

PYDNA, 168 BC

THE FINAL BATTLE OF THE
THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR
By Paul Leach. Photos by Paul Davies.

The question between peace and war can only arise so far as all are agreed that as there is nothing more disgraceful than to surrender the throne without striking a blow, so there is nothing more glorious than for a king to face all risks in defense of his sovereign dignity and majesty.

~*Livy, The History of Rome (42.50)*

Rome's Third Macedonian War, waged between 171 BC and 168 BC, secured its hegemony over the eastern Mediterranean with the defeat and capture of King Perseus, the last scion of the Antigonid dynasty. In the wake of her victory over Carthage in the Second Punic War, Rome sent legions to Greece and Asia Minor in the century's first decade to successfully curb the imperial intentions of the Macedonian and Seleucid kingdoms. Ten years of peace

passed until Perseus' ascended to the Antigonid throne in 179 BC. He pursued the restoration of Macedonian power and challenged Roman influence within Greece, eventually provoking Rome into three years of inconclusive warfare. The Roman Senate tasked Consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus with defeating Perseus in 168 BC, and his army decisively broke the Macedonian pike-armed phalanxes on the hills near Pydna on 22 June of that summer.

The clash between the Roman and Macedonian armies at Pydna offers wargamers a number of incentives to bring it to life again on the tabletop. The battle represents an inherently dramatic turning point in European history and the commanding antagonists – the disciplined veteran consul and the murderously clever king – engage the imagination. The sheer variety of classical warriors creates a magnificent spectacle on the gaming table: Republican Roman legionaries, Macedonian phalangites, Numidian cavalry, African elephants, and a number of Italian, Greek, and Thracian mercenaries and allies fill the opposing ranks – and they all trade blows on the doorstep of the Roman encampment in a scenario best described as a desperate breakthrough assault.



Above: *Pezhetairoi in Training* is from *Macedonian Warrior: Alexander's Elite Infantryman* by Osprey Publishing (2006).



Above: The Roman legions and allied infantry could not resist the palisade of leveled pikes.

PRELUDE TO WAR

Perseus inherited a number of things from his father, Philip V: ambition, political deftness, and a kingdom stifled by Rome. Bound by the Treaty of Tempea, which formally ended the Second Macedonian War (200 – 196 BC), Philip surrendered all of Macedon's Greek and Asian territories and paid 1,000 talents in war reparations. Fortunately for Macedon, the Romans also crippled the western reach of the aggressive Seleucid kingdom a few years later, leaving the Greek mainland free from any one powerful master until Perseus succeeded Philip. Even though Perseus renewed the treaty with Rome, he wasted no time undermining the autonomy of neighboring cities and petty states.

Perseus alienated Rome throughout his reign by increasing his influence at the republic's expense, employing a web of intrigue and murder to win regional favor. When subtlety failed, he marched his army beyond Macedon's borders to cower the lesser powers that opposed him. Even before he assumed the Antigonid throne he used allegations of treason to ensure the death of his brother Demetrius, an ambassador and friend to Rome. Perseus angered the Senate further when he waged war against Abruopolis, a Thracian sovereign ally. It mattered little that Abruopolis started the conflict by invading Macedon. The Macedonian ruler even initiated a bungled murder attempt against Eumenes II of Pergamum after he testified against Perseus in the Senate, enumerating Macedon's many treaty violations and preparations for war. Finally, Perseus simply denounced and revoked the treaty his father signed. Rome saw no other recourse but to begin the Third Macedonian War.

THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR

Consul Publius Licinius Crassus departed Italy with a large army that included a veteran legion that had previously fought in Liguria. Despite the speed with which the Romans collected and deployed their expeditionary force, the war turned into an embarrassing misery for them shortly after the first major engagement: The Battle of Callinicus Hill in Thessaly. Perseus won the battle, fought mostly by the cavalry and light infantry of both armies in front of the Roman ramparts on the hill. The Roman army withdrew under cover of darkness after it suffered 2,500 casualties and the Macedonians captured another 600.

