafter be so who now envy them the safety and glory which they purchased by their bravery, while they are conscious that their own fear and cowardice are the causes of their ignominious slavery. When they had an opportunity of breaking through in the dead of the night, they chose rather to wait lurking in their tents till light, and the enemy came. But though they wanted courage to open themselves a passage, yet they to be sure bravely defended their intrenchments. They were besieged several nights and days, defending their lines with their arms, and themselves with their lines. At last, after having used their utmost efforts, and suffered the extremest hardships, when they had no provisions, when hunger had so diminished their strength, that they were not able to hold their arms,

“ they were reduced by necessities, invincible by human nature, and not by arms. At sun rising the enemy approached their intrenchments; and within two hours they surrendered themselves and their arms, without striking a blow. This, deputies, was all the duty you did for two days: when you ought to have stood and fought in the field of battle, then you retreated to your camp: when you ought to have defended your intrenchments, you surrendered your camp; so that you did service neither in the battle nor in your lines. Shall I vote for ransoming you, who dallied and staid, when you ought to have forced a way out of your camp; who, when there was a necessity to stay and defend your ramparts, surrendered your camp, your arms, and yourselves to the enemy? Conscript fathers, I can as little vote that these prisoners should be ransomed, as I can, that those who opened themselves a passage from their camp through the middle of the enemy, and by their bravery restored themselves to their native country, should be delivered up to the Carthaginian.”

CHAP. LXI.—WHEN Manlius had done speaking, the fathers, though most of them were allied to the prisoners, were moved, besides the precedent of their state, which from its beginning hitherto had never shewn any indulgence to prisoners, by the expense: for they were not inclined to exhaust the treasury, which had already laid out great sums in purchasing and arming the slaves, nor thereby to enrich Hannibal, who, it was reported, was in extreme want of money. When this sad answer, that the prisoners were not to be ransomed, was given, the loss of so many citizens excited new sorrow, and the crowd followed the deputies to the gates with weeping and lamentation. One of them went to his house, believing he had acquitted himself from his oath by his fraudulent return to the Carthaginian camp. As soon as this was known, it was laid before the senate, where the members unanimously voted, that he should be seized, put under a public guard, and carried back to Hannibal. There is another tradition concerning the prisoners.—Ten deputies came from them at first,

and it was debated in the senate, whether they should be admitted into the city or not: At last they were admitted, but not granted an audience of the senate. Upon their staying longer than was expected, three others came, L. Scribonius, C. Calpurnius, and L. Manlius. Then a bill, for ransoming the prisoners, was brought in by a tribune of the people, a relation of L. Scribonius, but the fathers rejected it. Upon this the three last deputies returned to Hannibal, and the first ten staid behind, thinking themselves acquitted from their oath by returning from their journey under pretext of taking a list of the prisoners names. Likewise that there was a great struggle, in the senate, about delivering them up, and the affair was carried in their favour by a small majority. But the succeeding censors stamped such marks of disgrace upon them, that several of them immediately laid violent hands on themselves. The rest during their whole life not only refrained from all business and commerce, but durst not even shew their faces in public. Thus one may rather be surpris'd at the difference among historians, than be able to come at the truth. But that this defeat far exceeded all former blows is evident from this circumstance, that the allies, who had continued unalterable till that day, began to revolt, for no other reason than that they despaired of the affairs of the empire. The Atellani, Calatians, Hirpini, part of Apulia, all the Samnites, except those surnamed Pentri, all the Brutians, Lucanians, Surrentines, almost all the states on the coast of Great Greece, Tarentines, Metapontines, Crotonians, Locrians, and all the Cisalpine Gauls, revolted to the Carthaginian. Yet these misfortunes and falling off of the allies could not induce the Romans to give the least hint of peace, neither before the consul's arrival at Rome, nor after, when the sight of him renewed the memory of their defeat. Nay, at that very time the state shewed so much spirit, that all ranks went out in crowds to meet the consul on his return after a defeat, whereof he himself had been the principal cause, and thanked him for not having despaired of the commonwealth; whereas, had he been a general of the Carthaginians, they had punished him with the utmost severity.

BOOK XXIII.

CONTAINING

I-VI. *The Capuans revolt to Hannibal.*—VII-X. *Hannibal comes to Capua, narrowly escapes being murdered, carries off D. Magius, and sends him to Carthage.*—XI. *F. Pictor returns from Delphos with the answer of the oracle.*—XII-XIV. *Mago is sent by his brother to Carthage, with the news of his successes.*—XV. *Hannibal gets possession of Nola.*—XVI. *Marcellus drives Hannibal from the gates of Nola with great loss.*—XVII. *Hannibal takes Acerræ.*—XVIII-XIX. *Lays siege to Casilinum; retires to Capua into winter quarters; early in the spring returns to the siege of Casilinum, which, after being reduced to the last extremity, he forces to capitulate.*—XX. *The inhabitants of Petelia refuse a garrison.*—XXI-XXIII. *177 new senators created.*—XXIV-XXV. *The consul Posthumius with his whole army cut off in Gaul.*—XXVI-XXIX. *Affairs in Spain.*—XXX-XXXIII. *Preparations against the ensuing campaign.*—XXXIV. *Philip king of Macedon enters into an alliance with Hannibal; the ambassadors taken in their return at sea.*—XXXV-XXXIX. *The consuls take several towns that had revolted.*—XL-XLI. *The Carthaginians defeated in Sardinia.*—XLII-XLIII. *The Samnites beg Hannibal to defend their lands from the ravages of the Romans; a conference between Herennius Bassus and Hanno, before Nola.*—XLIV. *Marcellus defeats the Carthaginians.*—XLVI. *1272 Spanish and Numidian horse desert to the Romans; the single combat of Taurea and Asellus.*—XLVIII. *Letters from the Scipios in Spain; the state contracts with undertakers for the subsistence of the army and the loan of money.*

CHAP. I.—HANNIBAL, after the battle of Cannæ, having taken and rifled the Roman camps, marched immediately from Apulia into Samnium, being invited to come among the Hirpini by Statius, who engaged to

betray Compsa* to him. Statius† was a person of distinction and credit in his own city, but was vigorously opposed by the Mopsian faction, which was supported by the interest of the Romans. After the news of the battle of Cannæ, and of Hannibal's approach, which Trebius divulged in his speeches, the Mopsians quitted the city, which was surrendered to the Carthaginian without striking a blow, and admitted a garrison into it. Here Hannibal left all his plunder and baggage, and divided his army. One part of it he gave to Mago, to receive such cities of that district as revolted from the Romans, and to reduce by force those that refused. He himself crossed Campania, and advanced to the lower sea, in order to besiege Naples, that he might get possession of a maritime city. As the roads to Naples are hollow and full of secret windings, he no sooner entered its territories than he placed part of his Numidians in ambush, as conveniently as he could, and ordered the rest, under shew of driving booty before them out of the country, to ride up to the gates. As this seemed but a small and tumultuous body, a squadron of horse sallied out, were drawn into the ambush, and surrounded. Not one of them had escaped but for the proximity of the sea, and some fishing-vessels they saw not far from the shore, in which such as could swim saved themselves. Yet some young noblemen were killed and taken prisoners. Among them Hegeas, a colonel of horse, lost his life by too hotly pursuing the fugitives. But when Hannibal viewed the walls, and saw they could not easily be attacked, he was deterred from laying siege to it.

CHAP. II.—FROM thence he marched to Capua, which, by long prosperity and the indulgence of fortune, was plunged in luxury. But in this general corruption, its greatest evil was the licentiousness of the people, who abused the exercise of their liberty beyond measure. Pacuvius Calavius, a noble and popular citizen, who had acquired great power by bad practices, had made the senate dependent on himself and the people. This man

* Conza, in the further principality. † Surnamed Trebius.

chanced to be principal magistrate of the city the year that the Romans were defeated at Thrasymen. He imagined that the people, who had long hated the senate, and were fond of revolutions, would take occasion from this defeat to perpetrate some great mischief, such as assassinating the senate, and surrendering Capua to the Carthaginian, in case he came into those parts with his victorious army. He was a bad man, but not quite abandoned, and desired rather to acquire the sovereignty of his country in safety, than utterly to ruin it. As he knew no state could be safe without a public council, he contrived means to preserve the senate, and at the same time make it entirely dependent on himself and the people. In order to this, he assembled the members of it, and first declared that he would by no means approve of a revolt from the Romans, unless forced to it by necessity: "for he had children by a daughter of Appius Claudius, and had a daughter married to Livius at Rome. But they were threatened with a more important and dangerous affair: for the populace did not intend to revolt in order to cut off the senators, but by massacring them to rid the republic of all magistracy, in order to put it into Hannibal's hands. If they would rely on him, and, forgetting all former contests concerning the government, put entire confidence in his honour, he would preserve them from that danger." When, in their consternation, they all put themselves in his power, he said, "I will shut you up in the senate-house, and by pretending to become an accomplice in and approve their design, which it would be in vain for me to oppose, shall find means to save you: for this I will grant you any security you shall desire." Having pledged his honour, he ordered the house to be shut, and left a guard in the porch, that none might enter or come out of it without his order.

CHAP. III.—*THEN* having assembled the people, he said,—“You have often desired to have it in your power to punish your wicked and detestable senators. You have now a safe and fair opportunity, and need not

“ run tumultuously to each of their houses, where you
“ are exposed to great danger, as they are defended by
“ their clients and slaves. Now you have them all shut
“ up in the senate-house without seconds or arms. But
“ beware of doing any thing precipitately or rashly.
“ I shall give you an opportunity of passing sentence on
“ them singly, that each may suffer the punishment he
“ deserves. But you ought to indulge your resentment
“ in such a manner only, as to prefer your interest and
“ safety to the gratification of your passion : for, in my
“ judgment, you only hate those senators, and do not
“ desire to have no senate at all. You must either have
“ a king, which you hold in abhorrence, or a senate,
“ which is the only council of a free state. Therefore
“ you have two things to do, to destroy the old sena-
“ tors, and choose new ones. I shall order each of them
“ to appear, and shall ask your resolutions with respect
“ to them, and the sentence you pass shall be put in
“ execution. But you shall choose some man of probity
“ and bravery to succeed the criminal before he is pu-
“ nished.” Then he sat down, and causing all their
names to be thrown into an urn, ordered the person
whose name was first drawn to be cited, and brought
from the senate-house. As soon as his name was heard,
all cried out, that he was a wicked person, and deserved
punishment. Then Pacuvius said, “ I plainly perceive
“ what sentence you pass on this man. He is to be
“ expelled the senate as a bad and wicked person. Now
“ choose a just and honest person in his room.” At first
they continued silent, for want of a better to supply his
place. Then when any impudent fellow named one, they
immediately set up a much louder cry. Some said they
did not know him : others objected against his bad mo-
rals, mean birth, wretched poverty, and low trade or
business. These difficulties increased so much, when
the second or third senator was called, that it appeared
the people repented of what they had done, as they saw
they wanted fit persons to substitute in their room. And
it was absurd to name the old ones again, who had been
called on only to hear of their vices : and those mentioned
to succeed them were much more mean and obscure than

those that occurred first to their memory. Wherefore the people gave up the point, and declaring the most supportable evil to be that to which persons are most accustomed, ordered the senators to be set at liberty.

CHAP. IV.—IN this manner did Pacuvius, by saving the lives of the senators when in danger, make them more dependent on himself than on the people, and gained an absolute sway by universal consent, and without being obliged to use violence. From henceforth the senators, forgetting their dignity and liberty, paid their court to the people by all manner of adulation, kindly inviting them to feasts prepared on purpose, undertook their causes, were always ready to assist their party, and when judges in any suit, passed sentence in favour of the party that was in greatest credit with the people. Thus, in short, nothing was resolved upon in senate, but as the people decided, as if they had been the supreme council. The Capuans were always addicted to luxury, not only by a natural depraved disposition, but also by the excess of all kinds of delights, and the alluring pleasures with which a fertile country and the sea supplied them. But the late abject complaisance of their principal men, and the unbridled licentiousness of the people, had occasioned that no person set bounds to the gratification of his passions, or to his expenses. They trampled under foot laws, magistrates, and senate; and after the battle of Cannæ, proceeded so far as to contemn the Romans, for whom alone they had hitherto preserved some respect. The only consideration that restrained them from immediately revolting was, that many illustrious and powerful families had allied themselves by marriage to the Romans. And besides, as several of them had been in the Roman service, 300 chosen knights, of greatest quality among the Capuans, had been sent into the garrisons of Sicily.

CHAP. V.—WITH the greatest difficulty the parents and relations of these young noblemen prevailed to have a deputation sent to the Roman consul. As he was not yet gone to Canusium, they found him at Ve-

nusia, with a few troops half armed, in so miserable a plight, as would have moved the compassion of sincere allies, but which served only to excite contempt in so proud and unfaithful a people as the Capuans. Besides, the consul enhanced their contempt of him and the condition of his affairs, by discovering and laying open his calamitous circumstances. For when the deputies declared, that the senate and people of Capua heartily lamented the misfortune that had happened to the Romans, and promised supplies of every thing necessary for the war, he said,—“ Capuans, by what you have
“ said, you have observed a common ceremony with
“ allies, and desired we would demand what we wanted
“ for carrying on the war, rather than spoke any thing
“ directly tending to relieve our present necessitous
“ condition. For what was left us at Cannæ, to make
“ us, as if we really had something, desire our allies to
“ supply what is wanting? Can we demand foot of you,
“ as if we had horse? Can we say we want money,
“ as if it was our sole want? Fortune has left us no-
“ thing, nothing that we could supply. Our infantry,
“ cavalry, arms, colours, horse, men, money, provi-
“ sions, all perished, either in the field of battle, or in
“ the two camps next day. Therefore, Capuans, it be-
“ hoves you not only to aid us in the war, but even to
“ undertake it in our stead. Remember, how formerly,
“ when your ancestors were driven in consternation with-
“ in their walls, and were terrified both by the Samnites
“ and Sidicini, we defended them, and received them in-
“ to our protection at Saticula. On your account we
“ entered into war with the Samnites, and sustained it
“ with various success near 100 years. Add to these,
“ that when you surrendered yourselves at discretion,
“ we concluded a league with you on equal terms, allow-
“ ed you your own laws, and at last (which was a most
“ valuable consideration before our defeat at Cannæ)
“ granted many of you the freedom of our city. There-
“ fore, Capuans, you ought to look on this as a common
“ defeat of both, and resolve to defend our common
“ country. We have not to do with the Samnites and
“ Hetrurians, by whom, if our empire was wrested from

“ us, it would still remain in Italy. A Carthaginian is
“ our enemy, and brings in his train, from the extre-
“ mities of the earth, the ocean, and the Pillars of Her-
“ cules, soldiers, not so much as natives of Africa, ig-
“ norant of all right, the difference of ranks, and even
“ of human language. These troops, whose natures
“ and manners are cruel and barbarous, their general
“ hath rendered more savage, by making bridges and
“ ramparts of human bodies, and, which is horrible to
“ utter, by teaching them to eat human flesh. Who
“ that was born in Italy would not detest to see and be
“ subject to those who feed on such shocking food,
“ which it is not lawful to touch; to receive laws from
“ Africa and Carthage, and suffer Italy to be a pro-
“ vince belonging to Numidians and Moors? It would
“ be glorious, Capuans, to see the Roman empire sink-
“ ing under its misfortunes, propped and restored by
“ your fidelity and forces! I imagine Campania could
“ furnish 30,000 foot and 4000 horse. It has great
“ plenty of money and corn. If your fidelity is equal
“ to your wealth, the Carthaginian will find he is not a
“ complete conqueror, nor the Romans that they are
“ entirely vanquished.”

CHAP. VI.—AFTER this speech of the consul, the deputies were dismissed, and returned home. One of them, Vibius Virius, said on the road,—“ The time is
“ come, when the Capuans may not only recover the
“ lands unjustly taken from them by the Romans, but
“ also obtain the empire of Italy. They may make a
“ league with Hannibal on what terms they please. Nor
“ is it to be doubted, but the Carthaginian, after he
“ has terminated the war, and returned victorious into
“ Africa with his army, will leave them sovereigns of
“ Italy.” They were all of Virius’s opinion, and gave
such an account of their embassy, as it appeared the Roman affairs were absolutely ruined. The people and greatest part of the senate would have immediately revolted. But they were prevented for a few days by the authority of the seniors. At last the majority prevailed, to have the same ambassadors sent to Hannibal

that had been sent to the Roman consul. I find in some annals, that before this embassy was sent, they sent one to Rome, to demand that one of the consuls should annually be chosen out of the Capuans, if they desired their state should assist them. But the Roman senate, with great indignation, ordered them to be put out of the house, and sent a lictor to drive them out of the city, and order them to leave their territories that day. As this demand of theirs bears so near a resemblance to a former one of the Latins, and Cælius and other historians have with reason omitted it, I am afraid to warrant it for truth.

CHAP. VII.—HOWEVER ambassadors came to Hannibal, and made an alliance with him on the following terms.—“That no Carthaginian general or magistrate should have any jurisdiction over the citizens of Capua. No Capuan should be compelled to serve in the army, or hold any office among the Carthaginians. Capua should be governed by her own laws and magistrates. The Carthaginian should put into their hands 300 Roman prisoners, such as they should choose, to be exchanged against the Capuan knights that were serving in Sicily.” These terms they agreed on. But, besides what was stipulated, the Capuans were guilty of a horrid piece of cruelty: for they all of a sudden seized such officers of the allies, and Roman citizens, as were employed there about their duty, in regard to the war, or their private business; and, under pretext of securing their persons, ordered them to be shut up in baths, where, being suffocated with the steam and heat, they expired in a miserable manner. Decius Magius, who wanted nothing to raise him to the highest authority, but to have to do with a people in their senses, had opposed this, as well as sending an embassy to Hannibal. But when he heard that Hannibal was sending a garrison to their city, he represented to them, in lively colours, the insupportable tyranny of Pyrrhus, and the miserable slavery of the Tarentines. He first openly exclaimed “against admitting it, and then, if they did admit it, that they should

“ either expel it again ; or if they would expiate their
“ horrid crime, in revolting from their ancient allies and
“ relations, by some memorable action, they should put
“ the Carthaginian garrison to the sword, and return
“ to their alliance with the Romans.” As these re-
monstrances were made in public, Hannibal was soon
informed of them. For this reason, he first sent mes-
sengers to desire Magius to come to the camp to him.
But when Magius haughtily refused, and insisted, that
Hannibal had no power over a citizen of Capua, the
Carthaginian was so enraged, that he ordered him to be
seized, put in chains, and dragged to him. Then be-
ing apprehensive, that so violent a proceeding might
excite a tumult, and the multitude when up might raise
some rash scuffle, he sent to tell Marius Blosius, præ-
tor of Capua, that he would be there himself next day.
Accordingly he set out with a small guard. Marius,
having assembled the people, ordered them with their
wives and children to go out and meet Hannibal. All
complied, not only out of obedience, but with great
earnestness ; nay, the populace were curious and for-
ward to see a general famous by so many victories. But
Decius Magius neither went to meet him, nor kept
within doors, that he might not shew any fear, or
reproach himself with guilt. He walked carelessly up
and down the forum with his son, and a few of his
friends, whilst all the city ran in a hurry to see and
receive the Carthaginian. As soon as Hannibal enter-
ed the city, he required that the senate might assemble.
But the principal men of Capua begged he would not
transact any serious affair that day, but cheerfully, and
with rejoicing, celebrate the day of his arrival as a fes-
tival. Not to refuse them the first favour, he stifled
his violent resentment, and spent the greatest part of
the day in visiting the city.

CHAP. VIII.—HE lodged with the Ninnii Celeres,
Stenius, and Pacuvius, men distinguished both for their
birth and wealth. Pacuvius Calavius, whom we mention-
ed above as the head of that faction which yielded every
thing to Hannibal, brought his son thither, after having

forced him from the company of D. Magius, with whom he had most strenuously urged maintaining the alliance with the Romans, and opposed entering into a league with the Carthaginians. Neither the example of the state, which had chose the opposite side, nor paternal authority, could make him change his sentiments. Instead of justifying him, the father, by humble entreaties, reconciled to this youth the Carthaginian, who overcome by the prayers and tears of the father, ordered the son and father to be invited to an entertainment, to which no Capuan was admitted, except his hosts and Jubellius Taurea, famous for his bravery in war. They sat down to table before evening. This feast was not agreeable to the manners of the Carthaginians, or austere military discipline, but furnished out with all the delicious dishes and splendour, that could be expected in a voluptuous house. Only Perolla, Calavius's son, could not be cheerful, notwithstanding his hosts, and sometimes Hannibal, invited him. He excused himself on account of his health. His father likewise made an apology for his disorder, which he was not in the main surprised at. About sun-set, Calavius left the banqueting room, and his son followed him. When they came to a private place in the garden behind the house, Perolla said, "Father, I can inform you of a design, which will not only procure us pardon from the Romans for our revolt to Hannibal, but will place us in higher credit and esteem with them than ever the Capuans were." When his father, in great surprise, asked what it was, he cast his robe back from his shoulder, and shewed him a sword girded by his side. "Now," says he, "I will seal an alliance with the Romans in the blood of the Carthaginian. I thought proper to apprise you of it, in case you should not choose to be present at the action."

CHAP. IX.—THE old man hearing and seeing this, in as much terror as if he had actually been present at the perpetration of what he heard, was quite distracted with fear. "Son," said he, "I conjure you by all the rights and ties that subsist between children and pa-

“rents; I beseech and obtest you, not to commit, or
“suffer to be committed, the most enormous of all crimes
“in sight of thy father. It is but a few hours since
“we swore by all the gods, and gave him our right
“hands as the most solemn pledge of our honour, to eat
“at this feast consecrated by solemn oaths. Shall we,
“who but this instant quitted his conversation, arm
“ourselves against him? Can you rise up from that hos-
“pitable table to which you was the third Capuan who
“had the honour to be admitted by the Carthaginian, to
“stain it with the blood of your host? I was able to re-
“concile Hannibal to my son, but cannot reconcile my
“son to Hannibal. But come, let us shew no regard to
“honour, faith, religion, and piety; let us commit the
“blackest crimes, provided they do not involve us in ine-
“vitable destruction. Remember you are singly to at-
“tack Hannibal. But where will be all those eyes that
“attentively watch him? Where will be all the freemen
“and slaves that attend him? Where will be the right
“hands of all present? Will your madness benumb
“them? Can you bear the looks of Hannibal, which ar-
“mies cannot sustain, which make the Romans tremble?
“Besides, should all other aid be wanting, could
“you have the heart to strike through me who would
“cover Hannibal’s body with my own? You must come
“at and pierce him through my heart. Suffer therefore
“yourself to be deterred here, rather than to perish on
“the spot. Let my prayers prevail with you, after
“having been this day prevalent in your behalf.” The
father, seeing his son melted into tears, clasped him in
his arms, and embracing him, never ceased his entrea-
ties till he prevailed with him to lay aside his sword, and
to promise he would entirely renounce his enterprise.
“But, father,” said he, “to you I am to pay that duty
“which I owe to my country. Alas! I lament your
“case, who will undergo the reproach of having thrice
“betrayed your country; first, when you advised the
“revolt from the Romans; secondly, when you advised
“making peace with Hannibal; and a third time to-day,
“when you was the sole hinderance and obstacle to rein-
“stating Capua in the favour of Rome. Dear country,

“ receive this sword, with which being armed, I resolved
“ to have defended thy citadel, since a father wrests it
“ out of my hand.” When he had said this, he threw
the sword over the garden wall into the highway, and,
to avoid suspicion, returned to the entertainment.

CHAP. X.—NEXT day, at Hannibal’s request, the senate assembled in great numbers. The beginning of his speech was very gracious and complaisant. He thanked them for preferring his alliance to that of the Romans ; and, amongst other magnificent promises, engaged in a short time to make them masters of all Italy ; and that the Romans, as well as other nations, should receive laws from Capua. But he said, there was one man among them, who was excluded from all share in the Carthaginian amity, and the treaty concluded with them, who neither was nor could be called a Capuan : he meant D. Magius. Him he demanded to be delivered up to him, that the senate in his presence might take cognizance of his cause, and pass sentence on him. They all complied, though the greatest part of them thought Magius did not deserve so hard a fate, and in the very beginning that was a great blow given to their liberty. The chief magistrate immediately quitted the senate-house, and seating himself in the judgment-hall, ordered D. Magius to be arrested, arraigned before him, and to defend himself. The delinquent, persisting in his haughtiness, insisted, that by an article in the treaty he could not be compelled to it. Then he was ordered to be put in chains, and carried before a lictor to the camp. As long as his head was uncovered, he continued to speak to the multitude that surrounded him, crying aloud, “ Now
“ you have got, Capuans, the liberty you desired. In
“ the middle of the forum, in broad day, before your
“ eyes, I, who am inferior to none in Capua, am dragged
“ in chains to death. What greater violence could be
“ committed if Capua had been taken by storm ? Go !
“ forsooth, meet the Carthaginian, adorn the city, cele-
“ brate the day of his arrival, that you may see this tri-
“ umph over one of your citizens.” As these exclama-
tions seemed to make some impression on the populace,

his head was muffled up, and orders given to drag him with expedition out of the gates. Thus he was led to the camp. Soon after he was put on board a ship and sent to Carthage, lest his infamous treatment should raise some tumult at Capua, and the senate repent having delivered up so great a man: Likewise to prevent giving offence to his new allies, by refusing to restore him, in case they should send a deputation for that purpose; or by granting their request, have a person at Capua ready to stir up tumults and seditions. But a storm drove the ship to Cyrene,* which was then subject to the kings of Egypt. There Magius fled for protection to the statue of Ptolemy, to whom he was carried by a guard to Alexandria. When he informed that prince, how Hannibal had put him in chains contrary to treaty, he was set at liberty, and had permission either to return to Rome or Capua. But he said, "He could not be safe at Capua; and if he went to Rome at a time when there was war between the Romans and Capuans, he would be entertained rather as a deserter than a friend. He, therefore, chose, preferable to every place else, to live in his kingdom, who had procured him liberty."

CHAP. XI.—IN the meantime, the ambassador from Delphi, Q. Fabius Pictor, returned to Rome, and delivered the answer in writing. It contained the names of all the gods to whom supplications were to be made, and concluded,—“If, Romans, you perform these things, your affairs shall prosper and succeed better. Your commonwealth shall flourish to your wish, and the Roman people shall be conquerors in the war. But when your state is preserved, and your arms crowned with success, as a grateful recompense send an honourable present out of the plunder and spoils to the Pythian Apollo: and banish from among you all impurity of morals.” After he had recited these things translated from the original Greek, he added, “that when he came out of the temple of the oracle, he had offered wine and incense to all these gods. That

* Now Corene, in the district of Barca.

“ he was commanded by the priest of the temple, as he
“ had come to the oracle and offered his sacrifice crown-
“ ed with laurel, so he should go aboard the ship with the
“ same crown on his head, and not lay it aside till he should
“ arrive at Rome. He had religiously and carefully
“ obeyed all the instructions that had been given him, and
“ deposited his crown at the altar of Apollo in Rome.”
Then the senate ordered care to be taken to perform all
these supplications to the gods. Whilst these things pass-
ed at Rome and in Italy, Mago, son of Hamilcar, arrived
at Carthage with the news of the victory at Cannæ.
His brother had not dispatched him immediately after
the action, but detained him a few days while he receiv-
ed the cities of the Bruttii, who revolted to him. When
he had his audience of the senate, he gave this account
of his brother’s successes in Italy.—“ He had fought
“ against six generals, four of whom were consuls; the
“ other two, one a dictator, and the other general of
“ horse, and with six consular armies. He had slain
“ above 200,000 enemies, and taken above 50,000 pri-
“ soners. He had killed two of the four consuls: of the
“ two who survived one had been grievously wounded,
“ and the other escaped, after losing his whole army,
“ with about 50 men. He had routed and put to
“ flight a general of horse, whose authority was equal
“ to that of a consul. The dictator was considered as
“ an unparalleled general, because he had avoided
“ fighting. The Bruttians and Apulians, some of the
“ Samnites and Lucanians, had revolted to the Cartha-
“ ginians. That Capua, the chief city, not only of
“ Campania, but of all Italy, since the defeat of the Ro-
“ mans at Cannæ, had surrendered to Hannibal. For
“ these great and manifold victories, it was proper to
“ return thanks to the immortal gods.”

CHAP. XII.—To verify these joyful tidings, he order-
ed the gold rings to be emptied in the porch of the
senate-house. Some historians say there was so great
a quantity of them, that when measured they filled three
bushels and a half. But the truest account, and what has
gained universal credit, is, that there were not more than
one bushel. Then, in order to enhance the idea of the

defeat, he added, that none except the Roman cavalry, and only the principal among them, wore that honourable badge. And so he concluded, "that the greater hopes they had of speedily terminating the war, they ought to make the greater efforts to send aid to Hannibal: for he was making war far from home, in the heart of an enemy's country. The consumption of provisions and money was very great, and so many battles could not destroy such numbers of enemies without lessening the conqueror's forces in some measure. Supplies, therefore, must be sent to him, provisions and pay must be sent to the troops that had done the Carthaginian state so great service." As Mago's speech diffused an universal joy, Himilco, of the Barcinian faction, thought it a proper occasion to insult Hanno. "Well, Hanno," said he, "what are your sentiments? Are you still dissatisfied that we enter into a war against the Romans? Order Hannibal to be delivered up; declare against our giving thanks to the immortal gods for the success of our arms. Let us hear the language of a Roman senator in the senate-house of Carthage." Then Hanno replied, "Conscript fathers, I should have chose to have been silent this day, that no dissonant word might drop from me to disturb the harmony of your common joy; but not to reply to a senator, who asks me if I am sorry for having undertaken the war against the Romans, would make me seem to be either proud or disaffected to the state; the first would argue that I had forgot that I was to speak to a free man; the latter, that I forgot I was so myself. To Himilco, therefore, I answer, that I continue to be dissatisfied with the war, and never will cease to blame your invincible general, till I see it terminated by a treaty on some tolerable conditions; and nothing but a new peace shall make me cease to regret the breach of the old. The exploits, of which Mago has just now given so pompous a detail, cause great joy to Himilco, and the other partizans of Hannibal. They may give me joy too, if the proper use be made of them for procuring peace on more reasonable conditions. But if we let slip this occasion, in which we seem to have it in our power rather to grant than to receive peace, I am afraid this

“ present joy will cloy us and vanish into air. After all, what are these boasted advantages? I have cut off, says Hannibal, armies of enemies, send me troops. What else would he ask, had he been defeated? I have two camps belonging to the enemy; full no doubt of plunder and provision! supply me with corn and money. What else could he have asked, if his camp and every thing in it had been taken? But that I may not be the only person to express surprise at all these things, (for as I have replied to Himilco, I am at liberty and have a right to interrogate in my turn,) let either him or Mago answer me a few questions. Since it is certain, that the battle of Cannæ quite ruined the Roman empire, and brought all Italy over to us, pray, in the first place, have any of the Latin states revolted to us? And, in the next, has any single man of the thirty-five Roman tribes deserted to Hannibal?” Mago answered, “Neither.” “Well then,” said he, “there are but too many enemies still surviving. But I would know farther, what heart, what hope, this multitude has?”

CHAP. XIII.—MAGO replied, “He could not tell.” “Nothing is easier,” said Hanno. “Have the Romans sent ambassadors to Hannibal to treat of peace? Have you heard, that any mention was made of it at Rome?” Mago having answered in the negative, “The war then,” says he, “subsists as entire as it was the first day Hannibal entered Italy. Many are still alive who remember the vicissitudes of the victories in the first Punic war. Our affairs never seemed to be in a more prosperous condition than immediately before the consulate of C. Lutatius and A. Posthumius. Yet in their consulate we were defeated at the islands Ægates. If our fortune should now take a like turn, (the gods avert the omen,) can you hope to obtain, when overcome, that peace which none thinks of offering when we are victorious? I know what I would say, if the question was, either to offer our enemies a peace, or to accept it from them. But if you ask my opinion concerning Mago’s demands, I think it is absurd to send aid to conquer-

“ors ; and if they deceive us with false and vain hopes, “we have less reason to send any.” Hanno’s speech made little impression on the senate ; for his hatred to the Barcinian faction detracted from his credit in the affair. And they were too much engrossed by their present joy to hearken to any thing that would damp it. Besides they imagined, with a few efforts more, they should see the war terminated. They, therefore, unanimously resolved to send Hannibal a reinforcement of 4000 Numidians, 40 elephants, and a great sum of money.* Besides, a dictator was detached before, with Mago into Spain, to levy 20,000 foot and 4000 horse, to recruit the armies in that country and in Italy.

CHAP. XIV.—*BUT*, as usual in times of prosperity, these orders were executed with indolence and remissness. On the other side, neither the active nature nor circumstances of the Romans would suffer them to be dilatory. For the consul neglected nothing that belonged to his office, and the dictator, D. Junius Pera, after performing several ceremonies of religion, asked the people permission to ride on horseback. Besides the two city legions, which had been raised by the consuls in the beginning of the year, the corps of slaves, and the cohorts which had been levied in Picenum and the Gallic lands †, he had recourse to a method of supply never used but in desperate junctures, and when the decent must give way to utility. He went into the forum and publicly proclaimed, “that all who were confined for “capital crimes or debt, and would serve under him, he “would order to be exempted from punishment, and discharged from their debts.” Of these he armed 6000 with the arms taken from the Gauls, and carried in triumph by Flaminius. Thus he set out from the city at the head of 25,000 men. The Carthaginian having secured Capua and made a second ineffectual attempt upon the Neapolitans, whose hopes and fears both he tried to work on, marched into the territories of Nola. As he did not entirely despair of their surrendering voluntarily,

* £193,750.

† Conquered from the Gauls, and lay between the Rubicon and Æsis. It was divided among some Roman citizens.

he did not commence hostilities immediately; but at the same time, in case they dallied longer than he expected, he resolved to make them dread and suffer the utmost extremities. Their senate, especially the principal men of it, continued faithfully attached to their alliance with the Romans; but the people, as is common, being fond of changes, were wholly in the interest of Hannibal. Besides they considered their lands would be laid waste, and the many grievous and intolerable calamities they must suffer, if they were besieged. Neither did they want persons to head the revolt. Wherefore the senate began to be afraid, that if they went openly to work, they would not be able to make head against the people, if they were once alarmed, and averted the storm by dissembling with them. They pretended to approve of revolting to the Carthaginian, but that they could not be certain on what conditions they should conclude the new treaty and alliance. Having by these means gained more time, they dispatched expresses to the Roman prætor, M. Claudius Marcellus, who was then with his army at Casilinum, to let him know the extreme danger in which Nola was. Hannibal was in possession of the country, and would immediately be of the city, if they did not receive succours. The senators had hindered the people from hastening their revolt, by giving them leave to do it when they should desire. Marcellus, after commending the Nolans, ordered them, by the same pretexts, to spin out the time till his arrival, and in the meantime to keep their transaction with him private, and all hopes of aid from the Romans. He himself went from Casilinum to Calatia, and then passing the Volturnus, crossed the country of Saticula and Trebula, and came to Nola by the mountains above Suessula.

CHAP. XV.—On the approach of the Roman prætor Hannibal left the Nolan territories, and retired to the sea-coast near Naples, ardently wishing to make himself master of a maritime city, that ships might come to him safely out of Africa. But when he heard that Naples was commanded by a Roman prætor, M. Junius Silanus, whom the inhabitants had called in, and seeing himself excluded here in the same manner as he had been at No-

la, he went to Nuceria. After having blocked it up for some time, and strove in vain to take it by storm, and sometimes by tampering with the people, and sometimes with the nobility, he at length reduced it by famine. It was stipulated that the inhabitants should march out without their arms, and with a single garment a-piece. Then, as he had determined from the beginning to shew his clemency to all the Italians except to the Romans, he promised great rewards and honours to such as would stay and serve in his troops. But not a single man was allured by these promises. They all went away, to whatever place they could find entertainment at, or to any city of Campania chance and inclination directed them to; but the greatest part went to Nola and Naples. When about thirty of their senators, and these too the principal of them, went to Capua, they were not suffered to enter it, because they had shut their gates against Hannibal. So they went to Cumæ. The plunder of Nuceria was abandoned to the soldiers, and the town sacked and burnt. Marcellus relied as much on the affections of the principal men of Nola, as on the fidelity of his soldiers. But he was jealous of the people, and of none so much as of L. Bantius, who being afraid of the Roman prætor, because he had been in the plot for revolting, was thereby induced to betray his country, and if he failed in that, to desert to the enemy. He was an enterprising youth, and at that time the most distinguished horseman among the allies. Hannibal, having found him half dead among heaps of slain at Cannæ, had carefully got him cured of the wounds, and sent him home with rich presents. In gratitude for this service, he earnestly desired to put the Carthaginian in possession of Nola, and the prætor observed him anxious and solicitous to accomplish this change. But as it was necessary either to restrain him by punishments, or conciliate him by favour, he chose rather to gain over than take from the enemy by force this brave and valiant youth. Therefore he sent for him, and thus courteously addressed him.—“It is very evident that you are much
“envied by the populace, since no citizen of Nola has
“informed me of your military exploits. Many, who
“served at the same time with you, have informed us

“ what a brave man you are, and of the great and many
 “ dangers you have undergone for the safety and dig-
 “ nity of the Roman people. How you did not cease
 “ fighting at Cannæ, till you was almost killed and
 “ overwhelmed with dead bodies, arms, and horses, that
 “ fell upon you. Go on to shew yourself brave ; I shall
 “ take care to honour and reward you. The oftener
 “ you give me the pleasure of your company, it shall de-
 “ rive to you the more honour and advantage.” Seeing
 the youth ravished with these promises, he made him a
 present of a fine horse, and ordered the quæstor to give
 him 500 silver denarii, * commanding the lictors to give
 him admittance to him as often as he pleased.

CHAP. XVI.—By this obliging behaviour, Marcellus so softened the rugged spirit of this youth, that from thenceforth he was one of the bravest and most faithful allies of Rome. When Hannibal, who had come back from Nuceria, appeared before the gates of Nola, the people began afresh to think of a revolt. But upon his approach, Marcellus kept within the walls, not that he was afraid to encamp without, but to deprive the inhabitants, many of whom were disposed to it, of an opportunity to betray the town. At last both of them drew up in battalia, the Romans before the walls of Nola, and the Carthaginians before their camp. Betwixt the city and the camp there happened some skirmishes, with various success, because the generals would neither check the few who desired to skirmish, nor give the signal for a general battle. While the two armies remained in this posture from day to day, the chief men of Nola informed Marcellus, “ that the populace and the Car-
 “ thaginians held conferences in the night : That it was
 “ resolved, as soon as the Roman army should march
 “ out in battalia, to shut the gates, plunder the bag-
 “ gage, and seize the walls ; that being thereby masters
 “ of themselves and the city, they might transfer the
 “ possession of it from the Romans to the Carthagi-
 “ nians.” When Marcellus heard this, he commended the senators, and resolved to risk a battle, before any

* £ 16, 2s. 11d.

commotion should break out in the city. He marshalled his troops in three columns at as many gates, facing the enemy, ordering the baggage to follow it, and the soldiers servants, sutlers, and invalids, to carry stakes to make a rampart. At the middle gate he posted the flower of the Roman infantry and cavalry; the recruits, light-armed troops, and the allies horse, about the other two gates. He forbade the Nolans to go near the walls or gates; and appointed a guard for the baggage, lest it should be attacked while his legions were engaged. In this disposition he kept his troops within the gates. Hannibal, who had been standing the greatest part of the day under arms, as he had done for several days before, at first wondered that the Roman army neither came out, nor any soldier appeared on the wall. Then concluding that their conferences had been betrayed, and that fear restrained the enemy, he sent back part of his troops to his camp, ordering them speedily to bring to the front all the apparatus necessary for an assault: for he was confident that the people would raise some commotion in the city, if he attacked the enemy while they lingered. But while each of his men ran in confusion to the front to discharge his part of the duty, and the whole army was come up to the foot of the wall, Marcellus, opening the middle gate all of a sudden, ordered a charge to be sounded, a shout to be set up, and first his foot, and then his horse, to charge the enemy with the greatest fury. They had spread confusion and terror enough in the centre, when P. Valerius Flaccus and C. Aurelius, lieutenant-generals, sallied out at the other two gates upon the enemy's wings. Then the servants, sutlers, and the other multitude that was left to guard the baggage, set up another shout, so that the Carthaginians, who despised them for their want of number, suddenly imagined them to be a great army. I dare scarce affirm, with some authors, that the enemy lost 2800 men, and the Romans only a single man. But whether the victory was or was not so great, yet I know not whether that day's action was not the most important performed during that war; for then it was more difficult for the conquerors to prevent their being defeated by Hannibal, than it was afterwards to defeat him.

