## BOOK XXVIII

1. When the war between the kings Antiochus and Ptolemy 1 for the possession of Coele-Syria had just B.C. 169, Antiobegun, Meleager, Sosiphanes, and Heracleides chus and Ptolemy came as ambassadors from Antiochus, and both appeal to The Rome on the sub-Timotheos and Damon from Ptolemy. one actually in possession of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia was Antiochus; for ever since his father's victory over the generals of Ptolemy at Panium<sup>2</sup> all those districts had been subject to the Syrian kings. Antiochus, accordingly, regarding the right of conquest as the strongest and most honourable of all claims, was now eager to defend these places as unquestionably belonging to himself: while Ptolemy, conceiving that the late king Antiochus had unjustly taken advantage of his father's orphan condition to wrest the cities in Coele-Syria from him, was resolved not to acquiesce in his possession of them. Therefore Meleager and his colleagues came to Rome with instructions to protest before the Senate that Ptolemy had, in breach of all equity, attacked him first; while Timotheos and Damon came to renew their master's friendship with the Romans, and to offer their mediation for putting an end to the war with Perseus; but, above all, to watch the communications made by Meleager's embassy. As to putting an end to the war, by the advice of Marcus Aemilius they did not venture to speak of it; but after formally renewing the friendly relations between Ptolemy and Rome. and receiving a favourable answer, they returned to Alexan-To Meleager and his colleagues the Senate answered that Ouintus Marcius should be commissioned to write to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, B.C. 175-164; Ptolemy VI. Philometor, B.C. 181-146.

Ptolemy on the subject, as he should think it most to the interest of Rome and his own honour. Thus was the business settled for the time. . . .

2. About this time there came also ambassadors from the The Rhodians ask Rhodians towards the end of summer, Agesilochus, Nicagoras, and Nicander. The objects for license to import corn. of their mission were to renew the friendship of Rhodes and Rome; to obtain a license for importing corn from the Roman dominions; and to defend their state from certain charges that had been brought against For there were most violent party contests going on in Rhodes: Agathagetus, Philophron, Rhodophon, and Theaetetus resting all their hopes on the Romans, and Deinon and Polyaratus on Perseus and the Macedonians; and as these divisions gave rise to frequent debates in the course of their public business, and many contradictory expressions were used in their deliberations, plenty of opportunities were afforded to those who wished to make up stories against the state. On this occasion, however, the Senate affected to be ignorant of all this, though perfectly acquainted with what went on in the island, and granted them a license to import one hundred thousand medimini of corn from Sicily. This answer was given by the Senate to the Rhodians separately. Audience was then given collectively to all the envoys from the rest of Greece that were united in the same policy. . . .

3. Aulus being thus Proconsul, and wintering in Thessalv with the army, sent Gaius Popilius and Gnaeus B.C. 169. Octavius to visit certain places in Greece. Aulus Hostilius, They first came to Thebes, where, after speaking in Greece with proconsular in complimentary terms of the Thebans, they exauthority, sends horted them to maintain their good disposition Popilius and Octavius to visit towards Rome. They then went a round of the Greek towns the cities in the Peloponnese, and endeavoured and read the decree of the Senate to convince the people of the clemency and humanity of the Senate by producing the 1 de-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The decree referred to is given in Livy, 43, 17. "No one shall supply any war material to the Roman magistrates other than that which the Senate has decreed." This had been extracted from the Senate by vehement complaints reaching Rome of the cruel extortions of the Roman officers in the previous two years.

cree which I recently mentioned. At the same time they made it clearly understood that the Senate was They visit the aware who in the several states were hanging Peloponnese, and back and trying to evade their obligations, and express some dissatisfaction at who were forward and zealous; and they let it be ithe backward seen that they were as much displeased with those policy of certain Achaeans. who thus hung back as with those who openly took the opposite side. This brought hesitation and doubt to the minds of the people at large, as to how to frame their words and actions so as to exactly suit the necessities of the Gaius and Gnaeus were reported to have resolved, as soon as the Achaean congress was assembled, to accuse Lycortas, Archon, and Polybius, and to point out Lycortas, Archon, that they were opposed to the policy of Rome; and Polybius are and were at the present moment refraining from supposed to be particularly active measures, not because that was their aimed at. genuine inclination, but because they were watch-

ing the turn of events, and waiting their opportunity. They did not, however, venture to do this, because they had no well-founded pretext for attacking these men. Accordingly, when the council met at Aegium, after delivering a speech of mingled compliments and exhortation, they took ship for Aetolia.