Perseus countered Rome whenever he could and by any means available. He defeated the Roman fleet at Orens, capturing 20 supply ships and four galleys. Consul Aulus Hostilius Mancinus lost to Perseus at Elimea in 170 BC. The Macedonian monarch brought King Gentius and his Illyrians to his side through a mix of bribery and threats by the second year of the war. Even his old enemy Eumenes considered brokering an agreement of sorts, although their negotiations dissolved in consideration of Perseus' strong attachment to his treasury. His greed prevented him from easily purchasing a number of allies. Even though Perseus failed to absolutely break Rome's will or destroy its armies, the malingering stalemate favored Macedon.

The Roman army lacked energy and decisive leadership for much of the war. At its worst, the army sacked a few cities of its Greek allies. Plutarch declared it shameful that Rome's generals lacked the skill or courage to achieve victory against Perseus, when in the past they defeated the likes of Hannibal of Carthage, Antiochus of Seleucia, and even Perseus' father, Philip. The consular election of Paulus marked a turning point in the war.

LUCIUS AEMILIUS PAULUS

Lucius Aemilius Paulus (229-160 BC) descended from the Aemilii, an old and noble Roman family. Along with their political allies, the Cornelii Scipiones, Paulus and his family contributed greatly in the shaping of the Mediterranean world order during the age of the Macedonian and Punic Wars. His father, Lucius Paulus, famously commanded the battle against Hannibal at Cannae, one of the darkest days of Roman military history. His son, Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, served with him during the Third Macedonian War, and went on to win great victories in the Third Punic War in Africa and the Numantine War in Spain.

Paulus devoted his deliberate, honest, and thorough nature when discharging all his duties, first evidenced in his progressively important priestly offices. His careful attention to discipline and responsibilities carried well during his terms of military service, winning the respect of his men.

Paulus led campaigning armies on three different occasions. He served as a praetor in Spain, where he displayed a knack for solid military tactics, earning major victories against his barbarian enemies.

As a consul, he led an expedition against piratical Ligurians in 182 BC. Not only did Paulus defeat an army that overwhelming outnumbered his own by 5-to-1, he displayed commendable leniency to the Ligurians once they surrendered. While he destroyed fortifications, confiscated ships, and freed prisoners, he left their settlements intact. Fourteen years passed before he again assumed the rank of consul and commanded Roman legions in a foreign land.

The Senate elected him consul a second time because they wanted him, above all others, to lead the Roman army in the ongoing war against Macedon. Paulus accepted the responsibility on the conditions that the Senate gave him the resources he needed and the freedom to prosecute the war as he saw fit, without interference or criticism. He unequivocally succeeded at the task of defeating Perseus and subjugating Macedon, not only meriting a Roman triumph, but the title Macedonicus.





Above: Pushed by the deep ranks of the Macedonian phalanxes, Rome's cohorts struggled against the bristling hedges of sharpened iron.

PAULUS TAKES COMMAND

Paulus immediately addressed the inherent difficulties with his army upon his arrival in Macedonia. He spoke to the soldiers candidly and bluntly, reminding them that their duties did not include offering advice to the commander or countermanning his decisions. Paulus assured them the responsibility of command belonged to him alone. He required them to follow his orders, keep their arms in good repair, and prepare themselves to move with little notice. His absolute control of the army proved critical in overcoming Perseus.

Paulus then faced the other great challenge: Perseus and the Macedonian army. Whatever he thought of the king, he acknowledged his foe held a daunting defensive position on the high banks of the wide and dry Elpeus riverbed, in the seaside foothills of Mount Olympus. The Macedonian army, numbering over 40,000 soldiers, waited behind ramparts bristling with siege artillery. The odds rested with Perseus if the Romans tried a direct assault and, unless they could surround him, the Romans could not effectively besiege him either. The Romans had to get to the other side of the river somehow.

Paulus soon learned of a difficult and unguarded pass through the mountains and tasked P. Scipio Nasica (son-in-law of Scipio Africanus) and Q. Fabius Maximus (Paulus' eldest son) with maneuvering a detachment of 8,000 infantry (mostly Italians and other allies) and a squadron of 120 cavalry through it so they might appear in Perseus' rear, on the other side of the Elpeus. They deceived the Macedonians into believing the gathered force intended to sail up the coast, but they hastily moved into the mountains during the night. Even though they lost the element of complete surprise thanks to an informative deserter, the flanking force succeeded in routing a force of 12,000 soldiers sent by Perseus to stop them. The Romans now flanked the Macedonians.