CHAP. XVII.—HAVING thus lost all hopes of getting possession of Nola, he retired to Acerræ. Marcellus, having shut the gates of the town, and posted guards to prevent any one's escaping, made inquiry in the forum concerning such as held secret conferences with the enemy. Having convicted seventy of this treasonable practice, he condemned them to be beheaded; ordered their estates to be confiscated to the Roman people; and having restored the sovereign authority to the senate, marched away with all his army, and encamped above Suessula. The Carthaginian first attempted to draw the Acerrans to a voluntary surrendry; and failing in that, prepared to invest and storm the town. The inhabitants had more courage than strength. Wherefore, despairing of being able to defend the town, as soon as they saw it invested, they stole, in the dead of the night, before they were quite surrounded, through the intervals of the lines and the unguarded posts, and fled up and down, as design or fear drove, to such cities of Campania as they were certain had continued faithful to the Romans. He sacked and demolished Acerræ; and hearing that the Roman dictator and his new legions had been invited to Casilinum, he himself marched thither, for fear, while their camp was so near, some of them might likewise go to Capua. At that time Casilinum was garrisoned by 500 Prænestines, with a few Romans and Latins, who had retired thither on advice of the defeat at Cannæ. These Prænestines, not being mustered in their own town at the day appointed, had been late of setting out, and had come as far as Casilinum before the news of the unfortunate battle. Being joined here by other Roman allies, they had marched away with a considerably strong body; but getting accounts of the defeat at Cannæ on their route, they returned to Casilinum. Having spent some days here, where the inhabitants and they were mutually jealous of one another, and were employed in laying and contriving how to avoid each other's snares, they got certain intelligence that Capua was treating about surrendering to the Carthaginian. Upon this they slew the inhabitants, and took possession of that part

of the city which lies on this side the Volturnus, for the town was divided by that river. They were joined by a cohort of Perusians, consisting of 460 men, who had been brought to Casilinum by the same news that the Prænestines had been a few days before. Thus they had soldiers sufficient to defend the walls of this little place, which was guarded on one side by the river. It appeared, too, that they had too many men for their stores of provision.

CHAP. XVIII.—WHEN the Carthaginian came near it, he detached the Gætuli, under command of an officer named Isalca, with orders, if he had an opportunity of conferring with the garrison, to engage them by fair speeches to open the gates and receive a garrison; but if they obstinately persisted in standing out, to begin hostilities, and try to attack the town on some accessible quarter. Having approached the walls, and observed no soldiers on them, and all in profound silence, he concluded the enemy had abandoned them for fear, and so prepared to break the gates, and burst open the locks. But all of a sudden they were opened, and two cohorts, which had been drawn up within for that purpose, sallied out with vast impetuosity, and made great slaughter of the enemy. The first detachment being thus repulsed, Maherbal was sent with a stronger; but he likewise was unable to stand the charge of those that sallied. At last Hannibal, having encamped before the walls, prepared to attack this little place and small garrison with all his force and his whole troops. While he pressed and annoyed it much, the defendants from the walls and towers killed several of his men, especially the most forward of them. One time, when they sallied, they had like to have been cut off by a line of elephants, which got between them and the town, and were obliged to retire, after having lost too great a number of men for the small body they had. More had been killed, if night had not put an end to the battle. Next day the Carthaginians were animated to make an assault. A mural crown of gold was promised him who first mounted the wall; and as the place was situated in a plain, the

general himself reproached them for being backward in the assault, bidding them remember how they had taken Saguntum; to call to mind the battles of Cannæ, Thrasymen, Trebia, and all their other successes. Then they began to apply their galleries and dig their mines. Nothing that could be performed by force or stratagem did they leave unattempted. But the Roman allies opposed their bulwarks to the galleries, and met the enemy's mines with countermines, so that they frustrated all their attempts both above and below ground. At length shame made the Carthaginian abandon the enterprise. Having fortified his camp, he left some troops in it, that he might not seem entirely to have quitted the siege, and retired to Capua, where, during the greatest part of the winter, he quartered in houses those soldiers who had often and long endured all the hardships incident to men, and were strangers, and unaccustomed to the sweets of life. Here those, whom the greatest adversities could not conquer, fell victims to plenty and pleasures, into which they plunged more precipitately and greedily, as they had not been accustomed to them. Soft beds, wine, delicate fare, wenching, baths, and idleness, which became daily more agreeable to them, enervated both their bodies and minds to such a degree, that their being able to defend themselves after, was rather the effect of the reputation of their former victories, than owing to their force. Judges in military affairs reckon the Carthaginian committed a greater error in taking this step, than in not marching directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ: for that neglect could only defer his victory, whereas this error deprived him of the forces necessary to conquer. Thus, in fact, he marched out of Capua in a manner with a new army, that retained nothing of its ancient discipline: for most of them carried whores into the field with them; and when they came again to live as usual in camps, and undergo fatigue, they were like novices, wanting both strength and courage to support them. At length, during the whole campaign, many of them slipped away without furloughs, and these deserters had no other asylum but Capua.

CHAP. XIX.—As soon as the severity of the winter was abated, Hannibal quitted his winter quarters, and returned to Casilinum. Though he made no assault, yet, as the blockade was continued, the inhabitants and garrison were reduced to extreme famine. The dictator had gone to Rome to repeat the auspices, and T. Sempronius commanded in the Roman camp. Marcellus, too, had the strongest inclination to relieve the besieged; but he was hindered by a swelling of the Volturnus, and the earnest solicitations of the Nolans and Acerrans, who dreaded being attacked by the Capuans, if the Roman garrison should withdraw. Gracchus continued inactive before Casilinum, because the dictator had expressly forbade him to undertake any thing in his absence, though he was informed from the town that it suffered hardships, which would have subdued the most heroic fortitude. It is affirmed that several of them, not able to endure the hunger, threw themselves headlong from the walls; others exposed themselves without defence to the darts of the enemy. These things vexed Gracchus extremely; but he durst not fight contrary to the dictator's orders; and yet he saw he must do it, if he intended openly to supply them with provisions, and he had no hopes of conveying them privately. He brought in all the corn from the neighbouring country; and having packed many barrels full, he sent the governor of the town notice to take them out as they came down the river. In consequence of this agreeable advice from the Romans, they carefully watched next night, and drew out the barrels as they came down the stream. They divided the corn equally among them. This they did for two more nights successively: for being put into the water, and arriving the same night, they were not observed by the enemy. But the current swelling more than usual by continual rains, drove the barrels to the opposite side, where the enemy kept guard. There they were discovered sticking among the osiers that commonly grow on the banks of rivers. Hannibal was informed of it, and from that time kept a stricter guard, so that nothing sent down the river could escape him. Yet the Romans poured

in nuts into the water, which swimming^a down the stream, were taken out with hurdles at Casilinum. At last they were reduced to so great want, that they were obliged to eat the thongs and leather of their shields, after they had taken it off, and boiled it soft in water. Their hunger would not suffer them to spare mice, or any other animal, and they dug up all the herbage and roots that grew at the bottom of the walls. And when the enemy ploughed all the ground that bore grass without the wall, they sowed it with turnip-seed; so that Hannibal cried out,—“What, am I then to stay at Casilinum till these turnips come to maturity?” Wherefore, though he would never before hearken to terms, he at length suffered them to enter into a capitulation with him for ransoming the freemen. Each of them was to pay seven ounces of gold.* Upon mutual securities they surrendered, remained prisoners till the money was paid, and then were sent to Cumæ under an escort. This is a more genuine account than that they were cut to pieces by the cavalry as they were going away. The greatest part of this garrison were Prænestines. Of 570, whereof it consisted, near one half perished by sword or famine. The rest returned safe to Præneste, with their prætor Manicius, who had formerly been a scribe. As a monument of this heroic defence, his statue was erected in the forum of Præneste, armed in a cuirass, and dressed in a Roman toga, with the head veiled.† There were three other monuments of him, with this inscription on brazen labels, “Manicius made a vow for the soldiers that garrisoned Casilinum.” The same was engraved on three pictures of him hung up in the temple of Fortune.

CHAP. XX.—THE town was restored to the Campanians, and a garrison of 700 Carthaginians left in it, lest the Romans should take it in his absence. The Roman senate granted the Prænestines double pay, and exempted them from serving in the wars for five years.

* About £22.

† The head was always veiled when they made a vow.

But none of them changed their habitation, when they might have been presented with the freedom of Rome for their bravery. We are more in the dark as to the fate of the Perusians, as we have neither monuments of their own, nor any decree of the Romans, to give us light in it. At the same time, not only the Carthaginians, who were masters of that country, but the other states of the Bruttians, attacked the people of Petelia, who alone had continued faithful to the Romans, because they would not become accomplices in their rebellion. The Petelini, being unable of themselves to repel those hostilities, sent deputies to Rome, to beg a garrison. When they received for answer, "that they must defend themselves," they made bitter lamentations in the porch of the senate-house, and their prayers and tears excited the compassion of the fathers and people. Wherefore the senate was again moved in their favour by the prætor M. Pomponius. But after considering what force they had altogether, they were obliged to confess that they could not defend their distant allies. So they ordered them to return home; and since they had fulfilled the treaty of alliance to the utmost of their power, they might, in their present calamity, take what steps they thought most for their interest. When the deputies returned to Petelia with this answer, it struck so sudden a panic and grief into the senators, that some of them were for-quitting the city, and flying wherever they could; while some declared, that since they were abandoned by their ancient allies, they should join the other Bruttians, and by these means surrender themselves to the Carthaginian. Yet that party prevailed which was of opinion they ought to do nothing rashly or precipitately, but begin to deliberate anew. The affair being postponed till next day, when their consternation had subsided, the principal persons came to a resolution to convey all their effects out of the country, and fortify the walls and city.

CHAP. XXI.—ABOUT the same time letters arrived from Sicily and Sardinia. Those from Otacilius, prætor of the former, were read in the senate. Their

contents were, that L. Furius, the prætor, was arrived at Lilybæum, with the fleet from Africa. He was dangerously wounded, and lay at the point of death. Neither the soldiers nor sailors could receive any pay or provision when due, for they had no funds for either. He strenuously pressed the senate to send both with the utmost expedition; and, if they thought proper, to send one of the new prætors to succeed him. The letters from A. Cornelius Mammula, pro-prætor of Sardinia, contained near the same demands of money and provisions. The senate answered both, that they must shift for their armies and fleets as well as they could, for Rome was not in a condition to supply them. Otacilius having sent deputies to King Hiero, the sole resource of the Roman people, received money sufficient for the pay, and six months provisions. In Sardinia, the cities of the allies generously supplied Cornelius's wants. As money was very much wanted at Rome, Minucius, tribune of the people, brought in a bill for appointing L. Æmilius Papus, who had been both consul and censor, M. Atilius Regulus, who had been twice consul, and L. Scribonius Libo, one of the present plebeian tribunes, bankers to receive the public money. M. and C. Atilius were likewise appointed duumvirs, to dedicate the temple of Concord, which the prætor L. Manlius had vowed. Q. Cæcilius Metellus, Q. Fabius Maximus, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, were chosen pontiffs in room of P. Scantinius who died, L. Æmilius Paullus the consul, and Q. Ælius Pætus, who were killed in the battle of Cannæ.

CHAP. XXII.—WHEN the fathers, as far as human policy extended, had repaired all other breaches, which fortune, by a successive train of calamities, had made in their state, they began to think of their own body, the desolate state of the senate, and the want of members to consult on public affairs. Since the censorship of L. Æmilius and C. Flaminius, the vacancies in the senate had not been filled up, notwithstanding so many senators had been swept away, within the space of five years, by defeats in the field, besides other accidents that happened to individuals. As the dictator had set

out for the army after the taking of Casilinum, the prætor, M. Pomponius, at the unanimous request of the members, laid this affair before the house. Then Sp. Carvilius having, in a long speech, lamented not only the want, but the small number of citizens, from amongst whom they might choose senators, proposed, as a matter of vast consequence, that, in order effectually to supply the vacancies, and more firmly to unite the Latin states to their interest, two senators should be chosen out of each Latin state, be made denizens of Rome, if the fathers approved of it, and be substituted in room of the dead members. The senate received this proposal with as much indignation as they formerly did a similar demand of the same Latins. A general rage and murmur filled the house. In particular, Manlius said,—“There still survived a man of that family, a consul of which had formerly threatened in the capitol to kill with his own hand any Latin he should see in the senate-house.” Q. Fabius Maximus said,—“That nothing had ever been mentioned in senate at a more improper juncture: when the minds of our allies are wavering, and their fidelity doubtful, a hint of this kind might excite them to abandon us. Therefore they ought all to bury in silence the speech of this rash man. If ever any public deliberation ought to be kept an inviolable secret, this, in a more especial manner, ought to be concealed, hid, and buried in oblivion, and reputed as a thing that never had been mentioned.” In consequence it was inviolably suppressed. It was resolved, that a person who had formerly been censor, and the oldest man living who had exercised that office, should be nominated dictator, to choose the new senators. They likewise ordered C. Terentius Varro, the consul, to be sent for to nominate the dictator. Having left a garrison in Apulia, he posted to Rome; and next night, according to custom, in conformity to the senate’s decree, nominated M. Fabius Buteo dictator for six months, without a general of horse.

CHAP. XXIII.—As soon as the new dictator as-

cended the tribunal of harangues, attended by the lictors, he thus addressed the assembly.—“ I do not approve of
“ this innovation, having two dictators at once ; that I
“ am raised to that dignity without a general of horse ;
“ that the authority of censor should be conferred on
“ the same person twice, or that a dictator should be
“ continued in office for six months, except for making
“ war. Since, therefore, our misfortunes, the present
“ conjuncture, and necessity, have obliged us to have
“ recourse to these illegal methods, I will endeavour to
“ act as near as possible within their due limits. I will
“ not degrade any senator, whom the censors, C. Fla-
“ minius and L. Æmilius, advanced to that dignity ;
“ I will only order them to be entered again on the roll,
“ and have their names called, that a single person may
“ not have it in his power to be supreme judge and ar-
“ biter of the character and morals of a senator. With
“ respect to supplying the seats vacant by death, it
“ shall appear, that I shall prefer persons according to
“ the order of their promotion to offices, and according
“ to their rank, without any partiality in favour of par-
“ ticular men.” Having called over the roll of ancient
senators, he first supplied the places of the dead with
such as had exercised curule magistracies since the cen-
sorship of L. Æmilius and C. Flaminius, but had not
yet been called up to the house. He chose each in the
order in which he had been a magistrate. Then he chose
such as had been ædiles, plebeian tribunes, and quæstors.
And lastly, of such as had not exercised any offices, he
chose those who could shew spoils of enemies fixed up in
their houses, or had been rewarded with civic crowns.
Thus having, with universal approbation, chosen 177
new senators, he immediately abdicated his office, and
came down from the tribunal in a private character.
Having ordered his lictors to withdraw, he mingled
with the crowd, who were busied about their private
affairs, purposely wasting the time, to avoid being con-
ducted by the populace in pomp from the forum home.
But this stay did not cool the people’s affection, and he
was attended home by a very numerous train. The
consul set out for the army next night, without appriz-

ing the senate, for fear they should detain him to hold the election for consuls.

CHAP. XXIV.—NEXT day, on a motion made by M. Pomponius, the prætor, the senate resolved to write to the dictator, to come to the city, in case the affairs of the state would permit, to choose consuls, and bring with him the general of horse and the prætor M. Marcellus, that the senate might deliberate in their presence upon the state of the republic, and concert measures proper to be followed. They all repaired to Rome, as ordered, having left the command of their armies to their lieutenant-generals. The dictator spoke little, and with great modesty, of himself, bestowing the greatest share of the glory on T. Sempronius Gracchus, his general of horse. Then he assembled the comitia, in which L. Posthumius, then pro-consul of Gaul, was chosen consul a third time in his absence, with T. Sempronius Gracchus, the present general of horse, who was on the spot. Then M. Valerius Lævinus, Ap. Claudius Pulcher. Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Q. Mucies Scævola, were chosen prætors. The dictator, after having chosen the magistrates, returned to put his troops into winter quarters at Teanum. He left behind him in the city the general of horse, that, as he was to enter upon office in a few days, he might consult with the fathers concerning the armies to be raised and employed the following year. This year misfortune succeeded misfortune: for while they were busily employed about these things, advice arrived, that L. Posthumius, consul elect, with all his army, was destroyed. He was to march his troops through a vast wood, which the Gauls called *Litana*.* On the right and left of his route, the natives had sawed the trees in such a manner, that they continued standing upright, but would fall with the least force. Posthumius had with him two Roman legions, and besides had levied a great number of allies along the Adriatic sea; so that he entered the enemy's country at the head of 25,000 men. As soon as this army entered the wood, the Gauls, who were posted at its extremities, pushed

* Near Bologna and Modena.

down the outermost of the sawed trees. These, falling on those next them, and they again on others, which stood tottering, and scarce hanging together, crushed arms, men, and horse, in so dreadful a manner, that scarce ten men escaped: for most of them being killed by the trunks and broken boughs of trees, the Gauls, who lined the wood quite round, killed the rest, during their consternation at so unexpected a disaster. A very small number were taken prisoners, who attempted to escape by a bridge, being surrounded on it by the enemy who had beset it before. Here Posthumius fell, fighting with all his force, to prevent his being taken. The Boii, having cut off his head, carried it, and the spoils they stript off his body, in triumph into the most sacred temple amongst them. Afterwards they extracted the brains, and took off the flesh, according to their custom; and having chased the scull with gold, used it as a cup for libations in their solemn sacrifices, and for the high-priests and other ministers of the temple to drink out of. The spoils they took were proportioned to the victory. For, though great numbers of the carriage-beasts were crushed to death by the trees, yet, as nothing was lost by flight, every thing else was found in their order as the troops lay dead.

CHAP. XXV.—WHEN the news of this disaster arrived, it threw the state into so great a panic for many days, that the shops were shut up, and the city was as much a solitude, as if it had been midnight. Then the senate ordered the ædiles to go round the city, cause the shops to be opened, and remove this appearance of public affliction. T. Sempronius having assembled the senate, consoled and encouraged the fathers.—“ Since,” said he, “ you sustained the defeat at Cannæ with so much magnanimity, be not now overwhelmed with less calamities. If our arms shall prosper, as it is to be hoped they will, against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, the war with the Gauls may be neglected and deferred without hazard. With the help of the gods, the Romans will have it in their power to revenge the treachery of the Gauls another time. The subject of

“ our present deliberations ought to be the Carthaginian
“ war, and the forces with which it is to be prosecut-
“ ed.” He first laid before them the number of foot and
horse, as well citizens as allies, that were in the dicta-
tor’s army. Then Marcellus gave an account of his.
Those who knew were asked what troops were in Apulia
with Claudius Terentius Varro the consul. Upon deli-
beration, they found they could not raise consular ar-
mies sufficient to support so important a war. For this
reason, notwithstanding the just cause they had to be ir-
ritated against the Gauls, they determined to think no
more of them for that year. The dictator’s army was
assigned the consul. “ They ordered the corps of Mar-
“ cellus’s camp, who had fled from Cannæ, to be trans-
“ ported to Sicily, to serve there as long as the war con-
“ tinued in Italy. Thither likewise were ordered to be
“ carried the weakest of the dictator’s troops, but with-
“ out confining them to longer service than the legal
“ number of campaigns. The two legions in the city
“ were likewise voted to the other consul who should
“ be elected in room of Posthumius. Orders were also
“ given for his being elected as soon as the auspices
“ would permit. Besides, two legions were immedi-
“ ly to be recalled from Sicily, out of which the con-
“ sul, to whom the city legions should fall, should take
“ what number of men he should have occasion for.
“ The consul Claudius Terentius Varro was continued
“ in his command for one year, without lessening the
“ army he had for the defence of Apulia.”

CHAP. XXVI.—DURING these transactions and pre-
parations in Italy, the war in Spain was prosecuted with
no less vigour. Hitherto the Romans had had the ad-
vantage there. The two generals had divided their
troops, so that Cneius acted by land and Publius by
sea. Asdrubal, general of the Carthaginians, not having
force sufficient to cope with them on either element,
durst not approach them, securing himself by his distance
from the enemy. After much solicitation he had a sup-
ply of 4000 foot and 500 horse sent him out of Africa.
This reinforcement inspired him with fresh hopes, and he

moved near the enemy. He also ordered a fleet to be refitted and prepared, for the protection of the islands and sea-coasts. In the very beginning of his strenuous endeavours to reinstate the war, he was greatly embarrassed by the desertion of the captains of his ships. They had entertained a secret grudge at the general and Carthaginians ever since they were severely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet in a cowardly manner at the Ebro. These deserters raised an insurrection among the Carthesians,* and prevailed with some cities to revolt. They likewise took one by force. Upon this Asdrubal turned from the Romans, to carry the war into that country, which he entered with fire and sword. In a few days he appeared before the walls of that town, which was taken, and resolved to attack Galbus, general of the Carthesians, who kept within his lines with a strong army. In consequence, he detached his light-armed troops before to provoke the enemy to a battle, and part of his infantry to ravage the country, and to pick up stragglers. This produced a skirmish before the camp, at the same time that many were killed and put to flight in the fields. But after they had all, by different routes, returned to their camp, they quickly shook off all fear, and had courage enough not only to defend their lines, but to attack the enemy. They sallied out in a body, dancing according to their custom. This sudden boldness terrified the enemy, who a little before had provoked them. On this account, Asdrubal then drew off his troops to an eminence, pretty steep, and very safe, having a river between him and the enemy. Here the parties of light-armed troops and horse that had been detached rejoined him. But not thinking himself sufficiently secured by the eminence and river, he drew lines round his army. During the mutual fears on both sides, several skirmishes happened. The Numidian cavalry were not so good as the Spanish, nor the Moorish archers so good as the Spanish targetiers, who equalled them in swiftness, but were superior to them in strength and courage.

* Near Arragon.

CHAP. XXVII.—THE enemy seeing they could not, by coming up to Asdrubal's camp, provoke him to a battle, nor attack his lines without great hazard, stormed Asena,* whither the Carthaginian, on entering their territories, had conveyed all his provisions and stores. By this they became masters of all the country. This made them quite ungovernable, both without and within their camp. Asdrubal perceived their negligence, the usual consequence of success, and exhorted his troops to attack them while they were straggling from their colours. Then he came down the hill, and advanced to their camp, in order of battle. The enemy took the alarm, as soon as their scouts, who fled with precipitation from his advanced guard, informed them of his coming. As each could get his arms, he rushed precipitately to battle, without orders, without colours, without being formed, and in the greatest confusion. The first of them had engaged while some were running about in troops, and before great numbers had got out of their camp. However, the boldness of their first attack terrified the enemy. But when they charged their close ranks with their own, which were thin, and were not able to defend themselves for want of numbers, they looked behind them for their other troops. And being pressed on all quarters, they drew up in form of a circle, where being so close pent up, body to body, armour to armour, that they had not room to wield their arms, they were surrounded by the enemy, who continued to slaughter them a great part of the day. A small number having forced a passage, gained the woods and hills. Their camp was abandoned in a like consternation, and next day the whole nation submitted. But it did not continue long quiet; for Asdrubal received orders from Carthage to march into Italy with all expedition. The report of this spreading over Spain, made all the states declare for the Romans. He wrote immediately to Carthage, to inform them “of the dangerous effects the report of his march had produced. If he did leave Spain, the Romans would be masters of it all before he could pass

* Now Almeida.

“ the Ebro. For besides that he had neither general
“ nor army, whom he could leave to defend it, so great
“ were the abilities of the Roman generals who com-
“ manded there, that they could scarcely be oppos-
“ ed with equal forces. If, therefore, they had any
“ concern for preserving Spain, they ought to send a
“ general with a powerful army to succeed him. And
“ however successful his successor might prove, yet he
“ would find sufficient employment in the province.”

CHAP. XXVIII.—THOUGH these letters made at first some impression on the senate, yet, as they reckoned the war in Italy of more importance, and preferably to be supported, they did not alter their resolution in relation to Asdrubal and his troops. However they dispatched Himilco with a good army, but a greater fleet, to preserve and defend Spain both by sea and land. When he arrived with his forces and fleet, having encamped his troops and drawn up his ships on dry land, he marched with all possible expedition through people who were either wavering or actually enemies, to join Asdrubal with the cavalry. As soon as he had informed him of the resolutions and orders of the senate, and in his turn been told in what manner to prosecute the war in Spain, he returned to his camp. His expedition alone saved him, for he quitted every place before the people could agree how to seize him. Before Asdrubal quitted his camp, he laid all the states in subjection to him under contribution. He knew well that Hannibal purchased a passage through some nations; that the Gauls would never have aided him if they had not been hired, and that if he had undertaken that march without money, he had never penetrated so far as the Alps: for this reason he exacted money with great rigour, and marched down to the Ebro. As soon as the Roman generals got notice of the Carthaginian senate's resolution, and Asdrubal's march, they renounced all other affairs, and, uniting their forces, determined to meet him and oppose his attempt. They reflected that, when it was already so difficult to make head against

Hannibal in Italy, the Roman empire would be utterly ruined, should Asdrubal join him with an army from Spain. In this perplexity they rendezvoused at the Ebro, passed that river, and were long in consultation whether they should encamp near the enemy, or were capable, by attacking his allies, to stop his intended march. At length they resolved to attack Ibera, which had its name from its proximity to the river Ebro, and at that time the richest city in that country. When Asdrubal perceived this, in order to succour his allies, he advanced to attack a city, which had lately declared for the Romans. By this means the Romans quitted the siege after it was begun, and marched against Asdrubal himself.

CHAP. XXIX.—THE two armies lay encamped at five miles distance from each other for some days, and fought some skirmishes without coming to a general action. At length, on the same day, as if by concert, both gave the signal of battle, and marched down into the plain with all their forces. The Romans were marshalled in three lines. Part of the light-armed troops were posted amongst those in the front line, and part in the rear. The cavalry covered the wings. The Spaniards made Asdrubal's main body. In the right wing he posted the Carthaginians; and the Africans on the left. As to the auxiliary cavalry, the Numidians were posted with the Carthaginian foot, and the rest with the Africans. All the Numidians were not posted on the right, only those who, like vaulters leading two horses, were accustomed, in the heat of the action, to leap in their armour from the tired to the fresh; so great was their agility, and so docile were their horses in observing their motions.—While they stood thus formed in battalia, the generals on both sides had different motives to hope for victory. Their troops were pretty equal both in number and quality; but their courage and sentiments were very different: for though the Romans were making war far from their own country, yet their generals had easily persuaded them, that they fought for Italy and Rome itself. Convinced, therefore, that their return home depended on

the issue of this battle, they fought obstinately, determined to conquer or die. The other army was composed of men who were not so resolute. They were mostly Spaniards, who chose rather to be defeated in Spain, than to conquer in order to be dragged into Italy. Accordingly, at the first charge, and almost before a dart was thrown, their main body gave way, and, upon the Romans pressing furiously after them, fled. However, the wings did not fight with less ardour. The Carthaginians on one, the Africans on the other, charged briskly, and kept the enemy, as it were, close environed. But as soon as the Roman main body had advanced into the middle, it was sufficiently able to break the enemy's wings. Thus there were two separate battles, in both which the Romans, after beating the enemy's main body, were much superior both in numbers and strength. Much blood was shed; and had not the Spaniards fled precipitately while the other troops were engaged, but very few of the whole army had survived. The cavalry did not engage at all: for the Moors and Numidians no sooner saw the centre give way, than they fled, and by driving the elephants before them, left the wings exposed. Asdrubal stayed to the last of the battle, and then escaped from the midst of the slaughter with a small number of men. The Romans took and rifled the Carthaginian camp. The success of this battle confirmed such of the Spanish states as wavered in the interests of Rome; and deprived Asdrubal of all hopes, not only of carrying his troops into Italy, but even of remaining with safety in Spain. When Scipio's letters made this success known at Rome, it occasioned great joy, not because they had obtained a victory, but because Asdrubal had been prevented from passing into Italy.

CHAP. XXX.—DURING these transactions in Spain, Petelia, in Bruttium, was taken by Himilco, Hannibal's lieutenant, some months after it had been invested. This victory cost the Carthaginians much blood and many wounds. And the besieged were reduced by famine, and not by force: for after all their provisions of corn were consumed, and all the cattle whose flesh is

commonly eaten, they lived at last upon skins of boars, herbs, roots, tender barks of trees, and brambles, which they gathered. Neither were they taken while they had strength to stand on the walls and wield their weapons. The Carthaginian, after having reduced Petelia, marched to Consentia,* which, not being so stoutly defended, was surrendered to him within a few days. About the same time an army of Bruttians invested Croton, a city on the Greek coast. Formerly it had abounded in wealth and inhabitants, but lately had met with so many and great disasters, that there were not 20,000 inhabitants of all ages in it. Accordingly, as there were none to defend it, the enemy made themselves masters of it without any difficulty. But the castle, into which several had escaped from the slaughter, by advantage of the confusion at taking the town, held out. The people of Locris also revolted to the Bruttians and Carthaginians. The commons in it were betrayed by the principal men. The inhabitants of Rhegium were the only people of that country that maintained their fidelity to the Romans and their own liberty to the last. The disposition to revolt reached Sicily, and even all Hiero's family did not escape the infection. Gelo, his eldest son, despising his father's old age, and the Roman alliance, after the defeat at Cannæ, revolted to the Carthaginians. And Sicily had certainly risen in arms, if, while he was arming the multitude, and soliciting the allies, he had not been carried off by a death so seasonable, that even his father was calumniated as author of it. These were the successes on both sides, in Italy, Africa, Sicily, and Spain, during this year. In the end of the year Q. Fabius Maximus demanded leave of the senate to dedicate the temple he had vowed to Venus Erycina in his dictatorship. The senate resolved, that T. Sempronius, the consul elect, should move the commons, as soon as he entered upon office, to appoint Q. Fabius duumvir, in order to dedicate the temple. The three sons of M. Æmilius Lepidus, who had been twice consul and augur, Lucius, Marcus, and Quintus, celebrated in

* Cosenza, in Hither Calabria.

the forum funeral games for three days, and a combat of twenty-two gladiators of a side, in honour of their father. The curule ædiles, C. Lætorius, and the consul elect, who had been general of horse during his ædileship, exhibited the Roman games, which were continued three days. The plebeian games were performed during the like number of days, by their ædiles, M. Aurelius Cotta and M. Claudius Marcellus. When the third year of the Punic war was passed, the consul Sempronius entered upon his office on the fifteenth of March. The jurisdiction of the city fell by lot to Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who had been consul and censor before; and that of strangers to M. Valerius Lævinus. Appius Claudius Pulcher got Sicily, and Q. Mucius Scævola, Sardinia, by lot. The people ordained that M. Marcellus should be continued in command in quality of pro-consul, because he was the only Roman general who had defeated Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ.

CHAP. XXXI.—THE first day the senate assembled in the capitol to deliberate on public affairs, they resolved, that a double tax should be raised that year, the half whereof should be immediately levied, to discharge the arrears of all the troops, except those that had fled at Cannæ. As to the armies, they came to the following resolutions.—The consul Sempronius was to appoint two city legions, to rendezvous at Cale, against a fixed day. From thence six legions were to march to Marcellus's camp above Suessula. The legions, that were there, and which were principally those that had been at Cannæ, Appius Claudius was to transport into Sicily, and send back the troops in that province to Rome. The day was fixed for the rendezvous at Cale, and Marcellus was sent to march the city legions to his own camp. Appius Claudius detached his lieutenant T. Metelius Croto to receive Marcellus's old legions, and transport them into Sicily. Every body, without muttering, expected, that the consul would assemble the comitia to elect a colleague. But when they saw Marcellus, whom they earnestly desired to have consul that year, for his success when prætor, purposely sent out of the way, a great

murmur arose in the senate. When the consul perceived this, he said,—“ Every thing, conscript fathers, has “ been done for the good of the republic. M. Claudius “ was obliged to go to Campania to exchange armies, “ and I have not appointed the comitia till he return, “ after having executed his commision; that you might “ have such a consul as the exigencies of the state re- “ quire, and you yourselves approve.” Accordingly no farther mention was made of the comitia till Marcellus returned. In the interim Q. Fabius Maximus and T. Otacilius Crassus were appointed duumvirs to dedicate temples. The latter dedicated one to Good Counsel, and the former one to Venus Erycina. They both stood in the capitol, and were separated with the same channel. A bill was brought before the people for naturalizing the three hundred Campanian knights who had come to Rome, after having faithfully done their duty in Sicily; and likewise that they should be made denizens of Cumæ from the day that the Capuans had revolted from the Romans. The principal motive for bringing in this bill, was, that these men insisted they did not know to whom they belonged; for they had left their native country, and were not yet incorporated with the people of that to which they were returned. As soon as Marcellus returned from the army, the comitia was fixed for the election of a consul in room of L. Posthumius. Marcellus was unanimously chosen, and would immediately have entered upon his office; but as a clap of thunder was heard the moment he was about it, the augurs were consulted, who declared they thought his election defective. The senators spread a report, that the gods were not pleased to have two plebeian consuls, which had never happened before. When he abdicated, Fabius Maximus was elected in his room. This was his third consulate. The sea appeared on fire that year. At Sinuessa a cow brought forth a mule. In the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium, the statues sweated blood; and it rained stones round that temple. A sacrifice for nine days, as customary in like cases, was performed on account of this shower, and the other prodigies were carefully expiated.

CHAP. XXXII.—THE consuls divided the troops betwixt them. Fabius got the army which Junius the dictator had commanded. Sempronius had the Volones and 25,000 allies. The legions that had returned from Sicily were assigned to M. Valerius the prætor. The pro-consul M. Marcellus was sent to the army that lay above Suessula to guard Nola. The prætors for Sicily and Sardinia set out for their respective provinces. The consuls issued a proclamation, that as often as the senate should be summoned, such senators who had a right to give their opinion on the state of affairs in the senate, should assemble at the gate Capena. The prætors, who were judges in civil causes, erected their tribunals in the open fish-market. Thither they ordered all writs to be returned; and during that year they heard all causes there. In the meantime, when Mago, Hannibal's brother, was on the point of setting out for Italy, with 12,000 foot and 1500 horse, 20 elephants, and a thousand talents of silver,* under convoy of 60 men of war, the news arrived at Carthage that their army had been defeated in Spain, and that most of the cantons of that nation had revolted to the Romans. Some declared for Mago's laying aside all thoughts of Italy, and going to Spain with that fleet and those forces. But a sudden incident flattered them with the hopes of recovering Sardinia. "The Romans had only few troops there; the old prætor, A. Cornelius, who was well acquainted with the province, was going away, and a new one expected. Besides, the Sardinians were weary of the Roman yoke, which the preceding year had laid very heavy and severe upon them: they had been oppressed with a heavy tax, and an unjust contribution of corn. In short, they wanted nothing but a leader to make them revolt." The principal men in the island sent this message privately; but the chief abettor of the scheme was Hampsicora, by far the most powerful and wealthy man in it. Being perplexed and elated with these different advices at the same time, they sent Mago with the fleet and troops into Spain. They pitch-

* £150,000 sterling.

ed upon Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus, to go general into Sardinia, and assigned him near as many troops as Mago had. At Rome, the consuls having finished all their business in the city, began to think of taking the field. Sempronius fixed a day for his troops to rendezvous at Sinuessa. Q. Fabius, having first obtained an act of senate for the purpose, ordered all the corn out of the country into the fortified towns before the first of June, declaring, "he would ravage his lands, sell his slaves, and burn his farm-houses, who should disobey." Even the prætors who had been chosen for the administration of justice were not exempted from military service. Valerius was ordered into Apulia to receive the army from Varro. When the legions should arrive from Sicily he was to employ them for the defence of that country, and send Terentius's army to Sicily, under command of some lieutenant-general. He had likewise a fleet of 25 sail assigned him to protect the sea-coast between Brundisium and Tarentum. An equal number of ships had the city prætor, Q. Fulvius, to cover the coast near Rome. The pro-consul Varro was ordered to levy troops in the territories of Picenum, with which he was to guard that country. T. Otacilius, after having dedicated a temple in the capitol to Good Counsel, was sent to Sicily to command the fleet there.

CHAP. XXXIII.—ALL the kings and nations had their attention fixed on this contest between the two most powerful states in the world. In particular, Philip, king of Macedon, had his eye upon it, as he was a nearer neighbour to Italy, from which he was only separated by the Ionian sea. When he first received advice that Hannibal had passed the Alps, he was rejoiced that a war had broke out between the Romans and Carthaginians. While their strength seemed equal, his inclinations fluctuated, and he knew not for which of the two to wish victory might declare. But after hearing that the Carthaginians had got the victory in three successive battles, he declared for the fortunate side, and sent ambassadors to Hannibal. These deputies, avoiding the ports

of Brundisium and Tarentum, because Roman ships were stationed to guard them, landed at the temple of Juno Lacinia.* From thence, crossing Apulia, they took the route of Capua, fell into the middle of the Romans who guarded that country, and were carried before the prætor Valerius, who was then encamped at Luceria. There Xenophanes, chief of the embassy, without being confounded, said, that he was sent to the consuls, senate, and people of Rome, from King Philip, with instructions to treat of an alliance. Valerius, overjoyed at the thoughts of a new alliance with so famous a prince, at a time when the republic was abandoned by its ancient allies, received those enemies as friends. He sent guides with them carefully to point out the safest way, and what posts were possessed by the Romans, what by the Carthaginians. Xenophanes having passed through the Roman guards into Campania, went from thence the nearest way to Hannibal's camp, with whom he made peace on the following terms.—“That King Philip
 “ should make a descent on Italy with as great a fleet as
 “ he could, (it was supposed to be about 200 ships,) ra-
 “ vage the sea-coast, and on his side prosecute the war
 “ both by sea and land. When the war was terminated,
 “ all Italy, Rome itself, and the whole spoil, should be
 “ ceded to the Carthaginians and to Hannibal. When
 “ Italy was thus totally subdued, they should carry
 “ their arms into Greece, and make war upon such as
 “ Philip should think proper. All the cities on the
 “ continent and the islands bordering upon Macedonia
 “ should be annexed to Philip's dominions.”

CHAP. XXXIV.—THESE were very near the conditions upon which a treaty was concluded between the Punic general and the Macedonian ambassadors. Gisgo, Bostar, and Mago, were sent to see the king ratify it in person. They repaired to the same temple of Juno Lacinia, where their vessel lay concealed in the road. Here they embarked; and when got out to sea were descried by the Roman fleet which guarded the coasts

* At a promontory in Calabria.

of Calabria. P. Val. Flaccus made the signal for some frigates to chase and bring back their ship. The ambassadors at first attempted to escape; but perceiving the pursuers came fast up, they struck. When they were brought before the admiral, he asked them who they were, and whence they came? Xenophanes, whose lie had once already succeeded, replied at first that he had been sent by King Philip as ambassador to the Romans; that he had gone to M. Valerius, because he could go no where else in safety. He could not cross Campania, because it was closely guarded by enemies. The Carthaginian habit and language made the prætor suspect Hannibal's ambassadors when they were examined.—Then their companions being removed, and they intimidated with fear of punishment, they discovered Hannibal's letters to Philip, and the articles of peace between the Macedonian prince and Carthaginian general. When the prætor had got sufficient information, he thought it best, with all expedition, to send the prisoners and their train to the senate at Rome, or to the consuls wherever they should be. For this purpose he detached five frigates under command of L. Valerius Antias: he ordered him to separate the ambassadors, by putting them on board different ships, and to take care that they had no opportunity of conversing or consulting together. About the same time, A. Cornelius Mammula, who had returned from his province of Sardinia, made a report at Rome of the state of the affairs of that island. Every body expected a war and general revolt. His successor Mucius, by the gross and moist air of the climate, had been taken ill on his arrival. His distemper was more lingering than dangerous, and would render him for a long time incapable of undergoing the fatigue of the war. Though the army in the island was sufficiently strong to overawe a subjected people, yet it was not able to sustain the war which was likely to break out. The fathers, therefore, ordered Q. Fulvius Flaccus to levy 5000 foot and 400 horse, and to transport that legion, with all expedition, into Sardinia, under such a general as he should choose to command there till Mucius should recover. T. Manlius Torquatus, who had been

twice consul and censor, and had subdued the Sardinians during his consulate, was sent on this expedition. About the same time the fleet sent from Carthage for Sardinia, under the command of Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus, meeting with a terrible storm, was driven to the Balearean islands. Not only their rigging, but the hulls of their vessels, were so damaged, that they were obliged to be heaved down to be repaired. Thus they lost a great deal of time.

CHAP. XXXV.—IN Italy the war had not been vigorously prosecuted after the battle of Cannæ, which had much reduced the strength of the Romans, while the pleasures of Capua enervated the Carthaginians.—But the Campanians undertook of themselves to subject the state of Cumæ. At first they solicited them to revolt from the Romans; but as that method did not succeed, they laid a stratagem to circumvent them. All the Campanians used to meet at an annual sacrifice at Hamæ.* They informed the Cumans that the senate of Capua would be there, and begged their senate might come to deliberate all together, who they would reckon as allies and who as enemies. They would have an army there to preserve them against any danger either from the Romans or Carthaginians. The Cumans suspected some treachery, but accepted the invitation, thinking by that means they would be best enabled to discover the cheat. In the meantime, Sempronius, the Roman consul, having reviewed his army on the day which he had fixed for their rendezvousing at Sinuessæ, passed the Vulturnus and encamped at Liternum.† Because his troops were idle in this camp, he obliged them often to file off under arms, in order to accustom them who were new raised, and that had entered voluntarily, to follow their colours, and know their ranks in battle. These exercises were the chief of the general's study then, and he ordered the lieutenant-generals and legionary tribunes

* Near Capua, and the present forest of Di Hami.