4. The Aetolian congress being summoned to meet them at Thermum, they came before the assembled The legates in people, and again delivered a speech in which Aetolia. expressions of benevolence were mixed with exhortations. But the real cause of summoning the congress was to announce that the Aetolians must give hostages. On their leaving the speakers' plat-accuse each other. form. Proandrus stood forward and desired leave to mention certain services performed by himself to the Romans, and to denounce those who accused Proandrus. him. Gaius thereupon rose; and, though he well knew that Proandrus was opposed to Rome, he paid him some compliments, and acknowledged the truth of everything he had said. After this, Lyciscus stood forward, Lyciscus. and, without accusing any one person by name,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Polybius seems to mean the smaller council, not the public assembly, though Livy evidently understood the latter (43, 47).

yet cast suspicion on a great many. For he said that "The Romans had been quite right to arrest the ringleaders and take them to Rome" (whereby he meant Eupolemus, Nicander, and the rest): "but members of their party still remained in Aetolia, all of whom ought to meet with the same correction, unless they gave up their children as hostages to the Romans." In these words he meant to point especially to Archedamus and Pantaleon; and, accordingly, when he retired, Pantaleon

Pantaleon. stood up, and, after a brief denunciation of Lyciscus for his shameless and despicable flattery of the stronger side, turned to Thoas, conceiving him to be the man whose accusations of himself obtained the greater credit from the fact that he had never been supposed to be at enmity with him. He reminded Thoas first of the events in the time of Antiochus; and then reproached him for ingratitude to himself, because, when he had been surrendered to Rome, he obtained an unexpected release at the intercession of Nicander and himself. He ended by calling upon the Aetolians, not only to hoot Thoas down if he tried to speak, but to join with one accord in stoning him. This was done;

Thoas stoned. and Gaius, after administering a brief reproof to the Aetolians for stoning Thoas, departed with his colleague to Acarnania, without any more being said about hostages. Aetolia, however, was filled with mutual suspicions and violent factions.

5. In Acarnania the assembly was held at Thurium, at which Aeschrion, Glaucus, and Chremes, who were all parti-

Acarnania. sans of Rome, begged Gaius and Gnaeus to place a garrison in Acarnania; for they had among them certain persons who were for putting the country in the hands of Perseus and the Macedonians. The advice of Diogenes was the opposite. "A garrison," he said, "ought not to be put into any of their cities, for that was what was done to those who had been at war with Rome and had been beaten; whereas the Acarnanians had done no wrong, and did not deserve in any respect to have a garrison thrust upon them. Chremes and Glaucus and their partisans were slandering their political opponents, and desired to bring in a garrison which would support their self-

seeking policy, in order to establish their own tyrannical power." After these speeches, Gaius and his colleague, seeing that the populace disliked the idea of having garrisons, and wishing to follow the line of policy marked out by the Senate, expressed their adherence to the view of Diogenes; and departed to join the Proconsul at Larisa, after paying some compliments to the Acarnanians. . . .

required much consideration on their part. They therefore called to council such men as Achaean stateswere of one mind in other political questions.— men to consider Arcesilaus and Ariston of Megalopolis, Stratius of Tritaea, Xenon of Patrae and Apollonides of Sicvon. But Lycortas stood firm to his original view: which was that they should send no help to either Perseus or Rome in any way, nor, on the other hand, take part against either. For he held that co-operation with either would be disadvantageous to the Greeks at large, because he foresaw the overwhelming power which the successful nation would possess; while active hostility, he thought, would be dangerous, because they had already in former times been in opposition to many of the most illustrious Romans in their state policy. and Stratius did not recommend open and Apollonides and avowed hostility to Rome, but thought that Stratius for sup-"Those who were for plunging headlong into pressing rash dethe contest, and wished to use the action Rome, and yet of the nation to secure their own personal not openly opposfavour at Rome, ought to be put down and ing her. boldly resisted." Archon said that "They must yield to circumstances, and not give their personal enemies a handle for accusations; nor allow themselves to fall into the same misfortune as bending to the Nicander, who, before he had learnt what the storm, and acting power of Rome really was, had met with the gravest calamities." With this last view, Polyaenus, Arcesilaus, Ariston, and Xenon agreed. It was thereupon decided that Archon should go without delay to his duties as Strategus, and Polybius to those of Hipparch.