If Perseus did not risk battle, then he risked a determined Roman presence within Macedonia itself if he simply turned his great army into numerous city garrisons. Deciding on the former, he withdrew his army, encamped on a hill not far from Pydna, and took his chances. The area's open ground favored the restricted movements of the Macedonian pike formation, and two shallow rivers, Aeson and Leucus, offered a barrier

against a Roman assault. Paulus arrived shortly thereafter and kept his soldiers, fatigued from the march, from foolishly committing to battle. Instead, he ordered that part of the army stand ready while the rest fortified a hill across from the Macedonian ramparts. That night, after the armies retired, the moon disappeared in an eclipse. The Macedonians howled in terror, believing the lost moon foretold the downfall of their kingdom.

THE BATTLE OF PYDNA

Not content to leave the eclipse's portents to ill fortune, Paulus sacrificed as many as 20 bulls to win the favor of Hercules the following morning. He ordered his troops only to make ready. He commanded 20,000 legionaries plus another 10-12,000 allied infantry, 4,500 cavalry and 22 elephants. Italians, Numidians, and Hellenes numbered almost half of the 35-37,000 men that fought for Rome. Perseus commanded 21,000 phalangites, including 3,000 men of the elite Agema; 17,000 more infantry and 4,000 cavalry. Hellenic mercenaries, allies, and subjects filled the ranks of half his army. Many Thracians also served Perseus, including King Cotys and his contingent of Odrysaeans. And all of them waited. And they waited.

Fighting finally broke out at the shallow river late that afternoon when Perseus's Thracians skirmished with Paulus's Italian foragers over an escaped beast of burden, although Plutarch advises readers that Paulus planned the seemingly petty event. Regardless of luck or strategy, the little fight sparked the Macedonian army into action, and they crossed the river in short order. The waiting ended.

Plutarch's description of Perseus' advancing army inspires a sense of awe. Large, black-clad Thracians armed with shimmering shields, greaves, and strong iron spears led the arrayed juggernaut. A division of mercenaries, armed with a variety of weapons kept pace with them. The elite phalanx, "gleaming with gilt armor and scarlet coats," followed with the phalanx of the Brazen Shields. A marching sea of steel and brass, inevitable as the tide, sped towards Paulus's assembling army. The main bodies prepared to meet, with Roman legions and Macedonian phalanxes forming the centres of their lines. Allied infantry, followed by cavalry, covered the wings of each army. Perseus and Cotys rode on the right wing with their personal retinues, and elephants added weight to the Roman right.

Perseus's army brushed past the initial skirmishing engagements, which occurred no more than two furlongs (about 1/4 mile) from the Roman hill encampment. The legions and allied infantry could not resist the palisade of leveled pikes, pushed by the deep ranks of the phalanxes. Italian contingents of Pelignians and Marrucinians tried to break through the dense hedge of pikes, but their courageous assault failed. Even though they inflicted casualties upon the phalanx, they simply could not turn aside enough pikes to sustain close combat. Their first ranks lost, the rest withdrew towards Mount Olocrus. The Roman centre wavered. Meanwhile, the elephants and Latin allies of the Roman right wing hammered fiercely at the Macedonian left wing, forcing it back.

Some accounts state that Perseus fled the field as early the first clash of heavy infantry, either due to wounds, cowardice, or a sudden (and coincidental) urge to sacrifice to Hercules at the city of Pydna. No matter if he abandoned his men then or later when Macedonian defeat loomed, Perseus and his cavalry avoided the unimaginably brutal setback that destroyed his army. With or without him, the epic struggle for the centre reached its crisis. Even as the Macedonian phalanxes shoved the Romans back toward their camp, gaps appeared between their formations as they crossed uneven ground. Paulus ordered his cohorts to exploit the breaches, and they soon

engaged their enemy's flanks. Unable to counter the Roman initiative, the Macedonians fought poorly in tight engagements. The centre roiled as the Romans tore apart the phalanxes.

The Romans not only turned the tide of the battle, they transformed it into a massive slaughter. The Agema fell where it stood, and many of the regular phalangites suffered the same fate. Despite this, thousands of Macedonians and their allies managed to flee the immediate bloodshed, although few of them eluded death or capture. Some of them attempted to surrender to the Roman fleet approaching the shoreline, but they either died at the hands of sailors or elephants trampled them on the beach. Nightfall probably saved the few that actually escaped. The Roman historians record that Paulus lost no more than 100 soldiers, which seems incredible even if one assumes the tally only included the losses of the legions. Regardless of the accuracy of the casualty lists, it hardly diminishes Macedon's overwhelming losses, estimated at over 20,000 dead.