† At the mouth of a river of the same name, where now stands an ancient tower called Torre di Patria.

to take care, "that no quarrels should arise among the
"troops about preference by scornful reflections on any
"one's former condition: that the old soldiers should
"suffer the recruits to be on a level with them, and the
"men of free condition to do the same by the volunteer
"slaves. Every one should be esteemed honourable
"and well descended, to whom the Roman people had
"confided her arms and ensigns. The same pressing
"circumstances which had obliged them to have re-
"course to these methods, ought to induce them to sup-
"port them." The generals were not more careful
about giving these orders than the soldiers were in ob-
serving them; and in a short time there subsisted so
cordial an harmony and affection among them, that the
condition from which each was taken to be a soldier was
quite forgot. While Sempronius was thus employed,
deputies from Cumæ informed him of the message which
had been sent them a few days before from the Cam-
panians, and the reply they had made. The festival was
to begin in three days, and not only all the senate but the
army of Campania would be present. The consul or-
dered the Cumans to convey all their effects from their
farms into the city, and to keep within their walls. The
day before the festival began he advanced to Cumæ,
from whence Hamæ was three miles distant. The Cam-
panians by concert were already assembled there in great
numbers. Not far from the place, Marius Alfius Me-
dextuticus, the Campanian dictator, was privately en-
camped with 14,000 men. He was more busily em-
ployed in laying his treacherous scheme, than in prepar-
ing for the sacrifice, fortifying his camp, or any other
military operation. The festival was to last three days
at Hamæ. It began in the evening and ended at mid-
night. The consul, thinking it a good opportunity to
surprise them, posted guards at the gates to prevent any
one's going out to give intelligence of his design. He
assembled his soldiers, ordered them to dine at three
o'clock, and then go to sleep, that they might rendez-
vous at the signal in the evening. About the first watch
he ordered the colours to move; and marching away in
a profound silence, arrived about midnight at Hamæ.

He found the Campanian camp without guards, and attacked all the gates of the town at once. Some he killed lying fast asleep, and others as they were returning without their arms from the festival which was breaking up. In this nocturnal skirmish 2000 of the enemy were killed, with M. Alfius their general, and thirty-four military ensigns taken.

CHAP. XXXVI.—GRACCHUS, having made himself master of the enemy's camp, with the loss of fewer than a hundred men, retired with expedition to Cumæ for fear of Hannibal, who lay encamped at Tifata above Capua. He judged right in being thus provident: for as soon as the news of this defeat arrived at Capua, the Carthaginian, imagining that he would find the Roman army, which consisted for most part of raw soldiers and slaves, insolent after their victory, busy rifling the dead, and carrying off the booty from Hamæ, marched with great expedition by Capua. Thither he sent an escort with such of the Campanian fugitives as he met on the road, and ordered the wounded to be carried in waggon. He found no enemy in the camp at Hamæ, and saw nothing but the traces of the late slaughter, and the dead bodies of his allies stretched on the ground. Some advised him to march directly thence, and besiege Cumæ. Though Hannibal, since he could not take Naples, was extremely desirous at least to get possession of Cumæ, a maritime city; yet as his soldiers in their hurry had brought nothing but their arms with them, he retired to his camp at Tifata. But, at the importunate solicitations of the Campanians, he returned next day with all the apparatus for besieging it. Having ravaged all its lands, he encamped within a mile of the town. Sempronius remained in it, rather through shame of abandoning, in such a pressing conjuncture, allies, who implored his protection and that of the Roman people, than from any confidence he had in his troops. The other consul, Fabius, who was encamped at Cale, durst not pass the Vulturnus. He was occupied first in repeating the auspices, and then with prodigies, which were reported on the back of one another. When he

was engaged in expiating them, the haruspices told him it would be a difficult matter to appease the gods.

CHAP. XXXVII.—WHILE Fabius was detained in this manner, Sempronius was invested, and the machines applied to the walls. Against a huge wooden tower, with which the enemy approached the wall, the consul raised another somewhat higher than it, even by the height of the wall. As the wall was high enough, he drove great piles into it to support the tower, and made it serve the same purposes as the even ground. The besieged at first defended their walls and city with stones, barbed spears, and other missile weapons; but when they saw the tower brought close up to the wall, they threw burning torches and plenty of combustible stuff into it. This fire terrified the enemy, and made them abandon the tower with precipitation. Upon this the besieged, sallying out at two gates at once, drove the enemy from their posts, and pursued them to their camp; so that the Carthaginian seemed that day to be besieged, rather than besieging the Romans. One thousand three hundred of his men were killed, and 59 taken prisoners, who were surprised standing carelessly on their posts round the walls, and expecting nothing less than a sally. Before the enemy could recover from their consternation, Sempronius sounded a retreat, and drew his men within the walls. Next day Hannibal flattering himself that the consul, flushed with the advantage he had obtained, would give him battle, drew up his army between his camp and the city. But seeing he did not stir from defending the walls, and would hazard nothing rashly, he returned to Tifata, disappointed of his aim. About the time the siege of Cumæ was raised, T. Sempronius, surnamed Longus, defeated Hanno, a Carthaginian, at Grumentum* in Lucania. He killed above 2000 of the enemy, and lost only 280 of his own men. He took 41 military ensigns. On this defeat Hanno retired into Bruttium. The prætor, M. Valerius, also recovered by force three cities of the Hir-

* Agrometo, above Tursi, in the Basilicate.

pini, which had revolted from the Romans. He beheaded Vercellius and Sicilius, the authors of the revolt, sold above 1000 prisoners, abandoned the rest of the plunder to the troops, and marched back to Luceria.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—DURING these successes in Lucania and Hirpinum, the five frigates, which carried to Rome the Carthaginian and Macedonian ambassadors, that had been taken prisoners, coasted almost all Italy from the Adriatic gulf to the Tuscan sea. As they were sailing by Cumæ, Gracchus, who did not know whether they belonged to friends or enemies, detached some vessels to meet them. The questions that passed betwixt them discovering who they were, and that the consul was at Cumæ, the frigates landed there, and carried their prisoners and letters to the consul. After having read those of Philip and Hannibal, he sealed them again, and sent them all by land to the senate. The prisoners he ordered to be carried by sea. The letters and ambassadors arrived at Rome almost at the same time. When, upon examination, the prisoners answers agreed with the contents of the letters, the fathers were extremely perplexed to find, that when they were scarce able to make head against Hannibal, they were upon the point of having a formidable war with Philip. Yet they were so far from sinking under their calamities, that they began immediately to deliberate, how to keep that enemy out of Italy by carrying the war into his own country. They ordered the ambassadors to be imprisoned, and their retinue to be sold by auction. Then they voted a reinforcement of twenty galleys to be fitted out to join the twenty-five under their admiral P. Valerius Flaccus. These being equipped and manned, and joined by the five frigates that had brought the prisoners, a fleet of fifty sail sailed from Ostia to Tarentum. M. Valerius had orders to embark the troops, which had formerly served under Varro, but were now commanded by the lieutenant-general, L. Apustius, in Tarentum, and with this fleet of fifty men of war, not only to defend the coasts of Italy, but also to make inquiry concerning the Macedonian war. If he found Philip's mo-

tions correspond with the letters and informations of the prisoners, he should immediately write to the prætor M. Valerius, that he, leaving the command of the troops to Apustius, should repair to the fleet at Tarentum, and sail to Macedon directly, using his utmost efforts to keep Philip in his own kingdom. The money that had been sent to Appius Claudius in Sicily, to pay off a loan of King Hiero's, was appointed for the subsistence of the fleet, and for supporting the Macedonian war. The lieutenant-general, L. Apustius, sent it to Tarentum. At the same time Hiero sent them 200,000 bushels of wheat and 100,000 of barley.

CHAP. XXXIX.—DURING these preparations and transactions at home, Philip's ship, which had been taken and sent to Rome, made her escape. By this means he was informed of his ambassadors being seized with their letters. But being quite ignorant of the treaty which Hannibal had made with his ambassadors, and of the answer they were bringing back, he sent a second embassy with the same instructions. The ambassadors sent to the Carthaginian were Heraclitus, surnamed Scotinus, Crito Beroeæus, and Sositheus Magnes. They executed their commission with safety. But the summer was passed before the king could move or undertake any thing; of such consequence was the taking of one ship with the ambassadors, in deferring a war, with which the Romans were immediately threatened. Fabius, having made expiation for the prodigies, at length passed the Vulturnus, and both consuls acted in conjunction about Capua. Fabius took by storm *Compulteria*,* *Trebula*, and *Saticula*, which had revolted to the Carthaginians. In them many of Hannibal's garrisons, and of the Campanians, were taken prisoners. Affairs of Nola were in the same situation as the year before: Its senators were in the Roman interest, and its commonalty in that of Hannibal. The latter were secretly plotting to massacre the principal men, and betray the city. To frustrate their design, Fabius marched between Capua

* In the west of Campania, near *Sancta Maria de Covultere*.

and the Carthaginian camp, which was on mount Tifata, to the camp of the pro-consul Marcellus, above Vesuvius, and detached him, with the troops under his command, to garrison Nola.

CHAP. XL.—THE operations of the campaign in Sardinia, which, by the prætor Q. Mucius being seized with a violent illness, had been laid aside, were now also prosecuted by the prætor T. Manlius. Having laid up his fleet in the port of Carales,* armed the sailors, that he might act by land, and received the prætor's troops, he formed an army of 22,000 foot and 1200 horse. With these he marched into the enemy's country, and encamped near Hampsicoras's intrenchments, who was by chance then gone to arm the Pellitan† youth to reinforce his army. His son, Hiostus, commanded the camp. He was an impetuous youth, and having rashly engaged the Romans, was routed and put to flight. About 3000 Sardinians were killed and 300 taken prisoners in that battle. The rest of the army, at first, dispersed in their flight through the fields and forests; but hearing whither their general had fled, they retreated to the city of Cornus,‡ the capital of that country. That battle had terminated the war in Sardinia, if the Punic fleet, commanded by Asdrubal, which had been driven by a storm to the Balearean islands, had not arrived in time to revive the spirit of rebellion. Upon advice that it was arrived, Manlius retired to Carales. Hampsicoras took that opportunity to join the Carthaginian. Asdrubal, having landed his troops, sent back his fleet to Carthage. Then going, with Hampsicoras to conduct him, to pillage the lands belonging to those who were friends to the Romans, he had advanced as far as Carales, if Manlius had not met with his army, and restrained him from spreading his ravages so far. At first they encamped very near each other, and then made excursions

* Cagliari.

† A people of that island, so called from wearing coats made of skins.

‡ Corneto.

and fought several skirmishes with alternate success. At last they came to a general battle, which lasted four hours. The Sardinians, being accustomed to be defeated, made no great resistance ; but the Carthaginians disputed the victory long. At length, seeing the Sardinians slaughtered and flying on all quarters, they gave way. That wing of the Romans which had driven the Sardinians out of the field, wheeled, and surrounded them as they turned their backs. It was then a carnage rather than a battle ; 12,000 of the enemy were slain, nearly 3600 Sardinians and Carthaginians made prisoners, and 27 ensigns taken.

CHAP. XLI.—THE taking the general Asdrubal, Hanno, and Mago, men of the first quality in Carthage, prisoners, rendered this battle more glorious and memorable. Mago was of the Barcinian family, and a near relation of Hannibal. Hanno was the author of the revolt of the Sardinians, and without doubt he had stirred up the war. The fall of the Sardinian generals likewise enhanced the glory of this victory. Hiostus, son of Hampsicoras, was killed in the battle. Hampsicoras, who had fled with a few horse, no sooner heard of his son's death, which added greatly to his misfortunes, than he killed himself in the night, to prevent his designs being frustrated. Cornus served as a retreat for the rest as it had done before. Manlius invested it with his victorious troops, and took it in a few days. Then the cities which had revolted to Hampsicoras and the Carthaginians sent hostages and surrendered to the conqueror. After having exacted money and corn from each of them, according to their ability or their crime, he retired with his troops to Carales. There he launched his vessels, embarked the troops he had brought with him, and set sail for Rome. Having informed the senate of the reduction of Sardinia, he delivered the money he had levied to the quæstors, the corn to the ædiles, and the prisoners to the prætor Fulvius. At the same time the prætor Otacilius, having sailed from Lilybæum into Africa with a fleet of 50 sail, ravaged the Carthaginian territories. As he was from thence steering his course for

Sardinia, whither it was reported Asdrubal had gone from the Baleares, he fell in with his fleet returning to Africa, and, after a slight engagement in the open sea, took seven ships with their crews. Fear, like a storm, dispersed the rest. About the same time Bomilcar arrived from Carthage at Locris, with a recruit of soldiers, forty elephants, and provisions. In order to surprise him, Ap. Claudius, under pretence of visiting the province, marched with expedition to Messina, and with the next tide sailed over to Locri: but Bomilcar had already set out to join Hannibal in the country of the Bruttii. Thus, after much trouble, Claudius returned to Messina, having missed his aim. During the same campaign Marcellus made many incursions from Nola, which he garrisoned upon the lands of the Hirpini and the Samnites of Caudium. He put all to fire and sword in such a manner, that it revived in the Samnites the memory of their former losses.

CHAP. XLII.—FOR this reason both nations at once sent ambassadors immediately to Hannibal. They addressed him thus.—“ Formerly, Hannibal, we, by ourselves, were enemies to the Romans, as long as we had arms or strength to defend us: but when we could no longer trust to them, we had recourse to King Pyrrhus. When he abandoned us, we were obliged to accept terms of peace, which we observed almost fifty years, till such time as you arrived in Italy. Your valour and fortune did not more conciliate us to you, than your unparalleled kindness and generosity towards our countrymen whom you sent back to us after you had taken them prisoners. So that we believed, as long as you was safe, and our friend, we had nothing to fear, not only from the Romans, but (were it lawful so to speak) from the incensed gods themselves. But, O gods, while you are not only safe and victorious, but so near to us, that you can hear almost the lamentable cries of our wives and children, and see the burning of our houses; our country this summer has been ravaged in such a manner, that it seemed Marcellus, not Hannibal, gained

“ the battle of Cannæ. Nay, the Romans boast, that
“ you are good at the first push, but when that is over,
“ grow faint and languid. We sustained a war against
“ the Romans near a hundred years, without the aid of
“ foreign generals or troops, except that, during the
“ space of two years, Pyrrhus reinforced his army with
“ our troops, rather than defended us with his own.
“ But we will not boast of our conquests; how we made
“ two consuls, and two consular armies, pass under the
“ yoke, and of many other victories, which furnished
“ us subject of joy and triumph. As to the defeats and
“ misfortunes we met with at that time, we can repeat
“ them with far less indignation than we can our present
“ calamities. Then invincible dictators, with their
“ generals of horse, two consuls, with two consular armies,
“ after having searched the country, and posted
“ guards in proper places, entered our territories, and
“ advanced to ravage them. Now we are the prey of
“ one army, nay, of a petty garrison, scarce sufficient
“ to defend Nola. Now they over-run our whole country,
“ not in large bodies, but like robbers, and in as much
“ security as if they were straggling in the fields about
“ Rome. This is entirely owing to your not defending
“ us, and to our youth serving in your army, who, if
“ they were at home, could protect us. We know no
“ more of you and your army, except that you have
“ routed and cut off so many Romans in battle. And
“ ought we not to expect that such conquerors might
“ easily suppress these ravagers of our country, dispersed
“ and straggling up and down without colours, in hopes
“ of booty they can never get? They will be an easy
“ prey to a few Numidians. Send us a garrison, and
“ it will soon dislodge that at Nola, provided you don't
“ think us unworthy of your protection, whom you
“ have not thought unworthy of your alliance.”

CHAP. XLIII.—To this speech Hannibal replied.—
“ You, Hirpini and Samnites, have huddled every thing
“ together in your speech. You have pointed out your
“ misfortunes, demanded a garrison, and complained of
“ being neglected, and not being protected. Whereas,

“ you should first have laid your grievances before me,
“ then demanded a garrison ; and, if that had been re-
“ fused, at last have complained of having implored our
“ help in vain. I will bring my army, not into your
“ country, for fear of being a burden to it, but into
“ that of the Roman allies lying next to it. By ravag-
“ ing them, I will not only enrich my troops with plun-
“ der, but make the enemy, through fear, remove to a
“ great distance from you. As to the war with the
“ Romans, as the battle of Thrasymen was more glori-
“ ous than that of Trebia, and that of Cannæ than that
“ of Thrasymen, so I will make the victory of Cannæ
“ be eclipsed and forgot by one more bloody and me-
“ morable.” With this answer, and large presents, he
dismissed the ambassadors. Then leaving a small gar-
rison in his camp at Tifata, he advanced with the rest
of his army to Nola. Thither also came Hanno, from
Bruttium, with the recruits and elephants he had
brought from Carthage. Having encamped near the
city, the Carthaginian, upon strict scrutiny into every
thing, found that the ambassadors had represented mat-
ters quite otherwise than they really were : for Mar-
cellus acted so cautiously, that it could not be said he
risked any thing imprudently, or rashly exposed himself
to the attacks of the enemy. He never went a-ravag-
ing till he had first searched the country, and posted
supports in proper places, to cover his retreat. Nay, he
acted in all respects with the same precaution, as if he
had been to engage Hannibal in person. As soon as
he received advice of the enemy’s approach, he kept
close within the walls, ordering the Nolan senators to
patrol on them, in order to observe the enemy’s motions.
Hanno, having come up to the place, and descried He-
rennius Bassus and Herius Petrius among them, invited
them to a conference, to which they went with Marcellus’s
permission. He spoke to them by an interpreter. Af-
ter he had extolled the valour and success of Hannibal,
he vilified the majesty of the Roman people, which was
sunk together with their strength. “ Supposing,” said
he, “ that our strength was equal, as it was formerly,
“ yet since they had found by experience how intoler-

“ able the Roman government was, and how indulgent
“ Hannibal was, even to the prisoners belonging to the
“ people of Italy in general, they would certainly pre-
“ fer an alliance with the latter to one with the former.
“ If both consuls were at Nola with their armies, yet
“ they would no more be a match for Hannibal, than
“ they had been at Cannæ, much less would a single
“ prætor, with a handful of raw troops, be able to de-
“ fend Nola. It was their interest rather than Hanni-
“ bal’s to consider whether he should become master
“ of Nola by force or surrendry; for he would cer-
“ tainly gain it either as he had done Capua or Nuceria.
“ They, who were situated between both, must be
“ sensible of their different fates. He would not pre-
“ sage the same misfortunes to light on Nola as usual-
“ ly befel cities taken by storm; but he would engage,
“ that in case they should deliver up Marcellus, his
“ garrison, and the town, they themselves, and none
“ other, should draw up the articles on which they
“ would make an alliance with Hannibal.”

CHAP. XLIV.—To this Herennius Bassus replied,
“ That their alliance with the Romans had subsisted for
“ many years without either of them repenting. It was
“ now too late to change, suppose their fidelity was to
“ alter with fortune. If they had inclined to surrender
“ to Hannibal, they would not have called in a Roman
“ garrison. But now they would share fortunes with,
“ and stand to the last, firmly attached to those who
“ had come to protect them.” This conference made
Hannibal despair of having Nola surrendered to him.
Therefore he invested it quite round, that he might at-
tack it on all quarters at once. When Marcellus saw
him approach the walls, he made a vigorous sally with
his troops, which he had purposely drawn up in order
within the gate. At the first charge the Carthaginians
were put into disorder, and some of them killed. But
their troops that were engaged being instantly support-
ed, there began a furious battle. Few actions had been
more memorable, if a violent storm, with heavy rains,
had not separated the combatants. The skirmish on

this day only served to irritate their minds, when they both retired, the Romans into the town, and the Carthaginians to their camp. In this first sally, about thirty Carthaginians were killed, but not one Roman. The rain continued all that night, and till nine o'clock the following day. By this means, though both sides ardently desired to come to blows, they kept within their posts for that day. On the third the Carthaginian detached a party to ravage the Nolan lands. As soon as Marcellus perceived this, he marched out with his army in battalia. Hannibal did not decline fighting. It was about a mile between the town and his camp. In this space, which was part of a plain, that quite surrounded the city, they engaged. Both sides raised a shout, which made the nearest of the detachment, that had been sent to forage, rejoin their army after the battle was begun. The inhabitants of Nola would have joined the Romans; but Marcellus, after applauding their zeal, ordered them to be posted as a body of reserve, and to carry the wounded out of the battle, without engaging, unless he gave them a signal.

CHAP. XLV.—VICTORY was long disputed. Each general animated his men with warm speeches, and the soldiers fought with the utmost vigour. Marcellus ordered his troops to press hard on men whom they had defeated three days before, that had been lately driven from before Cumæ, and whom he himself had defeated before Nola the preceding year, though with another army.—“They are not,” said he, “all in the battle, but many dispersed ravaging the country. Those who fight are enervated by the pleasures of Capua, by wine, whores, and all manner of debaucheries, in which they had been plunged during the whole winter. They had lost that strength, that vigour, those stout bodies, and intrepid hearts, which had enabled them to surmount all the difficulties of passing the Pyrenees and Alps. They were only the remains of these men; and were so feeble, that they could scarce sustain the weight of their bodies and arms. Capua had been to the Carthaginians what Cannæ was to the Romans.

“ Here they had lost all their valour in war, their military discipline, the reputation they had acquired formerly, and all hopes they had conceived of gaining more.” While Marcellus, to animate his men, depreciated the enemy, Hannibal reproached them in a heavier manner.—“ I know,” said he, “ those to be the same arms, the same colours, that I saw and had at Trebia, Thrasymen, and at last at Cannæ. Yet sure I have brought out of Capua with me an army very different from that I put into winter quarters there. How! are you, before whom two consular armies could not stand, scarce able to sustain the charge of a single and small body commanded by a Roman lieutenant-general? Shall Marcellus, with new-levied troops, with the garrison of Nola, attack us a second time with impunity! What has become of that brave soldier who cut off the consul Flaminius’s head, after having dismounted him? Where is he who killed L. Paullus at Cannæ? Are your swords now blunted? Are your right hands benumbed? Or, what else, in the name of wonder, has befallen you? You used to defeat armies more numerous than yourselves; now, when you exceed in numbers, you can scarce withstand a handful. Valiant only with your tongues, you made your bravadoes, that you would take Rome, if any general would lead you to it. Your present enterprise is less difficult. I would have you give proof of your courage and strength, by taking Nola, a town situated in a plain, and defended neither by a river nor the sea. When you are loaded with the plunder and spoils of this wealthy city, I will either lead or follow you whithersoever you please.”

CHAP. XLVI.—NEITHER his exhortations nor reproaches could inspire them with courage. They were pushed on all sides, while not only the courage of the Romans was increased by the exhortations of their general, but even their ardour, by the Nolans, who shouted in token of their good wishes. The Carthaginians fled, and were pursued to their camp. But when the Romans expressed an ardent desire to attack it, Marcellus

marched them back to Nola, where the populace, who before had more inclined to the Carthaginians, received them with great rejoicings and gratulations. That day upwards of 5000 of the enemy were killed, 600 prisoners, nineteen colours, and two elephants, taken. Four elephants were slain in the field. The Romans did not lose 1000 men. By a tacit truce, both sides employed the next day in burying their dead. Marcellus burnt the spoils, which he had vowed to Vulcan. On the third day, 1272 Spanish and Numidian horse, disgusted, I imagine, at some ill-treatment, or in hopes of something more to their advantage, deserted to the Romans, and in the course of that war gave many signal proofs of their bravery and fidelity. When the war was terminated, each had lands given them in their own country, as a reward for their bravery and service. Hannibal, after sending back Hanno to Bruttium with the troops he had brought thence, went himself to winter in Apulia, and encamped near Arpi. As soon as Fabius received advice that the Carthaginian was set out for Apulia, he conveyed all the provisions from Nola and Naples into that camp which was above Suessula. Having fortified it, and left a garrison sufficient to defend the country during the winter, he approached Capua, and having put the country to fire and sword, obliged the Capuans, who had little confidence in their own strength, to march out and encamp in the open fields before their gates. They had 6000 bad infantry. As their cavalry was better, they used it to harass the enemy. Among the many troopers distinguished for their bravery, was one Cerrinus Jubellius, surnamed Taurea. He was a citizen of Capua, and by far the bravest among the Campanians; so that, when he served in the Roman army, no horseman could be compared to him except the Roman Claudius Asellus. Taurea rode up to the Roman squadrons, and looked long for Asellus: at last, when all were silent, he asked aloud, where he was? "Since he used to dispute with me in words about bravery, why does he not decide it by the sword, and either give me an opportunity of defeating him

“ and carrying off his spoils, or have the glory of doing so by me.”

CHAP. XLVII.—*ASELLUS*, who was in the camp, having been informed of this, delayed answering only till he should ask the consul's permission to fight an enemy that challenged him. Having obtained it, he armed immediately, and advancing before the guards, called *Taurea* by name, and desired him to fight him where he pleased. The Romans by this time had quitted their camp in crowds to see this combat; and the Campanians filled not only the rampart of their camp, but the walls of their town, with spectators. When the combatants had made a flourish by exchanging some words of defiance, they put spurs to their horses with their lances rested. But as they had free space to play in, they fought long without drawing blood. Then the Campanian said to his antagonist, “ This will be a combat of horses, not of cavaliers, if we do not leave the plain to go down into that hollow way. There, as we shall not have room to rove at large, we shall come to close fight.” He had scarce ended his speech when *Claudius* rode into the way. But *Taurea*, braver in words than actions, cried, “ See the ass in the ditch.” This afterwards became a common proverb. *Claudius*, after having rode several turns in the road without meeting his antagonist, came up into the plain, reproaching his enemy with cowardice. He was carried back as victor to the camp with great joy and acclamations. Some annals, in the relation of this combat, add a most surprising circumstance, which is generally believed, that *Claudius*, in pursuing *Taurea*, as he fled into the city, went in at one gate which stood open, and came safe out at the other, while the enemy were still in amaze at *Taurea's* behaviour.

CHAP. XLVIII.—*TEN* both remained quiet in their camp. Nay the consul removed to a greater distance, to give the Campanians leave to sow their lands, and he committed no ravage, till the corn was sufficiently grown for forage. Then he caused it to be carried to

his camp at Suessula, where he laid it up against the winter. He ordered the pro-consul Marcellus to keep as many troops as were necessary to garrison Nola, and send the rest to Rome, that they might not be a burden to their allies nor an expense to the republic. T. Gracchus, as he was marching from Cumæ to Luceria in Apulia, detached the prætor Valerius, with the army he had at Luceria, to Brundisium, with orders to defend the coast of Salentum, watch the motions of Philip, and guard against his attempts. In the close of the campaign, which produced the actions I have just given an account of, letters arrived from P. and Cn. Scipio, with advice of their great and many victories. But they wanted pay, clothing, and provisions for the soldiers and sailors. If there was no money in the treasury, they would take some method to procure it in Spain; but it was absolutely necessary to send the rest from Rome, otherwise it would not be possible to preserve either the army or province. When the letters were read, everybody owned the reality of the wants, and the reasonableness of the demands; but they considered the numerous forces they had already to maintain, both by sea and land, and the new fleet they would presently be obliged to equip, in case of a Macedonian war. “ Sicily and Sardinia, which brought Rome, before the war, considerable subsidies, were now scarce able to subsist the armies that defended them. Their taxes at home had formerly supplied their expenses: but the number of those who paid these taxes was now greatly diminished by the loss of so great armies at Thrasymen and at Cannæ. To load the few that survived with the supply demanded would be ruining them, though in a manner different from what the rest were. Therefore, if the republic could not subsist by her credit, she could not by the sums in her treasury. The prætor, therefore, should assemble the people, lay before them the pressing wants of the state, and earnestly exhort all those who were growing rich by farming the public revenues, to lend the public for the present a part of what they had gained in her service; and enter into a contract to furnish what was wanting for the

“ army in Spain, upon the condition of being reimbursed the first when there was money in the treasury.” The prætor laid all these articles before the assembly, and fixed a day for contracting with any who would furnish the army in Spain with clothes and provisions, and other necessaries for the fleet.

CHAP. XLIX.—WHEN the day came, three companies, of nineteen persons each, presented themselves as undertakers; but demanded two conditions,—first, that they should be exempted from serving in the war, while employed in the public service: secondly, that if the cargoes they shipped should be cast away by storm, or taken by the enemy, the public should charge itself with the loss. Both being granted, they signed the contract, and the purses of private persons supplied the exigencies of the public. Such were the manners of these times, and the same love of their country animated all orders of the state equally. As the contractors had with courage undertaken to supply every thing, so they executed it with the greatest fidelity; and the troops were subsisted as if it had been out of a full treasury, as in former times. When these provisions arrived, Asdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar, son of Bomilcar, were besieging the town of Illiturgis, which had declared for the Romans. The two Scipios forced a way by vigorous efforts, and great slaughter of the enemy, through these three camps.—They supplied the city with what it wanted; and exhorting the townsmen to defend their walls with the same resolution that they had seen the Romans fight for them, they went to attack the largest of the camps, which was commanded by Asdrubal. The other two Carthaginian generals, seeing the greatest efforts made there, repaired thither with their armies. Accordingly they quitted their lines and engaged: 60,000 enemies and about 16,000 Romans fought that day. However, the victory was so little doubtful, that the Romans killed more of the enemy than exceeded their own number. They took above 3000 prisoners, near 1000 horses, and 59 ensigns. Five elephants were slain in the field of battle. The conquerors made themselves masters of the three camps.

The siege of Illiturgis being raised, the Carthaginian army marched to besiege Intibili,* after having recruited their army with the people of the province, who were fond of war, provided there was any booty or gain to be had, and at that time abounded with young men. Here they fought a second battle with the same success on both sides. Above 13,000 of the enemy were killed, and 3000 prisoners, with 42 ensigns and 9 elephants, taken. Then almost all the states of Spain declared for the Romans, and much more important actions happened there that year than in Italy

* Near Tervel in Arragon.

BOOK XXIV.

CONTAINING

I-III. *The Locrians and Crotonians reduced by Hanno.*
 IV-VII. *Hiero, king of Syracuse, dies; is succeeded by his grandson Hieronymus, who revolts to the Carthaginians, and is killed by his own subjects.—XV. The Carthaginians under Hanno defeated at Beneventum; for this victory Gracchus gives all the slaves their liberty.—XVII. Marcellus defeats Hannibal near Nola.—XIX. The consuls recover Casilinum.—XX. Hanno gets an advantage of a Roman detachment. Successes of the consuls.—XXI-XXVI. Tumults in Sicily upon the murder of Hieronymus.—XXVII-XXXI. Marcellus the consul arrives in Sicily.—XXXII. Lays siege to Syracuse, which is defended vigorously, chiefly by the machines of Archimedes.—XXXVII. The Roman garrison at Enna put all the inhabitants to the sword.—XL. Philip king of Macedon arrives in Italy; is routed at Apollonia, and with difficulty gets back to his own kingdom.—XLI. Affairs in Spain.—XLV. Fabius Maximus keeps in custody Altinius, who offered to betray Arpi for a reward.—XLVII. Arpi reduced, and the Carthaginian garrison dismissed.—XLVIII. Affairs in Africa; Syphax declares against the Carthaginians, and Massinissa for them, who defeats Syphax. Mercenaries in the Roman pay for the first time.*

CHAP. I.—As soon as Hanno returned from Capua into Bruttium, with the assistance and advice of the natives, he attempted to bring over the Grecians, who continued more firm in their alliance with the Romans, because they saw the Bruttians, whom they both feared and hated, had sided with the Carthaginians. His first attempt was upon Rhegium, where he spent several days to no purpose. During this interval, the Locrians carried in haste corn, wood, and other necessaries from their farms into their city, that they might not leave any

booty for the enemy. Greater numbers went daily out of the town for this purpose ; so that at last none were left in it but those who were compelled to stay, in order to repair the walls and gates, and carry arms to their fortifications. Hamilcar detached his cavalry against this rabble of all ages and ranks, as they were dispersed over the fields, and the greatest part of them without arms. He ordered them not to do them any injury, only to post their squadrons so as to cut off their retreat to the town. He himself seized an eminence, from whence he had a view both of the country and city. Then he ordered a cohort of Bruttians to go up to the walls, and invite the principal men of Locri to a conference ; and, by promising them the friendship of Hannibal, persuade them to surrender. At first they would not hearken to any of the propositions made by the Bruttians : but when they saw the Carthaginian on the hills, and were informed by a few of the multitude that had escaped, that all the rest were in the power of the enemy, overwhelmed with fear, they answered, “ that they must consult their people.” Immediately they were assembled. The most giddy of them were desirous of a revolution and a new alliance, and those, whose relations were surrounded by the enemy, were as fast bound as if they had given hostages. The few who inwardly approved of adhering to their alliance, durst not openly defend it. So that, in appearance, they unanimously agreed to surrender to the Carthaginian. L. Atilius, commander of the garrison, with the Roman soldiers that he had with him, were secretly carried to the harbour, and put on board of vessels to carry them to Rhegium. Then they received Hamilcar and the Carthaginians into the town, upon condition that a treaty should immediately be concluded on equal terms. But when they had surrendered, this article was not observed at all, while Hamilcar accused the Locrians of having fraudulently dismissed the Romans, and they insisted in their excuse that they had made their escape. Some horse were likewise detached along the shore, to see if the tide had either stopt them in the strait, or driven them to land ; but they could not come up with them.

Besides, they descried other vessels standing over from Messina to Rhegium. They had been sent by the prætor Claudius with Roman troops to garrison the latter. Thus they immediately returned. Hannibal ordered to grant the Locrians peace on the following terms.—“That they should live free, and enjoy their own laws. “The Carthaginians should have free access to the “city, and the Locrians should keep possession of the “haven. The treaty should be valid on this condition, that the Carthaginians and Locrians should “mutually assist each other in peace and war.”

CHAP. II.—THUS the Carthaginians retired from the strait, while the Bruttians murmured that they had left untouched Rhegium and Locri, two cities they had determined to rifle. For this reason, they gathered together 15,000 of their own youth, and marched to attack Croton. It was a Grecian city, situated on the sea-coast. The Bruttians thought, that if they could get possession of a city with a good port and strong fortifications, it would be a considerable accession to their power. However, they were greatly perplexed by the following circumstances.—They durst not but ask the Carthaginians to assist them, lest they should seem to have acted contrary to the interest of their allies. On the other hand, they were afraid their fighting would be to no purpose, in case the Carthaginian should a second time prove an arbiter, rather than an assistant, in the war, as he had done with regard to Locri. Therefore, they thought it most prudent to send deputies to Hannibal, to procure security from him, that in case they recovered Croton, it should remain subject to them. The Carthaginian replied, that they must consult some persons on the spot concerning their demand; and so referred them to Hanno, from whom they received no positive answer: for they were not willing that so noble and wealthy a city should be plundered. Besides, if the Bruttians took it, while the Carthaginians seemed neither to approve nor to assist them in the enterprise, they hoped the inhabitants would the sooner revolt to them. The Crotonians were in separate interests, and

not all of the same mind. All the cities in Italy were affected in the same manner, their senators and populace differed in their inclinations. The former favoured the Romans, the latter inclined to the Carthaginians. A deserter informed the Bruttians of this dissension: and that Aristomachus headed the popular faction, and declared for surrendering the town; and that the senators and people kept each separate guards in different quarters of this large and extended city, whose walls were everywhere gone to ruin. It was easy to enter it, where the people kept guard. By the advice and direction of this deserter the Bruttians invested the place, and being admitted by the people, at the first assault, made themselves masters of all the posts in it, except the citadel. It the nobility held out, having beforehand secured a retreat thither in case of such an accident. Aristomachus fled thither also, under pretext that he only advised surrendering to the Carthaginians, not to the Bruttians.

CHAP. III.—BEFORE Pyrrhus invaded Italy, the walls of Croton were twelve miles in circumference, but after it was plundered in the war with that prince, scarce one-half of the ground within that wall was inhabited. A river, which then ran through the middle of it, ran now without the houses that were inhabited, from which the citadel was likewise at a great distance. Six miles from the city stood a celebrated temple of Juno Lacinia, more famous than the city itself, and for which all the neighbouring people had a great veneration. Here was a grove encompassed with a thick wood and tall fir-trees. In the middle were delicious pastures, where all kinds of cattle sacred to the goddess fed without a keeper. They went out to pasture in herds, each kind by itself, and returned to their pens at night, for they were never injured by wild beasts or thieves. By this means great advantages were made of these flocks. There was also in the place a pillar of massy gold, consecrated to the deity; and the temple was famous, not only for its riches, but its sanctity. As is common to places of such note, many miracles are attributed to it: for there is a tradition, that there is in the porch of the temple an altar, whose

ashes could never be blown away by any wind. One side of the citadel of Croton is defended by the sea, the other towards the land had no fortification but a strong natural situation, yet was afterwards surrounded by a wall, where Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, took it by stratagem, from the rocks that lay at the back of it. However at this time it seemed to be pretty well fortified, and defended by the principal men of Croton, who were invested by their own people in conjunction with the Bruttians. At last the Bruttians, seeing it impregnable by their force, were obliged to implore aid from Hanno. He endeavoured to make the Crotonians surrender on terms, viz. that a colony of Bruttians should settle there: that their city, which was become a vast desert and solitude by the wars, might be rendered as populous as it was in ancient times. But he could prevail on none of them but Aristomachus: for they all solemnly protested they would die sooner, than, by mixing with the Bruttians, exchange their customs, manners, laws, and even their language, for foreign ones. Aristomachus, seeing he could not by all his arguments prevail on them to agree to this, and that he could not find an opportunity to betray the citadel as he had done the town, deserted to Hanno. Soon after deputies from the Locrians entered the citadel with Hanno's permission, and persuaded the besieged to suffer themselves to be conducted to Locri, rather than hold out to the last extremity. They had already sent ambassadors to Hannibal, and obtained this liberty for them. Thus they left Croton, and, embarking at the shore, went all to Locri. The Romans and Hannibal, who were in Apulia, were not quiet even during the winter. The consul Sempronius was quartered at Luceria, and Hannibal not far off at Arpi. According as either side found opportunity, several skirmishes happened between them, by which the Romans became better soldiers, and daily more prudent and cautious in avoiding the ambuscades of the enemy.

CHAP. IV.—THE death of King Hiero, and the succession of his grandson Hieronymus to his throne, entirely altered the face of affairs in Sicily with regard

to the Romans. The prince, who was a boy, was scarce capable of bearing the weight of his own liberty, much less of sustaining that of sovereign power as he ought. His guardians and favourites gladly cherished this disposition, in order to plunge him into all manner of vice. Hiero, foreseeing the consequence of this, is said, towards the end of his life, to have intended to restore the Syracusans their former liberty, to prevent a kingdom, which he had acquired and established by the most honest and wise policy, to be ruined by becoming the sport of a young king: but his daughters opposed this wise design with all their might. They saw that the young prince would only have the name of king, while they and their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, who were left his principal guardians, would have all the authority. It was not easy for an old man, near ninety, who was night and day beset with two women, using the most insinuating caresses, to preserve his freedom of mind, and to sacrifice the interest of his family, to establish the safety of his subjects. Therefore he appointed the young prince fifteen guardians. On his death-bed he conjured them to adhere to that alliance with the Romans which he had inviolably observed during fifty years; especially to teach the prince to tread in his steps, and to cultivate in him the same principles in which he had been educated. No sooner had the good king breathed his last, than the guardians assembled the people, read the will, and presented the young king to them, who was then about fifteen years old.—A few persons, who had been placed there on purpose to set up a shout, applauded the will. The rest, like children bereaved of their father, apprehended all the dismal consequences that happened to their orphan state. The king's funeral was more honoured by the loving and affectionate tears of his subjects, than by the care of his relations. Then Andranodorus removed the rest of the guardians, by declaring the king was of age, and could govern for himself. Thus, by divesting himself of a guardianship, which he held in common with many colleagues, he usurped the power of them all to himself.