6. The Greeks made up their minds that this embassy Meeting of their policy, B.C. 169.

> Lycortas is for complete neutrality.

Apollonides clarations for

The Strategus Archon is for frankly for Rome.

Polybius Hipparch.

7. Very soon after these events, and when Archon had made up his mind that the Achaeans must take active Attalus to the part with Rome and her allies, it happened most Achaeans desiring conveniently that Attalus made his proposal to the restoration of him and found him ready to accept it. the honours formally decreed to his at once eagerly promised his support to Attalus's brother Eumenes, request: and when thereupon that prince's envoys appeared at the next congress, and addressed the Achaeans about the restoration of king Eumenes's honours, begging them to do this for the sake of Attalus, the people did not show clearly what their feeling was, but a good many rose to speak against the proposal from many various motives. Those who were originally the advisers of the honours being paid to the king were now desirous to confirm the wisdom of their own policy; while those who had private reasons for animosity against the king thought this a good opportunity for revenging themselves upon him; while others again, from spite against those who supported him, were determined that Attalus should not obtain his request. Archon, however, the Strategus, rose to support the envoys,—for it was a matter that called for an expression of opinion from the Strategus, but after a few words he stood down, afraid of being thought to be giving his advice from interested motives and the hope of making money, because he had spent a large sum on his office. Amidst a general feeling of doubt and hesitation, Polybius rose and delivered a long speech. But that part of it which best fell in with the feelings of the populace was that in which he showed that "The original decree of the

Speech of Polybius. Achaeans in regard to these honours enacted that such honours as were *improper and contrary to law* were to be abolished, but not all honours by any means. That Sosigenes and Diopeithes and their colleagues, however, who were at the time judges, and for private reasons personally hostile to Eumenes, seized the opportunity of overturning all the erections put up in honour of the king; and in doing so had gone beyond the meaning of the decree of the Achaeans, and beyond the powers entrusted to them, and, what was worst of all, beyond the demands of justice and right. For the Achaeans had not resolved upon doing away with the honours of

Eumenes on the ground of having received any injury at his hands; but had taken offence at his making demands beyond what his services warranted, and had accordingly voted to remove everything that seemed excessive. As then these judges had overthrown these honours, because they had a greater regard for the gratification of their private enmity than for the honour of the Achaeans, so the Achaeans, from the conviction that duty and honour must be their highest consideration, were bound to correct the error of the judges, and the unjustifiable insult inflicted upon Eumenes: especially as, in doing so, they would not be bestowing this favour on Eumenes only, but on his brother Attalus also." The assembly having expressed their agreement with this speech, a decree was written out ordering the magistrates to restore all the honours of king Eumenes, except such as were dishonourable to the Achaean league or contrary to their law. It was thus, and at this time, that Attalus secured the reversal of the insult to his brother Eumenes in regard to the honours once given him in the Peloponnese. . . .

8. Perseus sent Pleuratus the Illyrian, an exile living at his court, and Adaeus of Beroea on a mission to Early in B.C. 169,1 king Genthius, with instructions to inform him after taking Hyof what he had achieved in his war with the scana in Illy-Romans, Dardani, Epirotes, and Illyrians up to ria, Perseus adthe present time; and to urge him to make a vances to Stubera, and thence sends friendship and alliance with him in Macedonia. envoys to king These envoys journeyed beyond Mount Scardus, Genthius at Lissus. Livy, 43, 19. through Illyria Deserta, as it is called,—a region a short time back depopulated by the Macedonians, in order to make an invasion of Illyria and Macedonia difficult for the Dardani. Their journey through this region was accompanied by much suffering; but they reached Scodra, and being there informed that Genthius was at Lissus, they sent a message to him. He promptly responded: and having been admitted to an interview with him, they discussed the business Genthius to which their instructions referred. Genthius temporises.

had no wish to forfeit the friendship of Perseus;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The expedition of Perseus into Illyricum apparently took place late in the year B.C. 170 and in the first month of B.C. 169. Livy, 43, 18-20.

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