AFTERMATH

Perseus continued his flight from Pydna, arriving in the royal palace at Pella later that night. Fearing treason from the leading men of the city, especially the nobles and officers that also escaped the day's bloody disaster, Perseus fled Pella before morning. Having already dispersed his main body of cavalry troopers en route to Pella, he left for Amphipolis with a few hundred Cretan mercenaries, his household retinue, and a large treasury. The angry Amphipolitans dispelled any illusion of power the king

still entertained when they shouted for him to leave their city and prevent their destruction. Perseus sailed to the sacred island of Samothrace with a hoard of coins and hardly a friend in tow.

Most of Macedon's cities and towns surrendered to the Romans within the few days' time it took Perseus to escape from one city to another. Upon ascertaining the king's hiding place, the Roman fleet put in at Samothrace and its commander, Cornelius Octavius, offered safety and freedom to all Macedonians that came to the Romans. Perseus attempted one final flight to the Thracian court of Cotys, but his would-be Cretan smuggler only left the island with the king's money. The last true ruler of the Antigonid dynasty finally surrendered himself.

In the wake of the great victory over Perseus, the Romans punished his allies. Paulus's army plundered the cities of Epirus and enslaved 150,000 of its inhabitants, while another Roman army subjugated Illyria and took Gentius captive. As for Perseus himself, he marched in Paulus's triumph and quietly died a few years later. Rome dismantled his kingdom, turning Macedon into a set of client republics.

When the tyrannical Anatolian pretender Andriscus invaded Macedon with an army of Thracians 19 years later, Rome's Fourth Macedonian War began. Claiming to be Perseus's son, he assumed the Macedonian throne for a short while. The war ended with another decisive Roman victory at Pydna in 148 BC, and Rome assumed complete control of Macedon, reducing it to a province.

Below: Perseus flee the field of battle at the head of his heavy cavalry. It is not known exactly when this occurred, but it is known that neither he or the cavalry fought that fateful day.



WARGAMING PYDNA

The crux of the battle occurred on the rising ground below the Roman encampment, where Paulus' maniples took advantage of Perseus's disrupted phalanxes. A good tabletop game of this epic battle should encourage the Macedonian player to commit his pike-armed formations to a literally uphill battle with a fair chance of victory, and the Roman player needs to do more than simply wait for the enemy to charge his positions.

The scenario presented below utilizes the Warmaster Ancients rules, which capture the grand sweep of the conflict and require the least tinkering to unit statistics, combat resolution, or army lists to play Pydna as a tabletop game. Suggestions for using other game systems can be found on the following pages.

WARMASTER ANCIENTS SCENARIO

THE ARMIES

This Warmaster Ancients scenario uses the Republican Roman and Alexandrian Greek lists from the core rulebook to create 1200-point armies. While the 3rd Century Successors list is chronologically closer to Third Macedonian War of the 2nd Century, the Alexandrian list offers key selections relevant to late Antigonid kingdom's army: shock cavalry and two phalanx grades.

WHO GOES FIRST

The Macedonian army.

Below: Gaps appeared in the phalanxes as they crossed uneven ground and Paulus ordered his cohorts to exploit the breaches.

LENGTH OF GAME

The game ends when either or both armies withdraw. If neither army withdraws, the game may last up to 8 turns, so long as the Macedonian player successfully contests the hill by the end of Turn 6. At the end of Turn 6, if at least one Macedonian phalanx remains at least partially on the hill's slopes, the game continues with Turn 7. If at least one Macedonian phalanx remains at least partially on the hill's slopes at the end of Turn 7, play the eighth and final turn.

VICTORY POINTS & CONDITIONS

Players earn victory points according to The End of Battle section (Warmaster Ancients p. 71). They may earn additional victory points using variations of the Lasting Out and Decisive options (p. 76), as detailed below.

- The Macedonian player earns bonus victory points for all phalanx units at least partially on the hill at the end of Turns 7 and 8. Each qualifying unit is worth VPs equal to half its cost. The Macedonian player may earn points on both turns.