CHAP. V.—A GOOD and moderate prince, succeeding to Hiero, who was so much beloved by the Syracusans, would have found it difficult to have gained their affection: but, as if Hieronymus had sought by his vices to make the loss of his grandfather more regretted, he, at his first public appearance, shewed how little he resembled him. Neither Hiero, nor his son Gelo, during the many years of their life, had ever been seen distinguished from the rest of the citizens, by their dress, or any other ornament. But now the young prince was beheld dressed in purple, a diadem on his head, and attended by armed guards. Sometimes, also, in imitation of Dionysius the tyrant, he went abroad in a chariot drawn by white horses. All things else about him answered exactly this splendid dress and equipage: contempt for every body, haughty in giving audience, disdainful in conversation, difficult of access, not only to strangers, but even to his guardians, refined in contriving new kinds of debaucheries, and inhumanly cruel. For this reason every body was so terrified by him, that some of his guardians, to avoid his barbarous punishments, either killed themselves, or went into a voluntary banishment. Only three persons, Andranodorus and Zoippus, Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thraso, had free access at court. Though he hearkened little to them in other affairs, yet the warm disputes among them, occasioned by the two former endeavouring to incline him to the interest of the Carthaginians, and the latter to that of the Romans, sometimes attracted his attention. About this time, a conspiracy against the king's life was discovered by a servant, who was of the same age with Hieronymus, and from his infancy had been privy to all his secrets. He could impeach none of the conspirators except Theodotus, who had solicited him to be an accomplice. The criminal was immediately apprehended, and delivered up to Andranodorus to be put to the rack. He did not hesitate to confess himself guilty, but concealed his accomplices. At last, having suffered the most exquisite tortures human nature could bear, he pretended to give way to them, and accused innocent persons instead of the guilty. He falsely averred that Thraso was chief of the conspiracy,

and that they never would have embarked in so daring an attempt if they had not had a man of so great credit at their head. He likewise impeached such near the king's person, whose lives might best be spared, and whose names occurred to him during his pain and groans. The naming of Thraso made the discovery seem probable to the tyrant. He was immediately executed, with his pretended accomplices, who were as innocent as he. None of the conspirators absconded or fled, whilst their accomplice suffered the most cruel tortures ; so much did they rely on his fidelity and constancy, and such fortitude of mind had he to keep their secret.

CHAP. VI.—THE death of Thraso, who was the sole tie of the alliance with the Romans, removed all obstacles to the Syracusans revolt. Ambassadors were sent to Hannibal, who, in his turn, sent a young Carthaginian of quality, named Hannibal, with whom he joined Hippocrates and Epicydes, born at Carthage, of a Carthaginian mother, but a Syracusan father, who had been banished his country. They concluded an alliance between the king of Syracuse and the Carthaginian, by whose permission they staid with the king. As soon as the prætor of Sicily, Appius Claudius, received advice of this treaty, he sent ambassadors to Hieronymus, to renew the alliance that had formerly subsisted between the Romans and his grandfather. The king received them with a ridiculous haughtiness, and dismissed them with a sneering question, "What fortune had you in the battle near Cannæ? The Carthaginian ambassadors give incredible accounts of it. I would fain know the truth, that I may be enabled to determine which side I shall join." The Romans replied, "That they would come to him, when he was disposed to give them a serious hearing ;" and withdrew, after having advised, rather than requested, him not rashly to change his alliance. Hieronymus sent ambassadors to Carthage to ratify the treaty he had made with Hannibal. Here it was agreed, "that after they should have driven the Romans out of Sicily, which they fondly imagined would soon be done, provided they sent an army and

“ fleet thither, the river Himera,* which divided almost “ the island in the middle, should be the common boundary of the Carthaginian on one side, and the Syracusan dominions on the other.” But, puffed up with the flatteries of those about him, who begged he would remember, that, by the mother’s side, King Pyrrhus was his grandfather, as well as Hiero, he sent another embassy, to let the Carthaginians know, “ that he thought “ it reasonable all Sicily should be ceded to him, and “ the Carthaginians should purchase dominions for “ themselves in Italy.” The Carthaginians were neither surprised at, nor blamed the levity and inconstancy of this hair-brained youth, so long as they could draw him off from the Roman interest.

CHAP. VII.—BUT every thing turned to his own destruction. Epicydes and Hippocrates were detached before with 2000 men to try to get possession of the cities that had Roman garrisons. The king himself marched with all the rest of his army, about 15,000 foot and horse, to Leontini. Here the conspirators, who were almost all soldiers, possessed themselves of an empty house, which stood upon a narrow lane, by which the king used to come into the forum. While the rest stood here prepared and armed, waiting his passing by, Dinomenes, who was an accomplice, and one of his body-guard, had it in charge to stop the guards under some pretext or other in the lane, while the king was near the door of the house. He executed his commission according to agreement: for having lifted up his foot, under pretext to slacken the string of his buskin, he stopt the troop so long, that the king was attacked as he passed without guards, and had received several wounds before he could receive any assistance. When the alarm was given, severals weapons were let fly at Dinomenes, who faced about, and defended himself.— He escaped, being wounded only in two places. The guards fled when they saw the king lying dead. Some

* It rises in Mount Madonia, and after a course of 80,000 paces, falls into the Lybian sea.

of the murderers went into the forum to the multitude, who rejoiced at the recovery of their liberty; others to Syracuse, to prevent the designs of Andranodorus, and the other royal partizans. In this fluctuating state of affairs, the prætor, Appius Claudius, who foresaw the war would soon break out, wrote to the senate, that Sicily inclined to join Hannibal. In the meantime he drew all his troops towards the frontiers of Syracuse, to guard against the enterprizes of the inhabitants of that province. In the end of the campaign, Fabius fortified Puteoli, which then began to be a frequented port, on account of the war. After placing a garrison in it, he set out for Rome to preside at the election of magistrates. On his way he ordered the comitia to be assembled on the first assembly-day; and on his arrival, without entering the city, repaired to the Field of Mars. The lot to vote first having fallen to the century of the younger men in the tribe of the Anio, and they nominated to the consulate T. Otacilius and M. Æmilius Regillus, Q. Fabius ordered silence to be made, and thus harangued the assembly.

CHAP. VIII.—“ IF we either had peace in Italy, “ or were at war with a general who would not take “ advantage of our errors, I should look on him as an “ enemy to your liberty, who should oppose your con- “ ferring in this assembly honours on whom you pleas- “ ed. But as every error committed in this war, and “ against this general, has made our republic severely “ smart, you ought to use the same precaution in elect- “ ing consuls, as if you were to give the enemy battle. “ Each of you ought to say to himself, I am to choose “ a consul who shall be a match for Hannibal. This “ very year at Capua, Asellus Claudius, the bravest of “ the Romans, was pitched upon to accept the chal- “ lenge of Jubellius Taurea, the stoutest cavalier “ among the Campanians. Our ancestors, trusting to “ the courage and strength of T. Manlius, sent him to “ fight a champion of the Gauls on the bridge of the “ Anio. For like reasons, a few years after, we did “ not refuse to let M. Valerius, on whom we could re-

“ ly, meet a Gaul, who in like manner challenged any
“ of the Romans to single combat. As we desire to
“ have all our horse and foot stronger than, or at least
“ a match for, the enemy, so we ought to look for a
“ general equal to theirs. If we choose the ablest ge-
“ neral in Rome, yet as he is only chosen for one year,
“ the enemy, who is an old commander, and constantly
“ at the head of armies, will have the advantage, as
“ he is under no restraint with respect to time or laws,
“ but at full liberty to suit his conduct to the exigen-
“ cies of the war. But this is not the case with us.
“ Before our preparations are completed, and when
“ our consuls are just entering on action, the year is
“ almost elapsed. But let what is said suffice with re-
“ gard to the qualifications of the men you ought to
“ choose. It now remains to say somewhat of those to
“ whom the prerogative century have given their suf-
“ frages. M. Æmilius Regillus is priest of Romulus ;
“ so that we could not remove him from the duties of
“ religion, without neglecting the worship of the gods ;
“ nor detain him here, without prejudice to the war.
“ Otacilius is married to my niece, by whom he has
“ children. But your favours to my ancestors and to
“ me have not been so inconsiderable, that my private
“ affections should prevail over my regard to the exi-
“ gencies of the state. In a calm, any seaman, nay
“ passenger, may steer the ship ; but when a furious
“ storm arises, and the vessel is violently tossed by winds
“ and waves, it requires a skilful and courageous pi-
“ lot. We are not in a calm sea, but brought by succes-
“ sive storms to the brink of drowning. For this rea-
“ son you ought to be very careful and cautious whom
“ you place at the helm. We have made trial of you,
“ Otacilius, in meaner employments, and you gave us
“ no reason to induce us to rely on you in more im-
“ portant ones. We fitted out the fleet which you
“ commanded this year for three reasons,—to ravage
“ the coasts of Africa, protect those of Italy, but prin-
“ cipally to have intercepted the aids of money and
“ provisions coming from Carthage to Hannibal. Choose
“ Otacilius consul, Romans, if he has answered, I do

“ not say all, but any one of those destinations. But,
“ on the contrary, if the Carthaginian has received
“ every thing from his own country, with as much
“ safety and security as if the sea had been open; if
“ the coasts of Italy have been more infested this year
“ than the coasts of Africa, can you shew any cause
“ why we should prefer you to command against Han-
“ nibal? If you was consul, we should declare, after
“ the example of our ancestors, that there was an ab-
“ solute necessity for choosing a dictator. Neither
“ could you be angry that some person in the state was
“ reckoned a better general than you: for it is nobo-
“ dy’s interest more than yours, T. Otacilius, not to
“ have a burden laid on your shoulders under which
“ you must necessarily sink. Let me conjure you, then,
“ Romans, to bear the same mind in electing consuls
“ this day, as if standing in battalia you were this mo-
“ ment to choose two generals, under whose conduct
“ and auspices you would give battle; and to choose
“ such consuls, as your children could freely take the
“ military oath to rendezvous at their order, and fight
“ under their happy auspices. Thrasymen and Cannæ
“ are sad but useful lessons of caution to us. Crier,
“ call the prerogative century to vote again.”

CHAP. IX.—WHEN T. Otacilius made a great noise, and exclaimed against the consul, as desiring to be continued in office, Fabius ordered his lictors to go to him. As he had not entered the city, but came directly off his journey into the place of assembly, he bade him observe that the fasces with the axes were still carried before him. The prerogative century voted anew, and elected Q. Fabius Maximus a fourth time, and M. Marcellus a third. The other centuries unanimously followed the precedent. Q. Fulvius Flaccus was continued in the prætorship, and had three new colleagues, T. Otacilius Crassus a second time, Q. Fabius, son of the consul, and ædile at that time, and P. Cornelius Lentulus. After the election of prætors, the senate decreed, “ That Q.
“ Fulvius should be city prætor without drawing lots,
“ and command in Rome after the consuls should take

“the field.” This year there happened two great inundations of the Tiber, which overflowed the lands, carried away many houses, and drowned great numbers of men and cattle. In the fifth year of the second Punic war, Q. Fabius Maximus a fourth time, and M. Claudius Marcellus a third, having entered upon the consulate, drew the attention of the whole state upon them in an uncommon degree. Two consuls of such extraordinary merit had not been seen in office for many years. The old men made the comparison between them and Maximus Rullinus and P. Decius, who had been chosen consuls for the war with the Gauls, Papirius and Carvilius, who had been sent against the Samnites, Bruttians, Lucanians, and Tarentines. Marcellus was elected in his absence with the army. Fabius was on the spot, and presiding at the election, when he was continued in office. The critical conjuncture, necessity of choosing an able general, and the danger of the state, made people overlook their regular precedent, and none expressed the least jealousy of the consul’s aspiring to sovereign authority. They rather applauded his greatness of soul, in choosing, when he knew the state wanted the most able general she had, and himself was the person, rather to despise the envy that such a proceeding would draw upon him, than neglect the interests of the commonwealth.

CHAP. X.—THE same day on which the consuls took possession of their office, the senate met in the capitol. The first act they passed was, that the consuls should draw lots which of them should preside in the comitia for the election of censors, before they went to the army. Then they continued in their employments all who had the command of armies. T. Gracchus in Luceria, where he was with the volones; Varro in Picenum, and M. Pomponius in Gaul. Q. Mucius, prætor of the preceding year, obtained the government of Sardinia in quality of pro-prætor; M. Valerius at Brundisium, to protect the coasts, and carefully watch all the motions of King Philip. The province of Sicily was assigned to the present prætor, P. Cornelius Lentulus, and to T.

Otacilius the same fleet he had commanded against the Carthaginians the preceding year. Many prodigies were reported this year. The more credit those reports gained with simple superstitious persons, the more they increased. Ravens built their nests within the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium. In Apulia, a green palm-tree took fire. At Mantua, a pond, which broke down its banks, and ran into the Mincio, appeared red like blood. At Cale, it rained chalk, and blood in the ox-market at Rome. In the street called Istrico, a spring broke out of the earth with such violence, that with its large stream it bore away the butts and barrels in the place. The public hall in the capitol, the temple of Vulcan in the Field of Mars, a nut-tree in Sabinia, the public street, walls, and gates of Gabii, were struck with lightning. At Præneste, the spear of Mars moved of itself. In Sicily, an ox spoke. In the country of the Marrucini, a child in its mother's belly called out, *Io Triumphe*. At Spoletum, a woman changed her sex. At Adria, the figures of men clothed in white, ranged round an altar, were seen in the air. At Rome likewise, a swarm of bees settled in the forum. Some, by affirming they had seen armed legions in Janiculus, alarmed the whole city, who ran to arms. But those who were on that hill at the time, insisted nobody had been seen there except its usual inhabitants. By direction of the haruspices, the greater sacrifices were offered to expiate these prodigies, and a supplication appointed to all the gods who had shrines at Rome.

CHAP. XI.—WHEN every thing that concerned appeasing the gods was finished, the consuls laid a state of the war before the senate, what forces were necessary, and where to be employed. Eighteen legions were appointed for the service of the current year. The consuls were to have two; two for Gaul, Sicily, and Sardinia: Q. Fabius, the prætor, two in Apulia; T. Gracchus, in Luceria, two of volunteer slaves; the pro-consul Varro one in Picenum; Valerius, another for the fleet at Brundisium; and two to be left in the city. To complete the number, six new legions were ordered to be levied

by the consuls as soon as possible. They were likewise to fit out a fleet, which, with the ships stationed on the coast of Calabria, would make the ships of war in commission that year an hundred and fifty. When the levies were completed, and the new ships launched, Fabius held the comitia for the election of censors. M. Atilius Regulus and P. Furius Philus were chosen. As it was confidently reported that the war was already broke out in Sicily, T. Otacilius was ordered thither with the fleet under his command. As sailors were wanting, the consuls, by virtue of a decree of the senate, ordered, "that every citizen, whose father or himself had been rated by the censors, L. Æmilius and C. Flaminius, worth 50,000* asses of brass, or should since have acquired a fortune of that value, should furnish one seaman, paid for six months. Whoever had above 100,000† to 300,000‡, should furnish three, paid for a whole year. Whoever had above 300,000 to 1,000,000§ should furnish five. Whoever had above 1,000,000, should furnish seven, and senators eight, paid for a year." The seamen, raised in virtue of this edict, being equipped and armed by their masters, embarked with thirty days provisions ready dressed. This was the first time that the Roman fleet was supplied with hands at the expense of private persons.

CHAP. XII.—THESE preparations, which were greater than usual, made the Capuans exceedingly apprehensive that the campaign would be opened with the siege of their capital. Therefore, they sent ambassadors to Hannibal, to beg him to draw near Capua, for a new army was raising at Rome to besiege it; and the Romans were more incensed at the revolt of it than of any other city. The consternation in which they brought Hannibal this advice, made him hasten his march, in order to be beforehand with the Romans. Setting out, therefore, from Arpi, he encamped on his old ground on Mount Tifata above Capua. Having left the Numidians and Spaniards to defend both the camp and the

* £161, 9s. 2d.

† £1866, 14s.

‡ £322, 18s. 4d.

§ £3229, 3s. 4d.

town, he marched with his other troops down to the lake Avernus, under pretext of sacrificing ; but, in fact, to make an attempt on Puteoli, and the garrison there. As soon as Maximus received advice that Hannibal was marched from Arpi back into Campania, he set out for the army, and travelled night and day. He ordered T. Gracchus to quit Luceria with his troops, and come to Beneventum, and his son Q. Fabius, the prætor, to take Gracchus's quarters. At the same time, the two prætors went into Sicily, P. Cornelius to command the army, and Otacilius to command the fleet. All the rest went into their respective provinces. Those who had been continued in their commands had the same provinces assigned them that they had the preceding year.

CHAP. XIII.—WHEN Hannibal was at the lake Avernus, five young noblemen came to him from Tarentum. Some of them had been taken prisoners at Thrasy-men, and some at Cannæ, and had been dismissed with the same civility that the Carthaginian exercised towards all the Roman allies. They told him, “ That, in gratitude for his generosity, they had wrought upon the greatest part of the Tarentine youth to shake off the Roman yoke, and make an alliance with him. They were sent as ambassadors from their countrymen, to beg him to come with his troops towards Tarentum. If his ensigns and camp could once be descried from Tarentum, the town would be immediately surrendered : for the youth had an absolute ascendant over the people, and the people had the chief management of affairs at Tarentum.” The Carthaginian caressed the deputies ; and having loaded them with presents, sent them back to hasten what they had begun, promising he would soon be with them. He had a great desire to get possession of Tarentum. He considered it was a rich, important place, lying very commodiously over against Macedon. As the Romans were in possession of Brundisium, Philip might easily land at Tarentum. Therefore, after having finished the sacrifice for which he came, and while he staid ravaged the

Cuman territories as far as the promontory of Misenum,* he, all of a sudden, marched to Puteoli, to surprise the Roman garrison. It consisted of 6000 men, and the place was fortified both by nature and art. After staying here three days, and attacking the garrison on all sides without success, he marched to ravage the lands of Naples, not so much with hope of taking the city, as to revenge himself on the inhabitants. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Nola, the populace, who for a long time hated the Romans and their own senate, made an insurrection. They sent deputies to invite the Carthaginian to come, under positive assurances of surrendering their city to him; but the consul Marcellus, who had been sent for by the principal men, prevented their design. Though he was stopped by the river Vulturnus, yet he marched in one day from Cale to Suesula. Next night he threw 6000 foot and 300 horse into Nola, to protect the senate. As the consul, by his activity, had thus been beforehand in securing Nola, so Hannibal began to abate of his ardour. As he had twice before attempted that city in vain, he was not now so easily inclined to confide in the populace of it.

CHAP. XIV.—ABOUT the same time the consul Fabius advanced to besiege Casilinum, which was defended by a Carthaginian garrison. On one side, Hanno, with a great army from Bruttium, and on the other, T. Gracchus from Luceria, came to Beneventum, as if it had been by concert. Gracchus entered the town first. Being informed that Hanno, who was encamped at the Calore,† within three miles of the town, ravaged the country, he likewise quitted the place, and encamped within a mile of the enemy, where he harangued his troops. Most of them were volunteer slaves, who during the two years they had served chose rather to deserve their liberty by actions, than openly demand it by clamour. However, he had observed some murmurs among them on quitting their winter quarters. They

* Cape Miseno, near the port called Porto Giulio.

† Rises in the Apennines, and retains its former name.

asked one another, "whether they should ever see themselves free?" On this their general had wrote to the senate, to inform them of what his troops merited, rather than what they had demanded. "To this day," said he, "they have served me with courage and fidelity, and they want nothing but liberty to make them accomplished soldiers." The senate gave him permission to act in that respect as he should judge most for the interest of the republic. In consequence, before he engaged, he told them, "That the time was come to obtain that liberty, which they had long hoped for. Next day, they were to give battle in an open and spacious plain, where, without fear of ambuscades, they would have an occasion to shew their bravery. Whoever should bring him the head of an enemy, he would immediately make free; but whoever should quit his post, he would punish like a slave. Each of them had their fortune in their own power. They had not only his word, and that of the consul Marcellus, but the security of all the fathers whom he had consulted on granting them their liberty, and who left him at liberty to act as he pleased." Then he read the consul's letters, and the decree of the senate. They immediately sent up a great shout, demanded to be led to battle, and strenuously insisted on having the signal given that instant. Gracchus, having declared they should fight next day, dismissed the assembly. The troops, especially those whose behaviour alone in next day's action was to gain them their liberty, full of joy spent the rest of the day in preparing their arms.

CHAP. XV.—As soon as the signal was given next day, they were the first that assembled round the general's tent in their accoutrements, and ready prepared. At sunrise, Gracchus drew them out in order of battle. The enemy did not decline the fight. Their army was composed of 17,000 foot, most of them Bruttians and Lucanians, and of 1200 horse, all Numidians and Moors, excepting a few Italians. The battle was long, and fought with great resolution. The victory remained doubtful for four hours. Nothing incommoded the

Romans so much as securing the heads of the enemy which were to purchase their liberty: for when a soldier had gallantly killed an enemy, he, at first, lost time in cutting off his head, which was a difficult matter amidst the tumult and disorder. Besides, when it was effected, holding of it employed one of his hands. By these means, the bravest men were incapable of fighting, and the battle left to the most backward and cowardly part of the troops. When the legionary tribunes informed Gracchus, that none of his men wounded a living enemy, but were butchering the dead, whose heads they held in their hands instead of their swords, he quickly ordered them to throw down the heads and attack the enemy, telling them they had sufficiently signalized their valour; and whoever had behaved gallantly might assure himself of obtaining his liberty. This renewed the battle, and the horse were made to advance. The Numidians came on to meet them with great bravery; and by the horse fighting as gallantly as the foot, the battle again became doubtful, while both generals depreciated each other's troops.—The Carthaginian said, the Romans were slaves stript of their chains to make them bear arms. Gracchus put his men in mind how often their ancestors had defeated the Bruttians and Lucanians. At last, he declared, they might give over all hopes of liberty, if they did not beat and put the enemy to flight.

CHAP. XVI.—THAT menacing sentence animated them to such a degree, that setting up new shouts, and that instant becoming as it were new men, they charged the enemy with such fury, that nothing was capable of resisting them. At first, the front line, then the second, and at last the whole main body of the Carthaginians gave way. The rout was general, and they regained their camp in such terror and consternation, that none defended either gates or ramparts; and the Romans, who entered it pell-mell, began a new battle within the intrenchments: as the space they fought in was narrow, the battle was the more bloody. Some Roman prisoners, who, during the tumult, seized arms and

formed themselves into a body, assisted their countrymen by falling on the enemy's rear, and stopping their flight. Of so great an army, scarce 2000, and the most of these horse, escaped with their general. The rest were either killed or taken prisoners. Thirty-eight ensigns were taken. The conquerors lost 2000 men. The whole plunder was abandoned to the troops, except the prisoners and cattle, which should be claimed by the owners within thirty days. As they were returning to their camp loaded with booty, about 4000 of the volones, who had fought with less ardour than their companions, and had not broke into the camp with them, retired to an adjacent hill, apprehending punishment for their cowardice. Next day, a legionary tribune brought them to the camp, just as Gracchus was beginning to harangue his troops. He first gave the old soldiers the rewards they merited in proportion to their bravery, and the efforts they had used in the battle. Then, with respect to the volones, he said, "He chose rather to praise them all, deserving and undeserving, indiscriminately, than to punish any of them that day. Therefore he declared them all free, which he prayed might prove beneficial, auspicious, and fortunate to the republic, to themselves, and to their children." At this they sent up shouts with the greatest alacrity, and embracing and congratulating each other, lifted up their hands to heaven, and implored all kinds of blessings on the Roman people and their general. Then Gracchus resumed his speech.—"I was unwilling to make any distinction between the brave and the cowards, before I had put you all on a level, by granting you your liberty; but now that I have acquitted myself of the promise I made in name of the public, in order to maintain the difference between cowardice and valour, I order the names of all those who separated from the rest, for fear of punishment for their ill behaviour in battle, to be brought to me. I will cite them before me, and make them take an oath, always to eat their meals standing as long as they serve in the army, except obliged to the contrary by sickness. If you reflect that your cowardice could not be punished less severe-

“ly, you will bear this mortification with patience.” Then he gave orders to pack up the baggage and march. The troops, either carrying or driving their booty before them, returned to Beneventum in such transports of mirth and joy, that they seemed rather guests returned from an entertainment, than soldiers from a battle. The inhabitants came out in a body to meet them, and embracing and congratulating the soldiers, invited them to their houses. Entertainments were served up in the court-yard of every house, and they begged Gracchus would permit his men to partake of them. He gave them liberty, on condition they should all eat in public. Accordingly the tables were spread before each door. The slaves who had obtained their liberty feasted in white woollen caps,* some lying and some standing. They ate and served their companions at the same time. Gracchus was so pleased with this day's sight, that on his return to Rome he had it painted, and ordered the picture to be hung up in the temple of Liberty, which his father had built, and dedicated, on the Aventine hill, with the money that arose from fines.

CHAP. XVII.—DURING these transactions at Beneventum, Hannibal, having ravaged the territories of Naples, encamped near Nola. As soon as the consul was apprized of his arrival, he ordered the pro-prætor Pomponius to join him with the troops encamped above Suessula, and prepared to meet the enemy, and gave him battle immediately. In the dead of night, he detached Claudius Nero, with the flower of the cavalry, through the back-gate. He ordered him, after fetching a compass, privately to approach the enemy by little and little, and charge them in the rear, when he saw the battle begun. Nero could not execute his orders; but whether by losing his way, or for want of sufficient time, is uncertain. The battle was fought without him, and the Romans had an undoubted advantage: yet, by reason of the cavalry's not coming up in time, their scheme was quite disconcerted, and did not succeed as they ex-

* The badge of liberty.

pected. Marcellus, not daring to pursue the enemy in their flight, sounded a retreat, though his troops were victorious. Upwards of 2000 of the enemy were killed that day, and about 400 Romans. About sunset, Nero, having in vain fatigued his men and horse during a night and day, returned without seeing the enemy.—The consul reprimanded him severely, for being the sole cause of their not repaying the enemy the defeat at Cannæ. The next day Marcellus marched out in order of battle: but the Carthaginian kept within his intrenchments, which was a tacit confession of his being overcome. The third day he decamped, by favour of the night; and despairing of gaining Nola, which he had so often attempted in vain, retired to Tarentum, where he hoped to succeed better.

CHAP. XVIII.—THE Romans shewed no less spirit in their affairs at home than in those of the war. The censors, who, for want of money in the treasury, were not employed in public works, applied themselves entirely to reform the manners and correct the vices of the citizens, which, like bad humours contracted by long diseases, had been brought on by the war. They first cited those who intended to have abandoned the state by quitting Italy after the battle of Cannæ. The chief of them was L. Cæcilius Metellus, who happened then to be quæstor. They ordered him and all the rest guilty of the same crime to make their defence. But, as they could not justify themselves, they were declared guilty of having held treasonable conferences, which tended to form a conspiracy for quitting Italy. Next were cited those who were dexterous in finding subterfuges to evade keeping oaths, viz. those prisoners, who thought that they were discharged from their oath by secretly returning to Hannibal's camp. These, with those already mentioned, were deprived of the horses furnished them at the public charge, degraded from their tribes, and retained no other mark of being citizens but paying taxes. The censors were not only not content with reforming the senate and order of knights, but likewise razed out of the rolls the names of all the youth who had not served

in the army during four years, without having been sick, or having some other valid reason. These, who amounted to above 2000, were all removed from their tribes, and enrolled among such as enjoyed no mark of citizenship but paying taxes. Besides this ignominious sentence passed on them by the censors, the senate passed a decree no less severe,—“ That all those who had been “ stigmatized by the censors should serve on foot, and “ be sent into Sicily to join the remains of that army “ that fled from Cannæ, which was not to be discharged till the enemy was driven out of Italy.” As the censors, for want of money in the treasury, had made no contracts for repairing the temples, buying horses for the service of the curule magistrates,* and other expenses of that kind, those who used to make such contracts came in crowds to them, and desired them to proceed in their repairs and buildings, as if the treasury had money to defray the expense: for none of them would demand any money from the treasury till the war was terminated. Then the masters of the slaves, to whom Sempronius had granted their freedom at Beneventum, assembled, saying, they had been called by the public commissioners to receive the price of their slaves, but would not accept of it before the war was ended. This general propensity in the people to supply the wants of the treasury, induced the managers for minors and widows to bring in their fortunes to the quæstors, who gave credit for the money, being persuaded, that the public faith was the most sacred security for the deposit. If any necessaries were to be bought for these pupils and widows, the quæstors were to give credit for it. This generosity of private persons passed from the city to the camp. The horse and the officers would not receive their pay; and those who did were reproached as mercenary wretches.

CHAP. XIX.—THE consul Fabius was encamped near Casilinum, which was garrisoned by 2000 Campanians and 700 of Hannibal's troops. Staius Metius,

* Fest. Pompeius.

who had been sent by Cn. Magius Atellanus, chief magistrate of Capua, commanded it. The latter armed both slaves and inhabitants indiscriminately to attack the Roman camp, while the consul was intent on making himself master of the town. Fabius had exact intelligence of all that was doing at Capua: for this reason he sent to his colleague at Nola, to inform him, that while he besieged Casilinum, it would be necessary to oppose the Campanians with another army. He, therefore, desired he would leave a small garrison at Nola, and come to him; or, if his presence was necessary there, and that city had any thing still to apprehend from Hannibal, he would send for T. Gracchus, who was at Beneventum. Upon this message Marcellus, having left 2000 men to garrison Nola, marched with the remainder of his troops to Casilinum. His arrival obliged the Campanians, who were already in motion, to keep quiet. Then the two consuls began their attack on the town. As many of the Romans were wounded by too rashly approaching the walls, and the enterprise did not succeed to their wish, Fabius was of opinion that they ought to give over the attack of an inconsiderable place, which gave them as much trouble as a greater, and retire, as they had more important affairs on their hands. But Marcellus prevented raising the siege, by representing, "that as able generals ought not to undertake every enterprise, so they ought not easily to abandon what they have once agreed on; because reputation in war contributed exceedingly to the good or bad success of it." The Romans, therefore, made their galleries and all other machines advance against the town. In consequence, the Campanians desired permission of Fabius to retire to Capua. A few of them had gone out when Marcellus seized the gate through which they passed. At first he put all about the gate to the sword without distinction; and at last, having forced his way into the town, he began the slaughter there likewise. About fifty Campanians, who had got out at first, took refuge with Fabius, who sent an escort with them to Capua. Thus, during the conferences and slowness of those who were suing for protection, the enemy got an

opportunity to seize Casilinum. All the prisoners, as well Campanians as Carthaginians, were sent to Rome, and there imprisoned. The inhabitants were distributed among the neighbouring cities.

CHAP. XX.—AT the same time that the victorious consuls retired from Casilinum, Gracchus detached, under a prefect of the allies, some cohorts, which he had levied in that country, to ravage the enemies lands. Hanno having attacked them as they were dispersed, repaid the Romans almost the loss he had sustained at Beneventum, and then expeditiously retired to Bruttium, for fear Gracchus should follow him. Marcellus returned to Nola, from whence he came, and Fabius marched into Samnium to ravage the country, and storm the revolted towns. He utterly ruined the territory of Caudium with fire and sword, and drove off a vast booty of men and cattle. He took by storm Compulteria,* Telesia,† Compsa Melæ,‡ Fulfulæ,|| and Orbitanium.§ From the Lucanians he took Blandæ,¶ and Æcæ** from the Apulians. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were either killed or taken at storming these towns. Three hundred and seventy deserters were also recovered. These the consul sent to Rome, where they were all thrown down from the Tarpeian rock, after having been scourged with rods in the forum. All these exploits Fabius performed in a few days. Marcellus was prevented from acting by sickness, which detained him at Nola. About the same time the prætor Fabius, who was commissioned to act about Luceria, took the city of Accua†† by storm, and fixed his camp at Ardonea.‡‡

* According to Holstein, S. Maria de Couvultere, in the Terra di Lavoro.

† Near the conflux of the Labald and Vulturmus.

‡ Melito, in the Further Principality.

|| Monte Fusculo, in the same place.

§ Unknown.

¶ It stood on the Laus.

** The present Troy, in the Capitanate.

†† Accadia, near St. Agathe, on the confines of the Further Principality and Apulia.

‡‡ Ardona, in the Capitanate.

While the Romans were thus successful elsewhere, Hannibal was arrived at Tarentum, after having made great havoc in all the country through which he marched. At last, when he entered the Tarentine dominions, he ceased hostilities, and committed no sort of violence, nor ever went off his route. Yet it plainly appeared this was not owing to the moderation of the general, or his troops, but to a desire of conciliating the affections of the Tarentines. But when he approached the walls, and no motion was made in his favour on despoiling his advanced guard, as he had fondly imagined, he encamped within a mile of the town. Three days before his arrival, M. Valerius, admiral of the fleet at Brundisium, had sent M. Livius to Tarentum. This officer, having mustered the flower of their youth, and placed sentinels at all the gates, and guards round the walls, as was requisite in that conjuncture, was so very watchful both night and day, that he neither gave the enemy nor his wavering allies an opportunity to attempt any thing. The Carthaginian having spent several days there to no purpose, without seeing or receiving message or letters from those who had been with him at the lake Avernus, discovered what vain hopes he had rashly followed, and decamped. He did not even then touch the Tarentine lands, for he had not yet renounced all hopes of their revolting from the Romans. Then he arrived at Salapia.* As the campaign was far advanced, and he liked the place for winter quarters, he caused corn to be carried thither from the country about Metapontus and Heraclea. Hence likewise he detached the Moors and Numidians to ravage the territories of Salentum, and the forests adjoining to Apulia. Here he got little other booty except horses, 4000 of which he gave to his troopers to break.

CHAP. XXI.—THE Romans, apprehending that a dangerous war was like to break out in Sicily, and that the death of Hieronymus had not so much altered the situation or dispositions of the Syracusans as it had pla-

* Now a village called Salpe.

ced enterprising generals at their head, assigned that province to one of their consuls, Marcellus. Immediately after the murder of Hieronymus, the troops in Leontini mutinied, loudly demanding that the king's death should be expiated by the blood of the regicides. But by hearing frequent mention of the restoration of their dear liberties, being made to hope for a largess out of the king's treasures, and of serving under better generals, besides a relation of the tyrant's black crimes and foul lusts, their minds were so altered, that they suffered his body to lie unburied, for whom they had a little before expressed so great grief. While the other conspirators staid behind to gain over the army, Theodotus and Sosis rode post on the king's horses to Syracuse, in order to surprise the royalists, before they were apprized of any thing that had happened. But not only fame, which in such cases outflies everything, but a courier from the king's ministers, had arrived before them. In consequence, Andranodorus had fortified the island Ortygia,*

* Syracuse was situated upon the eastern coast of Sicily. It was founded by Archias, the Corinthian, a year after Naxos and Mægara, upon the same coast. It was composed, at the time of which we are speaking, of five parts, that were in a manner so many cities joining together,—the Isle, Achradina, Tycha, Neapolis, or the New-town, and Epipolæ. The Isle, situated to the south, was called Nasos, a Greek word, that signifies an island, but pronounced according to the Doric dialect, which was in use at Syracuse. It was also called Ortygia. It was joined to the main land by a bridge. In this isle were the palace of the kings and the citadel. This part of the city was of great importance, because it made those who possessed it masters of the two ports that surrounded it. Achradina, situated entirely upon the sea-side, was the finest, most spacious, and best fortified part of the city. It was separated from the rest by a good wall, flanked with towers from distance to distance. Tycha, so called from the temple of Fortune, extended partly along Achradina, ascending from the south to the north. It was also much inhabited. It had a famous gate, called Hexapyla, which led into the country. Almost opposite to Hexapyla was a little town called Leon. Neapolis, or New-town, extended west along Tycha. Epipolæ was an eminence without the city, that commanded it, and was very steep, and consequently of very difficult access. When the Athenians besieged Syracuse, it was not inclosed with walls, and had none till the time of Dionysius the tyrant, when it formed a fifth part of the city, but was little inhabited. At the bottom of this eminence was a famous prison called the Mines, Latonicæ, and close by it the fort Labdalon. It was bounded at

the citadel, and all other convenient places that he could. Theodotus and Sosis, having arrived after sunset at a part of the town called Hexapylus, exposed the royal robe and diadem all over bloody. Then proceeding through Tycha, and inviting them to take up arms in vindication of their liberty, they desired they would assemble in Achradina. Some of the multitude ran out into the streets, some stood in the porches of their houses, and others in their windows, and on the tops of their houses, asking what the matter was. Illuminations were made in all parts, and every place in the greatest confusion. Those that had arms assembled in the streets; those that had none took the spoils of the Gauls and Illyrians, which the Romans had presented to Hiero, out of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, where he had hung them up. They prayed Jupiter propitiously and willingly to bestow on them these sacred arms, as they were arming in defence of their country, the temples of their gods, and their liberty. This multitude were posted in different quarters of the city by the principal conspirators. Amongst other places in Ortygia, Andranodorus put a garrison in the public granaries. They were built of hewn stone, and fortified like a citadel. But they were seized by a body of youth, who had been appointed to guard that quarter, and who immediately sent word to Achradina that the corn and granaries were at the senate's disposal.

CHAP. XXII.—By day-break all the people, armed and unarmed, repaired to the senate-house in Achradina. There one of the chiefs, named Polyænus, standing before the altar of Concord, made them the following free and moderate speech.—“ Men, who have experien-

top by another fort called Euryalus. The river Anapus ran a small half league from the city, and emptied itself into the great port. Not far from its mouth was a kind of castle called Olympium, from the temple of Jupiter Olympius. Syracuse had two ports, very near each other, being separated only by the Isle: the great, and the little port, called otherwise *Laccus*. The great port had on the left a gulf called *Dasco*, and a fort called *Plemmyrium*. A little above Achradina, near the tower *Galeagra*, there was a third port called *Trogilus*.

“ced slavery and indignity, are commonly irritated at
“the apprehension of those calamities, from the sense
“they formerly had of them. But you have rather heard
“from your fathers, than been eye-witnesses of the
“miseries that attend a civil war. You are to be com-
“mended for being so ready to take arms; but you
“will deserve praise more, if you use them not till for-
“ced by absolute necessity. At present I think our
“best way would be to send deputies to Andranodorus
“to require him to submit to the senate and people; to
“open the gates of Ortygia, and withdraw his garrison.
“But if, under pretext of being guardian to the king-
“dom of another, he intends to usurp it to himself, I
“declare, we will wrest our liberty with greater vigour
“from Andranodorus, than we have done from Hie-
“ronymous.” In virtue of this speech the deputies were
sent. Then the senate entered upon deliberations. Though during the reign of Hiero this public council had subsisted, yet till that day it had never been assembled or consulted in any affair since his death. In the meantime the deputies were with Andranodorus, who was moved by the unanimous consent of the citizens. Besides, he had considered that the other parts of the city were secured, and the strongest part of Ortygia betrayed, and in his enemy's hands. But his wife Damarata, daughter of Hiero, puffed up with the thoughts of her royal birth, and the pride peculiar to women, took him aside, and put him in mind of a common saying of the tyrant Dionysius.—“No man should quit a
“throne till dragged from it by the feet. It is easy
“for one in a moment to resign royalty when one will;
“but it is a difficult and hard matter to acquire and at-
“tain to it. Demand, therefore,” said she, “from the de-
“puties time to reflect with yourself. When it is
“granted, improve it in bringing the troops from Le-
“ontini. If you promise to distribute the king's trea-
“sures among them, every thing will be at your dis-
“posal.” Andranodorus did not totally neglect, nor immediately follow, this princess's advice. He thought the safest way to accomplish his purposes was to temporize. In consequence, he desired the deputies to in-

form those who sent them, that he would submit to the senate and people. Next morning by day-break he set open the gates, and went into the forum of Achradina, There he ascended the altar of Concord, from which Polyænus had harangued the day before. He introduced his speech with begging pardon for his not coming to the assembly before.—“I did not,” said he, “keep
“ the gates of Ortygia shut from views incompatible
“ with the public good, but from an apprehension of
“ the bloody consequences of the sword’s being once
“ drawn; till I should see whether the conspirators
“ would be content with the death of the tyrant, or for
“ his guilt murder all the innocent people who hap-
“ pened to be his relations, kinsmen, or servants. But
“ as soon as I was convinced, that those who had set
“ their country free, designed to preserve it so, and
“ were deliberating for the general good, I did not he-
“ sitate to deliver up my own person, and every thing
“ else that had been intrusted to my care and manage-
“ ment, since he who had reposed this trust in me, had
“ perished by his own folly and madness.” Then turning to the regicides, and addressing Theodotus and Sos-
sis by name,—“You have done a noble action,” said he. “But, believe me, your glorious work is only begun, not completed. You are still in great danger, if you do not by all means establish peace and harmony, to prevent the abuse of the liberty you have purchased to your country.”

CHAP. XXIII.—WHEN he had finished his speech, he laid down the keys of the gates and of the king’s treasure at their feet. The assembly being dismissed that day with great rejoicings, they went round all the temples with their wives and children to thank the gods. Next day they assembled to elect prætors. Andranodorus was one of the first chosen, and with him the regicides, two of whom, Sopater and Dinomenes, were chosen in their absence. They hearing what was done at Syracuse, delivered the king’s treasure that was at Leontini, to be carried to Syracuse to quæstors, who were chosen for the purpose. Lastly, when that part of the

wall which ran between Ortygia and Achradina was delivered up, it was by universal consent beat down, because it was too strong a bulwark against the rest of the town. Every other thing was acted agreeable to their present humour for liberty. When Hippocrates and Epicydes heard of the king's death, they endeavoured to conceal it, by killing the messenger who brought the news. But being deserted by their troops, they returned to Syracuse, because they thought that the safest course in the present conjuncture. That they might lie under no suspicion of seeking an opportunity to bring about a revolution, they applied first to the prætors, who introduced them to the senate. There they declared, "that they came from Hannibal to treat with his friend and ally Hieronymus. They had only obeyed their general's commands. That they desired to return to him; but begged, that as their journey was not like to be with safety to their persons, as it was infested by Roman soldiers, dispersed all over the island, they might have a convoy with them to Locri in Italy, which small favour Hannibal would most gratefully acknowledge." Their request was easily obtained: for the senate were desirous to get rid of these generals of the late king, expert commanders, men poor and enterprising. But they were dilatory in executing their own desires. In the interim, those young officers, who were intimate with the soldiers, spread false stories of the senators and principal men, sometimes amongst the soldiers, sometimes among the deserters, most of whom were Roman seamen, and sometimes among the very dregs of the populace. They insinuated, that, under colour of renewing the alliance, they had formed a plot to surrender their state to the Romans, that their own faction, and the small number that had renewed the treaty, might lord it in Syracuse.

CHAP. XXIV.—THESE rumours being readily listened to and credited, and drawing every day crowds of people to Syracuse, gave Andranodorus, as well as Hippocrates and Epicydes, good hopes of changing the government. He was teased with his wife's importu-

nities. "The time is come," said she, "for seizing the throne, while every thing is in confusion, as their liberty is new, and not settled on a durable foundation; while the troops that received the king's pay are not disbanded; while the new generals who had been sent by Hannibal, and were well acquainted with the troops, had it in their power to favour his enterprises." In a few days he concerted his scheme with the husband of Gelo's daughter, Themistus, who unadvisedly imparted the affair to one Aristo, a tragedian, to whom he usually confided his secrets. He was a man well descended, and of a good estate; and his profession was no disgrace to him, because the Greeks do not deem it a dishonour to appear on the stage. Preferring, therefore, the interest of his country to private friendship, he discovered the plot to the prætors. When they found his testimony confirmed by certain evidences, they, in concert with the oldest senators, and by their advice, placed guards at the door of the senate-house, who slew Andranodorus and Themistus as soon as they entered. This action, which appeared very barbarous to most of the members, who knew not the reason of it, raised a great commotion in the assembly. But silence being ordered, the discoverer was introduced. He informed them of every particular in order. "This conspiracy owed its birth to the marriage of Themistus with Harmonia, Gelo's daughter: the African and Spanish auxiliaries were appointed to assassinate the prætors, and other principal men, whose effects were to have been the reward of the assassins. A body of mercenaries, who were accustomed to obey Andranodorus, were ready prepared to seize the island again." Then he laid every particular before them; the several parts each were to have acted, and what persons and arms were to have been employed. Upon this the senate passed a decree, declaring the death of Andranodorus and Themistus as just as that of Hieronymus.—In the meantime, the giddy rabble, which knew not the reason of the action, made a terrible outcry without doors. Though they uttered horrid menaces in the porch of the senate-house, yet the sight of the corpses

of the conspirators so terrified them, that they followed quietly, in a body, to the tribunal of harangues. The senate, and other prætors, had deputed Sopater to harangue this multitude.

CHAP. XXV.—THE orator began with invectives against the dead traitors, as if he had been arraigning them at the bar. Running over the actions of their past life, he charged them with all the wicked and atrocious crimes committed since the death of Hiero. "What," said he, "could Hieronymus, who was a boy, and scarce arrived at the age of puberty, do of himself? His guardians governed every thing, and left only the hatred to their ward. They, therefore, ought to have been destroyed before, or at least with Hieronymus. But these men, who had deserved, and were destined to death, had been left to survive and hatch new crimes after the king was killed: at first, openly, when Andranodorus having shut the gates of the island, seized the crown as his hereditary right, and usurped a sceptre, of which he was only guardian. But when, by being betrayed by those who were in the island, and besieged by the whole citizens, who were in possession of Achradina, he saw his open practices to attain the sovereignty frustrated, he attempted to secure it by stratagem and secret plots. He could not even be won by favours and honours, when he, in conjunction with the deliverers of his country, was chosen prætor for the defence of that liberty against which he had conspired. By being married to two ladies of the blood-royal, one the daughter of Hiero, the other of Gelo, their hearts had become quite royal." At this, the multitude, from all quarters, cried out, "That neither of those women ought to live, nor one of the royal race be suffered to remain in being." Such is the nature of the multitude; they cringe in slavery, and are imperious in power. Liberty, which is the happy medium between slavery and tyranny, they neither know how to slight when deprived of it, or use with moderation when they enjoy it. Neither, as usual, were there wanting ministers to foment their fury, and

excite the bloody-minded and rampant multitude to blood and massacre: for the prætors had scarce published the bill, "that all the royal race should be put to death," than the people consented to it. The prætor sent certain officers to dispatch Damarata, daughter of Hiero, and wife of Andranodorus, and Harmonia, daughter of Gelo, and wife of Themistus.

CHAP. XXVI.—THERE was another daughter of Hiero, named Heraclea, the wife of Zoippus, who had been sent ambassador by Hieronymus to King Ptolemy, and had chosen to continue in a voluntary exile. This lady, perceiving the executioners were coming to her, took refuge in the sanctuary of her domestic gods, with two virgins, her daughters, with their hair loose, and the rest of their dress in a miserable plight. To this moving scene she added prayers, "imploping them, sometimes by the memory of her father Hiero, and sometimes of her brother Gelo, not to suffer her, who was innocent, to smart for the resentment they bore to the guilty Hieronymus. All the benefit she enjoyed by his reign was the banishment of her husband. While Hieronymus was alive, she had not shared the same fortune with her sister; and now he was dead, her case was very different. Why? If Andranodorus had succeeded in his enterprises, her sister would have shared the crown with her husband, and she would have been a slave with their other subjects. If Zoippus were informed of the death of Hieronymus, and that Syracuse was reinstated in its liberty, there was no question but he would immediately embark, and return to his native country. Alas! how are men disappointed in their hopes! Must his wife and children fight for their life in a country set free? Wherein had they transgressed against liberty or the laws? What danger could be apprehended from a single woman, who was in a manner a widow? what from two orphan girls? If nothing was to be feared from them, but they were hated because they were of royal extraction, they should banish them from Syracuse and Sicily; order them to be transported to Alexandria, where

“ she would find a husband, and her daughters a father.” But they were inexorable, and her prayers made no impression on their minds. In order, therefore, not to lose time to no purpose, when she saw them drawing their swords, she gave over all entreaties for herself, and “ earnestly implored them, at least, to spare her daughters, who were at an age which was treated with clemency by enraged enemies. Do not,” said she, “ in taking your revenge upon tyrants, be guilty of the same cruelty that you abhorred in them.” As she uttered these words, they dragged her from the sanctuary, and stabbed her.—Then they fell upon the virgins, who were bespattered with their mother’s blood. Fear and grief had so distracted them, that, in a furious rage, they forced their way out of the temple. If they could have escaped into the forum, they would have raised an insurrection in the city. But they only for some considerable time saved themselves from those armed ruffians, by running up and down within the narrow compass of the house. Nay, notwithstanding they had to struggle with so many and strong men, they often broke loose from them after they had hold of them. At last, after having received many wounds, and stained every place with their blood, they sunk down dead. This was a most melancholy murder, but became more so by a succeeding event. A little after a messenger came from the magistrates, who relented, to suspend the execution. When the people found that the murder had been committed with so much expedition, that they had not time to repent, or allow their rage to subside, their compassion was turned into rage. They furiously called out for an election of prætors, in room of Andranodorus and Themistus, who had both been in that office. This election was not like to turn out to the satisfaction of those already in power.

CHAP. XXVII.—THE day for the election was appointed. On it it happened, beyond all expectation, that some person from the farther end of the crowd named Epicycles, and another soon after Hippocrates. As the votes for them became more frequent, they were

taken for the unanimous consent of the multitude. It was a very confused assembly, as not only citizens, but soldiers, and great numbers of deserters, who ardently wished for a revolution, were admitted into the voting-place. The prætors at first dissembled, and would have put off the election: but fearing a sedition, they gave way to the unanimous voice of the assembly, and declared those two generals prætors. They did not immediately upon their election discover their intentions, though they were much dissatisfied that deputies had been sent to Appius Claudius to obtain a truce for ten days; and, when that was accomplished, another deputation, to treat about renewing the ancient alliance between Rome and Syracuse. The Roman prætor had then a fleet of 100 ships at Murgantia, waiting to see what the commotions, occasioned by the murder of the royal race, would produce, and how far the Syracusans would carry their new and untried liberty. About the same time, Marcellus being arrived in Sicily, Appius sent the Syracusan ambassadors to him. When the consul heard their terms, he imagined matters might be accommodated, and so dispatched deputies to Syracuse, to see the treaty of alliance renewed with the prætors. But they did not find Syracuse in that quiet and tranquillity it had enjoyed formerly. It had been reported that a Carthaginian fleet had appeared off Cape Pachynum. This dispelled the fears of Hippocrates and Epicydes, who inspired sometimes the mercenaries, and sometimes the deserters, with a jealousy that Syracuse was to be betrayed to the Romans. These false surmises the more readily gained credit, as Appius, to encourage the opposite party, had anchored with his fleet at the mouth of the harbour. At first, the populace ran tumultuously to hinder the Romans from landing, in case they should attempt it.

CHAP. XXVIII.—IN this confusion, the magistrates thought it proper to call an assembly of the people. As the assembly was divided in opinion, and there was room to apprehend a sedition, one of their principal men, Apollonides, made them as salutary a speech as could have been framed in such a conjuncture. This orator

represented to them, "that no state was ever in such a crisis as theirs was at present: a crisis that must end in perfect safety, or utter destruction. For," said he, "no state could be happier or more fortunate, if they unanimously adhered either to the Romans or Carthaginians. But, if they were divided in opinion, they would excite as dangerous a war between the Syracusans themselves, as was between the Romans and Carthaginians. Within the same walls each faction would have its own troops, its own arms, and its own generals. They ought, therefore, with their utmost efforts, to promote unanimity. The most interesting question at present was not to determine which of the two alliances was to be preferred. Yet, in the choice of allies, they ought rather to follow the example of Hiero than of Hieronymus, and prefer an alliance, whose salutary effects they had happily experienced for fifty years, to the uncertain friendship of Carthage, who, in times past, had not proved faithful to her treaties. It was likewise a very essential consideration, that should they reject peace with the Carthaginians, the war with them was for the present more remote; but they must have immediate peace or immediate war with the Romans."—The more dispassionate and zealous this speech appeared, the more weight it had with the people. Besides the opinion of the prætors and the wisest of the senate, it was thought proper to have that of the officers of the army. Therefore, all the principal commanders of the national troops, and of the auxiliaries, entered into deliberation with the magistrates. The matter was often debated, and with great warmth. At last, as they were in no condition to support a war with the Romans, it was agreed to make peace with them; and a deputation was sent with the Roman ambassadors to conclude it.

CHAP. XXIX.—A FEW days after the Leontines sent ambassadors to Syracuse, to demand a body of troops to defend their frontiers. The state thought this a favourable opportunity to get rid of a multitude of turbulent unruly people and their ringleaders. Hip-

hippocrates was ordered to march thither with the deserters, who were followed by a body of mercenaries, which made in all 4000 men. This expedition was very agreeable to those who sent the troops, and to the troops themselves: for the latter were glad of an opportunity of bringing about a change in the government, which they had long desired, while the former were rejoiced that the city was purged of so rascally a multitude.— But this proved only like a palliative medicine to a sick body, which soon relapses into a more grievous distemper. At first, Hippocrates made stolen incursions upon the Roman province, laying waste the country. But then he openly attacked, with his whole forces, a body of troops that Appius had sent to protect the lands of the allies, and put most of them to the sword. When Marcellus was informed of this, he dispatched ambassadors to Syracuse, to complain of the infraction of the treaty; and that there would never be lasting peace till Hippocrates and Epicydes were banished, not only from Syracuse, but far from all Sicily. Epicydes, fearing to be immediately impeached in the absence of his brother, and that he should have no share in exciting a war, went to Leontini, where, perceiving the inhabitants sufficiently averse to the Roman interest, he endeavoured to make them declare against Syracuse too. He represented to them, “ that the Syracusans had made peace
“ with the Romans, on condition that they should have
“ dominion over all the cities formerly subject to their
“ kings. Thus they were not contented with the en-
“ joyment of their own liberty, if they did not obtain
“ sovereign power, and lord it over others. Let me
“ shew you then that you have as good a right to li-
“ berty as Syracuse: for in your city the tyrant was
“ killed; among you the cry of liberty was first heard.
“ At Leontini the troops deserted the king’s officers, and
“ ran to Syracuse. Therefore, you ought to have this
“ article expressly inserted in the treaty, or refuse to
“ accede to it.” The multitude was easily persuaded. So that when ambassadors from Syracuse complained of the slaughter of the Roman troops, and ordered Hippocrates and Epicydes to begone to Locri, or any other

place they should choose, provided they quitted Sicily, the Leontines haughtily replied,—“ That they had given the Syracusans no commission to make peace for them with the Romans; and that they were not bound by other people’s treaties.” The people of Syracuse acquainted the Romans with this answer, and declared they could not make the Leontines submit, who were not their subjects; so the Romans might make war upon them, without violating the treaty subsisting between Rome and Syracuse. They would assist them in that war, on condition that Leontini, after its reduction, should be restored to them.

CHAP. XXX.—MARCELLUS marched to Leontini with all his forces, and sent for Appius to attack it on another quarter. The ardour of his troops was so great, and they were so enraged that their guards had been put to the sword, while a peace was negotiating, that they took the town at the first assault. Hippocrates and Epicycles, seeing the wall taken, and the gates broken down, retired with a small number into the citadel. From thence they escaped in the night to Erbessus. A body of 8000 men from Syracuse were met at Mylæ by a person who told them that Leontini was taken. He told another false story, that the soldiers and inhabitants had been put to the sword without distinction, and he did not believe that any person arrived to the age of puberty had been spared: the city had been rifled, and all the effects of the rich abandoned to the soldiers. On this horrible news they halted; and being all in great perplexity, their generals, Sosis and Dinomenes, consulted what measures to take. This false story, which struck them into a panic, was occasioned by 2000 deserters, who were found in the place, being whipped and beheaded. But none of the other soldiers of Leontini had any violence offered them after it was taken; and, except what was destroyed in the first confusion, every person had their effects restored to them. This body, however, complaining that their fellow-soldiers had been betrayed to slaughter, could neither be prevailed on to proceed to Leontini, nor stay where they were till they

got more certain intelligence. When the prætors saw them like to mutiny, but that their seditious spirit would soon be quelled, if the ringleaders were removed, they marched to Megara. From thence they went with a small detachment of horse to Erbessus, in hopes that, in the general consternation there, the city would be betrayed to them: but not succeeding in their enterprise, they resolved to have recourse to force. Hereupon, they left Megara, in order to besiege Erbessus with their whole force. Hippocrates and Epicycles, seeing all hopes of safety cut off, except one, which at first sight seemed dangerous, to yield themselves up at discretion to the soldiers, with whom they were well acquainted, and who were exasperated at the report of the slaughter of their fellow-soldiers, went out to meet the army. Luckily for them, 600 Cretans, who had served under them in the reign of Hieronymus, and lay under obligations to Hannibal, who had set them at liberty when they were taken prisoners at the battle of Thrasy-men, marched in the van. As soon as Hippocrates and Epicycles knew them by their colours, arms, and clothes, they presented them olive-branches and wreaths, in a suppliant manner, imploring them to receive them into their protection, and preserve them from being delivered up to the Syracusans, who would immediately surrender them to be put to death by the Romans.

CHAP. XXXI.—THE Cretans immediately cried out to them to take courage, and promised to share in all their fate. During this conference, the colours halted, and the whole army stopt, and the generals were not yet informed of the cause of it: but when the rumour reached them, of Hippocrates and Epicycles being there, and that the whole army approved of their coming, the prætors galloped to the front. “Is this your way, Cretans?” said they. “What insolence is this, to hold a conference with enemies, and receive them in amongst you without the orders of your generals.” Then they ordered Hippocrates to be seized and laid in irons. Hereupon, the Cretans first, and then the rest of the troops,

raised such a clamour, that the prætors plainly saw they would be in great danger if they pushed the matter any farther. In this perplexity and uncertainty, they ordered the army to march back to Megara, from whence they came; and from thence they dispatched couriers to Syracuse, with accounts of the situation they were then in. As the troops were ready to credit any report, Hippocrates fell on another stratagem. Having sent some Cretans to lie privately on the road, he read letters to the troops, which he pretended he had intercepted, but in fact had himself forged. They were to this effect.—After the common salutation, “The prætors of Syracuse to the consul Marcellus, health,” they proceeded thus.—“You have done justly and wisely, in not sparing the lives of any of the Leontines. All the mercenaries deserve the same fate. Syracuse will never enjoy tranquillity while any foreigners remain in the city or the army. Endeavour, therefore, to reduce those who are encamped at Megara, under the command of our prætors, and by their destruction at length deliver Syracuse.” The hearing these letters raised such a clamour among the troops, who ran to arms, and so terrified the prætors, that they galloped away to Syracuse. But their flight did not quell the commotion. The mercenaries fell upon the Syracusan soldiers, and would not have spared a man of them, had not Epicycles and Hippocrates stopt their fury, not from humane or compassionate principles, but not to cut off all hopes of their return to Syracuse. Besides, they desired not only to secure the affection of these troops, but to keep them as hostages, at the same time, that they might gain the friendship of their relations by this piece of service, and retain them as pledges till this was effected. They were well acquainted with the fickle and inconstant temper of the multitude; and, therefore, having found a soldier who had been in Leontini, when it was besieged, they suborned him to go to Syracuse, and tell the same story that had been told at Mylæ. He could not fail to kindle their resentment against the Romans, by confidently averring, that he had been an eye-witness of what the Syracusans were in a doubt about before.

CHAP. XXXII.—THIS man imposed not only on the multitude, but even upon the senate, when he was introduced there. So that some credulous persons among them said openly,—“ It was extremely lucky that they had discovered the avarice and cruelty the Romans had exercised at Leontini. They would have done the same, if not worse, if they had entered Syracuse, where they would have met with greater temptations to be avaricious.” Upon this, they unanimously ordered their gates to be shut, and guards placed in the city: but they were not all intimidated alike, or hated the same persons. It was chiefly to the soldiers, and the generality of the populace, that the Romans were odious. The prætors, and some of the chief men, though prepossessed by the false report, yet endeavoured to guard against a storm that was nearer at hand, and ready to burst on their heads: for, by this time, Hippocrates and Epicycles were come to Hexapylus. The relations of those who were in the army held conferences together, to open the gates, and allow them to come in to defend their native city against the assaults of the Romans. One of the wickets of Hexapylus was already opened, and they began to enter, when the prætors interposed. They first deterred them by commands and menaces, and then by exerting their authority. At last, when they saw these made no impression, throwing aside their dignity, they had recourse to prayers, conjuring them not to betray their native city to those who had formerly been the minions of their tyrants, and now were the corruptors of the army. But the furious multitude were deaf to all that was said, and the gates were broke down with as much violence within as without. When they were all broke down, the army entered with safety. The prætors, with the youngest of the populace, fled for refuge to Achradina. The mercenaries, deserters, and such of the royal troops as were at Syracuse, made the enemy very numerous. In consequence, Achradina was taken at the first assault, and all the prætors killed, except such as escaped in the confusion. Night only put an end to the slaughter. Next day, the slaves were made free, and all prisoners set at liberty. This medley un-

animously chose Hippocrates and Epicycles prætors; and thus Syracuse, which had enjoyed the sun-shine of liberty for a short time, was plunged again into its former slavery.

CHAP. XXXIII.—THE Romans, upon advice of this revolution, advanced from Leontini to Syracuse.—Appius had sent ambassadors in by the harbour, in a quinquereme, preceded by a quadrireme. The latter had no sooner entered the mouth of the haven, but she was taken, and the deputies escaped with difficulty. Marcellus did not neglect to try to bring about a peace before he proceeded to acts of hostility. Having encamped within a mile and a half of the city, at the temple of Jupiter Olympius, he resolved to send deputies to Syracuse. Hippocrates and Epicycles, to prevent their entering the town, met them without the walls. The Roman deputies represented, “that Marcellus did not
“come to make war on them, but to relieve and assist
“them, who, having escaped the slaughter, had taken
“refuge with him; and those, who being oppressed by
“fear, suffered a slavery, not only worse than exile,
“but worse than death. Neither would the Romans
“suffer the unheard-of massacre of their allies to escape
“with impunity. He, therefore, would not have recourse
“to arms, on condition that the refugees were suffered
“to return in safety to their native city; the authors of
“the massacre given up, and Syracuse restored to the
“free enjoyment of her laws and liberty. But whoever
“should hinder the performance of these things, he
“would make war upon with all his might.” Epicycles replied, “If you had brought any commission to
“us, we would have returned you an answer. Begone;
“and when those to whom you are sent have the chief
“management of affairs in Syracuse, you may come
“back. If you are for war, you will find the siege of
“Syracuse a more difficult enterprise than that of Le-
“ontini.” Thus the deputies took their leave, and he shut the gates. Then Marcellus began to invest Syracuse both by sea and land. At Hexapylus, on the land-side, and by sea at Achradina, whose wall is washed by

the waves. As he had taken Leontini at the first assault, he did not despair of carrying this vast and large city at one place or another, and, therefore, approached it with all the machines used in sieges.

CHAP. XXXIV.—THE vigorous efforts made to carry the place had certainly succeeded, had they not been frustrated by one man. This was the celebrated Archimedes. He was an excellent astronomer; but a much better inventor and contriver of warlike machines, with which in an instant he destroyed what had cost the enemy infinite labour to erect. As the walls of the town, which stood on different hills, were not of an equal height, but the greatest part very high and difficult of access, while some were so low that people might approach them on plain ground, he prepared engines exactly to answer the situation of every place. Marcellus with his quinqueremes invested Achradina, whose walls, as we said before, were washed by the waves of the sea. In the other vessels he posted his archers and slingers, and even the light-armed troops, whose weapons were so awkward that they could not be thrown back by persons unacquainted with them. These scarcely suffered any one to stand on the wall without being wounded. As they needed room to throw their weapons, they kept at a distance from the wall. To the quinqueremes were made fast two other vessels,* from which the oars on the innerside were taken away, that they might be joined side to side. They were navigated like ships by the oars on the outsides, and carried towers made of plank, and other machines for battering the walls. Against these batteries by sea Archimedes prepared engines of different magnitudes, and placed them on the walls. Upon those vessels that were at a distance from the walls he discharged pieces of rocks of vast weight.† But against those that were nearer he discharged more frequent volleys of lighter weapons. At last, that his

* Plutarch and Polybius say eight quinqueremes were joined together, and formed what they call *Sambucæ*, from the resemblance to a musical instrument.

† Some above 1200 weight.

own men might annoy the enemy, and be under safe cover themselves, he made many loop-holes a cubit in height from the bottom to the top of the wall. Through these holes some, without being seen, let fly showers of arrows, while others plied the enemy briskly from small cross-bows. Against those vessels that came close up to the walls, that they might be within the enemy's shot, he contrived a kind of crow, projected above the wall, with an iron grapple fastened to a strong chain. This was let down upon the prow of a ship, and by means of the weight of a heavy counterpoise of lead raised up the prow, and set the vessel upright upon her poop: then letting it down all of a sudden, as if the vessel had fallen from the wall, to the great terror of the seamen, it sunk so far into the sea, that it let in a great deal of water, even when it fell directly down on its keel. Thus all their attempts by sea being baffled, they drew off from that quarter in order to attack the place with all their force by land. But that part of the wall was likewise defended by all kinds of machines, which had been prepared by the care and at the expense of Hiero many years before, and all invented by Archimedes. This place was likewise strongly fortified by nature: for the walls were built on a rock, which in every part almost was so steep, that not only the weapons thrown from their machines, but whatever was tumbled, by its own gravity, struck the enemy with great violence. For the same reason it was difficult to approach it, and yielded very unsure footing when they did. Wherefore seeing all their endeavours frustrated, a council of war was called, in which it was resolved to attack the town no more, but shut up all the avenues of it by sea and land, to prevent supplies being thrown into it.

CHAP. XXXV.—IN the meanwhile Marcellus marched with one-third of the army to reduce the towns, which, during the commotions, had gone over to the Carthaginian. Elorus and Erbessus surrendered to him voluntarily. Megara he took by storm, rifled and demolished, which greatly terrified the rest, but especially the Syracusans. About the same time Himilco, who

had lain long with his fleet at Cape Pachynum, landed 22,000 foot, 3000 horse, and 12 elephants, at Heraclea of Minos. He had not so many troops with him when he lay at Pachynum: but after Hippocrates and Epicydès had made themselves masters of Syracuse, he went to Carthage. Here, being seconded by Hippocrates's deputies, and letters from Hannibal, representing that the time was now come to recover Sicily with the greatest honour; and being himself on the spot, and a good orator, he easily prevailed to have as many horse and foot sent into Sicily as they could spare. Within a few days after his arrival at Heraclea, he recovered Agrigentum. This made all the other cities, which had sided with the Carthaginians, entertain so great hopes of seeing the Romans driven out of Sicily, that, at last, those who were besieged in Syracuse took courage. Thinking part of their forces sufficient to defend their city, they divided the command so, that Epicydès should defend the city, and Hippocrates, after joining Himilco, attack the Roman consul. Accordingly, the latter, by favour of the night, marched out through the intervals of the Roman lines, and encamped at Acrillæ.*—Marcellus, as he was returning from Agrigentum, already in possession of the enemy, and whither he had in vain marched with all expedition to prevent them, surprised this detachment as they were pitching their camp. He, indeed, little expected to meet an army from Syracuse, either at that time or place. However, for fear it had been Himilco with the Carthaginian army, for whom the troops he had with him were not a match, he marched out in order, with the greatest precaution, and prepared against all events.

CHAP. XXXVI.—LUCKILY the precautions he had taken against the Carthaginians served him in good stead against the Syracusans. Finding them in disorder and dispersed, pitching their camp, nay, most of them unarmed, he surrounded the infantry. The cavalry, af-

* To the south-west of Syracuse.

ter a slight skirmish, fled with Hippocrates to Acræ.* This victory gave a check to the Sicilians revolting from the Romans. Marcellus returned to his lines before Syracuse. Within a few days, Himilco, having been joined by Hippocrates, encamped on the river Anapus,† eight miles from Syracuse. At the same time, Bomilcar, a Carthaginian admiral, entered the greatest port of Syracuse, with a fleet of fifty-five sail; and a Roman fleet, of 35 quinqueremes, landed the first legion at Panormus. Thus the war was diverted from Italy; so intent did both states seem upon making their most vigorous efforts in Sicily. The Roman legion that had been landed at Panormus escaped Himilco, who looked upon them as a certain prey in their route to Syracuse. The Carthaginian had taken the road cross the country; but the legion, keeping along the coast, and, supported by their fleet, arrived at Pachynum, where Appius went out with part of his troops to escort them. The Carthaginians, too, did not stay long in Syracuse: for Bomilcar, not daring to risk his fleet, while the Romans had one double its number, and perceiving that his stay could serve no other purpose but to promote the famine among their allies, set sail for Africa. Himilco, in vain, followed Marcellus to Syracuse, in hopes of finding an opportunity to fight him before he had joined the troops in his grand camp; but, seeing himself disappointed, and the Roman safe within his lines, and too strong to be attacked, he decamped, that he might not lose time by being an idle spectator of the siege of his allies, in order to march wherever he had hopes of any people's revolting from the Romans, that, by his presence, he might encourage those who were promoting the Carthaginian interest. The first place he recovered was Murgantia, where the inhabitants betrayed the Roman garrison.—Here he found a great quantity of all kinds of provisions, which had been laid up by the Romans.

CHAP. XXXVII.—THIS encouraged a great many others to revolt: so that, on all sides, the Roman garrisons

* Santa Maria d'Arcia, twenty miles from Syracuse, between Noto and Avula.

† Now called Alfeo.

sons were either driven out of the cities they held, or surprised by the perfidy of the inhabitants. Henna, by being situated on an eminence, which was very steep on all sides, was not to be taken by force; besides, it had a strong garrison, commanded by an officer who could not easily be trapped. L. Pinarius was a vigilant general, and depended more on its not being possible to surprise him than on the fidelity of the Hennenses. The news of the revolt of so many cities, and the massacre of their garrisons, kept him continually on his guard. Therefore night and day he had every place well guarded and in good order, and his troops constantly under arms, without stirring from their posts. When the leading men of Henna, who had already agreed with Himilco to betray the town, perceived that the Romans would not suffer them to get an opportunity of putting their perfidious scheme in execution, they resolved to do it openly. "If," said they, "we entered into alliance with the Romans as freemen, and were not surrendered to them as slaves, we ought to be masters of our town and citadel. Therefore, they thought it reasonable that the keys of their gates should be restored to them. With true allies, fidelity was the surest bond of alliance. Nay, the Roman people and senate would applaud them more, when they voluntarily adhered to her interests without being compelled to it." The Roman replied,—“I received a commission from my general to command the garrison here. He likewise gave me the keys of your gates, and the guard of your citadel. Neither you nor I have the disposal of them at our pleasure, but he who committed them to my charge. To quit a garrison is a capital crime with the Romans, by a law which our fathers have confirmed by shedding the blood of their freeborn subjects. The consul Marcellus is not at a great distance. Send deputies to him, who alone has a right, and can at pleasure command me.” They refused to send, and protested, if arguments could not prevail, they would seek some other means to recover their liberty. To this Pinarius answered,—“That since they thought it a trouble to send to the consul, he hoped

“ they would assemble the people, that he might know
“ whether this was the motion of a small number, or of
“ the whole city.” They agreed to this, and an assembly
was appointed to meet next day.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—WHEN this conference was
over, he retired into the citadel, where he harangued
his troops.—“ Fellow-soldiers,” said he, “ I am sensible
“ you have heard how the Roman garrisons have been
“ betrayed and massacred of late by the Sicilians. Hi-
“ therto you have escaped the same snares, in the first
“ place, by the kindness of the gods, and then by your
“ own valour and vigilance day and night. I wish it
“ were possible for the future to pass our time without
“ suffering or committing some act of violence. The
“ caution we have hitherto used against secret machi-
“ nations must still be observed, because, now they see
“ they do not succeed, they openly and loudly demand
“ the keys of their gates; and as soon as we deliver
“ them up, the Carthaginians will immediately be put
“ in possession of Henna. We shall then be massacred
“ in a more inhuman manner than the garrison of Mur-
“ gantia was. With difficulty I have obtained the
“ space of one night to deliberate, and inform you of
“ the imminent danger you are in. By day-break they
“ are to call an assembly, to accuse me, and excite the
“ people against you. To-morrow, therefore, the streets
“ of Henna must run with your blood, or the blood of
“ its own inhabitants. If you suffer them to be before-
“ hand with you, you will lose all you have; but if you
“ prevent them, you will run no risk. They who first
“ draw the sword will be conquerors. Be all ready,
“ therefore, and wait under arms for the signal. I will
“ be in the assembly, and protract the time by wrang-
“ ling speeches, till every thing is ready. When I
“ give you the signal with my robe, do you send up a
“ shout, and fall on the multitude. Cut them all to
“ pieces, and see that none be spared, whose treachery
“ and violence we have reason to fear. And as we take
“ this step in order to avoid, not from a desire to com-
“ mit a treacherous action, we beseech thee, O Ce-

“ res, Proserpine, and all the other celestial and infer-
“ nel deities, who inhabit this city, these sacred lakes
“ and groves, to be propitious and favourable to us.
“ Fellow-soldiers, I would use more arguments with
“ you, if you were to fight with men in arms. But as
“ they are unarmed and unprepared, you may kill them
“ at your pleasure. Besides, the consul is encamped
“ so near us, that we have nothing to apprehend from
“ Himilco and the Carthaginians.” When he had
finished his speech, he dismissed them to refresh them-
selves.

CHAP. XXXIX.—NEXT day some were posted to beset the avenues, in order to prevent the people from escaping ; but the greatest number stood upon and round the theatre, without being suspected, as they were used formerly to come and be spectators in the assemblies. The magistrates presented the Roman governor to the people. When he represented that he had no power and authority but the consul alone, to grant their demands, and many other things which he had urged the day before ; at first some, then more, at last all the people with one voice, demanded the keys to be delivered up to them. As he hesitated and delayed, they severely menaced him, and seemed ready to offer him violence. Then the governor gave the signal agreed on with his robe. His troops, who had long been ready, and were carefully watching for it, set up a shout, and some ran down upon the multitude assembled opposite to them, while others, in great bodies, guarded the avenues to the theatre. Thus the Hennenses were slaughtered, pent up in their assembly-house. As many were stifled in endeavouring to escape as fell by the sword, as they rushed over one another's heads ; and the whole and wounded, the living and the dead, fell in heaps upon one another. Then they broke into the streets ; and, as if the town had been taken by storm, there was nothing but flight and slaughter in every corner. The fury of the soldiers was not the less because the multitude was unarmed ; for they were as much enraged, and expressed as great ardour, as if they had run all the risk and danger of a set

battle. Thus was Henna preserved in possession of the Romans, by an action undoubtedly unjustifiable, unless it was committed in a necessary self-defence. Marcellus, however, did not disapprove of the action, and granted the garrison the plunder of the city, imagining by this he would deter and restrain the Sicilians from betraying the Roman garrisons. But the fate of this city, situated in the middle of Sicily, celebrated for its naturally strong fortifications, and every place in it accounted sacred in remembrance of Proserpine, who was formerly carried off from hence, spread all over the island in one day. And as the Sicilians imagined, that, by this cruel massacre, the Romans had not only violated the sacred rights of men, but impiously polluted the habitation of the gods, they now wavered no longer as before, but went over to the Carthaginians. Then Hippocrates went back to Murgantia and Himilco to Agrigentum, after a fruitless march to Henna, whither they had been invited by those who would have betrayed it to them. Marcellus returned to Leontini. After having conveyed corn and other provisions to his camp, and left a small garrison in the place, he proceeded to his intrenchments before Syracuse. Here he sent Ap. Claudius to Rome to stand for the consulate, and in his room gave the command of the fleet and old camp to T. Quinctius Crispinus. He repaired and fortified Leon, about five miles from Hexapylus, for winter quarters to himself. Thus ended the campaign in Sicily.

CHAP. XL.—THE same summer the war which the Romans suspected they would have with King Philip broke out. Deputies from Oricum* came to the prætor Valerius, who commanded a fleet at Brundisium, and along the coasts of Calabria, and informed him, that Philip had first gone up the river,† with 120 biremes, and made an attempt upon Apollonia. But as this enterprise did not succeed according to his hopes, he had approached Oricum with his fleet in the night, and, as it was situated in a plain, and had neither troops nor

* Now Val de Orso. It was then a sea-port of Epirus.

† Aous.

arms to defend it, had taken it at the first assault.— These deputies entreated the prætor to send them aid, that, by sea and land, they might repel this avowed enemy of the Romans, who had attacked them for no other reason, but because they lay commodious for his designs upon Italy. Valerius, leaving his lieutenant-general to protect the coast, set sail with his fleet ready for action, after having embarked on board the transports such of the troops as the men of war could not carry. He arrived at Oricum the second day after he set out. As Philip, at his departure, had left but a weak garrison in the place, the prætor easily retook it. While he staid in it, deputies came from the Apolloniates, to inform him that their city was besieged, because they would not revolt from the Romans; and that they were no longer in a condition to resist his arms, unless the Romans sent them a garrison. He promised to do what they desired; and sent some men of war, with 2000 soldiers on board, to the mouth of the river, under the command of Q. Nævius Crista, an enterprising and experienced officer. Crista landed the troops; and having ordered the ships to rejoin the fleet at Oricum, from whence they came, marched the soldiers at a distance from the river, by a way not guarded at all by the king's troops, and entered the city in the night, without being perceived by the enemy. They remained quiet all the next day, while the Roman governor reviewed the youth of Apollonia, and examined what arms and forces they had in the place. The condition in which he found them on this examination encouraged him sufficiently: at the same time, his scouts informed him how secure and inactive the enemy were. In consequence, he marched out of the city at the dead of night, without any noise or confusion, and entered the enemy's camp, which was so carelessly guarded, that it is very certain above 1000 men had entered before any one perceived it: nay, could they have refrained from slaughter, they might have penetrated to the king's tent. The slaughter of those next the gate roused the enemy, who were seized with such a terror and consternation, that not only none of them took arms, or attempted to drive the enemy

out of their camp ; but even the king himself fled, almost as he was when he waked, to the river and his ships, in a condition which a crowned head ought to have been ashamed of. The whole army ran the same way in throngs. Near 3000 men were either killed or taken in the camp ; but the number of prisoners exceeded that of the slain. The camp was plundered. The balistas, catapultas, and other machines, that had been prepared to batter the town, were carried to Apollonia, with a design to use them for the defence of the walls, in case they should ever be exposed to a like misfortune. All the rest of the plunder was abandoned to the Romans. When this news reached Oricum, M. Valerius sailed immediately to the mouth of the river with his fleet, to prevent the king's making his escape by the help of his ships. In consequence, Philip, seeing he was not in a condition to face the Romans, either by sea or land, after having drawn ashore part of his ships, and burnt the remainder, retired, by land, to Macedonia with his troops, most of whom had lost their arms and baggage. M. Valerius wintered with the Roman fleet at Oricum.

CHAP. XLI.—DURING this year both sides in their turn were successful in Spain. Before the Romans could pass the Ebro, Mago and Asdrubal routed a great army of Spaniards. In effect of this, all Hither Spain had revolted from the Romans, had not P. Scipio, by passing the Ebro in a hurry, come opportunely to confirm his allies that were wavering. The first place the Romans encamped at, was the High Castle,* famous for the death of the great Hamilcar. It was strongly fortified, and they had made it a magazine. Yet, as all the circumjacent country was full of enemies, and their cavalry had frequently attacked the Roman army with impunity, by which Scipio lost 2000 men, most of whom were stragglers, or such as lagged on the march, the Romans removed to places less infested, and encamped at Mount Victoria.† Thither came Cn. Scipio, with all his forces. A third Carthaginian general, Asdrudal,

* Cuenza, in New Castille.

† A part of Mount Sierra Nevada, in the kingdom of Granada.

son of Gisgo, joined the other two there, which made their army complete; and they all three encamped on the banks of the Anas,* opposite to the Roman camp. P. Scipio marched out privately to reconnoitre the adjacent places, but was discovered by the enemy, who would have cut him off in the plains, if he had not been able to seize an eminence that was near.— Even here he was invested, but was relieved by his brother. Castulo, a strong and famed city in Spain, and formerly so zealous in the Carthaginian interest, that Hannibal had married a native of it, now came over to the Romans. The Carthaginians invested Illiturgis, because it had a Roman garrison: they hoped to reduce it at least by famine. Cn. Scipio, to succour his allies and the garrison, broke through between the two Carthaginian camps with a single legion of light-armed men, and, after great slaughter of the enemy, threw himself into the town. Next he made a sally, and attacked them with equal success. In these two attacks he killed upwards of 12,000 men, took more than 10,000 prisoners, and thirty-six colours. Thus the enemy were forced to raise the siege: but they next sat down before Bigerra,† a city in alliance with the Romans; but, on the approach of Scipio, they raised the siege without fighting.

CHAP. XLII.—THEN they decamped, and marched to Munda,‡ whither the Romans followed close at their heels. Here they came to a battle, which lasted four hours: but, while the Romans were gallantly driving all before them, a retreat was sounded, because Cn. Scipio was wounded in the thigh with a dart. The soldiers crowded round him, under terrible apprehensions of the wound's proving mortal. Had not the Romans been prevented by this melancholy accident, they had certainly taken the Carthaginian camp that day: for they had not only driven the soldiers to their lines, but even the elephants, thirty-nine of which were killed. In this battle, it is said about 12,000 men were slain, near 3000

* Now the Guadiana, which rises in New Castille, and falls into the sea at Ayamonte.

† Near Pequera, in the east part of New Castille.

‡ Ronda la Veia, on the confines of Andalusia.

taken, with fifty-seven colours. Then the Carthaginian retired to Aurinx,* whither the Romans followed, not to give their terror time to abate. Here Scipio, carried in a litter, fought a second battle, and gained a complete victory. But not half the number of men were killed in this as were in the first, because not so many had survived it. But, as this nation had a peculiar talent at renewing war, Mago, who was sent by his brother to make new levies, soon recruited the army, and inspired them with courage to try their fortune once more; but as they were mostly raw troops, and fought for a party that had been so often defeated within the space of a few days, they behaved in the same manner, and met with the same fate. Above 8000 of them were killed, and near 1000 taken prisoners. Among the spoil many things were found that belonged to the Gauls: great quantities of gold rings, chains, and bracelets.—Two, likewise, the most considerable of their petty princes, Mœnicaptus and Civismarus, lost their lives in the action. Eight elephants were taken and three killed. As the Romans were so successful in Spain, they thought it shameful that Saguntum, the siege of which was the foundation of the war, should have remained eight years in the enemy's possession. They, therefore, drove out the Carthaginian garrison, retook the city, and restored it to as many of the old inhabitants as had escaped the sword. The Turdetani, who, by joining the Carthaginians, had drawn the war upon the Saguntines, they reduced, sold them by auction, and razed their city.