- The Roman player earns bonus victory points for each phalanx unit destroyed by the end of Turn 6. Each qualifying unit is worth VPs equal to 1.5 times its cost (total, not in addition to normal value). Phalanx units destroyed on Turns 7 and 8 are worth their normal value.

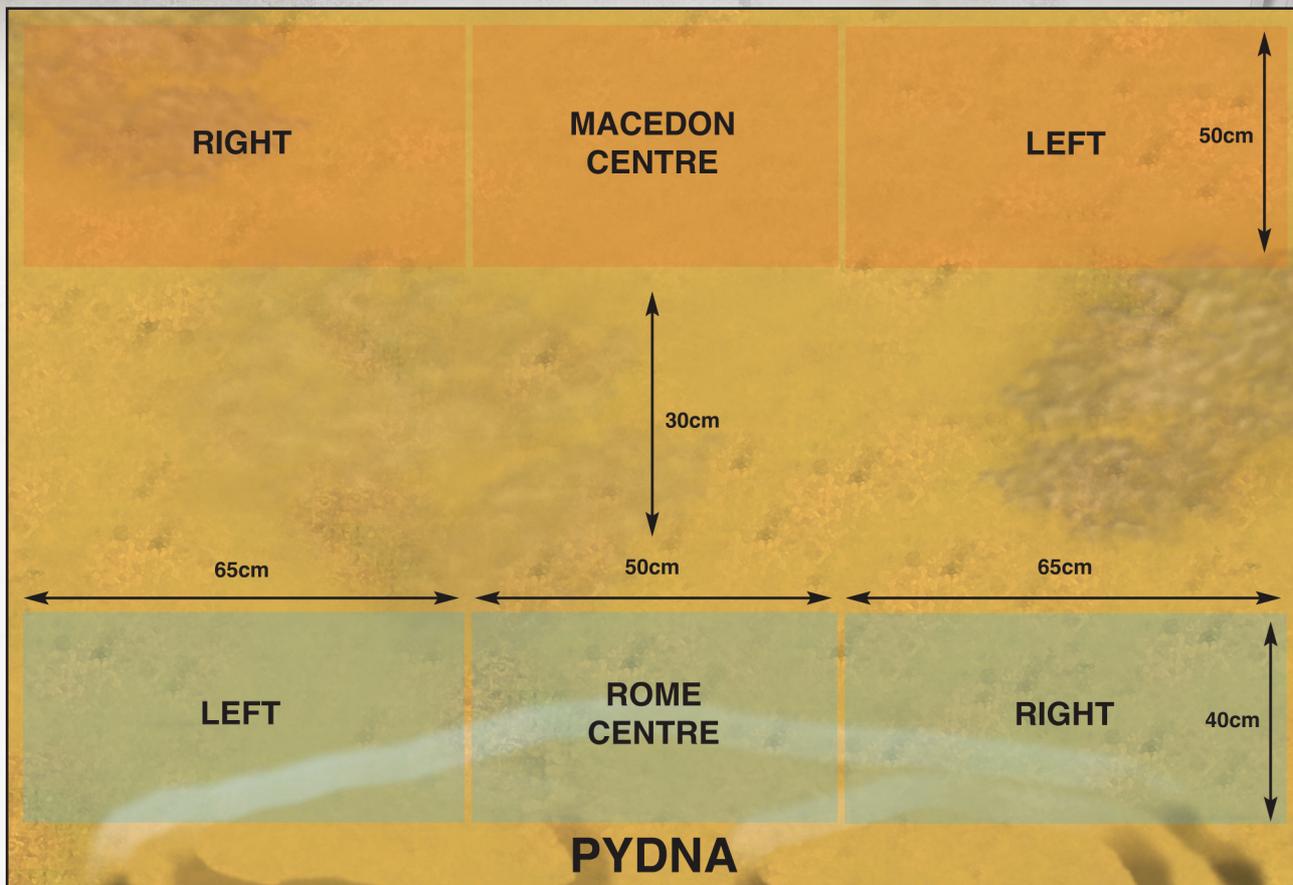
The above conditions encourage the Roman player to do more than simply place his troops at the lower slopes and wait for the Macedonian army to charge, and they leave little real room for the Macedonian player to dawdle. The Macedonian player takes a big risk by waiting until Turn 6 to make an assault on the hill. Both players should make energetic use of their allied contingents.