CHAP. XLIII.—THESE victories were gained in Spain during the consulate of Q. Fabius and M. Claudius. As soon as the new tribunes of the people had entered upon their office at Rome, one of them, L. Metellus, indicted the censors, P. Furius and M. Atilius. They had, when he was quæstor the year before, taken his horse from him, degraded him from his tribe, and left him nothing more belonging to a citizen than paying

* It stood in Bætica, but in what part cannot be ascertained.

taxes, because he had been one of them who conspired to abandon Italy after the battle of Cannæ: but the bill was thrown out by the interposition of his nine colleagues, who would not suffer the censors to be prosecuted while they were in office. The death of P. Furius prevented the lustrum from being finished, and M. Atilius abdicated the censorship. Then Q. Fabius Maximus held the comitia for the election of consuls.—Q. Fabius Maximus, son of the consul, and T. Sempronius Gracchus, a second time, were both chosen in their absence. M. Atilius, and the present curule ædiles, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, and M. Æmilius Lepidus, were chosen prætors. It is recorded that plays were first exhibited for four days by the curule ædiles at that time. The ædile Tuditanus was he who, while the rest were stupified with fear at Cannæ, forced a way through the enemy. When Fabius had finished the elections, the consuls elect were called to Rome, where they entered upon their office. Then they consulted the senate about the operations of the campaign, the provinces of the prætors, and what armies each general was to command.

CHAP. XLIV.—THE provinces and armies were disposed of in the following manner.—The consuls were to act against Hannibal, one with the army which Sempronius had commanded before, the other with that which Fabius had. Each of them consisted of two legions. The prætor, M. Æmilius, whose lot it was to have the jurisdiction of foreigners, having committed his jurisdiction to his colleague, M. Atilius, city-prætor, had Luceria for his province, with the two legions which the present consul Q. Fabius had commanded when he was prætor. Sempronius had Ariminum, and Cn. Fulvius Suessula, with two legions a-piece. Tuditanus was to receive two from Pomponius, and Fulvius was to lead out the city legions. Then several officers were continued in their commands and provinces: Marcellus in Sicily, within the extent of Hiero's dominions; Lentulus in his old province; and T. Otacilius, with the fleet, without any additional troops; M. Valerius in

Greece and Macedon, with the legion and fleet he had ; Q. Mucius, with the two old legions he had in Sardinia ; C. Terentius at Picenum, with the legion he commanded. Besides, two new city-legions were ordered to be levied, and 20,000 allies. These were the generals, and these the forces, which they provided for the defence of the Roman empire, in many wars already on foot, and several they soon expected to break out. The consuls having levied the two new city-legions, and supplies for other places, expiated the prodigies that were reported before they left Rome. Lightning had fallen on one of the city walls and gates, and on the temple of Jupiter at Aricia. Many other idle things, that the people fancied they saw and heard, were believed for truth. In the river Tarracina, the people thought they saw a great number of galleys, which was a mere *deceptio visus*, and the clashing of arms in the temple of Jupiter Vicilianus, which stands in the territory of Compsa. The river of Amiternum* ran with blood. After these were expiated, according to the direction of the pontiffs, the consuls set out for their provinces, Sempronius for Lucania, and Fabius for Apulia. Old Fabius went to the camp at Suessula, to serve as lieutenant-general under his son. When the consul went out to meet him, the lictors, who walked before, out of respect to his authority, suffered the father to pass them, without speaking. He had already rode past eleven of them, when the consul, chiding the twelfth, ordered him to call out "Dismount." He obeyed, saying, "I was willing, son, to try whether you was sufficiently sensible of your being consul."

CHAP. XLV.—IN this camp Dasius Altinius, the Arpinian, came in the night, attended only by three slaves, promising to betray Arpi, for a reward proportioned to the service. Fabius having laid the affair before a council of war, some were of opinion "that this villain should be whipped with rods, and then put to death ; his mind was continually fluctuating, and he

* In the Farther Abruzzo, near St. Vittorino.

“ was alternately an enemy to both parties. After the
“ battle of Cannæ, as if it had been a just rule to
“ change with fortune, he went over to the Carthagi-
“ nian, and drew Arpi into his revolt. Now seeing,
“ contrary to his expectation and wishes, the Roman
“ affairs retrieved, he seemed to offer a new and baser
“ treachery to those whom he had betrayed before.
“ Such a treacherous ally, such a contemptible enemy,
“ who always openly espoused one party, while his
“ heart was with the other, should be made an exam-
“ ple of, and added as a third to that of the schoolmas-
“ ter of Falerii, and the villain who would have be-
“ trayed Pyrrhus.” Fabius, the consul’s father, was
of a contrary opinion.—“ You forget the times,” said
he, “ and in the heat of war give your opinions of
“ every person as if we enjoyed an undisturbed
“ tranquillity. The principal aim of all our delibera-
“ tions, of all our actions, ought to be, by all possible
“ means, to prevent the allies of the Roman people
“ from falling off, and wavering, sometimes espousing
“ one side, sometimes another. But we ought not to
“ declare it is necessary to make an example of him
“ who repents, and returns to his former alliance. Can
“ any one doubt, if people may desert the Romans,
“ and not have liberty to come over to them again, but
“ it will soon be seen Rome will be abandoned by her
“ allies, and all Italy enter into alliance with the Car-
“ thaginian? Yet he was not for reposing any confi-
“ dence in Altinius, but for taking the medium in the
“ affair. Without considering him at present as an
“ enemy or friend, it would be best to keep him in an
“ easy confinement in some faithful city, not far from
“ the camp, till the end of the war. Then we may
“ consider whether he rather deserves to be punished
“ for his former revolt, or pardoned for his present re-
“ turn.” This advice of Fabius was followed. Altin-
nius and his train were put in irons, and a great sum
of gold, which he had brought with him, was ordered to
be kept for him. During the day he walked abroad at
Cale under a guard, but was locked up at night. As
soon as he was missed from his house at Arpi, diligent

search was made for him. When the rumour of his absence was spread abroad, it occasioned as great an alarm among the citizens as if they had lost their head; and the apprehension of a revolution made them immediately send couriers to inform Hannibal of what had happened. The Carthaginian was in no manner of pain at the news. He had long considered Altinius as a man in whom he could place no confidence, and was glad he had found a pretext to seize his riches, which were very great. But to make the world believe he acted rather from the motive of revenge than avarice, he exercised the severest cruelties upon his family. He sent for his wife and children to his camp, where having examined them first about Altinius's flight, and then what gold and silver he had left in his house, as soon as he was sufficiently informed of everything, he burnt them alive.

CHAP. XLVI.—FABIUS having dislodged from Suessula, resolved to open the campaign with the siege of Arpi. Having sat down within five hundred paces of the place, and taken a near view of its situation and walls, he determined to attack it on the strongest side which was least guarded. After he had got ready every thing necessary for the attack, he chose out the flower of his centurions, and placed the bravest of the legionary tribunes at their head. Under them he sent a detachment of 600 men, which he deemed sufficient for the enterprise. He ordered them to scale that place, as soon as the trumpet sounded the fourth watch. In that place there was a low and narrow gate, entering into a street that was little frequented, as that part of the city was uninhabited. He ordered them, after having scaled this gate, to advance to the wall, burst open the bars by violence, and as soon as they had got possession of that quarter of the town, to blow the trumpet as a signal for the rest of the army to approach. These orders were diligently executed; and what one would have thought would have proved the greatest obstacle to them, was what most furthered their enterprise, as it kept them from being discovered. A shower

which fell at midnight obliged the guards and sentinels to quit their posts and take shelter in their houses ; besides, the rattling of the storm, which increased, hindered the inhabitants from hearing them who were breaking down the gate. At last it made such a humming noise in their ears, when it grew more moderate, that it lulled the greatest part of them to sleep. When the detachment had once got possession of the gate, they ordered the trumpets, which they had placed at equal distances on the roads, to sound, in order to rouse the consul. The signal agreed upon was no sooner given, than Fabius ordered his troops to advance, and a little before day-break entered the town at the gate that was broken down.

CHAP. XLVII.—THE enemy waked then as the rain had ceased and day approached. Hannibal's garrison consisted of near 5000 men, and the Arpini had armed 3000 of their youth. These the Carthaginians posted in the front, for fear they should treacherously attack their rear. The battle began in the dark and in the narrow streets. The Romans had seized not only the avenues, but also the houses adjoining to the gate, that they might not be attacked or wounded from above. Then some Arpini and Romans, who were acquainted, entered into a conference. The latter asked the former,—“ What they proposed? For what injury done them by the Romans, or favours received of the Carthaginian, they who were Italians could, in favour of foreigners and barbarians, make war on their ancient allies the Romans, and make Italy a province, tributary to Africa?” The Arpini replied in their defence,—“ That without being let into the secret at all, they had been sold to the Carthaginian by their principal men: that they had been entrapped and oppressed by a few.” When these conferences were once began, they spread, till at last the Arpini brought their prætor to the consul, who having promised them forgiveness and protection in sight of the two armies, they turned their arms against the Carthaginians. About 1000 Spaniards likewise came over to the consul, with-

out having demanded more than that the Carthaginian garrison should be dismissed without treachery. The gates were opened to them, and being, according to agreement, dismissed without the least violence, they went to Hannibal at Salapia. Thus Arpi returned to its obedience to the Romans, without the loss of any of its inhabitants, except of him who had formerly betrayed, and lately deserted them. The Spaniards were ordered to have double allowance, and by their bravery and fidelity continued long to do the republic good service. While one of the consuls was in Apulia, and the other in Lucania, 112 of the chief men of Capua having, under pretext of ravaging their enemies lands, obtained the magistrates' permission to go out of the city, came to the Roman camp above Suessula. They told the advanced guard that they desired a conference with the prætor. Cn. Fulvius commanded that camp. When he was informed of it, he ordered ten of them to be admitted to him without arms. When they made known their desires, which extended to no more than that they should be restored to their estates, when their city should be reduced to the obedience of the Romans, he received them all under his protection. The other prætor Sempronius Tuditanus took Aternum by assault, and in it above 7000 prisoners, and some silver and brass money. A violent fire broke out at Rome, and burnt with irresistible fury for two nights and a day. It levelled with the ground all the buildings between the salt-pits and the gate Carmentalis, with the street called Jugarius and the Æquimelium. It consumed the temples of Fortune, Matuta, and Hope, without the gate, and spreading far and wide, made great havoc among both sacred and profane edifices.

CHAP. XLVIII.—THE same year, P. and Cn. Cornelii, encouraged by their great success in Spain, where they had recovered the ancient allies, and added new ones, extended their views to Africa. Syphax, then king of a great part of Numidia,* on a sudden de-

* That part possessed by the Masæsylians, who inhabited a part of Mauritania, now the western part of Algiers, and its capital called Tenez.

clared against the Carthaginians. They sent three centurions with full power to conclude a treaty of alliance with him, and to assure him, that if he persisted in prosecuting the war against the Carthaginians, he would do an acceptable piece of service to the Roman senate and people, and they would take care that hereafter it should be returned manyfold. The barbarian prince received the embassy with great joy, and entered into a conference with the deputies about a plan of the operations of the war. When he heard the opinion of those old experienced officers, and compared their exact discipline with his own, it convinced him that he was very ignorant in many respects. Then he demanded of them, as the first testimony of their being true and faithful allies, "that only two of them should return to give an account of their embassy to their generals, and the third stay with him to form his troops to discipline: for though his Numidians were dexterous at managing horses, yet they knew nothing of the art of fighting on foot. From the first origin of their nation, his ancestors had never made war but on horseback, to which his subjects were trained from their infancy. But he had an enemy who relied much on his foot. He had a strong desire to equal him in respect to that kind of force, and match him in infantry. He had men in abundance in his kingdom for that purpose; but he did not understand the art of giving them proper arms, making them keep their ranks, and drawing them up in order of battle. For my infantry, like a rabble assembled by chance, are an unwieldy, ungovernable body." The deputies replied, "that at present they would comply with his desires, if he would solemnly promise to send him back immediately, if their generals should not approve of what they did." The officer who staid with the king was named Statorius. The two others returned to give an account of their embassy. The Numidian sent ambassadors into Spain to receive the engagements of the Roman generals. At the same time, he ordered them to make the Numidians, who were in the Carthaginian garrisons, to pass over imme-

diately to the Romans. Statorius formed a body of infantry, out of vast numbers of youth the king had.—When he had divided them into companies after the Roman manner, he taught them to follow their colours in drawing up in battle array, and in filing off, and to keep their ranks. He inured them so well to fatigue, and all other duties of military discipline, that the king soon relied as much on his infantry as on his cavalry, and even defeated the Carthaginians in a set battle, which he fought with them on fair ground. The arrival of the Numidian ambassadors in Spain turned greatly to the advantage of the Romans: for, on the first rumour of it, the Numidians began to desert to them in frequent bodies. Thus did the Romans make an alliance with Syphax. As soon as the Carthaginians were informed of it, they sent ambassadors to Gala, king of another part of Numidia, inhabited by the Masylians.*

CHAP. XLIX.—GALA had a son, named Massinissa, only seventeen years of age, but possessed of such rare qualities, that even then it appeared he would leave his descendants a kingdom more opulent, and of greater extent, than he should receive from his ancestors. The ambassadors represented, “that Syphax had joined the Romans, with a view to strengthen himself against the other kings and states of Africa by their alliance. It was, therefore, Gala’s interest, as soon as possible, to join the Carthaginians, before Syphax could go over into Spain, or the Romans into Africa. Syphax might be crushed, as he had hitherto only the name of an ally to the Romans.” Gala was easily persuaded. His son earnestly begged to be sent at the head of the army to that war, and, having joined the Carthaginians, he routed Syphax in a great battle. It is said, 30,000 men were left dead on the spot. Syphax escaped with a small body of horse into the country of the Moors, in the extremity of Africa, along the ocean, opposite to Cadiz. As numbers of the barbarians, on the report of his being there, flocked to him, he soon

* On the eastern parts of Numidia, bordering upon Africa Propria.

had a powerful army. But before he could transport it over the Straits* lying between that and Spain, Massinissa came up with his victorious army. Here, solely with his own forces, without any aid from the Carthaginians, he prosecuted the war against Syphax, in which he acquired great reputation. Nothing memorable happened in Spain, except that the Celtiberian youth came over to the Roman generals, on condition that they should receive the same pay they had from the Carthaginians; and that they sent 300 Spaniards, of distinction, into Italy, to draw off those of their nation that served under Hannibal. The most memorable incident of that year with regard to Spain is, that the Romans never before had any mercenaries in their service till the Celtiberians at that time.

* Of Gibraltar.

BOOK XXV.

CONTAINING

- I. *Act of senate against soothsayers.*—II. *Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, chosen ædile before he was qualified by age.*—III. *Proceedings against the villanies of the farmers of the taxes and commissaries.*—VI. *Petition of the soldiers in Sicily, who had served at Cannæ.*—VII. *The Tarentine hostages make their escape; are overtaken, and thrown from the Tarpeian rock.*—IX. *Tarentum delivered up to Hannibal.*—XII. *The Apollinarian games instituted according to the directions of Marcius, who had foretold the battle of Cannæ.*—XIII. *Hanno's camp taken, and his army cut off.*—XV. *The city of the Thurini delivered to the Carthaginians.*—XVI. *Gracchus, the pro-consul, betrayed, and killed.*—XVIII. *A single combat between Badius and Crispinus.*—XIX. *An engagement between Hannibal and the two consuls; but at the appearance of a Roman detachment, both sides, apprehensive of some new enemy, retired to their camps. Centenius Pænula, a centurion, gets 8000 men from the senate, and is cut off by Hannibal.*—XXI. *Who routes Fulvius, the prætor, with the loss of 16,000.*—XXII. *The consuls lay close siege to Capua.*—XXIII. *Marcellus takes Syracuse three years after he had invested it.*—XXXI. *Archimedes killed in the confusion, and honourably interred by Marcellus.*—XXXII. *Affairs in Spain. The melancholy fate of the two Scipios, who are cut off with all their forces, in the eighth year after their coming into Spain.*—XXXVII. *Spain preserved by the conduct of Marcius, a Roman knight, who, assembling the remains of the forces, takes two camps, kills 37,000, and takes 1830 prisoners.*—XLI. *Marcellus defeats the Carthaginian army in Sicily.*

CHAP. I.—DURING these transactions in Africa and Spain, Hannibal spent the summer in the territories of

Tarentum, in hopes of having that city betrayed to him. In the meantime some inconsiderable towns belonging to the Tarentines and the Salentines revolted to him. At the same time, the people of Consentia and Terina,* two of the twelve cantons of Bruttium, which had revolted to Hannibal the preceding year, returned to their obedience to the Romans. More of them had followed their example, had not L. Pomponius, a Veientine, and præfect of the allies, flushed with his success in some incursions he made for plunder upon the lands of the Bruttians, looked upon himself as a consummate general, and gathering together a tumultuous army, given Hanno battle. A great number of this undisciplined rabble, which consisted of peasants and slaves, were either killed or taken. The least loss sustained on this occasion was that of the præfect's being taken among the rest: he was the author of this unadvised battle, had formerly been a tax-farmer, and had cheated and wronged both the public and his associates by every unjust method. The consul Sempronius had several slight encounters, scarce worth mentioning, in Lucania, and took several inconsiderable towns. The length of the war, and the alternately prosperous and adverse events, produced a great change, not only in the fortune but minds of men; so that so superstitious a zeal for religion, more especially for foreign rites, seized the whole members of the state, that it seemed as if a new set of gods had arisen, on a sudden, or a new species of men started into being; the Roman rites were now abolished, not only in secret and within doors, but even in public, in the forum, and in the capitol, where crowds of women offered up sacrifices and prayers, very different from their ancient forms of worship. The people's minds were filled with superstition by diviners and despicable priests; whose number were increased by the peasants that were driven by poverty and fear from the country, where their lands had lain uncultivated during the continuance of the war, for shelter in the city; and

* See Dujatius on the place. It is now called Nocera, in the extremity of Hither Calabria.

likewise by the easy gain that accrued to them from the blindness and credulity of others; so that they practised this art as if it had been authorized by sacred custom. The senate severely reprimanded the *ædiles* and *triumviri capitales* for not checking these innovations. But these officers had like to have been abused, when they attempted to remove the multitude, and throw down their sacred apparatus. When the evil was seen to rise to such an excess that the inferior magistrates could not quash it, the senate ordered the *prætor*, M. Atilius, to reclaim the people from those superstitious practices. He, in an assembly of the people, read the act of senate, and published an edict, which commanded all persons, "who had any books of divination or prayers, or containing instructions about the rites of sacrifices, to bring all these books and writings to him before the first of April; and prohibited all persons to offer sacrifice in public, or in any sacred place, according to any new or foreign ceremonies."

CHAP. II.—SOME of the public priests died this year.—L. Corn. Lentulus, the *pontifex maximus*, C. Papirius Maso, son of Caius, a *pontiff*, P. Furius Philus, an *augur*, and C. Papirius Maso, son of Lucius, who was a *decemvir*, that had the custody of the sacred books. In Lentulus's room was chosen M. Cornelius Cethegus; in Papirius's Cn. Servilius Cæpio. L. Quinctius Flaminius was elected *augur*, as L. Cornelius Lentulus was *decemvir*, for keeping the sacred books. The time for the elections drew on; but, because it was not thought proper to recal the *consuls* engaged abroad in the war, Sempronius nominated C. Claudius Centho *dictator* to hold the *comitia*. The *dictator* chose Q. Fulvius Flaccus *general of horse*; and on the first day of election, the *general of horse* and Ap. Claudius Pulcher, who had been *prætor* in Sicily, were elected *consuls*. Then Cn. Fulvius Flaccus, C. Claudius Nero, M. Junius Silanus, and P. Cornelius Sulla, were chosen *prætors*.—When the *comitia* were ended the *dictator* abdicated his office. P. Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, and M. Cornelius Cethegus were chosen *cu-*

rule ædiles this year. When Scipio presented himself as a candidate, the plebeian tribunes opposed him, insisting no regard should be shewn to him, because he was not legally qualified by age.* But he replied, "I am old enough, if all the Romans are willing to choose me ædile." Immediately the tribes gave him their suffrages with so much zeal, that the tribunes dropped their opposition all of a sudden. The ædiles returned the favour in the following manner.—They celebrated the Roman games with as much magnificence as the poverty of the times would allow, continued them one day longer than ordinary, and distributed a congiust of oil to every street. L. Villius Tappulus and M. F. Fundulus were plebeian ædiles, and prosecuted some ladies before the people for incontinence. Some of them were found guilty and banished. The plebeian games were celebrated for two days, on which occasion a festival was kept in honour of Jupiter.

CHAP. III.—Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS consul a third time, and Appius Claudius Pulcher entered upon office. The prætors cast lots for their provinces. P. Cornelius Sulla had the jurisdiction over citizens and foreigners, which had hitherto been vested in two separate magistrates. C. Fulvius Flaccus got Apulia, Nero Suessula, and Silanus Etruria. The consuls were appointed to act against Hannibal with the two armies, one to be received from Q. Fabius, consul of the preceding year, and the other from Fulvius Centumalus. The prætor Fulvius Flaccus had the troops in Luceria that were commanded by Æmilius, and Nero those in Picenum commanded by Varro, and they were to recruit them themselves. M. Junius had the two legions that were in the city the year before to act in Etruria. T. Gracchus was continued in his command and province of Lucania, and P. Tuditanus of Gaul, with their respective troops. P. Lentulus in his old province of Sicily, Marcellus at Syracuse, and within the bounds of Hiero's

* The legal age was 27, and he was but 21 or 22 years old.

† Five pounds fourteen ounces.

kingdom; T. Otacilius with the fleet; M. Valerius in Greece; Q. Mucius in Sardinia; P. and Cn. Scipio in Spain. When the consuls had levied and added to the list the two new city legions, the number of standing forces this year amounted to 23 legions. A villanous action of M. Posthumius, a native of Pyrgi,* which almost occasioned an insurrection, hindered the consuls from making the levies. Posthumius was a tax-farmer, who during many years had not his fellow in all the city for fraud and avarice, except L. Pomponius the Veientine, who, as he was ravaging the Lucanian territories without precaution, had fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians under Hanno. A principal condition of the contract for supplying the army was, that the contractors should be indemnified by the public in case of losses by violent storms. These contractors took advantage of this. They placed to the public's account many shipwrecks that had never happened, and the true ones they gave in had been occasioned by their own fraud, and not by an unlucky accident. They shipped small quantities of goods of little value on board old shattered vessels, which they sunk after they had brought off the crews in skiffs ready prepared for that purpose, and then falsely pretended the cargoes had been very considerable. The prætor M. Atilius had been informed of this fraud, and laid the affair before the senate the preceding year. But as the fathers did not care to break with the contractors in so critical a conjuncture, no act of senate had passed against them. But the people revenged the fraud with more severity: for at length two plebeian tribunes, Sp. and L. Carvili, were so enraged at this hateful and infamous roguery, that they indicted Posthumius in the sum of 200,000† asses of brass, to be paid to the public. When the day of trial came, the defendant pleaded his cause before so numerous an assembly, that the area of the capitol was scarce sufficient to contain the multitude; but with so little success, that the only thing he had to rely on was,

* Near Sancta Severa, in the patrimony of St. Peter.

† £645, 16s. 8d. ΑΡΒΥΤΗΝΟΤ.

that C. Servilius Casca, one of the tribunes, and his near relation, would protest against the proceedings of his colleagues before the tribes should be called to vote. After the witnesses had been examined, the tribunes removed the multitude, and the urn was brought, in order that the lots might be drawn, to know in what tribe the Latins should vote.* In the meantime the publicans pressed Casca to interpose and put off the assembly to another day. But the people were extremely loud in their clamours. Casca by accident was seated in the front of one corner of the assembly, and was exceedingly perplexed through shame and fear of the people. Despairing of protection from him, a troop of publicans, in order to raise a tumult, broke in at the space which had been left void by the withdrawing of the multitude, insulting both the people and their tribunes. And they were just ready to come to blows, when the consul Fulvius said to the tribunes,—“ Don't you see how
“ your authority is despised, and that if you do not
“ dissolve the assembly, the affair will end in sedition?”

CHAP. IV.—WHEN the people were dismissed, the senate was assembled, and the consuls made a report to the fathers of the tumult raised in the assembly of the people, and the insolence and outrage of the publicans. They observed, that “ M. Furius Camillus, whose ban-
“ ishment had occasioned the ruin of the city, had
“ suffered himself to be condemned by the people when
“ provoked. Before him the decemvirs, by whose laws
“ they were still governed, and afterwards many prin-
“ cipal men of the state, had not resisted the judgment
“ of the people. But Posthumius, a burgher of Pyrgi,
“ had forcibly wrested the right of suffrage from the
“ people, suppressed their assemblies, trampled under
“ foot the authority of their magistrates, and attacked
“ the people with a rout formed in order of battle, in
“ order to keep the tribunes from the commons, and

* Some scholiasts read this passage with *tribus*, instead of *Latini*, viz. which tribe should vote first. But in so interesting a cause might not many Latins come to Rome, and been solicited to vote, whose tribes must first have been ascertained?

“ hinder the tribes from voting. Nothing could have
“ prevented blows but the patience of the magistrates,
“ who for the time gave way to the rage and insolence
“ of a small number of despicable wretches ; and suf-
“ fered themselves and the Roman people to be worsted
“ in the struggle, and voluntarily dissolved the comitia,
“ which the criminals would have dispersed by vio-
“ lence and slaughter, that they might not furnish them
“ with matter of quarrel, which was what they sought.”
When the persons of greatest consideration and honesty
had testified their abhorrence of so atrocious a crime, and
the senate by decree had declared, that the riotous con-
duct of the publicans was a treasonable attempt against
the state, and of pernicious example, the Carvili immediately
changed the nature of the process, and instead
of a mulct, laid an indictment against Posthumius for a
capital crime, ordering him to be apprehended by an
officer, and dragged to prison if he could not give suf-
ficient bail. The criminal gave security, but disappeared.
Upon this the tribunes made a motion to the peo-
ple, which they agreed to,—“ That if M. Posthumius
“ did not appear before the first of May, and having
“ been cited, should neither answer to the indictment,
“ nor any one person for him shew good cause why he
“ should be deemed a banished person, his effects con-
“ fiscated, and water and fire prohibited him.” Then
they proceeded to find bills, and demanded sureties of
every person who had been concerned in raising the
riot. At first only those who could give no security
were imprisoned ; but at last even those who did shared
the same fate. Most of them, to avoid this danger, went
voluntarily into banishment.

CHAP. V.—SUCH was the issue of the frauds of the
publicans, and the fate of the insolence of those who
protected such villains. An assembly was afterwards
held for the election of a pontifex maximus. The new
pontiff, M. Cornelius Cethegus, presided at the elec-
tion. Three candidates stood for the office, the consul
Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who had been twice consul and
censor before ; T. Manlius Torquatus, who had also been

twice consul and censor ; and P. Licinius Crassus, who was on the point of standing for the curule ædileship. This young man carried it against his competitors, though venerable for their age, and the honourable offices they had borne. During 120 years before him no person, except P. Cornelius Calussa, had been raised to the supreme pontificate without having first exercised the curule offices. The consuls finding great difficulties in making the levies, as, by reason of there not being sufficient numbers of youth, it was not easy to raise two new legions for the city, and to recruit the old ones, the senate ordered them to quit that piece of duty. At the same time, they ordered “ a double “ triumvirate to be commissioned to go round, one of “ them within fifty miles of Rome, the other beyond “ that distance, to all petty boroughs, and see what “ youth of free condition were in them. They were “ ordered to list all they should find strong enough to “ bear arms, though not of the common age to be soldiers. The tribunes were also desired, if they “ thought proper, to make a motion to the people, that “ whoever, under the age of seventeen years, should “ list, should, from the day of their being attested, “ have their campaigns reckoned to them as if they “ had been upwards of the age required by law.” In consequence of this decree of senate, these triumvirates were appointed, and made levies through the country. Marcellus’s letters from Sicily, concerning the petition of Lentulus’s troops, were read in the senate. They were the remains of the army that had been at Cannæ, and which had been sent into Sicily, as has been mentioned before, from whence they were not to return till the end of the Punic war.

CHAP. VI.—LENTULUS had given them permission to send a deputation to Marcellus, in his winter quarters, consisting of the principal officers of the horse and flower of the foot. He whom they had appointed to be their spokesman, addressed the pro-consul thus.—“ We “ should have applied to you, Marcellus, in Italy, during your consulate, as soon as the severe though just

“ decree of the senate was passed against us, if we had
“ not expected to be sent into a province up in arms by
“ the death of two kings, there to maintain a grievous
“ war against the Sicilians and Carthaginians at the
“ same time, and make amends to our country by our
“ blood and wounds. In this manner, in the days of
“ our fathers, did those whom Pyrrhus took prisoners
“ at Heraclea, make an atonement for their defeat, by
“ fighting bravely against that prince: and yet what
“ have we done to deserve your past and present indig-
“ nation, O conscript fathers! For, Marcellus, when
“ I am in your presence, methinks I see both the con-
“ suls and senate united in your illustrious person. Had
“ you been the consul to command us at Cannæ, both
“ the commonwealth and we had met a happier fate.—
“ Permit us, we beseech you, before we complain of
“ our melancholy situation, to apologize for the crime
“ we are accused of. If our defeat at Cannæ is not to
“ be imputed to incensed gods, and the decrees of
“ fate, which determine all human events by immutable
“ laws, but to a fault committed by men, what per-
“ son can justly be charged with this fault? The
“ troops, or the generals? We who are subalterns shall
“ not accuse our general, especially since we know the
“ senate has returned him thanks for not despairing of
“ the preservation of the state, and have continued him
“ in command during all the years that have intervened
“ since his flight from Cannæ. And since we have
“ heard that the rest of the legionary tribunes who
“ commanded us in that battle, sue for offices, exer-
“ cise them, and even obtain provinces; can ye, con-
“ script fathers, so easily pardon yourselves and your
“ children, and yet wreak your vengeance in so terri-
“ ble a manner on our heads, and stigmatize us as vile
“ wretches! When there remained no other hopes of
“ safety, it was no disgrace for a consul, and the prin-
“ cipal men of the state, to save themselves by flight;
“ but you sent private soldiers to battle to die without
“ any remedy. Not to mention other shameful defeats of
“ our armies, our whole army fled at Allia, another deli-
“ vered up their arms at the Forks of Caudium without

“ striking one blow. However, they were so far from
“ having any mark of ignominy stamped upon them,
“ that the city of Rome was regained by those very troops
“ which had fled from Allia to Veii; and those which
“ had returned from Caudium without arms were sent
“ back into Samnium armed, and made those very ene-
“ mies pass under the yoke, who had so much pleasure
“ before in seeing them mortified in the same manner.
“ But who can accuse the troops who fought at Cannæ
“ of flight or cowardice, since upwards of 50,000 of
“ them fell upon the spot? since the consul fled with
“ only fifty troopers; since none preserved their lives
“ there but by the enemy’s being too much fatigued
“ to be able to kill them? When the prisoners were
“ refused to be ransomed, every body in general com-
“ mended us for having preserved ourselves to serve our
“ country; for having returned to the consul at Venu-
“ sia, and there formed a body that had the appearance
“ of an army. Now our condition is worse than that
“ of prisoners ever was in the days of our ancestors.
“ Their punishment consisted wholly in having their arms
“ changed, in being degraded from their rank, and being
“ assigned a place in the camp inferior to what they held
“ before; all which they recovered by one signal ser-
“ vice done the republic by one successful battle. None
“ of them were ever banished, none of them deprived of
“ the hopes of being discharged, when they had served
“ the number of campaigns limited by law. They were
“ always led against the enemy, that in battle they
“ might at once put an end to their lives or their igno-
“ miny. But we, to whom nothing can be objected as
“ a fault, but preserving some Roman soldiers after the
“ battle of Cannæ, are banished far from Italy, not on-
“ ly from our native country, but from facing the ene-
“ my, to a place where we grow white in exile, with-
“ out hopes, without opportunity of effacing our disgrace,
“ appeasing our incensed country, nay even of dying
“ with honour. We neither desire an end to be put to
“ our ignominy, or seek a reward of our valour; but
“ only liberty to put our courage and bravery to the
“ trial. We long to be exposed to fatigues and dangers,

“ and to discharge the duties of brave men and soldiers.
“ The war has now been prosecuted in Sicily with great
“ vigour during two years. The Carthaginians and
“ Romans alternately take towns; battles are fought
“ between the horse and foot; Syracuse is invested by
“ sea and land; while we are languishing in idleness and
“ inactivity, we hear the shouts of combatants and
“ clash of arms, as if we had neither weapons nor hands
“ to use them. The consul Sempronius has often en-
“ gaged the enemy with his legions of slaves, whose va-
“ lour is rewarded with liberty and the rank of citizens.
“ Let us at least be purchased as slaves, and led out to
“ the war. Let us have an opportunity to come to
“ blows with the enemy, and to purchase our liberty by
“ fighting. Do thou, Marcellus, make trial of our va-
“ lour by sea, by land, in a pitched battle, or in sieges:
“ we entreat you to expose us to the most imminent
“ dangers and fatigues, that we may have an opportu-
“ nity as soon as possible of doing what we ought to
“ have done at Cannæ, since we have lived in disgrace
“ ever since the battle we lost there.”

CHAP. VII.—AFTER this speech they threw them-
selves at Marcellus's knees. He answered them,—“ That
“ it was not in his power to grant the favour they ask-
“ ed, but he would write to the senate, and execute
“ whatever orders they should send him.” These let-
ters were brought to the new consuls, who read them
in the senate. After the senate had deliberated on
them, they came to a resolution to send him this an-
swer.—“ That they did not think it proper to intrust
“ the safety of the state to troops that had abandoned
“ their fellow-soldiers in battle. If Marcellus was of
“ a different opinion, he was at liberty to act as he
“ thought most for the interest of the commonwealth,
“ provided none of them were ever exempted from du-
“ ty, received any military rewards for their bravery,
“ or be sent back to Italy, while the enemy continued
“ there.” Then the city-prætor, agreeable to a decree
of the senate, and an ordinance of the people, held the
comitia, in which five commissioners were chosen to re-

pair the walls and towers ; and a double triumvirate, the one to take an inventory of sacred things, and to register all donations ; the other to rebuild the temples of Fortune and Mother Matuta, within the gate *Carmen-talis*, and of Hope without it, which had been burnt down the year before. Terrible storms happened this year. On Mount Alba it rained stones for two days successively. Lightning fell on two temples in the capitol ; on many places of the trench of the camp above *Suessula*, and struck two sentries dead. The wall and several towers of *Cumæ* were not only struck, but thrown down by thunder. At *Reate*, a huge stone was seen to roll of itself. The sun was reder than ordinary, and of the colour of blood. To expiate these prodigies, a supplication was made for one day, the consuls offered sacrifices for several, at the same time was celebrated a festival for nine days. Hannibal had long hoped for, and the Romans apprehended, the revolt of *Tarentum*, when an event far from that city hastened the execution of it. A *Tarentine*, named *Phileas*, had long been at Rome under the character of an ambassador. He was of a restless disposition, and was very uneasy under the quiet in which he seemed long to have languished ; but he found means at last to get access to the hostages from his country, who were kept in the temple of *Liberty*, but not very strictly, because it was neither their own interest nor that of their state to deceive the Romans. In frequent conversations, he solicited them to make their escape ; and having bribed two of the turnkeys of the temple, he led them out of the place of their confinement as soon as it was dark, and fled with them. At day-break the rumour of their escape spread through the city, and expresses were immediately dispatched after them, who took them at *Terracini*, and brought them all back. They were brought into the forum, and by an ordinance of the people whipped with rods, and thrown down from the *Tarpeian* rock.

СИАР. VIII.—THIS cruel execution provoked two of the most powerful Grecian states in Italy. Not only the states in general, but even individuals, who happen-

ed to be either friends or relations of the persons so inhumanly executed, were exceedingly enraged. In particular, thirteen young noblemen of Tarentum entered into a conspiracy. Nico and Philemenus were at the head of them. They thought it necessary to confer with Hannibal before they took any measures; and so getting out of the city in the night-time, under pretext of hunting, went to him. His camp was only at a little distance; and while the rest hid themselves in a wood near the road, Nico and Philemenus went up to the advanced guards, who seized them, which was what they desired, and carried them before the Carthaginian. After they had informed him of their conspiracy and design, he loaded them with praises and promises. Then he desired them, in order to make the populace believe that they went out of the city to hunt for prey, to drive off some Carthaginian cattle that were grazing about, promising that they might do it in safety, and without being attacked. In consequence, these young men were seen to bring in a great deal of booty; and as they ventured out very often, people were the less surprised at it. Having had a second conference with Hannibal, they made him engage, "that the Tarentines should enjoy their liberties, laws, and estates, without infringement; they should neither pay tribute, nor receive a garrison without their consent; and that when the Roman garrison was betrayed, it should be the only thing the Carthaginians should have at their disposal." After they had agreed on these conditions, Philemenus, who was a great sportsman, made more frequent night excursions, and returned again into the city, followed by his hounds, and other hunting apparatus. He generally killed some prey, or drove off what the enemy laid in his way on purpose, which he presented to the governor, or the keepers of the gates. People imagined he chose to hunt in the night for fear of the enemy. When, by practising this often, he found that at any time of the night the gate was opened to him when he whistled as a signal, Hannibal thought it was a proper time for putting their enterprise in execution. He was three days march from Tarentum, and feigned himself sick,

that his long stay in one camp might not occasion a suspicion. The Roman garrison in Tarentum too ceased to be jealous of his having any design in lying there idle.

CHAP. IX.—But when once he was resolved to go to Tarentum, he chose 10,000 horse and foot, as by the nimbleness and the lightness of their arms were fittest for an expeditious march, and set out at the fourth watch of the night. He sent a detachment before, most of which were Numidian cavalry, to scour the roads, and watch carefully that none of the peasants that might descry them afar off might slip by them; and with orders to bring back those that were got before, and kill those they met, to make the country people believe they were rather a troop of robbers than a regular army. He himself marched very expeditiously, and encamped within fifteen miles of Tarentum. There he did not so much as let one of his men know whither they were going; only he assembled them, and ordered them to march all in the road, without suffering a single man to turn aside, or quit his rank, and especially to be always ready for receiving the word of command: not to do any thing without the order of their officers; and when it was proper he would inform them what he would have done. About the same hour a report reached Tarentum, that a small detachment of Numidian horse were ravaging their lands, and had terribly alarmed the country people. This advice made so little impression on the Roman governor, that he only ordered a detachment of horse to march out by day-break next morning, to scour the country of these ravagers. For any thing else, this news was so far from putting him on his guard, that this excursion of the Numidians confirmed him in the belief that Hannibal and his army had not moved out of their camp. About midnight the Carthaginian set out, conducted by Philemenus with his usual load of booty. It had been agreed, that Philemenus should let in the soldiers at the gate through which he usually entered when he came from hunting; and that Hannibal, on another quarter, should approach the gate Temenides, which

looked towards the east on the land-side, and stood a little farther in than the rest of the wall. When he drew near the gate, he lighted a fire, according to concert, which made a great blaze. Nico returned the same signal, and then both put out their fires. Hannibal approached the gate without noise. Nico suddenly fell on the sentries who were asleep in their barracks, killed them, and opened the gate. The Carthaginian entered with his foot, but ordered the cavalry to halt without, that, in case occasion required, they might have the open fields to act in. On another quarter Philemenus approached the wicket at which he used to bring in his booty. His voice was known, and the sentry awaking at the signal, which was so familiar to him, opened the gate, while Philemenus was saying he was scarce able to support the weight of the great beast. Two young men carried a boar, and he followed with a huntsman lightly armed; and while the sentry was carelessly admiring the size of the animal, with his face towards them that carried it, he run him through with a hunting-spear. Thirty soldiers immediately entered, killed the rest of the guards, and broke down the adjoining gate. Then a whole detachment entered with their colours flying, and marched without noise to the forum to join Hannibal. He sent the Tarentines with 2000 Gauls, divided into three parties, to seize the avenues that were most frequented, with orders, as soon as the tumult began, to kill all the Romans wherever they met them, and to spare the inhabitants. He ordered the Tarentine youth, whenever they saw any of their townsmen at a distance, to call out to them to be quiet, not to make any noise, or be afraid.

CHAP. X.—By this time there was such tumult and noise as usually happens at taking a town; but nobody knew for certain what the matter was. The Tarentines believed the Romans had risen to rifle the town, and the Romans imagined that it was some treacherous sedition raised by the inhabitants. The governor, being awakened at the first alarm, ran to the port, and getting aboard a skiff, escaped into the citadel. A trumpet from the theatre occasioned great terror. The traitors

had prepared a Roman one on purpose; and as the Greek who blowed it was very unskilful, it was hardly possible to know who it was that gave the signal, or for whom it was given. When day broke, and the Romans knew the Gauls and Carthaginians by their armour, they were no longer in uncertainty; and the Greeks seeing the bodies of slaughtered Romans lying in every corner, were then sufficiently sensible that Hannibal had taken the city. After the day was somewhat more advanced, the Romans, who survived the slaughter, were retired to the citadel, and the tumult by degrees quieted, Hannibal ordered the Tarentines to be assembled without their arms. They all convened, except those that followed the Romans, who fled into the citadel, resolved to share in all their fortune. Then Hannibal made a most gracious speech to the inhabitants. He put them in mind of what he had done for their countrymen, whom he had taken prisoners at the battles of Thrasymen and Cannæ. And after inveighing against the intolerable tyranny of the Romans, he ordered every one of them to retire to his house, and write his name over his door: for he would immediately order a signal to be given to rife those houses that had no inscription, and would treat any one as an enemy who should write his name on the habitation of a Roman citizen, who all lived in houses by themselves. When the assembly was dismissed, and the houses of his new friends were distinguished by the inscriptions from those of the enemy, the signal was given, and the Carthaginians dispersed to rife the Roman habitations, where they got a great booty.

CHAP. XI.—NEXT day he marched to attack the citadel. But as it was almost entirely surrounded by the sea in form of a peninsula, and covered with high rocks, besides being defended from the city by a rampart and broad fosse, he saw it would be impossible to take it by force, or besiege it in form. In consequence, that he might neither be detained from greater enterprises, by staying to defend the Tarentines, or leave them exposed to attacks from the citadel, for want of a strong guard, he determined to separate the

city from the citadel by a deep ditch and rampart. He was not even without hopes that the Romans, by sallying to hinder the work, would give him an opportunity to fight. And if they should sally with great vigour, he hoped, by the slaughter he should make of them, so to lessen the strength of their garrison, that the Tarentines would easily be able of themselves to defend their city against it. The work was no sooner begun, than the Romans, opening a gate, made a sally upon the pioneers; and the advanced guard, posted to cover them, suffered themselves to be beat back. The courage of the Romans increased in proportion to their success, so that they pursued the fugitives in greater numbers, and to a greater distance. Then upon a signal the Carthaginians, whom their general kept ready for the purpose, fell furiously upon them on all sides. The Romans were not able to sustain this charge, and could not retreat easily, being entangled by the narrowness of the place, by the new work that was begun, and by the apparatus that had been prepared to carry it on. Great numbers were driven headlong into the fosse, and more killed in the flight than in the battle. After this the Carthaginians continued their work without interruption. They drew a ditch, and raised a rampart on the brink of it. On the same side, and at a little distance from the palisade, he built towers, that the Tarentines might defend themselves against the Romans, even without a garrison. However, he left part of his troops to guard and help to finish the works. He himself marched with the rest of his troops, and encamped on the Galesus,* five miles from the city. From this camp he returned to view the work; and seeing it advanced very fast, even beyond his expectation, he began to entertain hopes of being able to take the citadel. On the side of the town it was not defended by high rocks as on the other quarters, but was level, and separated only by a wall and fosse. The citadel had been for some time attacked with machines and works of all kinds, when a reinforcement, sent to the Romans from Metapontus, so encouraged them, that they sallied out

* Also called Eurotas, now Tara, rises in the Apennines.

suddenly in the night, and attacked the enemy's works. They beat down some, and burnt others of them. This made Hannibal lay aside thoughts of reducing the place by assault. All his remaining hope centered in a blockade; nor did this promise great success; because the besieged, as the citadel was almost surrounded by the sea like a peninsula, and commanded the mouth of the harbour, had the sea open; while, on the other hand, the city could receive no supplies from the sea; so that it was probable the besiegers would be in want of provisions sooner than the besieged: for this reason he assembled the principal Tarentines, and laid before them all the difficulties of the present enterprise.—“ He did not see,” he said, “ that it was possible to take a citadel, so well fortified, by assault. He had as little hopes in a blockade, while the enemy were masters at sea. But if he had a fleet to prevent the enemy from receiving supplies by sea, they must either abandon the place immediately, or surrender.” The Tarentines owned the truth of what he said; but were of opinion, “ that he who gave this advice should furnish them with the means to effect it. If he would bring the Carthaginian fleet out of Sicily, they would easily do it. As for their own, being shut up in a corner, they could by no means get into the open sea while the enemy had blocked up the mouth of the harbour.” “ They may,” replied Hannibal. “ Many things that seem impossible in their own nature, may be effected by industry and ingenuity. Your city stands in a plain, with spacious and level street leading to every part of it. I will, without much difficulty, transport your ships on carts, by the streets leading through the middle of the town to the sea. We shall then be masters at sea, which the enemy now are: we shall then besiege the citadel both by sea and land: nay, we shall soon take the place either with the enemy in it, or abandoned by them.” This speech not only raised their hopes of seeing the thing effected, but inspired them with high notions of that general's abilities. Immediately all their carts were brought together, and joined one to another. Machines were made to

draw the vessels out of the water, and the way was levelled, that the carts might pass along with the greater ease. A great number of men and draught-cattle were provided, and the work begun with great ardour. At the end of some few days the fleet, ready equipped and manned, sailed round the citadel, and anchored at the mouth of the haven. The Carthaginian, after having put the affairs of Tarentum into this condition, retired into winter quarters. But after all, authors are not agreed whether Tarentum revolted in this or the preceding year. The greatest number, and those who lived nearest to that period, place it in the annals of this year.

CHAP. XII.—THE celebration of the *Feriæ Latinæ* detained the consuls and prætors at Rome till the 26th of April. Having that day completed the sacrifice on Mount Alba, each set out for his respective province. Another religious scruple was raised by the predictions found in the books of Marcius. He was a celebrated diviner, and his books had fallen into the hands of M. Atilius, the city-prætor, when, by a decree of the senate, he made inquiry after such books the year before. Atilius immediately delivered them to the new prætor, Sulla. There were two famous predictions of Marcius, the credit of one of which, that was published after the thing predicted had come to pass, and confirmed by the event, gained belief to the other, though the time of its accomplishment was not yet come. The defeat at Cannæ was foretold by the former in the following words.—“Romans, descended from Trojans, avoid the river of Cannæ. Let not strangers oblige you to fight in the field of Diomedes.* But you will not give credit to my words, till the plain has been overflowed with your blood. The river shall carry down many thousand dead bodies of your soldiers into the great sea from a fruitful land. Your flesh shall be meat for fishes, birds, and wild beasts that inhabit the earth: for so Jupiter has told me.” Those who fought on that ground knew the plains of Diomedes, the

* The plain of Arpi, which city was built by Diomedes.

Argian, and the river that watered the fields of Cannæ,* as they did the defeat there. Then was read the other prediction, which was more obscure than the first, not only in respect that future events are more uncertain than past, but also by being wrapped up in more mysterious terms.—“Romans, if you would repulse this foreign enemy and plague, I advise you to vow games to the honour of Apollo, and celebrate them with great rejoicing every year. The public shall defray part of the charge, and private persons shall contribute for themselves and their families. The city-prætor shall preside at the celebration of these games. The decemvirs shall offer the sacrifices according to the Grecian rites. If you perform all these things in a regular manner, you shall always be crowned with gladness, and your affairs prosper: for this god will destroy these your enemies, who subsist in your fields at pleasure.” They spent a whole day in interpreting this prediction. Next day, the senate ordered the decemvirs to consult the Sibylline books, concerning the manner of celebrating the games to Apollo, and offering the sacrifices. After they were consulted, and a report made to the senate, the fathers resolved, “that games should be vowed and celebrated in honour of Apollo; and that, when they were to be celebrated, 12,000 asses should be paid to the prætor, to defray the expense of the ceremony and sacrificing of two large victims.” The senate also passed another decree, that “committed the care of solemnizing this festival, after the Greek manner, to the decemvirs; and ordering them to sacrifice to Apollo an ox with gilded horns and two white goats; and a cow with gilded horns to Latona.” The prætor, when he was to exhibit the games in the circus maximus, issued an edict, that all the people should contribute money according to their ability, as an offering to Apollo. This was the origin of the Apollinarian games, which were instituted in order to gain victory, and not, as most people imagine, to stop an epidemical distemper. The people as-

* The Aufidus.

sisted at them with crowns of laurel on their heads.—The ladies made their supplications in the temples. Everybody kept open house, and ate in their court-yards; and the day was solemnized with all kinds of religious-exercises.

CHAP. XIII.—WHILE the Carthaginian was still in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, the two consuls were in Samnium, and seemed to have a design of besieging Capua. As the Roman army had not permitted the Capuans to sow their lands, they already felt the miseries of famine, which commonly are the consequences of a long siege. In consequence they sent a deputation to Hannibal, to beg him to order them a supply of corn from the neighbouring places, before the consuls should take the field with their legions, and block up all the avenues to Capua. The Carthaginian ordered Hanno to march with his army out of Bruttium into Campania, and endeavour by all means to carry a supply of corn to the Capuans. Accordingly, Hanno marched out of Bruttium by bye-routes, in order to avoid the enemy's camp and the consuls, who were in Samnium. When he arrived near Beneventum, he encamped on an eminence, within three miles of it. Then he ordered the corn to be brought to his camp from the neighbouring states in alliance with him, where it had been laid up in the summer, and assigned guards to escort it thither. Then he gave notice to the Capuans of the day when they should come and receive it in his camp; ordering them to assemble from every corner of the country all kinds of carriages and beasts of burden. But on this occasion the Campanians shewed their usual indolence and laziness. They sent only about 400 carts, and few carriage-beasts. Hanno reprimanded them severely for their intolerable negligence, and told them that extreme hunger, which rouses dumb brutes, was not capable of rousing them; so he fixed another day, when a greater number of carriages should come to fetch away the corn. The Beneventines being informed of what was doing, immediately dispatched ten deputies to the consuls, who were then encamped at Bovianum. When they

heard what passed at Capua, they agreed that one of them should march with his army into Campania. Fulvius, to whom that province had fallen by lot, marched by night to Beneventum, and entered the town. By being so near, he easily got notice that Hanno had gone a-foraging with part of his troops ; and that another undisciplined, unarmed rabble, that had arrived with 2000 more earts, had spread tumult and confusion everywhere ; and the peasants mixing with the soldiers, prevented the observing any order or military discipline. When the consul was sufficiently certain of this, he ordered his troops to get ready only their colours and arms against next night, in order to attack the enemy's lines. They left all their baggage at Beneventum, and setting out at the fourth watch of the night, they arrived at the camp before day-break. They put it into such terror and consternation, that had it been situated in a plain, it had certainly been taken at the first assault.—The height of the ground and the strength of the rampart alone saved it ; for the ascent was so steep and difficult on all sides, that the Romans could not approach it anywhere. As soon as it was day, an obstinate battle began. The Carthaginians did not only defend their lines, but every place where the access to them was somewhat easy, from which they repulsed the enemy, who endeavoured to climb up.

CHAP. XIV.—YET the resolute valour of the Romans surmounted all obstacles, and they made their way in several places to the rampart and fosse, but not without many wounds and much slaughter. Then the consul assembled the legionary tribunes, and said, “ he thought they ought to quit that rash enterprise ; and “ it was better to retire with his troops to Beneventum. “ Next day he would encamp close by the enemy, to “ prevent the Campanians from getting out, or Hanno “ from getting back. To facilitate this enterprise, he “ would send for his colleague and his army, and make “ that the seat of the war.” Such was the general's advice ; but when he was on the point of sounding a retreat, the clamour of the troops, who would not obey so timorous an order, prevented him. A cohort of the

Peligni, commanded by one Vibius, was nearest the enemy's gate. This officer snatched up a standard, and threw it over the enemy's rampart. Then he cried, "Let me and my cohort be accursed, if this standard remains in the hands of the enemy;" and leaped over the fosse and rampart into the enemy's camp. The Peligni were already at blows within the line, when, as Valerius Flaccus, tribune of the third legion, on another quarter, was reproaching the Romans with cowardice, and yielding the honour of taking the enemy's camp to the allies, T. Pedanius, the first centurion of the principes, took an ensign out of the bearer's hand, saying, "This standard, and this centurion, shall both in a moment be within the enemy's intrenchments. Let such follow as will not suffer the enemy to take their ensign."—He passed the fosse first, and was followed by his own company, and then by the whole legion. By this time the consul, who saw them climbing over the rampart, changed his mind, and instead of drawing off the troops began to encourage them, by shewing the extreme danger in which the bravest cohorts of the allies and Romans were. Then they all rushed on through easy and difficult posts, amidst a shower of darts, and broke into the intrenchments. Many that were wounded, and even fainting by loss of blood and want of strength, used their last efforts to die within the enemy's intrenchments. It was taken in an instant, as if it had been situated in a plain, and without lines to defend it. It was now rather a carnage than a battle, and the mixed crowd of soldiers and carters were slaughtered without distinction. Above 6000 were slain, and 7000, with the Campanian carters, and all their carts and carriage-beasts, were taken. Besides, they took all the vast booty that Hanno had carried off from the countries of the Roman allies. When they had levelled the enemy's lines, they returned to Beneventum, whither Ap. Claudius came a few days after. There both consuls sold the plunder, and divided it among the troops. They likewise rewarded those by whose means the enemy's camp had been taken; in particular, Accæus the Pelignian, and T. Pedanius, centurion of the principes of the third legion. From Cominium Cærimum, where Hanno received advice of the destruction of his camp, he rather

fled precipitately, then marched back to Bruttium, with a few foragers, that happened then to be with him.

CHAP. XV.—WHEN the Campanians heard of the defeat of their carters and their allies, they dispatched a second deputation to inform the Carthaginian, “ That both the consuls were at Beneventum, within a day’s march of Capua; and that the war had in a manner already reached their gates and walls: if he did not fly to their relief, the enemy would become masters of Capua sooner than they had done of Arpi. Sure Tarentum, especially its citadel, was not of such consequence to him, as that, for sake of it, he should abandon Capua, which he used to equal with Carthage, without defence against the Romans.” He promised to take care of Capua; and, for the present, sent with the deputies 2000 horse to protect their territories from the enemy’s ravages. In the meantime, the Romans, without neglecting their other affairs, took care to relieve the garrison blocked up in the citadel of Tarentum. C. Servilius, a lieutenant-general, who was sent into Etruria, with orders from the senate to the prætor, P. Cornelius, to buy up all the corn they could, forced his way through the enemy’s fleet, and got safe into the port of Tarentum, with several ships loaded with provisions. His arrival so revived the spirits of the garrison, that they now invited the enemy to come and join them, as the enemy had done them frequently when there were little hopes of their being relieved. The garrison was strong enough to defend the place, as all the troops had been brought thither from Metapontus. In consequence, the Metapontines, being no longer awed by Roman soldiers, revolted to Hannibal. The Thurini on the same coast did the like. They were not so much induced to act in this manner by the example of the Tarentines and Metapontines, to whom they were allied, having all three come originally from Achaia, as in resentment to the Romans for their late cruel murder of the hostages. The friends and relations of the hostages sent letters and messengers to Hanno and Mago, who were in their neighbourhood, in Bruttium, to tell them that they

would betray their city to them if they would approach it with their army. M. Atinius commanded in Thurii with a weak garrison. They imagined they could easily provoke him to give battle unadvisedly, not so much in confidence of his own troops, which were very few in number, as relying on the youth of Thurii, whom he had formed into companies, and armed in case of such accidents. The Carthaginian generals, having divided the forces between them, no sooner entered the territories of Thurii, than Hanno marched his foot with colours flying up to the city. Mago concealed himself with the cavalry behind the opposite hills, which covered the ambuscade. Atinius, being only informed of the Carthaginian infantry by his scouts, and knowing nothing either of the treachery within, or the ambuscade without the city, led out his forces to the attack. The conflict between the foot was very faint; only a few Romans in the front line fought: the Thurini rather were spectators, waiting the issue of the battle, than partners in it: and the Carthaginians retired on purpose to draw the imprudent enemy to the back of the hills, where their cavalry lay in ambush. As soon as they were got there, the horse fell on them with a great shout; and the undisciplined rabble of the Thurini, who were not faithful to the side they fought on, fled. The Romans sustained the fight for some time, though pushed by the foot on their front, and the horse in the rear; but, at last, they turned their backs, and fled to the city. There a circle of conspirators, having let in all their own people, no sooner saw the Romans flying with precipitation to the city, than they called out, that the enemy were close on their heels, and would enter pellmell with them, if they did not quickly shut the gates. Thus were the Romans left exposed to the slaughter of the enemy. However, Atinius, with a few of his men, were received into the city. Here the sedition detained him a short while; for some declared for defending the place, and others for yielding to fortune, and delivering the city up to the conquerors. But, as most commonly happens, fortune and the worst side prevailed. Atinius with his men were conducted to the shore, and put on board

some ships, more in remembrance of his mild and just government, than out of regard to the Romans. Then the Carthaginians were received into the city. The consuls marched from Beneventum into Campania, not only with a design to spoil the corn, which was already laid up in stores against the winter, but even to besiege Capua in form. They were desirous to signalize their consulate by the destruction of so opulent a city, and, at the same time, to efface the shame and reproach that the republic deserved, for leaving the treachery of a city so near Rome three years unpunished. But not to leave Beneventum without a garrison, and being desirous, in case of any sudden attack, as they did not doubt but Hannibal would come to the relief of his allies the Capuans, to match him in cavalry, they ordered T. Gracchus out of Lucania to Beneventum, with all his horse and light-armed troops, and to leave one of his lieutenants to command the foot left in his camp, to keep Lucania in awe.

CHAP. XVI.—AN unlucky omen happened to Gracchus as he was sacrificing before he set out from Lucania. When the sacrifice was finished, two serpents came out of a secret hole to the entrails, and fell to eating the liver, but upon being spied suddenly disappeared. It is also reported, that when the haruspices had advised to kill a new sacrifice, and they were boiling the entrails to look into them with greater care, the serpents came a second and a third time, and, after licking the liver, went away without hurt. Though the soothsayers declared this prodigy concerned the general, and cautioned him against the evil counsels of false friends, yet no foresight could prevent his fate, which was fast approaching. There was one Flavius, head of that part of Lucania which adhered to the Romans, when the rest of the country revolted to Hannibal. He had been their chief magistrate for one year, and was again elected their prætor. This man changed all of a sudden, and sought for some means to ingratiate himself with the Carthaginian. But seeing he could not find a proper opportunity to go over himself, or draw the Lucanians after him,

except he sealed his treaty with the life and blood of his guest, he privately entered into a conference with Mago, who then commanded in Bruttium. Having stipulated, that in case he betrayed the Roman general to him, the Lucanians should enjoy their liberty and laws, he led the Carthaginian into a place where he would bring Gracchus, that he might kill him. He desired Mago to arm his horse and foot, and seize some secret places in which he might conceal a great number of men. When they had sufficiently viewed and examined the ground, he fixed a day for the execution of their wicked design. Flavius went to the Roman general, and told him, " he had formed a project of the last consequence, " but in order to execute it with success it was necessary that Gracchus should lend a helping hand. He " had persuaded the prætors of all the Lucanian states, " who, in the general defection of Italy, had gone over " to Hannibal, to return into the Roman alliance. He " had demonstrated to them, that ever since the defeat " at Cannæ, which had almost ruined Rome, the Roman state daily prospered more and more; Hannibal's force was decayed, and almost dwindled into " nothing: that their former crime had not rendered " Rome inexorable; for no nation was more inclined " to clemency, or readier to pardon injuries, as their " ancestors had frequently experienced when they rebelled. These arguments," he said, " he had used " with them; but they chose rather to hear the reasons " from Gracchus's own mouth, and to make a league " with him, to carry back as a pledge of his fidelity. " That he had appointed a private place with those that " were in the secret, not far from the Roman camp. " There the affair would be concluded in a few words, " and all Lucania become the friends and allies of the " Romans." Gracchus, who suspected no treachery in Flavius's discourse, or the affair he proposed, and was imposed upon by the probability of the project, set out only with his lictors, and a single troop of horse. His host led him headlong into the ambuscade, where the enemy suddenly fell upon him. That he might be in no doubt about his being betrayed, Flavius joined the

enemy. A shower of darts were poured on Gracchus and his troop of horse. Then leaping from his horse, and ordering the rest to do the same, he exhorted them, "to signalize, by their valour, the only moment that fortune had left them: for what can we, who are but a handful, surrounded by a multitude in a valley, encompassed with woods and hills, expect but death? We have only two things to choose, whether to offer our bodies to be butchered like beasts, without revenging ourselves, or, by converting our tame patience and expectation of the event into rage and fury, boldly to attack, and expire covered with the blood of dying enemies, on heaps of their arms and slaughtered bodies. Above all things endeavour to kill the Lucanian traitor. If you send him as a victim to the infernal regions before me, I shall reckon it a noble piece of service, and shall die with unspeakable comfort." This said, he wrapped his left arm in his cloak, for he had not so much as brought a buckler with him, and rushed sword in hand upon the enemy. The battle was more obstinate than could have been expected from a handful of men. The Romans had nothing to defend their bodies, and were below in a hollow, while all the enemy were above them; so that they were mostly killed by darts at a distance. The Carthaginians used their utmost efforts to take Gracchus alive, as he now had no guard about him. But spying his Lucanian host among them, he rushed with such fury into their thickest ranks, that it was impossible to spare him but at the expense of a great many lives. Mago immediately sent his body to Hannibal, with orders to place it, and the fasces which had been taken, before the tent of the general. This is the true history of his exit. He died in Lucania, at a place called the Ancient Plains.

CHAP. XVII.—SOME authors say that he lost his life in the territories of Beneventum, near the Calor. He had gone out from the camp, attended only by his lictors and three slaves, in order to bathe in the river Matapon, where he was killed by the enemy, who were

accidentally hid among the willows growing on its banks, and attacked him naked, unarmed, and defending himself with the stones he found in the water. Others say, that having gone out, by the advice of the soothsayers, about five hundred paces from the camp, in order to expiate the forementioned prodigies in the open fields, he was surrounded by two troops of Numidian horse, who accidentally lay in ambush at that place. In so much uncertainty are we both about the place and manner of the death of this great and illustrious personage. There are likewise different accounts of his burial. Some say, that he was buried by his own men in the Roman camp. But others say, and it is the most common opinion, that he was buried by Hannibal in the entry to the Carthaginian camp, where he erected a funeral pile to him. That the Carthaginian himself, both by words and deeds, honoured his obsequies, while they made their evolutions under arms, the Spaniards dancing, and each nation making motions, both with their arms and bodies, agreeable to their country fashion. This is their account, who say he lost his life in Lucania. If one will believe those who say he was killed at the river Calor, the enemy got no more than his head. That when it was brought to Hannibal, he immediately sent Carthalo to carry it to the Roman camp to the quæstor Cn. Cornelius, who performed the funerals of this general within the lines, while both the army and inhabitants of Beneventum assisted at it.

CHAP. XVIII.—THE consuls, having entered the territories of Capua, pillaged the country all about. The Capuans and Mago made a sally upon them, and put them into such confusion, that they ran in great precipitation to their ensigns; but being attacked before they could be formed in order of battle, they lost upwards of 1500 men. The Capuans, who are naturally proud, grew extremely confident on gaining this advantage, and harassed the Romans by many skirmishes; but the fate of one battle, in which they had rashly and unadvisedly engaged, made the consuls be more on their guard. Yet an inconsiderable incident abated the ar-

rogance of the Campanians, and revived the courage of the Romans; so certain it is, that in war the most trivial events have sometimes great consequences. A very strict friendship subsisted between T. Quinctius Crispinus, a Roman, and Badius, a Campanian. What contributed to increase this amity was, that Badius, having fallen sick at Rome, before the revolt of the Capuans, had been taken care of by Crispinus in the most generous and kind manner. At this time Badius, stepping out before the advanced guards at the gates, desired Crispinus to be called to him. When Crispinus was told of it, imagining that his old friend and acquaintance wanted an amicable conference, he went out a little from the rest, remembering, even amidst the rupture between their states, the private tie that had united them together. But as soon as he came in sight, Badius cried out, "I challenge you, Crispinus, to fight. Let us mount our horses, and, without seconds, decide which of us is the best soldier." Crispinus replied, "Which of us wants enemies enough, against whom to make trial of our valour? ~~Was I~~ to meet you in the heat of battle, I would avoid you, that I might not imbrue my hands in the blood of my friend." Then, turning about, he was going away. But Badius, growing more insolent, accused him of mean-spiritedness and cowardice, and called his host his enemy; reproaches which he himself merited more than the generous Roman. "You pretend," said he, "a desire to spare me, when you well know you are not my match. But if you believe that the ruptures between our two states have not sufficiently cancelled and dissolved the private ties subsisting between you and me, let Badius the Campanian and T. Quinctius Crispinus the Roman, openly, in the sight of all, in the hearing of the two armies, renounce their friendship. I will have no society, no alliance with you, whom I look on as an enemy, and desire to be esteemed so by you, who have come to attack my country, my household gods, my public and private gods. If you have any courage, come and fight me." While Crispinus seemed a long while in suspense, his comrades conjured him

not to suffer the affronts of the Campanian to pass unpunished. Then he delayed no longer, than till he informed his officers, and obtained their permission to fight this enemy, who challenged him. When he had got leave, he took his arms, mounted his horse, and calling Badius by name, dared him to the combat. The Campanian appeared immediately. Then they spurred their horses against each other. Crispinus ran Badius through the left shoulder with his lance. Upon this wound he fell from his horse, and the Roman dismounted to despatch him on foot ; but, before he could effect this, Badius, leaving his horse and buckler behind, fled to his own party. Crispinus seized the horse and arms ; and holding up his honourable spoils on the point of his lance, which was stained with the blood of his antagonist, was conducted, with praises and acclamations of the troops, to the consuls, who greatly commended his valour, and loaded him with presents.

CHAP. XIX.—HANNIBAL, having decamped from the territories of Beneventum, came to Capua. The third day after his arrival, he drew out his troops in order of battle, in full assurance, that the Romans, against whom, without his help, the Campanians had been successful a few days before, would much less be able to sustain him and his troops so often victorious. The battle was begun much to the disadvantage of the Romans, who were overwhelmed by a shower of darts from the enemy's cavalry, till the signal was given for their own horse to charge. Then all the fighting was between the horse. While things were in this situation, Sempronius's army, commanded by the quæstor Cn. Cornelius, being descried at a distance, made both sides apprehensive that some new enemy was coming upon them. For this reason both sounded a retreat, as if by concert, and retired to their respective camps almost upon equal terms. But more Romans were killed at the first charge of the horse. To draw the Carthaginian from Capua, the consuls, having divided their troops, decamped next night. Fulvius marched into the territories of Cumæ, and Appius into Lucania. When Hannibal was told

next day that the Romans had abandoned their camps, and had marched by different routes in two separate bodies, he was some time unresolved which to follow, but at last determined to follow Appius. This consul, after having made the enemy march and countermarch as he pleased, returned to Capua by another route. Fortune, however, gave Hannibal another opportunity of fighting to advantage. There was one M. Centenius Pœnula, an officer highly considerable among the centurions of the first rank, both for his size and courage.— He had served the limited number of campaigns. Cor. Sulla, the prætor, introduced him to the senate, where he begged the fathers to give him the command of 5000 men. “ He promised, as he was well acquainted both “ with the country and with the enemy, to do some “ signal service. He would employ the same snares and “ artifices against the Carthaginians, which he had used “ to entrap their generals and armies.” This promise was as indiscreetly believed as it had been rashly made; as if there was no difference between the talents of a private officer and those of a general. Instead of five, he had 8000 men granted him, one-half of which were Romans, and the other half allies. He likewise picked up several volunteers on his march, and arrived in Lucania with double the forces he had at setting out. Here Hannibal had halted, after having pursued Appius to no purpose. The match was very unequal. On one side, Hannibal commanded an army flushed with victories; on the other, a centurion with raw troops, the most of whom had been raised in haste, and but half armed. When the two armies came in sight, as neither declined coming to blows, they immediately drew up in order of battle. Though the Romans were not equal to the enemy in any respect, yet they maintained the fight upwards of two hours, making extraordinary efforts, as long as their general survived. But, as he exposed his person to the enemy’s darts, not only to preserve his former reputation, but for fear of the disgrace he would incur by a defeat, owing entirely to his rashness, he fell. The Romans were immediately routed, and in such a manner, that they had scarce a way left to escape. The

enemy's cavalry blocked up all the ways so effectually, that, of so great a multitude, scarce 1000 were saved. The rest perished by various disasters.

CHAP. XX.—THE consuls had once more begun the siege of Capua with their utmost efforts. They had prepared, and brought to their army, every thing necessary for so grand an enterprise. Provisions were laid up at Casilinum, a strong fort at the mouth of the Vulturnus, which Fabius Maximus had formerly fortified, and put a garrison in, because it lay near the sea, and commanded the river. It is now a city. To these two maritime forts, the corn that had been lately sent from Sardinia, and what the prætor Junius had bought up in Etruria, was sent from Ostia, to supply the army during the winter. To enhance the misfortune in Lucania, the Volones, who had served with the greatest fidelity while Gracchus was alive, disbanded themselves, as if they had been discharged from their oath by the death of their general. Hannibal was not willing to neglect Capua, or abandon his allies in so dangerous a conjuncture. But the advantage he had gained, by the rashness of one Roman general, made him promise himself an opportunity to surprise another with his army. The Apulian ambassadors had told him, that the prætor Cn. Fulvius had been at first very much on his guard, while he was besieging some of their towns which had gone over to Hannibal; but afterwards both he and his troops, flushed with success, and loaded with spoil, had sunk so much into licentiousness and indolence, that they had banished all military discipline from amongst them. Thus, as he had on many other occasions, and particularly a few days before, experienced how easy it was to defeat an army commanded by an unskilful general, he marched into Apulia.

CHAP. XXI.—THE Roman legions and the prætor Fulvius were then encamped near Herdonea. Upon advice of the enemy's approach, the soldiers had almost pulled up their ensigns, and marched out to battle without their general's order. Nor did any consideration re-

strain them, but a firm belief that they could do it when they pleased. When Hannibal was informed of this disturbance in their camp, and that most of them insolently pressed their general to give the signal, by constantly calling out to arms, he was certain he now had an opportunity of fighting to advantage. Wherefore next night he posted 3000 light-armed men in the houses in the neighbourhood, and amongst the shrubs and bushes, with orders to start out all at once, when a signal should be given them. Mago, at the head of 2000 horse, was ordered to secure all the avenues, through which it was probable the routed enemy would attempt to make their escape. Having made these dispositions in the night, by day-break he marched out in order of battle. Fulvius immediately appeared, not from any hopes he had of success, but dragged to it by the blind impetuosity of his troops. As they took the field rashly, so they marshalled their battle. The soldiers ran blindfold to take whatever post they pleased, without any order, and left them again, either for fear of being too much exposed to the enemy, or because they liked others better. The first legion and left wing were first formed in a very long line. The legionary tribunes loudly remonstrated that they had no depth or support behind, and that the enemy would break through wherever they should chance to charge. But they would neither hear nor attend to any wholesome advice. Hannibal, who was an abler general than Fulvius, advanced with an army of a different complexion, and otherwise drawn up. In consequence the Romans were not able to sustain the first shout and charge. Their general, who was as foolish and rash as Centenius, but had not his courage, no sooner saw his troops in disorder, and giving way, than he put spurs to his horse, and fled with about 200 cavalry. The rest, who were hard pressed in front, and surrounded on the flanks and rear, were cut to pieces in such a manner, that of 18,000 not above two escaped. The enemy took their camp.

CHAP. XXII.—THE news of these defeats, immediately on the back of one another, spread great grief

and consternation at Rome. Yet the success of the consuls in the principal seat of the war somewhat lessened the concern for these misfortunes. The senate sent C. Letorius and M. Metilius to the consuls, to desire they would endeavour to get together the remains of the two defeated armies, lest, through fear and despair, they should surrender to the enemy, as had happened after the battle of Cannæ. They likewise desired they would make diligent search after the Volones, who had abandoned their colours. P. Cornelius was ordered to do the same, and make new levies. He published an edict in all fairs and market-towns, ordering strict inquiry to be made after the Volones, that they might be brought back to their colours. All this was executed with the strictest care. The consul Claudius, after having left D. Junius at the mouth of the Vulturnus, and M. Aurelius Cotta at Puteoli, to send the corn to the camp as fast as any ships should arrive from Etruria or Sardinia, marched back to Capua. He found his colleague Q. Fulvius bringing every thing necessary from Casilinum, and busily employed about the siege of Capua. Then both consuls invested the place, and sent for the prætor Nero from the Claudian camp at Suessula. He, after leaving a tolerable garrison for the defence of the place, came to Capua with his troops. Thus were three prætorian tents erected before Capua, and three armies at once began to draw lines of circumvallation and contravallation round it, and raised towers at proper distances. They also repulsed the Capuans, who sallied to interrupt their works, in such a manner, that at last they obliged them to keep within their walls and gates. Before the works and lines were finished, the besieged sent deputies to Hannibal, to complain, that he had deserted Capua, and as it were surrendered it to the Romans. They likewise conjured him at least to relieve them now when they were not only besieged, but blockaded. The prætor Cornelius wrote to the consuls, desiring, " that before they entirely invested Capua, " they would give such Capuans as pleased leave to quit " Capua, and bring all their effects with them. All

“ who should leave it before the fifteenth of March, “ should enjoy their liberty and estates : but after “ that day was elapsed, whoever should stay, or “ whoever should quit it, should be reckoned in the “ number of the enemies of Rome.” These terms were offered the Capuans ; but they rejected them with contempt, and returned for them reproaches and menaces. Hannibal marched his army from Herdonea to Tarentum, in hopes of getting possession of the citadel by force or stratagem. But, succeeding in neither, he turned off to Brundisium, in expectation that that city would be betrayed to him. As he lay near it, spending his time to no better purpose, the Capuan deputies came to him with their complaints and prayers. Hannibal made them this haughty reply, “ that as he had “ formerly raised the siege, so the consuls would not “ at this time stay for his coming.” With these vain hopes he dismissed them ; and, at their return, they found great difficulty to enter the town, as it was quite surrounded by lines.

CHAP. XXIII.—DURING this close siege of Capua, that of Syracuse was brought to an end, as well by intestine sedition, as by the violent attacks and bravery of the Roman general and troops. Marcellus, when the spring came on, deliberated whether he should turn his arms against Himilco and Hippocrates at Agrigentum, or push the siege of Syracuse : for he saw no means of taking it by force, as its situation rendered it impregnable by sea and land ; or by famine, as the Carthaginians could without obstruction supply them with provisions. But that he might leave no method untried, he ordered some deserters (for he had in his camp many noble Syracusans, who had been banished when Syracuse revolted from the Romans, because they declared against that resolution) to sound the inclinations of some of their own faction in their conferences, and promise, that if the city should be surrendered to the Romans, they should enjoy their liberties and laws.—But it was difficult to procure a conference, because many of the inhabitants were suspected, and the

revolters were extremely vigilant and attentive to discover any attempt of that nature. But a slave of one of those exiles, being let into the city as a deserter, proposed the matter at first to a small number that were got together. Then some of them, hiding themselves under the nets in a fisher-boat, got to the Roman camp, where they conferred with the fugitives. Sometimes one party, and sometimes another, came often in the same manner; at last fourscore entered into the intrigue. But when every measure was agreed on for betraying the city, one Attalus, out of resentment for not having been trusted with the secret, discovered the plot to Epicycles, who put all the conspirators to death by the most inhuman tortures. This attempt having miscarried, another incident revived their hopes. One Damippus, a Lacedemonian, whom the Syracusans had sent to King Philip, was taken by some Roman cruisers. Epicycles was very desirous to redeem him. Marcellus easily complied, because the Romans at that time wished to maintain the friendship of the Ætolians, who were allies to the Lacedemonians. The conferences about this ransom were appointed to be held at the port Trogilii, at the foot of a tower called Galeagra. This place seemed very convenient for both, as it lay in the middle. As they went thither several times, one of the Romans narrowly examined the wall at this near view. He counted the stones, cast up within himself how broad those in front were, and formed as near a guess as he could of the height of the wall. When he had measured it in this manner, and discovered that it was much lower than he himself and others had formerly conjectured, and that it might be easily scaled with ladders of a moderate size, he informed Marcellus of it. The pro-consul did not neglect the information; and wanted an opportunity to come to the place, which was difficult, because it was guarded with extraordinary care. A deserter put an end to his perplexity, by informing him, that a festival was to be celebrated for three days in honour of Diana: That as the siege had occasioned a scarcity of other provisions, Epicycles gave out wine to the whole city, and the principal men distributed it to the tribes;

so that the festival would be solemnized by drinking plentifully. When Marcellus heard this, he conferred with a few of the legionary tribunes, and, by their means, picked out such centurions and soldiers as were fit for executing so bold an enterprise. When he had privately got ready the scaling-ladders, he ordered the signal to be given to the rest to refresh themselves, and go to sleep, because they were to go upon an expedition in the night. At the time of night that he thought the besieged, after having ate and drank plentifully, would be in their first sleep, he ordered a single company to carry the scaling-ladders, and 1000 men to march to the place in a thin line without noise.—When the first were got up without noise or tumult, the rest followed in order, being encouraged by the boldness of those that went before them.

CHAP. XXIV.—THE 1000 men had already got up upon that part, when other detachments approached, and by a greater number of ladders gained the top. The signal was given from Hexapylos, whither they had marched without meeting a single person, as in a vast desert; because the greatest part were either fast asleep in the towers, by having ate and drank too much, or were still tipping with their eyes almost closed. However, they killed some of them asleep in their beds. Then they began to beat down a postern gate near Hexapylos by force, and, as had been agreed on, made the trumpets sound from the wall. And now they kept no longer silence, but acted openly, for they were advanced as far as Epipolæ, a post that was strongly guarded, where the enemy were no longer to be deceived, but terrified. It happened, in fact, that they were terrified: for as soon as they heard the sound of the trumpets, and the shouts of those that were on the walls, and masters of part of the town, imagining that they were in possession of every post, some of the guards fled along the wall, and others leaped down headlong amidst a crowd of frightened wretches. A great part of the inhabitants were hitherto ignorant of the misfortune, as vast numbers were fast asleep, surcharged with eating

and drinking, and as the city was so large, that what was felt in one part of it did not soon spread through the whole. The gates of Hexapylos being broke down, at day-break Marcellus entered the town with all his forces. This roused all the townsmen, who ran to arms, to try if they could defend their city, which was very near taken. Epicydes marched with all expedition with a body of troops from the island called Nasos, thinking that only a few had, by the negligence of the guards, scaled the walls, and that he would easily repulse them. As he met those that were flying in fear, he said, they were more alarmed than they needed to be, and exaggerated every thing beyond reality. But when he saw all Epipolæ full of soldiers, he threw only a few darts at them, and marched back to Achradina, less afraid of the force and numbers of the enemy, than apprehensive that some intestine conspiracy might be formed, and that, in the confusion, he should find the gates of Achradina and the island shut against him. When Marcellus had entered the walls, and from an eminence taken a view of the city, which was then one of the most beautiful in the world, he is said to have shed tears, partly of joy, for having executed so great an enterprise, and partly of sorrow, when he reflected on its ancient renown. He called to mind two Athenian fleets, two powerful armies, with two illustrious generals* destroyed before it; the many and bloody wars it had sustained against the Carthaginians; its many and powerful tyrants and kings, especially Hiero, whose memory was still very recent, who, besides his virtues, and the endowments fortune had graced him with, had particularly signalized himself by the eminent services he had done the Romans. When all these things occurred to his memory, and he considered that this stately city would, in the twinkling of an eye, be in flames, and soon reduced to ashes, before he advanced to Achradina, he gave permission to such Syracusans, who, as we have before observed, were in the Roman camp, to use their interest by fair speeches to engage the enemy to surrender the city.

* Nicias and Demosthenes.