TWEAKING THE SCENARIO

Assign the Steadfast unit bonus (from the Warmaster Armies supplement) to the Macedonian phalanxes.

Reduce Perseus' Attack to +1 or +0, and add one or two Greek Hoplites (Unreliable), respectively. The Greek Hoplites represent contemporary Hellenistic mercenaries, not actual classical hoplites.





ROMAN ORDER OF BATTLE

Troop	Points/Unit	# Units	Point Totals
Legion	65	5	325
Triarii	75	2	150
Allied Infantry	35	4	140
Skirmishers	30	4	120
Heavy Cavalry	80	1	80
Light Cavalry	60	1	60
Mtd. Skirmishers	40	1	40
Elephant*	150	1	150
General (Paulus)	125	1	125
Totals		20	1190

* From Carthaginian List.

MACEDONIAN ORDER OF BATTLE

Troop	Points/Unit	# Units	Point Totals
Guard Phalanx	70	1	70
Phalanx	60	6	360
Light Infantry	40	6	240
Skirmishers	30	3	90
Guard Cavalry	120	1	120
Heavy Cavalry	110	1	110
Light Cavalry	60	1	60
Mtd. Skirmishers	40	2	80
General (Perseus)	125	1	125
Totals		22	1185

DEPLOYMENT OF REPUBLICAN ROMAN ARMY

The Roman army begins play on and around the hill of its deployment area. At least half of the Legions and all of the Triarii must start the game on the hill. The deployment zone is 40cm deep.

Left Wing (65cm wide): Heavy Cavalry, Allied Infantry (2 units)

Centre (50cm wide): Paulus, Legions, Triarii

Right Wing (65cm wide): Elephant, Light Cavalry, Allied Infantry (2 units)

Deploy Skirmishers and Mounted Skirmishers as desired.



THE BATTLEFIELD

The game may be played on a 180cm x 120cm (6' x 4') table. The Macedonian army, having already crossed the river, now approaches the Roman force arrayed on and before the hill. The hill offers defended status to units combating enemies on the lower slopes, unless they charge, pursue, or retreat.

DEPLOYMENT OF LATE MACEDONIAN ARMY

The Macedonian army may deploy as close as 30cm from the Roman zone to reflect its quick advance on the preparing enemy. The deployment zone is 50cm deep.

Left Wing (65cm wide): Heavy Cavalry, Light Infantry (3 units)

Centre (50cm wide): Phalanx (all), Guard Phalanx (far left)

Right Wing (65cm wide): Perseus, Guard Cavalry, Light Cavalry, Light Infantry (3 units)

Deploy Skirmishers and Mounted Skirmishers as desired.

THE PHALANGITE [PEZHETAIROS]

A close view of the Macedonian phalangite in full armor. The soldier wears the Phrygian helmet, with cheek pieces, which allows better hearing and visibility than the old Corinthian-style helmets of the Greek hoplites of the Archaic and Classical periods.

The warrior is protected by a linothorax, worn over the short-sleeved exoml's, the bottom of which extends beyond the corselet itself. The weight of the corselet is about 11-14lb, and thus considerably lighter than the leather, bronze, and (especially) iron cuirasses that were worn by some infantry and cavalrymen. The skirt of the corselet, made up of 'wings' (pteruges), is loose and unstiffened for ease of movement.

A leather baldric slung over the shoulder supports the smaller shield - about 2ft in diameter and less concave than the larger hop/on. Details of the outside of the shield, with the embossed eight-rayed star of the Macedonian kingdom, can be seen at the bottom left. In battle, the soldier's forearm would have been drawn through the porpax in the inside center, but the hand would have been free to grasp the 18ft sarissa, which because of its length and weight required the use of both hands.

The full extent and the size of the sarissa in relation to its bearer are shown in the miniature to the bottom right. The sarissa bears a butt spike like the one found at the ancestral Macedonian capital of Aegae (Vergina), and it becomes clear that it constituted almost two-thirds of that part of the sarissa that extended behind the phalangite when it was leveled in drill or combat. Only one example of a coupling link has been found to date, though it is clear that all sarissa must have had them. This coupling link joined the two parts of the sarissa and allowed it to be dismantled on the march, as shown in the top left-hand corner.