CHAP. XXV.—THE gates and walls of Achradina were principally in the possession of deserters, who would neither suffer any person to approach the walls, or hold any conference with the inhabitants, because they had no hopes of pardon in the conditions of peace. Marcellus, seeing this method did not succeed, ordered his troops to advance to fort Euryalas, situated on an eminence in the extremity of the city farthest from the sea, and commanding the roads into the country and land-side of the island, which makes it very convenient for receiving convoys. The governor, whom Epicycles had placed in this fort, was one Philodemus, an Argian. Marcellus sent Sosis, one of the regicides, to him. The Argian spun out the conference to a great length, and then sent Marcellus word that he must take time to deliberate. He affected delays from day to day till Himilco and Hippocrates should arrive with their troops, whom, if he had once within the citadel, he did not doubt but he would be able to cut off the Roman army, pent up within the walls. When Marcellus saw that he was not able to take this fort, and that the governor would not surrender it, he pitched his camp in the space between Neapolis and Tycha, two parts of the city as large as towns themselves. He was afraid, if he should encamp in places better inhabited, that he should not be able to restrain his soldiers from running up and down through avidity of plunder. Thither deputies came to him from Tycha and Neapolis, with woollen fillets on their heads, beseeching him to spare their lives, and not to burn their houses. Having held a council of war on their requests, rather than demands, he ordered his troops not to do the least injury to any person of free condition, and every thing else should be abandoned to them. Thus was his camp surrounded as with a rampart by the walls of the houses; and he posted strong guards at the gates that faced the streets, lest his lines should be assaulted, while his troops were dispersed. Then he gave the signal, and the soldiers fell to plunder. Though the breaking of the doors occasioned great terror and confusion, yet they murdered nobody. But they put no stop to their plundering till they had carried off all

the rich effects and treasure that the inhabitants had amassed during the long peace they had enjoyed. In the meantime Philodemus, despairing of being succoured, surrendered the fort to the Romans, on condition that he should be allowed to march out without violence to Epicydes. While everybody was engaged another way, and all was in confusion in that part of the town which was taken, Bomilcar took the opportunity of a stormy night, that made it impossible for the Roman fleet to ride at anchor, to sail out of the harbour of Syracuse with 35 ships, and gained the main sea. He left Epicydes 50 ships. He informed the Carthaginians of the condition Syracuse was in, and in a few days returned with a fleet of 100 sail. It is reported, that for this piece of service Epicydes presented him with great quantities of Hiero's fine furniture.

CHAP. XXVI.—MARCELLUS having got possession of Euryalus, and put a garrison into it, was freed from all danger of having troops let into the citadel behind, to annoy his troops while they were pent up and entangled within the walls. Therefore having formed three camps in proper posts, he invested Achradina, in hopes of reducing the besieged by famine. Both sides remained quiet in their posts for several days. Then Hippocrates and Himilco suddenly arrived, which brought attacks on the Romans from all quarters: for Hippocrates having intrenched his forces at the great port, gave the signal to those in Achradina, and attacked the Romans old camp, which was commanded by Crispinus. At the same time Epicydes made a sally upon Marcellus's posts, and the Carthaginian fleet warped up to the shore, which lay between the city and the Roman camp, to prevent Marcellus from sending any relief to Crispinus. However, the enemy raised a great alarm only, without giving many blows: for Crispinus not only repulsed Hippocrates, but pursued him as he fled in a fright. Marcellus also drove Epicydes into the town. Such precautions were now taken, that all seemed sufficiently fortified against any future sudden sallies of the enemy. Besides all other calamities, the

plague seized them both, which suspended hostilities with great ease. As it was then autumn, and the climate naturally unwholesome, but much more so without the city than within, the insupportable heat affected their bodies in both camps. At first the hot season and bad air brought on mortal distempers. Afterwards commerce with the sick, and the assistance that was given them, propagated the infection. Hence it happened, that some who had been seized with it died abandoned and neglected. Others, who tended and took care of the sick, carried the contagion wherever they went. Nothing was to be seen but continual deaths and burials, and nothing heard night or day but the groans of dying wretches. But at length being habituated to these miseries, their hearts were so hardened, that they not only ceased to weep and lament after the corpses of the dead, but did not so much as carry them out or bury them; and dead bodies lay up and down in view of those who expected the same fate. The dead killed the sick, and the sick affected those that were well, as well through fear as by the contagious and pestilential stench of their bodies. And some choosing rather to die by the sword, attacked the enemy's posts singly. However this plague made much more havoc among the Carthaginians than in the Roman camp; for the latter, having been a long time before Syracuse, were seasoned to the air and water of the place. The Sicilians, who served in the enemy's army, no sooner perceived that the infection was communicated by the corrupted air of the place, than they retired to their respective cities which were near at hand. But as the Carthaginians had no place to retire to, they perished to a man, together with their generals, Himilco and Hippocrates. Marcellus, seeing the violence of the distemper increase, drew his troops into the town, where the shade and houses relieved their weak bodies exceedingly. Yet that plague swept off great numbers in the Roman army.

CHAP. XXVII.—As the Carthaginian land-army was destroyed, the Sicilians, who served under Hippocrates, retired to two small towns, the one three and the other

fifteen miles from Syracuse, but well fortified and strong by situation. Thither they had carried stores, and sent for succours from their states. In the meantime, Bomilcar, who had returned once more to Carthage, represented the situation of their allies in such a light as to fill them with hopes that they would not only be able to lend them considerable aid, but even to take the Romans in the captive city. Hereby he prevailed with them to send a vast number of transports loaded with all kinds of provisions along with him, and to reinforce his fleet. In consequence he set out from Carthage with a fleet of 130 galleys and 700 transports. He had a fair wind to carry him to Sicily. But the same winds hindered him from doubling Cape Pachynum. First the report of his arrival, and then of his being unexpectedly detained by contrary winds, filled the Syracusans and Romans with joy and fears alternately. But Epicydes, fearing, that if the easterly winds, which then stopped them, should continue many days, the Carthaginian fleet would sail back to Africa, gave the command of Achradina to the generals of the mercenaries, and put to sea to Bomilcar. This admiral was riding in a road on that side of Pachynum that looks towards Africa, and in fear of an attack, not because he was not a match for the fleet in numbers and strength, (for he was superior to them in both,) but because they had the wind fairer. However, Epicydes prevailed with him at length to risk a battle. Marcellus also, seeing that reinforcements from all parts of the island arrived in the Sicilian army every day, that the Carthaginian fleet had brought a great supply of provisions, and fearing that he should be shut up both by sea and land at the same time, resolved to hinder Bomilcar from entering the port of Syracuse, though he was inferior to him in numbers. Thus two fleets rode at Cape Pachynum, ready to engage, as soon as the sea was calm enough to stand farther off. The east wind, which had been very high for several days, was no sooner abated than Bomilcar got under sail first. The headmost of his fleet seemed to stand out to sea, in order to facilitate their doubling the cape. But when he saw the Roman fleet bearing down upon

him, on a sudden, none knew why, he bore away, having sent orders to the transports at Heraclea to sail back to Africa. He himself coasted along Sicily, and then proceeded to Tarentum. Thus all Epicydes's mighty hopes being quashed in a moment, and not desiring to return to a city already half taken, he sailed for Agrigentum, rather with a design there to wait the issue of the siege, than thence to make any motion.

CHAP. XXVIII.—As soon as it was known in the Sicilian camp that Epicydes had abandoned Syracuse, that the Carthaginians had left the island, which was in a manner delivered up to the Romans, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after sounding the inclination of the besieged, in a conference with them, to treat of the terms on which the city should be surrendered to him. There was no great dispute about them, and it was agreed, that whatever had belonged to the kings should be ceded to the Romans, and the Sicilians should retain all the rest with their liberty and laws. Then they demanded a conference with those whom Epicydes had left at the head of the besieged. To them they declared, “ That they had been sent to Marcellus, and from him to the Sicilian army, to make a treaty, in which the interests of the besieged, as well as of those that were not, should be taken care of; for it would be injustice in the one to provide for their own safety, and neglect that of the other.” Then they were received into the city, where they entered into conferences with their friends and acquaintances. In these they informed them of the articles they had settled with Marcellus, and by the hopes of safety, induced them to put to death Epicydes's lieutenants, Polyclitus, Philistio, and Epicydes surnamed Sidon. After they had killed them, they assembled the people, and complained of the famine, of which they used to mutter amongst themselves secretly; they insisted, “ That though they suffered so many calamities, yet they could not impute them to fortune, since it was in their own power to put an end to them. The Romans had undertaken the siege of Syracuse out of affection, not enmity: for they had

" not taken arms or begun the siege till they were in-
 " formed that the retainers of Hannibal, and then Hie-
 " ronymus, Hippocrates, and Epicydes, had oppressed
 " them. It was with a design to rescue it out of the
 " hands of these cruel tyrants, not to reduce the city
 " itself. But now since Hippocrates was dead, Epicy-
 " des shut out of Syracuse, his lieutenants killed, and
 " the Carthaginians driven out of all their possessions
 " in Sicily by sea or land, what reason had the Romans
 " not to desire the preservation of Syracuse, as much
 " as if Hiero, the most faithful ally of Rome, was still
 " alive? For this reason neither the city, nor the inha-
 " bitants, had any thing to fear, but from themselves, if
 " they let slip the opportunity of being reconciled to
 " the Romans. They would never have so favourable
 " an opportunity as they had at present, if they did not
 " make peace now, when they were freed from the
 " heavy yoke of their tyrants."

CHAP. XXIX.—THIS discourse was received with
 a general approbation. Yet the assembly thought pro-
 per to choose prætors before they named deputies. Some
 of the new prætors were sent on the deputation, and the
 chief of them addressed Marcellus thus.—“ It was not
 “ the Syracusans who first renounced your alliance, but
 “ Hieronymus, a greater enemy to his subjects than to
 “ you. Neither was it any Syracusan who disturbed
 “ the peace when it was afterwards established by the
 “ death of this tyrant, but two of his guards, Hippo-
 “ crates and Epicydes, who kept us in arms, part-
 “ ly by fear and partly by fraud; nor can the time be
 “ named when we were masters of our liberty, and not
 “ in friendship with you. As soon as we are become
 “ our own masters, by the death of those who held Syra-
 “ cuse in captivity, we come to deliver up our arms, per-
 “ sons, walls, and city, determined to submit to any terms
 “ you shall impose upon us. Marcellus, the gods have giv-
 “ en you the glory of taking the most noble and beautiful
 “ of all the Grecian cities. All our past actions by sea or
 “ land, that are memorable, will add to the lustre of
 “ your triumph. Let not posterity only judge by fame
 “ of the greatness of Syracuse which you have taken,

“ but with their own eyes: Spare our city, that we
“ may shew all strangers, who shall come here by sea or
“ land, the trophies we have gained over the Athenians
“ and Carthaginians, and those you have gained from
“ us: let Syracuse be delivered up entire, to be placed
“ under the protection of your family, and its inhabi-
“ tants become the clients of the Claudian name. Let
“ not the remembrance of Hieronymus’s crimes have
“ more influence upon you than that of Hiero’s constant
“ friendship. The latter was much longer your friend
“ than the former your enemy. You experienced the
“ effects of Hiero’s amity, but the frenzy of Hierony-
“ mus only worked his own destruction.” With re-
gard to the Romans the Syracusans were perfectly safe,
and sure of obtaining all they requested. All the hos-
tilities and all the danger they had to apprehend was in
their own city: for the deserters, imagining that they
should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the
mercenaries with the same fear, and engaged them to
assist them. In consequence, they ran to arms, began
with killing the prætors, and then fell to massacring
the Syracusans. In their rage they killed all they met,
and plundered every thing nearest them. That they
might not be without leaders, they chose six præfects,
three to command in Achradina, and three in Naso.
But at length the tumult was appeased, and the mer-
cenaries, by examining into matters, began clearly to
discover what had been concluded on with the Romans,
and that their case was very different from that of the
deserters.

CHAP. XXX.—AT that instant the deputies return-
ed from Marcellus, and made them sensible that they
had been excited to that insurrection by gross misre-
presentations, and that the Romans had no cause to
punish them. Among the three governors of Achra-
dina was a Spaniard named Meric. A countryman of
his, who belonged to the Roman army, was purposely
sent to him in the deputies train. Finding Meric alone,
he first informed him of the condition in which he had
left Spain, from which he had lately come.—“ The Ro-

“man arms,” says he, “prevail all over it. You may, by one great action, become a great man among your countrymen, whether you choose to serve in the Roman army, or return to Spain. On the other hand, if you obstinately stand out in the siege, what hopes can you have, since you are blocked up by sea and land?” These reasons made an impression on Meric; and when it was resolved to send deputies to Marcellus, he sent his own brother among them. The Spaniard brought him to a private audience of the Roman general; and after having agreed on the conditions, and settled the method in which every thing was to be performed, he returned to Achradina. Then Meric, to prevent all suspicion of his intended treachery, said,—“It was not proper that deputies should go in and out at pleasure: that they neither ought to admit any, nor send any; and that they might be guarded with the strictest vigilance, each governor should have a distinct post assigned him, for the safe keeping of which he should be responsible.” They unanimously agreed to this division; and the post that fell to Meric’s care was that part between the fountain of Arethusa and the great port. This he fell on means to inform the Romans of. In consequence, Marcellus ordered a transport to be filled with soldiers, and in the night to be towed by a quadrireme to Achradina. These troops were landed near the gate at the fountain of Arethusa, about the fourth watch. Meric, upon their landing, let them in at the gate, according to agreement; and at day-break Marcellus made an attack on the walls of Achradina with all his forces. This was done with design not only to draw all the garrison of Achradina to the quarter where he was, but also to make those in Nasos abandon their posts, and run thither to repulse this vigorous attack of the Romans. During this alarm, some vessels of burden, that had been prepared beforehand, sailed round to Nasos, and landed a great many soldiers.—These surprising the posts, which were but half guarded, and finding the gates at which the Syracusan troops had lately gone out open, made themselves masters of the place without any difficulty, as it was abandoned by the

guards, who fled with precipitation. None made a less obstinate defence, or fled sooner, than the deserters: for as they durst not trust to their own party, they made their escape in the heat of the action. As soon as Marcellus was certain Nasos was taken, his troops masters of one quarter of Achradina, and that Meric had joined them with the body he commanded, he sounded a retreat, to prevent his troops from plundering the royal treasure, which had been much magnified by fame.

CHAP. XXXI.—THE violence of the soldiers being thus suppressed, and the deserters that were in Achradina suffered to escape, the Syracusans, delivered at length from all fear, opened their gates, and sent deputies to Marcellus, to ask nothing further of him than that he would spare the lives of themselves and their children. Then he called a council of war, to which he even admitted the Syracusans, who had taken refuge in his camp, when they were expelled their city by sedition, and told the deputies, “The injuries done the Romans, “by those who have been masters of Syracuse for a few “years, exceed the benefits she received from Hiero in “the space of fifty. But most of these injuries had “recoiled on the guilty heads, and they had been pu- “nished for their breach of treaties in a more severe “manner than the Romans could have desired. He “had now besieged Syracuse for three years, not that “the Roman people aimed at reducing it to slavery, “but to deliver it from the captivity in which it was “held by the commanders of the deserters. What the “Syracusans ought to have done for themselves, was “clearly pointed out by their fellow citizens, who took “refuge in the Roman camp, by Meric, the Spanish “general, who delivered up the garrison, and even by “their own conduct, who, though late, yet at last “wisely resolved to surrender. As for myself, I look “upon the fatigues and dangers I have undergone, “both by sea and land, before Syracuse, as sufficiently “recompensed by having taken it.” Then he sent the quæstor with a guard to Nasos, to receive and preserve the royal treasure, and abandoned the town to be plun-

dered by the soldiers, after having posted guards on the houses of those who had taken refuge in the Roman camp. Then were to be seen many horrid effects of rage and avarice. Among the rest it is related, that in the confusion, which was as great as could be when a city is taken, and the troops disperse for plunder, Archimedes was killed by a soldier who did not know him, as he was attentively drawing some geometrical figures on the sand. Marcellus regretted it extremely, and ordered his corpse to be buried with great care. Then he made inquiry after his relations, and, in honour to the name and memory of so incomparable a man, treated them with great distinction, and gave them a guard for their persons. In this manner was Syracuse taken; and in it so great a booty, as would hardly have been found in Carthage at that time, though she was a match for the Romans in strength. A few days before Syracuse was taken, T. Otacilius sailed with 80 quinqueremes from Lilybæum to Utica; and having entered the port before day, took all the transports loaded with corn. Then he landed, and having ravaged part of the country about Utica, returned to his ships with plunder of all kinds. He returned to Lilybæum three days after he had left it, with 130 transports loaded with booty. The corn he sent immediately to Syracuse. Had not this supply arrived in time, both the conquerors and conquered had been equally distressed by famine, which then began to threaten them.

CHAP. XXXII.—DURING the same campaign, the Roman generals in Spain, where nothing memorable had happened for almost two years, as both sides had kept on the defensive, without acting any thing in the field, quitted their winter-quarters, and united their forces. After having held a council of war, it was unanimously agreed, that after having remained so long in that place, only to prevent Asdrubal from going into Italy, it was time to undertake something that would put an end to the war in Spain. They believed they had force sufficient to effect it, as the winter before they had engaged 30,000 Celtiberians to take arms in their fa-

vour. Asdrubal, son of Gisgo, and Mago, were encamped together about five days march from the Romans. Asdrubal, son of Hamilcar, who had long commanded in Spain, was much nearer. The Roman generals, conceiving they had troops sufficient to overpower him, determined to fall on him first. All they were afraid of was, that the other Asdrubal and Mago, terrified by his overthrow, would retire to inaccessible defiles and mountains, and thereby protract the war. Therefore they thought their best method would be to divide their forces, and at once apply themselves to the whole war in Spain. P. Cornelius, with two-thirds of the Romans and allies, was to march against Mago and Asdrubal; Cn. Cornelius, with a third part of the old army and the Celtiberians, was to march against Asdrubal, son of Barcas. Both divisions filed off together, preceded by the Celtiberians, and encamped in sight of the enemy at Anitorgis,* with the river betwixt them. Here Cn. Scipio staid with the troops we have already observed were assigned him, and Publius proceeded to the theatre appointed for him to act on.

CHAP. XXXIII.—ASDRUBAL perceived immediately that there were but few Romans in Cn. Scipio's camp, and that his whole dependence was on the Celtiberian auxiliaries. He was well acquainted with the perfidy of all the barbarians, among whom he had long made war, but especially with that of the Celtiberian cantons. As both camps were full of Spaniards, he found no difficulty to get speech of them, and in some private conferences engaged the Celtiberian chiefs, for a great reward, to retire with their troops. These men did not think they committed a heinous crime, as they were not required to turn their arms against the Romans. Besides, they were to get as much money for not fighting as they could have done by fighting. Moreover, the private soldiers were well pleased with enjoying rest, and the pleasure of returning home, and seeing their relations. Thus the multitude were as easily prevailed on as their officers; and they had nothing to ap-

* Unknown.

prehend from the Romans, whose small number made them unable to stop them by force. Thus ought all Roman generals to be constantly on their guard, and the fate of the two Scipios be a lesson to them not to confide in auxiliaries farther than when their own troops are superior to them in number and strength. The Celtiberians all of a sudden decamped and retired, without giving any other answer to the Romans, who asked them a reason, and conjured them to stay, than, that they were called away by a war in their own country. When Scipio saw that he could neither detain his allies by entreaties nor force, that without them he was not a match for the enemy, neither was it in his power to join his brother, he resolved to retire as fast as he could, which was the readiest and safest course he could take in his present circumstances, and in particular carefully to avoid fighting in the plains with the enemy, who, having passed the river, pursued close at his heels.

CHAP. XXXIV.—AT the same time P. Scipio was as much afraid, but in greater danger from a new enemy, who harassed him exceedingly. It was young Massinissa, who was then in alliance with the Carthaginians, and whom an amity with the Romans afterwards rendered very famous and powerful. On Scipio's arrival, this young prince met him with his Numidian cavalry, and harassed him night and day so incessantly, that he not only cut off such of his Romans as were dispersed to fetch wood and water, but even rode up to their very intrenchments, and throwing himself amidst their guards, caused tumult and disorder in all their quarters. In the night he frequently rode up to their gates and rampart, all of a sudden, and alarmed them in such a manner, that they were exempted from fear and trouble in no place, nor at any time. Hereby he obliged them to keep within their lines, and cut them off from all the necessaries of life as much as if they had been under a regular blockade. It even seemed that they would be invested more closely when Indibilis, who, it was said, was coming with 7000 Suesetani, should join the Carthaginians. Scipio, who was a cautious and prudent captain, reduced

by necessity, took a very rash step. He resolved to march in the night to meet Indibilis, and to give him battle wherever he should find him. Leaving therefore a weak garrison in his camp, under the command of T. Fonteius, his lieutenant-general, he set out about midnight, met the enemy, and charged them. They fought in small parties, not having time to form themselves. However, the Romans had the advantage in these tumultuary skirmishes. But the Numidian horse, from whom the Roman general imagined he had concealed his march, suddenly charged him in the flanks, and struck terror into his troops. He had scarce attacked this fresh enemy, when a third fell upon him. The Carthaginian generals, who had followed the Romans, charged them in rear as they were fighting.—Thus, invested on all sides, they knew not whom to face, nor where to force a passage. As their general was fighting with great bravery, exhorting his troops, and throwing himself wherever the greatest danger was, he was run into the side with a lance. A body of the enemy, who, in the form of a wedge, had attacked that body of Romans which surrounded Scipio, no sooner saw him fall dead from his horse, than with shouts of joy they ran through the whole battle, crying out that the Roman general was slain. These words being spread all over the field, were a presage to the Romans of their defeat, and to the enemies of victory. The former having lost their general, immediately began to fly. Though it was easy for them to open themselves a passage between the Numidians and the light-armed troops, yet they found it difficult to escape from so many cavalry and foot, who were almost as swift as horse. A greater number of them were killed in the flight than in the battle; and not a single man of them had escaped, if night had not come on.

CHAP. XXXV.—THE Carthaginian generals made as much advantage of their victory as they could: for, scarce allowing their troops the necessary rest, they marched with all expedition to Aedrupal, son of Hamil-

car, in hopes that, in conjunction with him, they would be able to vanquish the Romans entirely. As soon as they arrived here, both generals and soldiers expressed great joy on their late victory, congratulating each other on having cut off so great a general with all his army, and expecting with confidence another victory equally signal. The news of this great defeat had not so much as reached the army of Scipio; but a certain mournful silence among them was a tacit presage of what had happened, as it is very common for men to have some forewarnings of impending misfortunes.—The general himself, besides being deserted by his allies, and the reinforcements his enemies had received, from reflection and reasoning, was more inclined to fear the defeat than hope the contrary. “How,” said he to himself, “could Mago and Asdrubal have brought their armies thither without fighting, but by having ended the war on their side? Whence has it happened that my brother has not opposed their march, or followed close on their heels? If he could not prevent the junction of their two armies, he might surely unite his forces with mine?” In this cruel perplexity he thought his safest course at present would be to retire as fast as possible. Accordingly, next night, he marched a considerable way without the enemy’s knowledge, who did not make any motion after him. But, at day-break, having perceived the enemy were gone, they detached their Numidians to follow them with all possible speed. They came up with them before night, and attacked them sometimes in rear and sometimes in the flanks. In consequence, they began to face about, and defend themselves as well as they could, Scipio all the time exhorting them to fight retreating, that the enemy’s foot might not come up.

CHAP. XXXVI.—BUT by sometimes marching, and sometimes halting to defend themselves, they made but little way; so that Scipio, seeing night approached, recalled his troops from fighting, and withdrew to a little rising ground, not indeed sufficiently safe, especially for troops in the greatest consternation, but by

its height less exposed than any place round about. Here he placed his baggage and cavalry in the middle, surrounded by their infantry, who with ease repulsed the attack of the Numidians. But when the three generals with three armies advanced all together, and Scipio saw that he would not be able by force of arms to oppose them, without an intrenchment, he began to look about, and contrive means to throw one round him ; but the eminence was so naked, and the ground so dry, that he could neither find wood to cut down for the palisade, nor earth to raise a rampart, draw a ditch in, or fit for raising any other work. Besides, the acclivity was so small, that there was nothing hard or steep to prevent them from ascending, the sloping from the top was so insensible. However, to oppose them with the appearance of an intrenchment, they made a rampart of the usual height with their packsaddles, with their burdens tied to them ; and where they wanted harness, they piled up all kinds of baggage. When the Carthaginians arrived, they easily ascended the eminence ; but the sight of this new kind of intrenchment stopt them in amaze. Their officers called out to them, “ Why do you stop ? Why do not you remove and pull down these ridiculous obstacles, scarce strong enough to stop women and boys ? ” Thus did their generals reproach them with an air of contempt : but yet they found great trouble to leap over, or remove those carriages, and to untie the packsaddles with the baggage heaped upon them. But after much time they removed them, and made way for the soldiers at several places ; so that the camp was entered on all sides at once. This handful of terrified men made but little resistance against a victorious enemy so much superior in numbers. However many of the soldiers, having escaped to the neighbouring forests, got to the camp of P. Scipio, which was commanded by his lieutenant T. Fonteius. Some authors say, that Cn. Scipio was killed on the eminence at the first attack ; others, that he escaped to a little fort near the camp. When the enemy with all their efforts could not force open the gates, they set fire to them, and by this means took it. They killed

the general, and all that were within it. On the 29th day after the death of his brother was Cn. Scipio killed, in the seventh year after his arrival in Spain. All Spain was as much afflicted for their death as the Romans themselves; with this difference, that the loss of the army, the alienation of the province, and the misfortune of the commonwealth, had a share in the grief of their fellow citizens: but the Spaniards lamented them only for their own sakes, and the loss of two so great captains. However they regretted the loss of Cneius most, because he had commanded longer among them, and had given them the first proofs of Roman justice and moderation.

CHAP. XXXVII.—THOUGH by the defeat of the two armies, Spain seemed to be lost, yet the valour of one man retrieved the embarrassed affairs of that province. There was a Roman knight in the army, L. Marcius, son of Septimus, an enterprising youth, whose courage and capacity were much superior to the condition in which he was born. He had strengthened a noble disposition by the example and instructions of Scipio, whose pupil in the art of war he had been for many years. By collecting together the remains of the routed troops, and drawing some out of the garrisons, he had formed a tolerable army, with which he joined T. Fonteius, Scipio's lieutenant. However, this knight was so much more in credit and esteem with the soldiers, that after they were intrenched on the other side the Ebro, and resolved to assemble a military comitia for the election of a general, they relieved one another on their guards and posts, till they had all given their suffrages, and unanimously conferred the chief command on Marcius. All their time then, which was very little, was employed in fortifying their camp, and conveying provisions to it. The soldiers obeyed all their orders with the greatest diligence, and without the least dejection. But as soon as they heard that Asdrubal, son of Gisgo, had passed the Ebro, and approached, in order to root out the remains of the Roman army, and saw the signal of battle given by their new generals, calling to mind the captains

they had been commanded by a little before, under whose prudent conduct, and with whose well-disciplined troops, they were wont with confidence to march out to battle, they all of a sudden wept, and beat their heads. Some extended their hands to heaven, accusing the gods; others lay stretched on the ground, invoking their former generals by name. It was impossible to silence their lamentations, though the centurions went round their companies to console them, and Marcius himself used mild rebukes. "Why," said he, "do you shed useless tears like women, rather than rouse your courage to defend yourselves and the commonwealth? Do not suffer the death of your generals to pass unrevenged." They were in this disposition, when, on a sudden, they heard the sound of the enemy's trumpets and their shouts; for by this time they were near their intrenchments. Their grief turned immediately to rage; and in a transport of fury and madness they took up their arms, and ran to the gates. Here they attacked the Carthaginians, who were advancing in security and disorder. This unexpected charge struck terror into the enemy, "who wondered from whence so many troops could have started up so suddenly after the destruction of their army; how troops defeated and put to flight could be so bold and confident; what general could have supplied the place of the two slaughtered Scipios; who commanded the camp, or who had given them the signal to battle." Whilst these unexpected incidents kept them in suspense, they retired at first quite astonished; but when the Romans made a more vigorous charge, they betook themselves to open flight. And in truth there had a great number of the fugitives been slaughtered, or the pursuit of the Romans had proved rash and dangerous to themselves, had not Marcius sounded a retreat very speedily. They were so animated, that he could not stop them till he laid hold of the front ensigns, and drew several back with his own hand. At length he brought them back to their lines, breathing nothing but slaughter and blood. When the Carthaginians, who at first had been driven in a panic from the Roman intrenchments, saw none pursuing them, they imagined

fear had stopt their enemy, and retired with an air of contempt, and at great leisure, to their camp. They were equally negligent in guarding it: for though the Romans were so near them, they still considered them only as the remains of the two armies they had destroyed a few days before. When Marcius had notice, by his scouts, that all the enemy's posts were ill guarded, he formed a design, which seemed rather rash than bold. This was, in his turn, so attack the enemy in their lines. In fact, he judged with reason, that it would be easier to attack the single camp of Asdrubal than to defend his own against three armies when they had joined again. At the same time, he considered, that if this enterprise succeeded, he would thereby reinstate the affairs of Spain; and if it did not, his bold attempt of attacking the enemy would preserve him from being despised.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—*BUT*, to prevent the surprise of his troops and the darkness of the night from occasioning disorder in the execution of an enterprise little suiting their present situation, he thought it necessary to prepare them by some warm exhortations. Accordingly, having assembled them, the orator thus began.—“ If, fellow soldiers, you will consider the filial affection I had for our common parents, our late generals, during their lives, and the veneration I retain for them after they are dead, and the present condition of us all, you will easily credit me when I say, that if my office is honourable, it is also attended with anxious and distracting cares: for nothing but anxiety for your preservation could make me insensible to grief for their loss, or make me so much myself, as to enjoy the least repose for my afflicted mind. I alone am obliged, which is a very hard task in my present affliction, to mind the interest of you all. At the same time, when I am contriving means for preserving to my country the remains of these two armies, I cannot avoid being overwhelmed with grief for the death of our great generals. The remembrance of their merit is still present, and bitterly torments me. The shades of the two Scipios fill me with distracting cares all

“ day, and in the night disquiet me with frightful
“ dreams. They often wake me in my sleep ; they soli-
“ cit me not to suffer the loss of them, of their troops
“ and fellow soldiers, invincible in this country during
“ eight years, nor the loss sustained by the common-
“ wealth, to pass unavenged. They exhort me to ob-
“ serve their discipline, and pursue their maxims in
“ making war. As, during their lives, no man was more
“ obedient to their orders than myself, so, after their
“ death, I wish you would approve, as the best, every
“ step which I imagine they would have taken in the
“ same circumstances. These heroes are yet alive ; their
“ reputation has made them immortal : do not then
“ mourn, do not shed tears for them as if dead ; but, as
“ often as their memory recurs to you, fly to battle, as
“ if you saw them animating you, as if they gave you
“ the signal. Without question, it was this image, this
“ remembrance, that animated you yesterday, when you
“ fought so gallantly, and effectually convinced the ene-
“ my that Roman bravery had not expired with the Sci-
“ pios, and that the vigour and valour of that people,
“ who were not overwhelmed by the defeat at Cannæ,
“ would survive fortune’s severest blows. Now, there-
“ fore, since you shewed such courage of your own ac-
“ cord, I would fain try how gallantly you would behave
“ in an expedition formed by your general : for when I
“ sounded a retreat yesterday, while you were hotly
“ pursuing the disordered enemy, it was not my design
“ to depress your ardour, but to reserve it for a greater
“ harvest of glory, and for a more favourable opportu-
“ nity, when you, ready prepared, and your swords
“ drawn in your hands, might fall on the enemy, in se-
“ curity, unarmed, nay even asleep. My hopes of suc-
“ cess in this enterprise are not rashly founded, but upon
“ good reasons : for, in truth, should any one ask you
“ how you, who were but a handful of conquered
“ troops, defended your lines against such numbers of
“ victorious enemies ? you would make no other reply,
“ than that, apprehensive of what actually happened,
“ you had secured yourselves by strong works, and
“ were ready prepared and on your guard. It is cer-

“ tainly fact, that men, whose success has raised them
“ above fear, are the least secure ; because negligence
“ leaves them open and exposed. At this time our ene-
“ mies are less afraid of nothing, than that we, who
“ were lately besieged and attacked, should in our turn
“ assault their intrenchments. Let us then boldly exe-
“ cute what they believe we never will attempt. Even
“ the apparent difficulty of the enterprise will facilitate
“ the execution of it. I will lead you on silently at the
“ third watch. I am informed, that they have posted
“ neither sentinels nor guards. As soon as you have
“ sent up a shout at their gates, at the first attack you
“ shall be masters of their lines. Then, while they are
“ asleep, in consternation at the sudden alarm, unarmed
“ and in their beds, shall you complete that slaughter,
“ from which you were restrained with so much diffi-
“ culty yesterday. I am sensible the undertaking will
“ seem bold. In extreme misfortunes, and when peo-
“ ple have little to hope, the most daring counsels are
“ the safest ; for, if you delay to seize the opportunity
“ the moment it offers, it is lost in the twinkling of an
“ eye, and you in vain regret letting it escape. There
“ is now one army near us, and the other two not far
“ off. You have reason to hope success, if you attack
“ the first without delay. You have already had proof
“ both of their and your own strength. If you delay
“ one day, and sit down contented with the reputation
“ acquired in yesterday’s sally, all their generals and all
“ their forces will be joined. We shall then have the
“ united force of three captains and three armies to sus-
“ tain, a force which the brave Cn. Scipio was not able
“ to resist with all his forces entire. As our unfortunate
“ generals perished, by dividing and separating their ar-
“ mies, in the same manner may the enemy be ruined.
“ We have no other way of maintaining the war. Let
“ us, therefore, never look for an opportunity beyond
“ what the approaching night affords us. Retire now,
“ under the auspices of heaven, and refresh yourselves,
“ that you may attack the enemy’s intrenchments with
“ the same vigour and courage that you defended your
“ own.” This new enterprise, proposed by a new ge-

neral, was heard with joy, and the more daring it was, the more it charmed them. They spent the rest of the day in preparing their arms and refreshing their bodies. They rested a great part of the night, and set out at the fourth watch.

CHAP. XXXIX.—ABOUT six miles beyond the nearest Carthaginian camp lay another body of their troops. A deep valley, covered with trees, separated the two. By a stratagem worthy of Hannibal, Marcius posted a Roman cohort, with some cavalry, in the middle of this wood. Having thus secured the communication between the two armies, he marched his troops in silence against the camp that was next to him. As he found neither guards at the gates nor sentinels on the rampart, he entered it, without any resistance, as if it had been his own. Then a charge was sounded, and a shout set up. Some killed the enemy half asleep; some set fire to the huts covered with dry stubble; and others seized the gates, to cut off their escape. The fire, cries, and slaughter deprived them of all sense, and prevented them from hearing or taking any salutary measures. Some fell unarmed among troops of armed enemies; some ran to the gates; while others, seeing all the avenues occupied, leaped over the intrenchment. Whoever escaped fled directly towards the other camp; but running headlong into the ambush of a Roman cohort and some cavalry, they were surrounded and killed to a man. And though even some had escaped, the Romans marched with such expedition from the nearest camp to the next, that it was impossible for the news of the defeat to have reached it. As this was more distant from the enemy, he found more negligence and carelessness there than in the other. Some parties had gone out to forage; the arms were laid up in the guard-rooms; the soldiers unarmed, either sitting on the grass, or walking to and fro before the gates and intrenchments. In this negligent and secure condition were they attacked by the Romans flushed with victory, and reeking with the blood of the former slaughter. So that they could not prevent them from entering the camp. However, on the

first shout and alarm, those within the intrenchment ran in crowds from all quarters of the camp to arms, and a smart battle ensued. The action would have continued longer ; but perceiving the Roman shields covered with blood, they hence concluded the defeat of the other army, and were seized with a panic. Their terror made them fly, and they fled where they could, leaving the field covered with their dead, and the enemy masters of their camp. Thus in the space of one night and a day Marcius took two camps. Claudius, who translated the Acilian annals from Greek into Latin, says, that 37,000 enemies were slain and 1800 taken prisoners, with a vast booty, in particular a silver shield that weighed 138 pounds, with the portrait of Asdrubal, son of Barcas, engraved on it. Valerius Antias says, that 7000 were killed in taking the first camp, and in the next, where Asdrubal sallied out and fought, 10,000 were slain and 4300 taken prisoners. Piso says, that when Mago pursued the Romans as they gave way, 5000 of his troops were killed by the cohorts that lay in ambush. However, they all speak much to the honour of Marcius. Besides his real merit, they mention some miracles that happened to him.—As he was haranguing his troops a flame issued out of his head without his feeling it, and greatly terrified the soldiers around him. This shield, with Asdrubal's portrait engraved on it, called Marcius's, remained as a monument of this victory over the Carthaginians till the burning of the capitol. After this, Spain enjoyed a short interval of tranquillity, as neither side durst risk a decisive action after the defeats they had mutually received.

CHAP. XL.—DURING these transactions in Spain, Marcellus, after having taken Syracuse, and settled all other affairs in Sicily with so much uprightness and integrity, as added much to his reputation, and to the majesty of the Roman people, set out for Rome with all the decorations, paintings, and statues, with which Syracuse abounded. They were indeed the spoils of enemies, and justly purchased in war ; but this was the beginning of that taste which the Romans acquired for the

Grecian arts; of that licentiousness which occasioned the spoiling of all places sacred and profane, which was afterwards so commonly practised, and at last even on the Roman gods and temples, the first that was stript being that very temple which Marcellus had so finely decorated: for strangers used to visit the temples dedicated by this general at the gate Capena, to see the fine pictures and statues he placed in them, and very few of which are now to be seen. Ambassadors came to him almost from all the states of Sicily. The terms granted them were different according to the shares they had in the war. Such as had revolted, and returned to their alliance before the taking of Syracuse, were received and treated as faithful allies. But those, whom after that time fear had compelled to surrender, were treated as conquered enemies, and the conqueror imposed terms upon them at his pleasure. The Romans had still some remains of war about Agrigentum, to exterminate Hanno and Epicydes, who had been generals in the former, and a third new captain whom Hannibal sent in room of Hippocrates. He was of Libyphœnician extraction, born in Hippo.* His countrymen called him Mutines. He was an enterprising man, and having been trained up under Hannibal, was a perfect master of all the arts of war. Hanno and Epicydes gave him the Numidian auxiliaries, with which he overran the enemy's territories, and appeared everywhere to succour and preserve his allies in their allegiance, in such a manner as made him famous all over Sicily, and the states in the Carthaginian interest had their sole dependence upon him. In consequence the Carthaginian and Syracusan generals, who at that time were shut up in Agrigentum, trusting to the conduct and boldness of Mutines, ventured to quit the city, and pitched their camp at the river Himera. As soon as Marcellus got notice of this, he immediately set out and encamped within four miles of them, with an intention to wait and see what they meditated, or what they would undertake. But Mutines gave him neither time nor opportunity to deliberate; for passing

* In Proper Asia.

the river he attacked the pro-consul's lines with great fury and tumult. Next day he fought the Romans on fair ground, and drove them within their lines. But being called away, by a mutiny of the Numidians, 300 of whom had gone to Heraclea of Minos, he went thither to appease and bring them back. At his departure, it is said, he earnestly advised the other generals not to fight in his absence. This highly offended them both, but in particular Hanno, who was already jealous of Mutines's glory. "Shall a mongrel African," said he, "prescribe to me, who am commissioned by the senate and people of Carthage!" He thus prevailed with Epicydes, who was for deferring battle. So they passed the river, and drew up in battalia: "For," added he, "if we stay for Mutines, and we then get the victory, all the glory will be his."

CHAP. XLI.—MARCELLUS was highly enraged to think that he, who had repulsed Hannibal from Nola, when flushed with his victory at Cannæ, should yield to enemies whom he had already vanquished both by sea and land. He, therefore, ordered his soldiers immediately to arm, and bring forth the ensigns. As he was forming his lines, ten Numidian troopers came at a gallop from the enemy to inform him, that their countrymen (induced in the first place by that mutiny, in which 300 of them had gone to Heraclea, and then by seeing their proper general purposely sent out of the way against the day when the battle was to be fought by the other two who envied his glory) would not fight. This deceitful nation kept their promise faithfully. In consequence, the news being spread through the ranks, that the enemy were deserted by their cavalry, whom the Romans were most afraid of, it animated the latter exceedingly. At the same time the enemy were sadly terrified, not only for want of the troops in whom their greatest force consisted, but also for fear their own cavalry should fall on them while they were engaged. Accordingly the action did not continue long; the first shout and attack decided it. The Numidians, who had remained inactive on the wings during the battle, when

they saw their own side run, fled a little way with them. But perceiving them all flying towards Agrigentum, they turned off to the neighbouring cities for fear of a siege. Many thousands of the enemy were either killed or made prisoners. Eight elephants were taken. This was the last battle Marcellus fought in Sicily. The year was already on the point of expiring. Wherefore the senate ordered P. Cornelius the prætor to write to the consuls before Capua, desiring, that while Hannibal was at a distance, and they were in no great danger before that city, one of them, if they thought it convenient, should come to Rome to preside at the election of magistrates. On receipt of the letters the consuls agreed between themselves that Claudius should go to hold the elections, and Fulvius stay at Capua. Claudius chose Cn. Fulvius Centumalus and P. Sulpicius Galba, son of Servius, who had never borne any curule magistracy. Then were the prætors chosen, L. Cornelius Lentulus, M. Cornelius Cethegus, C. Sulpicius, and C. Culpurnius Piso. Piso had the jurisdiction of the city, Sulpicius of Sicily, Cethegus of Apulia, and Lentulus of Sardinia. The consuls were continued a year longer in their command.

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