Above: The Phalangite [Pezhetairos] illustration and extract is from *Macedonian Warrior* by Osprey Publishing (2006).

ALTERNATE GAME SYSTEMS

While not an exhaustive treatment, the game systems addressed below provide solid examples of how to incorporate the principles of the scenario's design and army lists with the reader's favorite rules. At the very least, the army lists need to accommodate the number and variety of troops that fought the battle, and the terrain should not punish the Macedonian phalanx with excessive combat penalties. The Macedonian phalanx should be able to reach the hill within three moves, barring interference from the enemy.

WARHAMMER ANCIENT BATTLES

WAB's special rules for Republican Roman maniples and Macedonian phalanxes capture the strengths of the historical counterparts: the tabletop Macedonian phalanx functions like a steamroller and the Roman maniples flexibly support one another. A few conditions attune the rules to the Pydna scenario.

- Use 2000/2500-point armies to replicate the grand scale of the armies and to purchase significant numbers of auxiliaries. A 1000-point army lacks gravity and fails to adequately represent all the allies, subjects, and mercenaries attached to the antagonists.
- Assemble the Macedonian phalangites

into larger but fewer units than the Roman legionaries. For example, allow no more than 16 figures per Roman maniple, but require 24 or 32 figures per Macedonian phalanx. Use whatever min/max numbers fit the armies at hand.

- Take away the rank bonus of any Macedonian phalanx that loses a round of combat while engaged on the hill. The phalanx may restore order and regain its rank bonus if it spends a turn unengaged in melee and does not move. This recreates the disorder the actual phalangites experienced while moving uphill on uneven ground.
- Treat the hill as difficult if the Macedonians consistently win the scenario.



Above: Paulus ordered that part of the army stand ready while the rest fortified a hill across from the Macedonian ramparts.

DE BELLIS ANTIQUITATIS

The following adjustments allow for a close-run engagement between uphill Roman blades against downhill Macedonian pikes. The DBA Republican Roman and Later Macedonian lists require changes to field the kind of ally-heavy armies present at Pydna.

- Increase the number of elements to 15 stands per army. Increase the Later Macedonian army by an extra 3 elements of auxilia (for a total of 18 stands) if the Romans consistently win.
- The Polybian Roman army should include elements of auxilia and light horse, plus an elephant. The Roman army must also place a camp on the hill. If the Macedonians capture it, they automatically win.
- Increase the combat factor of pike stands to +6 v. foot, +7 v. mounted for

close combat, except for initial contact with (or receiving fire from) bows or artillery or if attacking a camp or if in bad going; in such cases, use the normal combat factor of +3 v. foot, +4 v. mounted. Pike stands do not gain a bonus from receiving rear support from other pike stands.

- Treat the Roman hill as bad going if the Macedonian army consistently wins the scenario.

ARMATI

Armati is an excellent alternative to Warmaster Ancients, plus it offers the benefit of allowing players to try the game out with smaller hordes of miniatures.

- Use the special rules for Roman Echelon Tactics, which allows the Roman rear units to avoid rout checks when frontline Roman troops rout into them.

- If using the 1st Edition rules, increase the Later Macedonian Army Break Point by 3.
- Treat the hill as rough ground.
- Reduce the Roman army by 500 points if they consistently win the scenario.
- The Roman army suffers one Break Point at the end of each turn in which four or more phalanx units partially or wholly occupy the hill. Remove this rule if the Macedonians consistently win the scenario.

FIELD OF GLORY

Field of Glory players may augment this article's design suggestions with practical advice found in the Pydna AAR (after action report) on Slitherine.com's historical scenario forum. The posting authors offer army lists, gaming notes (especially terrain considerations), and a narrated photographic play-by-play.

REFERENCES & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following books offer excellent overviews of the Mediterranean world's 3rd and 2nd Centuries BC, ranging from high level military and political events down to the tactics and equipment of the period's armies.

Rome's Mediterranean Empire:

Books Forty-one to Forty-five and the Periochae

- Livy, Jane D. Chaplin, Oxford University Press, 2007

The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans - Plutarch

Armies of the Macedonian and Punic Wars

- Duncan Head, WRG 1982

Warfare in the Classical World

- John Warry, Salamander Books Ltd 1980

The miniatures in this article are 10mm figures from

Magister Militum. www.navigatorminiatures.com